

“高罗佩与中国文化”国际学术研讨会

The Dutch Mandarin:

Robert van Gulik's place in contemporary Chinese Culture

时间(Time): 2013年4月20日 April 20, 2013

地点(Location): 上海师范大学会议中心3号4号会议室
No.3+4 Meeting Room of Shanghai Normal University's Conference Center

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PARTICIPANTS INFORMATION

ROBERT VAN GULIK NOW! PROGRAMME

20th and 21st of April 2013

Contact numbers

Tiffany (visitor information) / Chinese & English: Mobile (+ 86) 1365 1919 186

Marie-Anne Souloumiac (general program) / English: (+86) 137 18843141

Prof. Shi YE (conference matters) / Chinese & English: (+86) 150 00464007

Hotel for Conference Participants

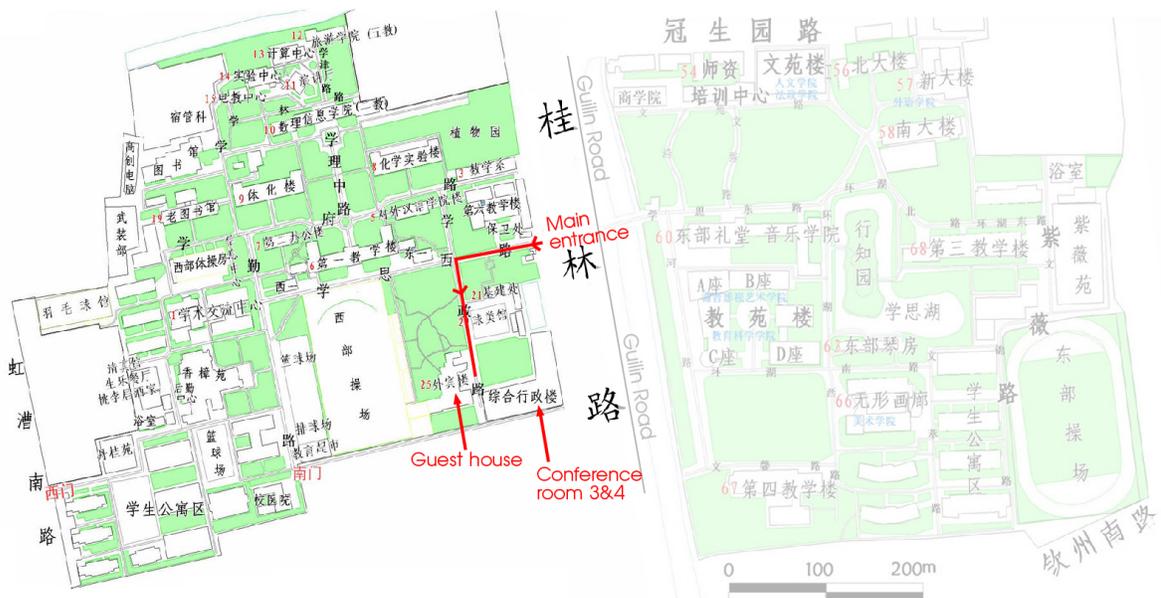
Foreign Guesthouse of the Shanghai Normal University

Wai Bin Lou, western campus of Shanghai Normal University, 100 Guilin Road, Shanghai
Chinese address for taxi driver:

上海市桂林路 100 号上海师范大学西部校区外宾楼(直入大门第一个十字路口左转)

Tel: 0086-21-64322244

Map of Shanghai University (conference and guesthouse)



FRIDAY 19TH OF APRIL -WELCOME ACTIVITIES

16:30 A minibus will depart from the Foreign Guesthouse (Shanghai Normal University) to the Jin Jiang Hotel – contact Shi Ye (+86) 150 00464007

17:00 Welcome drinks at the Residence of The Consul General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands with Mrs. Ingrid Potman – d’Hooghe, wife of the consul and Robert van Gulik NOW! committee members

JinJiang Hotel, Grosvenor House
West Wing 12BC, 59 South Maoming Road
Tel: 5466 3962

茂名南路 59 号
锦江饭店贵宾楼西翼 12BC

19:00 Welcome Dinner at Jardin de Jade (only for conference speakers)
(5 min walk from the Residence)
127 Maoming Nan Lu, by Huaihai Zhong Lu
苏浙汇，茂名南路 127 号, 近淮海中路

SATURDAY 20TH APRIL – 8:30 - 18.00 INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Dutch Mandarin: Robert van Gulik and Chinese Culture
Shanghai Normal University - Comparative Literature & World literature
Address: Room 3&4, Conference Center, 100 Guilin Lu, near Qinzhou Nan Lu
桂林路 100 号（近钦州南路）上海师范大学西部校区
The Conference will be followed by a dinner near the conference venue
English Spoken

SUNDAY 21ST OF APRIL – 14:00-15:30 PUBLIC EVENT

Yuanfang , what do you think?

Minsheng Art Museum

Address: Bldg F, 570 Huaihai Xi Lu near Hongqiao Lu

民生现代美术馆，淮海西路 570 号 F 座

Open to public English and Chinese spoken

SUNDAY 21ST OF APRIL – 17:00- 18:30

READING BY PAULINE VAN GULIK

Judge Dee at Work reading by Pauline van Gulik

Fairmont Peace Hotel

Address: 20 Nanjing Dong Lu, near Zhongshan Dong Yi Lu

上海和平饭店，南京东路 20 号, 近中山东一路

Exclusive event please RSVP to rvgnow@gmail.com if you would like to attend

English spoken

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM

THE DUTCH MANDARIN: ROBERT VAN GULIK'S PLACE IN CONTEMPORARY CHINESE CULTURE

April 20, 2013, Preliminary Program

08.30 – 9.00 Arrival and registration

09:00-10:00 Opening Ceremony - moderated by Wilbert Kragten

09.00-09.30

Deputy Principal of Shanghai Normal University, Prof. MAO Xuncheng

Dutch Consul General to Shanghai, Peter POTMAN

Director of the Key discipline of Comparative Literature & World literature, LIU Yunhua

Pauline van Gulik

09.30 RVG Committee - Wilbert Kragten

09.40 Picture

09.45-10.10 Coffee break

10.15 Introduction by Professor Wilt IDEMA, conference chairman

10.30-12.00 Session I: Robert van Gulik and Chinese culture

10.30-10.45 Prof. CHEN Jue, National TsingHua University, Taiwan

Revisiting Robert van Gulik: A New Sinology Perspective

10.45- 11.00: Prof. ZHANG Ping, TsingHua University, Beijing

Robert van Gulik and Cultural Translation

11.00 -11.15: Prof. SHI Ye, Shanghai Normal University, Shanghai

Robert van Gulik's Study of the Chinese Gibbon Culture and its Paradigmatic Meanings

11.15 – 12.00: Discussion

12:00--13:30 Lunch

13.30--15.00 Session II : Robert van Gulik's Research

13.30 – 13.45 Prof. Mei—Yen LEE, National Pingtung University of Education, Taiwan

Review and Comments on the Lore of the Chinese Lute: An essay on the ideology of the Ch'in by Robert Hans van Gulik

13.45 – 14.00 Prof. emeritus James CAHILL, University of California, Berkeley
Video—lecture on Robert van Gulik's erotic color prints of the Ming period

14.00 – 14.15 Prof. GUO Jie, University of South Carolina
Robert Hans van Gulik and Ming Erotic Book Illustrations

14.15 – 15.00 Discussion

15.00 -15.30 Tea break

15.30-16.30 SessionIII : The author Robert van Gulik

15.30 – 15.45 Christopher DALTON, St. Bonaventure University
Between Fact and Fiction The Characterization of Di Renjie in R.H. van Gulik's Judge Dee Novels

15.45 – 15.55 Prof. Pasquale ACCARDO, Medical College of Virginia
Dee is for Different (A Summary by Wilbert Kragten)

15.55 – 16.10 Marco HUYSMANS
Two lesser-known works of Robert van Gulik

16.10-16.30 Discussion

16.30-16.45

Wrap up: Ingrid D'HOOGHE

Conclusions and Closing: Professor Wilt IDEMA

16.45 Next part of the program Marie-Anne Souloumiac

6:00--7:30 Dinner party

Speech by Rob ROMBOUT, documentary filmmaker

Making a documentary about Robert van Gulik

THE SPONSORS AND PARTNERS OF THE CONFERENCE

We would like to thank the following sponsors and partners of the conference. Without their support this conference would not have been possible.



INTRODUCTION BY PRESIDENT OF SHANGHAI NORMAL UNIVERSITY

I warmly welcome you to Shanghai Normal University to take part in the conference *The Dutch Mandarin: Robert van Gulik's place in contemporary Chinese Culture*. Shanghai Normal University is proud to host this international conference which brings together distinguished experts from three continents to discuss the life and works of an old friend of China: Dutch diplomat, scholar and author Robert van Gulik. Last year was the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Netherlands. The conference is one of the opening events of this year's Dutch Days in Shanghai and will contribute to a strengthening of the friendship between China and The Netherlands. I wish the participants a fruitful conference.

Zhang Minxuan
President Shanghai Normal University

INTRODUCTION BY THE CONSUL GENERAL OF THE NETHERLANDS

What do you think, Yuanfang?

Last year, on any given day more than 2.5 million Chinese netizens used the phrase “What do you think, Yuanfang?” from the hit TV series “The Amazing Detective Di Renjie”, as they interacted on social media. Most of them would not have known that the man who made “Judge Di” such a popular figure in modern China was a Dutchman: diplomat and China scholar Robert Hans van Gulik, who published seventeen works on Di Renjie.

But Mr. Van Gulik’s legacy of linking Chinese and Dutch culture goes far beyond Di Renjie. Today, my dear friends, your group of leading academics from around the world has gathered to discuss the works of Van Gulik and their lasting influence in modern China and beyond.

Since Robert van Gulik was also a Dutch diplomat, who served in China at one of its pivotal historical moments, I am particularly pleased that the Dutch Consulate General in Shanghai is a sponsor of this conference and that the conference is part of Dutch Days Shanghai 2013, celebrating Sino – Dutch relations. We are also very grateful for the kind hospitality of Shanghai Normal University and the relentless efforts of the Robert van Gulik NOW! Committee to bring this conference about.

Let me finish by quoting Mr. Van Gulik himself:

“Scholarly research offers a welcome refuge, for there everything one does has permanent value, even one's mistakes, for these will enable other workers to do better.”

I wish your conference a big success and I look forward to the results it will create.

Peter C. Potman

Consul General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands Shanghai

INTRODUCTION BY PAULINE VAN GULIK

It is an auspicious coincidence that in the Spring of 1943, exactly 70 years ago, diplomatic relations with China and the Netherlands were raised to the highest level when The Dutch Legation in Chongqing obtained the status of her Majesty's First Embassy in China. It was also in that Spring of 1943, 70 years ago, that my father was appointed as first secretary to the Embassy in Chongqing. Chongqing is where his first real taste of China started, and this taste became insatiable. He took advantage of every opportunity to study the Chinese language and culture, it was there that he made many friends in the Chinese artistic community, that his enthusiasm for the guqin was born, and it was there, most importantly, that he met my mother.

My father's greatest wish was to promote China, its history and culture, bringing it under the attention of the Western World. It was his dream to see this happen and now this is taking place at a fast pace! He once wrote that the understanding of cultures could only be achieved by a sincere wish of individuals to foster good relations in order to gain insight and knowledge, and so acquire mutual understanding and respect for each other. The Robert van Gulik conference has gathered us here with so much enthusiasm, to promote a common goal entirely in the spirit of the ideals my father, namely to explore the still numerous subjects related to the cultural history of China.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank the Shanghai Normal University and the Consulate General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for the support they have given to this conference. We would like to thank in particular Prof. Shi Ye who has put a tremendous amount of energy and efforts into the conference. We would also like to express our gratitude to the Robert van Gulik NOW! Committee, Wilbert Kragten, Marie-Anne Souloumiac and Ingrid d'Hooghe for making it all happen. I would like to thank all the professors for their invaluable participation sharing their knowledge with us today and the many fans and friends who have come all the way from the Netherlands to attend this special event. Also I would like to thank the sponsors, notably BSUR, KLM, ABN AMRO, the National Key Discipline of Comparative Literature & World Literature and Marco Klein for their generous support.

On behalf of The Robert van Gulik Estate
Pauline van Gulik, April 2013

INTRODUCTION BY THE RVGNOW! COMMITTEE

Robert van Gulik NOW!

We are delighted to welcome you to the first Robert van Gulik conference at the 2013 edition of the Dutch Days in Shanghai.

The Robert van Gulik NOW! committee was set up by, Marie-Anne Souloumiac, the grand daughter of Robert van Gulik and Wilbert Kragten, a vivid Robert van Gulik fan and collector. The committee enjoys the guidance of two respected academics Ingrid d'Hooghe and Prof. Shi Ye.

It was by coincidence that Wilbert and Marie-Anne met in Shanghai and thought of ways to share their van Gulik passion to bring the spirit and relevance of Robert van Gulik to the fore in contemporary China. Shortly after (November 2012) the first Robert van Gulik NOW! event took place in Shanghai drawing more than 100 people and media. From that moment onwards the Robert van Gulik NOW! platform started its journey, a weibo (Chinese twitter) was set up, press articles started flowing in, TV interviews were given and online fans surfaced. The Robert van Gulik NOW! platform was born.

Following this achievement and in light of the spirit of van Gulik, the committee has designed and set up a trilogy of events in Shanghai in April 2013 which main event is marked by this conference. It gathers leading thinkers specialised in the van Gulik academic works as well as passionate fans. The international conference is co-organised by Shanghai Normal University and our friend Professor Shi Ye, who teaches the Robert van Gulik and Chinese course at Shanghai Normal University.

The aim of the Robert van Gulik NOW! committee is to develop a sustainable platform which gathers and disseminates Robert van Gulik 's spirit and work whilst encouraging individuals, organizations, institutions and governments to join forces to support its development.

China is growing at an increasingly rapid pace whilst searching for its cultural identity, it is especially NOW! that Robert van Gulik's vast studies of Chinese culture should be shared as a source of knowledge, inspiration and creativity for tomorrow.

The committee hopes the conference will be the first of many and invites our guests to contribute ideas and projects for future Robert van Gulik NOW! programs.

A special thank you goes to the Consul General of the Netherlands in Shanghai, Peter Potman, who has been key in the creation and realisation of this project.

We wish you a productive and inspiring conference.

The Robert van Gulik NOW! Committee

April 2013

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Pasquale ACCARDO

James CAHILL

CHEN Jue

Christopher DALTON

Pauline van GULIK

GUO Jie

Ingrid D'HOOGHE

Marco HUYSMAN

Wilt IDEMA

Wilbert KRAGTEN

Mei—Yen LEE

Rob ROMBOUT

SHI Ye

Marie- Anne SOULOUMIAC

ZHANG Ping

PASQUALE J. ACCARDO



Pasquale J. Accardo, M.D., is a pediatrics doctor. He was the director of the Knights of Columbus Developmental Center at Cardinal Glennon Children's Hospital at St. Louis University School of Medicine in St. Louis, Missouri for fifteen years. He was the LEND Director at Westchester Institute for Human Development at New York Medical College for six years and then assumed the James H. Franklin Professorship in Developmental Research in Pediatrics at the Medical College of Virginia, Virginia Commonwealth University School of Medicine, Richmond Virginia. He is also the LEND Director, the medical director for Care Coordination of Central Virginia, and the medical director of the Child Development Clinic at the Children's Hospital of Richmond.

Dr. Accardo has published extensively in the field of neurodevelopmental disabilities in children including both standard textbook references and many research publications. His more than fifty book titles include studies on Sherlock Holmes and Gilbert Keith Chesterton, especially the latter's priest detective, Father Brown.

His interest in both medical history (including Chinese medicine) and detective fiction would naturally lead to a fascination with Judge Dee who often treats crime as a disease to the body politic and undertakes various healing remedies to address the damage. He is a member of the Baker Street Irregulars and the recipient of the Arnold J. Capute Award from the American Academy of Pediatrics.

JAMES CAHILL



James Cahill is a longtime, much published specialist scholar in Chinese and Japanese painting studies; many of his writings have been published in Chinese under the name Gao Juhan. He was a professor at U.C Berkeley for thirty years, and now lives in retirement in Berkeley, working on a series of video lectures like the one on van Gulik that will be shown at this symposium, but full length. Plans are underway to make these video = lectures accessible to viewers in China. He has recently donated almost his entire library to the China Academy of Art in Hangzhou, His writings concerning Rober H. van Gulik are these three:

“Review of: Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur, by R.H. van Gulik”, In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 81 (1961). pp. 448-450

“Judge Dee and the Vanishing Ming Erotic Colour Prints.” In: *Orientalions*, November 2003, pp. 40-46. (About how van Gulik published erotic pictures by himself pretending they were copied after late Ming Chinese prints.)

“Introduction to R.H. van Gulik, Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period.” In: R.H.van Gulik, *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period*, reprint (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004, 2 vols.) vol.1 pp.ix-xxv

CHEN JUE



Jue Chen is professor of Chinese Literature and History at Tsing Hua University in Taiwan. He graduated from Princeton with a Ph.D. in comparative literature in 1997 and taught at the University of Minnesota and the University of Canterbury before joining Tsing Hua University Faculty in 2007. His research includes sinology and material cultural studies. One of his current Project in that area is related to Robert van Gulik studies.

CHRISTOPHER DALTON



I was trained at the University of Florida and the University of Arizona, where I studied Chinese language, literature, and history. I will receive my doctoral degree this September with a specialization in Ming-Qing history. My research concerns the intellectual transitions of late imperial China. I am interested in the diversification of intellectual pursuits among the Chinese literati during this period and I am now working on a paper that examines the role of seclusion in literate elite identity of the late imperial period. I also enjoy reading and writing about the scholars who have contributed to these fields, like Robert Van Gulik.

Currently, I am a lecturer at St. Bonaventure University in New York, where I live with my wife and three sons.

PAULINE VAN GULIK



Pauline van Gulik, Tokyo 1951, is the only daughter of the four children of Dr. Robert van Gulik and Shui Shih-Fang. She accompanied her parents till her teens to several South East Asian countries and the Middle East. Afterwards she lived in Paris where she studied social sciences and languages. At present she is living in the Netherlands and has worked for several International Organizations as well as a Museum. Together with her brothers Willem, Pieter and Thomas van Gulik they manage the Robert van Gulik Estate.

GUO JIE



Jie Guo is Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of South Carolina. Her research focuses on gender theory, Chinese literature and culture, and the history of sexuality. Her interest in Robert van Gulik, particularly his work on sex in pre-modern China, Chinese pictorial art, and Ming erotica, stems from her research interests in sexuality studies and late imperial Chinese visual culture. She furthermore has an interest in van Gulik's illustrated Judge Dee stories.

Jie Guo also translates; her Chinese translations of Judith Butler's *Undoing Gender* and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* were published by Shanghai Sanlian shudian respectively in 2009 and 2011.

INGRID D'HOOGHE



Ingrid d'Hooghe is a China specialist and Senior Research Associate of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' and Research Affiliate of Antwerp University. She is currently based in Shanghai, China. D'Hooghe is conducting research and training on China's foreign policy and diplomacy and has published on China's Soft Power and Public Diplomacy, China-US relations, and China-EU relations. Recent publications include: 'The Limits of China's Soft Power in Europe: Beijing's Public Diplomacy Puzzle', in Sook Jong Lee and Jan Melissen, (Eds.), *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* (2011), and 'The Expansion of China's Public Diplomacy System', in Jian Wang (ed.), *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication* (2011)

Her interest in Robert van Gulik and his work was first raised during her studies in sinology, when she read Van Gulik's Judge Dee novels and his biography by C. Barkman and H. de Vries-van der Hoeven. It was revived and strengthened after she arrived in Shanghai in 2011 and learned how much Robert van Gulik's legacy is still alive in China. She is a member of the Robert van Gulik NOW! Committee.



Marco Huysmans was a voracious reader from an early age. He first read the stories about "Rechter Tie" (Judge Dee) when he was in high school and has re-read them many times since. So when at the end of the last century he was looking for a suitable subject to hone his website-building skills, it was a natural thing to start a small and modest website about Robert van Gulik and his Judge Dee novels.

It was only when Thomas van Gulik contacted him ten years ago that his interest in Robert van Gulik started to grow. It was wonderful to discover that Robert van Gulik had done so much more than just write about Judge Dee. The website expanded exponentially, and so did his collection of everything relating to Van Gulik. He started publishing a newsletter which is currently nearing its 100th issue.

Marco Huysmans has published articles about Robert van Gulik in the Dutch magazine *China* and the renowned international magazine *Orientations*. In 2010, he privately published *Robert van Gulik 1910-2010* to commemorate the 100th birthday of this great Dutch diplomat, author and sinologist.

Marco Huysmans holds an MSc in Mathematics from Radboud University Nijmegen and teaches Computer Science at Avans University of Professional Education in Den Bosch.



Wilt L. Idema obtained his BA and MA from Leiden University. Following continued study in Sapporo (at Hokkaido University) and in Kyoto (at Kyoto University), and research in Hong Kong (at the Universities Service Center), he returned to Leiden, where he taught in the Department of Chinese Language and Culture. He obtained his doctorate in 1974, and was promoted to Professor of Chinese Literature and Linguistics in 1976. Since 2000, he has been teaching at Harvard as Professor of Chinese Literature.

Wilt Idema's research initially was focused on the early development of Chinese vernacular fiction (*Chinese Vernacular Fiction: The Formative Period*, 1974), but later shifted more towards early Chinese drama (*Chinese Theater 1100-1450, A Source Book*, with Stephen West; 1982; *The Dramatic Oeuvre of Chu Yu-tun (1379-1439)*, 1985; *Wang Shifu, The Moon and the Zither: The Story of the Western Wing*, with Stephen H. West, 1992).

In recent years he also has published on Chinese women's literature of the premodern period (*The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China*, with Beata Grant, 2004). His current research is focused on China's rich tradition of popular narrative ballads. He is also the author, with Lloyd Haft, of *A Guide to Chinese Literature* (1997). For his voluminous Dutch-language translations, especially of classical Chinese poetry, he received the Martinus Nijhof Award for 1991, the highest distinction for literary translations in the Netherlands.

Wilt Idema has been an avid reader of the Judge Dee novels since his high school days. He has published on Van Gulik's partial translation of the *Four Great Strange Cases during the Reign of Empress Wu Zetian* (Wu Zetian sida qi'an), which became the model for his Judge Dee novels, wrote the article on Van Gulik in Robert W. Winks, ed. *Mystery and Suspense Writers: The Literature of Crime, Detection, and Espionage* (1998; also translated into Chinese), and contributed an essay to the 2004 reprinting of *Van Gulik's Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period*.

WILBERT KRAGTEN



Wilbert Kragten, Managing Partner BSUR Shanghai, is an international marketer who has built 15+ years of expertise in the international marketing and advertising field. Since 2012 Wilbert is managing partner of BSUR Shanghai, a boutique brand strategy consultancy covering the Asian region and advising clients on market entry, positioning and localizing international strategies. Wilbert has a cum laude marketing Bachelor from the Netherlands, two internal management MBA trainings from IMD and has fulfilled senior marketing management roles at major international FMCG companies. He has lived in 3 continents, travelled 5 and has visited well over 80 countries in the world. He is married to his wife Annette, plays water polo, runs triathlons & marathons, plays golf and has a strong interest in traveling, modern art, Chinese history, and Robert van Gulik.

Wilbert is a founding committee member of the Robert van Gulik NOW! Committee, an avid book collector of his works and a passionate fan from a very early age.



Mei-Yen Lee is a Professor in the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at National Pingtung University of Education, Taiwan. Her main research interest lies in the field of Chinese musical aesthetics, specializing in ancient Chinese seven-stringed Lute which is known in Chinese as the ch'in or guqin.

She has written 5 books and more than 80 pieces of academic papers. Her recent authored work is *Ch'in-Tao: Robert Hans van Gulik and the Chinese Lute*. (Hong Kong: Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, the University of Hong Kong, new edition, revised and reset, 2012).

ROB ROMBOUT



Rob Rombout (Amsterdam, 1953) is an independent filmmaker. He is teacher at St.Lukas, Brussels film-& art-school and co-founder and executive of the international Master Doc-Nomads. He is a renowned lecturer and jury member (China, Russia, USA, Canada, Brazil, Chile, Vietnam, Syria, and Lebanon).

All his films were shown on international television channels and a number of them received awards: "*Amsterdam via Amsterdam*" (2006), "*Canton, The Chinese*" (2002), "*The trap of Kerguelen*" (2000), "*Perm-mission*" (1999) "*Entre deux tours*" (1987). He is currently vice-president of the Belgian Committee of the French Author Organization SCAM. www.robrombout.com

Rob Rombout will talk about his upcoming film on Robert van Gulik, the legendary Dutch diplomat, writer and sinologist, who revived the famous Judge Dee (狄仁杰 Di Ren Jie) through his books, drawings and works. The film "*On the track of Robert van Gulik*" will focus on his lasting influence through contemporary accounts of people all over the world. The film shooting will start in Shanghai and will lead us through Chongqing, Beijing, Harbin, Tokyo, Beirut, Boston, NY, Washington, Paris, The Hague and Leiden.

SHI YE



Shiye is a Professor in the Humanities and Communications College at Shanghai Normal University. Her main research interest lies in the field of ancient Chinese Literature, with a special focus on fictions of the Ming and Qing dynasties. In recent five years, she has written two books and more than thirty pieces of academic papers, two of which were rewarded by the Shanghai Government in 2010 and 2012. Recently her research field has expanded to include intercultural studies and ancient Chinese urban literature.

Shiye has done research on Robert van Gulik for more than three years. Part of her research, which was financially supported by the Shanghai government, was conducted at Leiden University (2011 - 2012). So far she has published six papers and has given several lectures on Robert van Gulik. Recent papers include "The Chinese Origin of the Main objects in Robert van Gulik's Novels " and "Robert van Gulik's Social Contacts in Chongqing". The former paper was rewarded a prize by the Shanghai government in 2012. Shiye also teaches the courses "Robert van Gulik and Chinese Culture" for graduate students in Shanghai Normal University.

MARIE-ANNE SOULOUMIAC



Born in Paris in 1981 and graduated in 2005 from Goldsmiths College, University of London with a Masters in Visual Anthropology. Being Dutch, Chinese and French she has travelled extensively and speaks four languages fluently. Marie-Anne is an experienced creative project manager and has worked in design, architecture and the visual arts fields in the UK, the Netherlands and China. She was the China coordinator for the Dutch Design Fashion Architecture programme until 2012. She works and lives in Shanghai, China.

Marie-Anne Souloumiac is the grand daughter of Robert van Gulik and founding member of the Robert van Gulik NOW! Committee.

ZHANG PING



Zhang Ping is an associate Professor in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at Tsinghua University. She holds a PhD (2007) in Comparative Literature from Beijing University of Language and Culture. Her dissertation was a cultural study on the famous Dutch sinologist Robert van Gulik.

Zhang Ping has published a book and various academic papers in magazines at home and abroad. Her present research interest lies in comparative literature and cultural studies.

PRESENTATIONS

Introduction to the conference The Dutch Mandarin: Robert van Gulik's place in contemporary Chinese Culture, Shanghai Normal University, April 20, 2013

Carel Barkman and Leentje de Vries-van der Hoeven called their book of 1993 “A Man of Three Lives: Biography of the Diplomat, Author, and Scholar Robert van Gulik,” highlighting the multiple aspects of his life and works.¹ But even though Van Gulik (1910-1967) excelled as a sinologist, as an ambassador, and as a writer of detective fiction, it may be useful to stress that none of these three careers was ever planned. From a modern perspective Van Gulik opted to study Chinese for all the wrong reasons: his decision was determined by the sizable fellowship that would allow him to seek the carnal pleasures he craved without bothering his parents. He became a diplomat by accident: as a student of Chinese he was trained to become a specialist with the colonial administration in the Dutch East Indies, but economizing measures during the Depression meant he was assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rather than the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. And he became an author of detective fiction as an afterthought when in Japan after World War II he wanted to show his Japanese friends that East Asia had its own indigenous tradition of detective fiction and that there was no need to rely on Western models. I will not have much to say about Van Gulik as an author here today, as many of you probably are better acquainted with his detective fiction than I am—I devoured his novels when I was in high school but I must confess I have rarely reread them since then. I also will not have much to say about Van Gulik as a diplomat. The inner workings of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have always remained a mystery to me, so I will not wield my axe in front of Lu Ban's gate. As I am by training a sinologist and received my training during the waning days of the old-style sinology at Leiden, I thought I might best say a few words about the sinological tradition in which Van Gulik was trained. But it should be kept in mind that Van Gulik was as much a rebel against, as a product of, Leiden sinology.

Other countries may conduct debates about the extent to which orientalism and colonialism permeated their study of Asia in the second part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century (or up to today). That discussion never got off the ground in the Netherlands for the very simple reason that oriental studies, especially when they concern the languages and cultures of Southeast and East Asia, were instituted for the very purpose of training future colonial officials, and that remained the primary function of those chairs until the aftermath of World War II. People involved—orientalists, bureaucrats, and the public at large—might debate how that mission could best be accomplished, but the mission itself was never publicly questioned. The first two professors of Chinese at Leiden, Gustave Schlegel (1840-1903) and J.J.M. de Groot (1854-1921), both had served in the colonial administration of the

¹ C.D. Barkman and H. de Vries-van der Hoeven, *Een man van drie levens: biografie van diplomaat/schrijver/geleerde Robert van Gulik*. Amsterdam: De Boekerij, 1993. This work has been translated into Chinese as *Da Hanxuejia Gao Luopei zhuan* 大汉学家高罗佩专. Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2011.

Dutch East Indies for many years. Their field of study was the language, laws and customs of the Chinese in the Dutch East Indies, and because most of these huayi 华裔 and huaqiao 华侨 hailed from southern Fujian, they spent a number of years for advanced study at Amoy (Xiamen). There they acquainted an excellent Minnanhua, but their guanhua 官话 remained rather poor. My own teacher, Anthony Hulsewé (1910-1993), who was the fourth professor of Chinese Language and Literature, also had served with the colonial administration before he became first lector, and then professor at Leiden, but by that time Indonesia had become independent and the need for huaqiaotong 华侨通 had evaporated, so everyone was worried sick about the job prospects of the few students who in the 1950s and 1960s wanted to study Chinese nevertheless.

When Van Gulik entered Leiden University, however, he encountered there Leiden's third Professor of Chinese Language and Literature, Jan Julius Lodewijk Duyvendak (1889-1954), and they didn't hit it off. Duyvendak was different from his predecessors in that he, unlike them, had no colonial background whatsoever. Duyvendak had studied with De Groot and had also spent some time in Paris, and then for seven years had served as the interpreter at the Dutch legation in Beijing. There he had been caught up in the political turmoil of the first years of the Republic, and in a very direct way too, as the Dutch legation had hosted Marshal Zhang Xun 张勳(1854-1923) for a year, following his failed attempt at restoration of the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1917. Duyvendak was also very much interested in the Literary Revolution of 1917 and other aspects of China's modernization on the eve of the May Fourth Movement. But when he returned to the Netherlands, he singlehandedly transformed the Dutch study of China into the philological study of ancient China as it had been established in France. Neither Duyvendak's engagement with contemporary culture or his passion for the ancient past seem to have appealed to Van Gulik, who held no high opinion of Duyvendak's scholarship. We have no comments from Duyvendak about Van Gulik, but I think we may safely assume that he was not amused by his student's public lifestyle and professed interests. The total incompatibilité des humeurs between the prim and proper professor and his cocksure pupil can easily be imagined. As a result, Van Gulik did not take his PhD at Leiden with Duyvendak, but moved for his doctorate to the University of Utrecht.

While nowadays Leiden for many people is a byword for stodgy conservatism, it did not have that reputation in the 1920s and 1930s. In those days Leiden the Orientalist faculty was notorious for championing the so-called Ethical Policy. The Ethical Policy held that the maximization of profit was not necessarily the ultimate aim of colonial policy, and that perhaps, in a distant future of course, some form of self-government for the local population in the colonies might be considered. These ideas now may appear modest and already way behind the times when first formulated, but in those days they were considered dangerous and subversive by many companies that were active in the Dutch East Indies. These companies put up the money to establish oriental studies at Utrecht University, and as Royal Dutch Oil was the

main donor, these professors were sneeringly referred to as “the Oil faculty.” As a boy who grew up in the Dutch East Indies Van Gulik may well have felt more at home among these old colonial hands. I am afraid it is difficult to identify a period in his life in which he can be characterized as politically progressive.

His interest in law Van Gulik most likely had already picked up at Leiden. In view of their future career it was quite common for students in oriental studies also to take a bachelor’s degree in law, usually colonial law. Van Gulik’s student years in Leiden coincided or partially overlapped with the student years of some Dutch students in sinology who would go on to establish their reputation by the study of Chinese law, such as Marius van der Valk (1908-1978), Marinus Meyer (1912-1991), and Anthony Hulsewé. As part of the Dutch colonial policy in the East Indies, Chinese family law and inheritance law applied the local Chinese population, which meant that Dutch sinologists were keenly interested in the reforms of Chinese law throughout the Republican period and later—Hulsewé as a good philologist would turn to the study of China’s earliest preserved laws.

Even though Van Gulik had taken his PhD at Utrecht with a thesis on a buddhological subject, it seems as if he also hoped to establish his credentials as an academic sinologist by producing a study and annotated translation of one of the early philosophers, in his case the Master of Ghost Valley (Guiguzi 鬼谷子). But the manuscript was lost during one of the Japanese bombing raids on Chongqing during World War II. Whether that was a complete manuscript or a partial draft, we will never know. Luckily for us, Van Gulik did not become yet another academic philologist but turned his interests to other subjects. If Van Gulik had an ambition, it was to become a Chinese mandarin. From his earliest posting to Japan, he not only associated with traditional Japanese sinologists but also with old-style Chinese intellectuals and artists, for whom the arts of traditional China were not dead museum fossils to be studied in the library but living disciplines to be practiced in daily life. His outstanding language abilities allowed him to participate in their circles, and to provide his western readers with an inside view of Chinese pictorial art and Chinese lute music. One may also add the Chinese art of womanizing to his list of skills learned through practice. If his work is still in print, in regular or pirated editions, it is not because they cannot be improved upon—there is progress in research—but because they provide a unique perspective: what now has become only often, one feels, a cultivated folklore then was still a living tradition. The excitement over (and pride in) the initiation into that tradition is still palpable in the pages of Van Gulik’ academic works.

Van Gulik’s sinological publications made him widely known in academic circles and earned him his election as member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences. But while the subjects he studied nowadays all are part and parcel of Chinese studies all over the world, in his own days they clearly belonged to the margin. Some of the unease or perhaps even bewilderment that was engendered by Van Gulik in his fellow Dutch sinologists of the time

is betrayed in the memorial speech in the Royal Academy following his death by my teacher Anthony Hulsewé, which I will quote at some length:

Van Gulik did not try to make sinology his career, even though his exceptional talents on a number of occasions could have acquired him a professorial appointment (outside the Netherlands, that is) if he had wished so. But rather than taking the well-traveled roads, which by common experience tend to be the main roads that can't be traveled enough and that always allow one to find something new, Van Gulik became a wanderer ... he had an extraordinarily restless mind that could organize its general restlessness in such a way that he could always concentrate himself for a while on the topic that happened to interest him. On top of that Van Gulik had a curious predilection that accorded with his personality for the margins of the academic domain of philologists, where music, painting, eroticism and the detective story are found, or cocktails thereof. Of course no one can master his field without dealing in his research from time to time with those margins (I'll not speak of other margins); but Van Gulik sauntered from one periphery to the next, and danced around the central issues, so it becomes understandable that among sinologists he was called a dilettante, admittedly not without admiration.²

In these convoluted sentences the perplexity of Hulsewé (who spent his lifetime studying the dry-as-dust institutional history of the Han) in confrontation with the “Van Gulik phenomenon” is obvious. Perhaps I should add that the three-times repeated expression in the Dutch original which I each time translated by the bland word “margin” was the word “zelfkant”, the primary meaning of which nowadays is “the seamy side”—and if my memory serves me well, that was the primary meaning of “zelfkant” in the 1960s too.

But if Van Gulik had only been a sinologist, even a sinologist of his stature, we probably wouldn't be here today. Sinologists are remembered by other sinologists, and mostly ignored by old and new China hands. Moreover, in scholarship we, as students, hope to stand on the shoulders of our predecessors, and as we adopt their insights our own, we slowly but surely stamp them into the ground, just as we hope our students will do with us. Even if Van Gulik had been an excellent diplomat who also excelled as a sinologist, we probably wouldn't be here. If diplomats do their work well, they, like Athenian wives of antiquity, are not heard of. If Van Gulik still brings us together, it is because of his Judge Dee novels. With these Judge Dee novels Van Gulik has accomplished something out of the ordinary. Not only did he creatively borrow from the public façade and the seamy side of Chinese culture to create a Chinese detective that brought traditional Chinese culture to life for millions of readers in the west, this same Judge

² C.C. Berg and A.F.P. Hulsewé, “Herdenking van T.S. Tjan (15 februari 1903—2 januari 1969), R.H. van Gulik (9 augustus 1910—24 september 1967), A.D.A. de Kat Angelino (6 september 1891—6 juni 1969),” *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen 1969-1970*.

Dee was eagerly embraced by Chinese audiences as soon as China opened up to the outside world. Not only were the Judge Dee novels translated and retranslated into Chinese (initially without the sexy parts and Van Gulik's explanations of aspects of Chinese culture), but they were also brought home in terms of genre as they were rearranged into one large monster novel like the Three Heroes and Five Gallants (Sanxia wuyi 三侠五义), the Cases of Judge Shi (Shi gong'an 施公案) and the Cases of Judge Peng (Peng gong'an 彭公案), a type of fiction Van Gulik heartily detested. His inspiration for his own Judge Dee novels came from a quite obscure anonymous Qing dynasty novel, The Four Great Weird Cases During the Reign of Empress Wu Zetian (Wu Zetian sida qi'an 武则天四大奇案). But he had learned from Chinese scholarship on Dream of the Red Chamber (Honglou meng) that you can dismiss those parts of a novel you don't like as "a later addition," so he only translated the first thirty chapters on Judge Dee's activities as a county magistrate during which time Judge Dee solves three mysterious crimes, and ignored the later thirty four chapters that deal with the four great weird cases at the court of Wu Zetian, when Judge Dee manipulates the law to engineer the abdication of Empress Wu and ensure the restoration of the Tang. It is probably a very good thing that Van Gulik only became an author of detective fiction relatively late in his life, because for his own novels he could by then draw on his intimate knowledge of Chinese culture and his own extensive research, on the large body of Chinese crime fiction and on scholarship from East and West. His own illustrations greatly enhanced the attraction of his works.

It is safe to say that without Van Gulik Judge Dee would not have become a household word in contemporary China. His novels have been adapted for the silver screen and for television (my students quote phrases from the series to me), and the cases Judge Dee has solved continue to grow in number as other writers, Chinese and foreign, continue to add cases to workload of our detective bureaucrat, who in his spare moments also has to keep his wives and concubines satisfied. I am quite sure he will keep us satisfied today.

Despite having written a book about Robert van Gulik's Judge Dee⁴, I nevertheless feel the need to confess my lack of qualifications for presenting at this conference. It is true that I am an academician, researcher and writer. However, my area of expertise is medicine, my specialization is neurodevelopmental disabilities in pediatrics, and my research interests are in neuromotor problems and autism in children. When it comes to the most honorable Judge Dee, I remain an unrepentant amateur. As the proverbial 'gentle reader', I have always been fascinated with Robert van Gulik's Judge Dee novels, and only undertook to pen a volume about them because no one else seemed to have taken the trouble to have done so. Perhaps such a book might help introduce a new generation of readers to discover their quiet sublimity. The volume was never expected to be of interest or of service to literary scholars, Sinologists, or students of van Gulik's complex biography and diversified achievements. In making an attempt to summarize the Dee Canon, I unfortunately adhered to Chesterton's dictum – the emblazoned motto of every amateur – "if a thing is worth doing, it is worth doing badly."⁵

It continues to amaze how very often, in a kind of reverse evolution, the very first attempt at something new can turn out to be superior to all later attempts.⁶ Later versions are not advances on this earliest attempt but rather represent a weakening or dilution of its pristine strength. For all practical purposes, Dee is the first historical detective⁷ – a fictional detective set in an earlier historical period and based on a real person. On the one hand, some historical detective fiction writers show little detailed knowledge of the period about which they are writing but rely simply on Hollywood images of that past accompanied by name-dropping or the involvement of actual historical figures and events to lend verisimilitude and supply the lack of depth. On the other hand, some historical detection authors have come to the task only after completing graduate studies in the history of the period about which they are writing. Van Gulik seems to have gone quite beyond even that level: he not only understood the period detail of ancient China as a scholar, but actually seems to have lived it. During his career he visited and often stayed in parts of Asia that were at the time relatively unchanged in many of the routines of daily life from those of Tang China. His local color has a lived-in feeling that is lacking in most such writing.⁸ Like Dee he has a personal sympathy with all levels of society; he is not a mandarin traveling undisturbed and untouched through an alien landscape.

³ With apologies to Sue Grafton's *D Is for Deadbeat*.

⁴ P.J. Accardo, *China's Sherlock Holmes: The Life and Times of Robert van Gulik's Judge Dee* (Eugenia, Ontario: The Battered Silicon Dispatch Box, 2011).

⁵ G.K. Chesterton, *What's Wrong with the World, Collected Works* (San Francisco, California: Ignatius Press, 1987 [1910]), IV: 199.

⁶ For example, Dante introduced the Italian vernacular language into world literature, and it is doubtful if any later Italian writer has surpassed him in its usage.

⁷ Accardo, *China's Sherlock Holmes*, p. 10.

⁸ In the 'Introduction' prefaced to each of the University of Chicago's reprints of selected Dee novels, Donald F. Lach comments on van Gulik's successful recapturing of the living culture of Imperial China.

Many of Dee's responsibilities as a district magistrate involve boring clerical detail work; he takes even these responsibilities quite seriously.⁹ Against this background the challenge of an intellectual puzzle like a murder offers an almost pleasant relief from the boredom inherent in such bureaucratic routines. Most magistrates considered the administration of justice to be merely another component (and not the most interesting or important one) in their job description – a tedious if not annoying necessity. They preferred to rely on the information that their lieutenants and retainers presented to them and to give greater weight to whatever testimony was delivered by the more respectable upper class citizens. This would serve, of course, to continually reinforce the presumption that criminality was associated with heredity, poverty and lack of education. Fourteen centuries later geneticists, sociobiologists and penologists would persist in reaffirming the same unscientific self-fulfilling prophecy.

Dee, on the other hand, was influenced to pursue the career path of a district magistrate precisely because it did involve the practice of criminal detection. As a young scholar he had been fascinated by the case records of Governor Yoo.¹⁰ In addition he evidenced an early interest in medicine and the effects of poisons.¹¹ Since the only perfect crime is one which the authorities do not really know occurred,¹² being able to identify the cause of death in suspicious cases would eventually become a major factor in police work. While it was published in the thirteenth century (in the Southern Sung), the Hsi yuan li of Sung Tz'u¹³ probably reflected the accumulated wisdom of centuries of Chinese coroners, many of whose protocols and examination techniques were already present in the Tang dynasty and available to Judge Dee.¹⁴ Thus, while most magistrates entered upon the administration of justice in their districts with little more than the Confucian Classics under their belt, Dee started out with a minor in forensics.

Detective literature has gone through at least four phases. It was born with the Great Eccentrics: the decadent Dupin, the bohemian Holmes, the misogynist Wolfe, the obese Fell¹⁵, and the egotistical Wimsey. Their eccentricities were an attempt to humanize their 'thinking

⁹ See "The Red Tape Murder" in *Judge Dee at Work* (1967).

¹⁰ See *The Chinese Maze Murders* (1957).

¹¹ It is hard to imagine a more medically-descended detective than Sherlock Holmes who was modeled after a famous physician diagnostician (Dr. Joseph Bell), authored by a mediocre physician (Dr. Arthur Conan Doyle), partnered with a semi-retired, disability-pensioned physician amanuensis (Dr. John H. Watson), and who had an academic record that included anatomy and other classes in the medical school (*A Study in Scarlet*). Pasquale J. Accardo, *Diagnosis and Detection: The Medical Iconography of Sherlock Holmes* (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1987).

¹² E.g., Keigo Higashino, *The Devotion of Suspect X*, translated by Alexander O. Smith (New York: Minotaur Books, 2012).

¹³ Brian E. McKnight (translator) *The Washing Away of Wrongs by Sung Tz'u* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1981).

¹⁴ If some of the manual's procedures seem a bit superstitious, recall that in the United States it was not until the latter half of the last century that coroners were required to have any formal training or forensic expertise. This certainly contributed to a much higher rate of 'perfect crimes'.

¹⁵ Pasquale J. Accardo, P.J. "The Great Detectives: John Dickson Carr's Dr. Gideon Fell", *The Strand Magazine* (Issue IX, 2002), pp. 60-62. Fell's physical appearance and mannerisms were based on those not of another detective but of another mystery writer, Carr's hero – G.K. Chesterton.

machine' approach to solving crimes and to make the narratives more accessible and interesting to the general reader. A short story can afford to narrowly focus on a logic problem, but a novel needs character development. Such character development with regard to the suspects (including the criminal) must be severely curtailed in a murder mystery; the reader can never get very far inside the heads of the suspects without obtaining information unavailable to the detective. Detective novels are stories of surfaces; the only mind which the reader can safely probe is that of the detective – or the detective's sidekick – who must demonstrate his awareness and interpretation of every relevant clue without ever allowing the reader to anticipate the successful solution to the puzzle.

These eccentricities eventually gave place to more definite defects. The Defective Detectives exhibited specific impairments or physical deformities, such as blindness, deafness, amnesia, glaucoma, dwarfism, hemophilia, insomnia, amputation, paralytic polio, and wheelchair dependence. Their courageous adaptation to their impairment heightened their other abilities in the same way that a blind person can develop more acute hearing – and this in turn would enable them to notice clues invisible to others and thus solve otherwise impenetrable mysteries. These Defective Detectives were deformed on the outside but noble and heroic on the inside. Meanwhile, the villains they opposed exhibited a beautiful exterior that cloaked a dark and deformed personality. Moral: Don't judge a book by its cover.¹⁶

It may seem odd to consider G.K. Chesterton's Father Brown¹⁷ as a Defective Detective rather than just a clerical detective.¹⁸ The very costume that instantly identified Father Brown as a Roman Catholic priest also allowed him immediately to be classified as defective: ignorant, uneducated, superstitious, indeed, probably Irish – in such a way that people would then be totally astonished when his demonstrated skill in solving crimes completely destroyed every one of their biased presuppositions. Appearances can be deceiving, and in Father Brown's case may actually have provided him with an edge, not dissimilar to that possessed by all the other Defective Detectives.

One could go just so far with these extreme defects, so the Flawed Detective was born. Many of these are also known as hard-boiled detectives since they were always ready to use their fists to make a point or get a question answered.¹⁹ Despite their 'flaws' the Flawed

¹⁶ Gary Hoppenstand and Ray B. Browne (editors) *The Defective in the Pulps* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1983), Gary Hoppenstand, Garyn G. Roberts, and Ray B. Browne (editors) *More Tales of the Defective in the Pulps* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1985). This attitude toward deformity and difference was actually pioneering for its time even though it is rarely mentioned in histories of disability.

¹⁷ Pasquale J. Accardo, John Peterson, and Geir Hasnes (editors) *Sherlock Holmes Meets Father Brown and His Creator* (Shelburne, Ontario: The Battered Silicon Dispatch Box, 2000).

¹⁸ William David Spencer, *Mysterium and Mystery: The Clerical Crime Novel* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992).

¹⁹ Dee could resort to force and use (the threat of) torture to elicit a confession, but he performed such torture within a carefully regulated judicial structure that exposed him to the risk of severe retribution if a confession were not forthcoming.

Detective was an essentially good person - in the all too loose manner in which the term 'good' is used today²⁰. The 'flaws' involved are generally considered as weaknesses but not damnable ones. Alcoholism, nicotinism, divorce, sexual promiscuity, occasional recreational drug use, lying, flexible cash accounting – all the minor foibles that modern man would be surprised for an antihero to eschew. To do so would be to claim a moral superiority over the reader much to the latter's discomfort. The best description of the Flawed Detective comes from the creator of Philip Marlowe:

But down these mean streets a man must go who is not himself mean, who is neither tarnished nor afraid. The detective in this kind of story must be such a man. He is the hero, he is everything. He must be a complete man and a common man and yet an unusual man. He must be, to use a rather weathered phrase, a man of honor, by instinct, by inevitability, without thought of it, and certainly without saying it. He must be the best man in his world and a good enough man for any world. I do not care much about his private life; he is neither a eunuch nor a satyr; I think he might seduce a duchess and I am not quite sure he would not spoil a virgin; if he is a man of honor in one thing, he is that in all things. He is a relatively poor man, or he would not be a detective at all. He is a common man or he could not go among common people. He has a sense of character, or he would not know his job. He will take no man's money dishonestly and no man's insolence without a due and dispassionate revenge. He is a lonely man and his pride is that you will treat him as a proud man or be very sorry you ever saw him. He talks as the man of his age talks, that is, with rude wit, a lively sense of the grotesque, a disgust for sham, and a contempt for pettiness. The story is his adventure in search of a hidden truth, and it would be no adventure if it did not happen to a man fit for adventure. He has a range of awareness that startles you, but it belongs to him by right, because it belongs to the world he lives in.²¹

Narratives of these Flawed Detectives (along with the classical Great Eccentrics) eventually reached such popularity, while some were accompanied by such an excellent prose style, that professors of literature unfortunately were forced to notice them.²²

The Post-Modernist Detective was suggested by Borges, perfected by Eco, and continued by Martinez²³ and others. While most people have the good sense to forget what little philosophy they learned in college, some, unfortunately, do not.²⁴ Using the kind of

²⁰ And certainly not the biblical "None is Good but God alone" Matt. 19: 17; Mark 10: 18; Luke 18: 19.

²¹ Raymond Chandler, "The Simple Art of Murder", *Later Novels and Other Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1995 [1944]), pp. 991-992. It is interesting to note how some of these characteristics apply to Judge Dee while others are culturally inappropriate.

²² In the same way that G.K. Chesterton had been the first to champion Charles Dickens as a serious writer worthy of study, he was also the first to defend the literary value of the modern invention of the detective story. John Peterson (editor) *G.K. Chesterton on Detective Fiction* (Eugenia, Ontario: The Battered Silicon Dispatch Box, 2010).

²³ E.g., Jorge Luis Borges, *Ficciones*, translated by Anthony Bonner (New York: Grove Press, 1994); Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose* translated by William Weaver (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1983); Guillermo Martinez, *The Oxford Murders*, translated by Sonia Soto (New York: Penguin Books, 2006).

²⁴ E.g., Philip Kerr, *A Philosophical Investigation* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1992).

sophisticated) language games that sometimes pass for thinking, they deconstruct words and crimes, criminals and detectives until there is nothing left. Everything is simply a series of coincidences which people's primitive brains weave into an artificial web of causality that remains a delusion.²⁵ The uneducated lay mind can never escape from the crude concepts of revenge (such as in Hamlet), repayment, and retribution. Logic, reason, and science all genuflect to the obiter dicta of Freud-addled college professors who consider crime and punishment to be social constructs that can be parsed away.²⁶ Their publications are popular among peers and critics but not usually with readers.

Eco's Sherlock Holmes clone, William of Baskerville, was an elaborate hoax: through most of the book he brilliantly applied reason and deduction to a series of crimes that turned out to be mostly accidents. Eco argued that it was William's misguided application of reason that manufactured a causal pattern that was merely the product of chance. In fact, the pattern was not the product of chance but of a meticulously constructed authorial illusion – with absolutely nothing left to chance. That the dénouement reflecting the author's main message broached farce was lost in a bravura literary performance – a depiction of the sane medieval world-view that Eco intended to deconstruct. His readers had actually been enthralled by the author's recreation of the detailed order and multilayered hierarchy of William's monastic society.

Dee obviously does not belong to any of these four categories: he is neither Eccentric nor Defective, neither Flawed nor Post-Modernist. Indeed he would seem to be in a class by himself: the detective who is a whole man. He is a junzi – a person of high moral authority, educated and benevolent. His preparation for being a mandarin required the study of history, poetry, music, and Confucian philosophy. That is why he is certainly the only detective in the history of the genre to routinely explore the library of a victim or a suspect to ascertain that person's character and motivation.²⁷ Dee belongs – almost perfectly – to a specific society with a comprehensive and self-contained vision of its own perfection. The Confucian portrait of man is not dissimilar to that proposed by Aristotle: "Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of Nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. Anyone who by nature or accident is without a state, must be either a beast or a god."²⁸

Dee performed his duties with an inner peace that was reinforced by his harmonious family life. Few unflawed modern detectives come anywhere near close to this: Georges Simenon's Commissaire Jules Maigret works in a Paris darkly populated by unimaginable evil; Donna Leon's Commissario Guido Brunetti plies his trade in an almost impossibly corrupt

²⁵ John T. Irwin, *The Mystery in a Solution: Poe, Borges, and the Analytic Detective Story* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

²⁶ Stephen Kern, *A Cultural History of Causality* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).

²⁷ Accardo, *China's Sherlock Holmes*, pp. 112-113.

²⁸ Modified translation from Jonathan Barnes (editor) *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, two volumes (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984) II: 1987-1988; *Politic, I: 2* (1253a).

Venice. While they have supportive families, the larger society in which they solve crimes cannot offer any philosophic perspective from which justice can be understood. On an emotional basis the reader may agree with the decisions and actions of these sleuths but would be hard put to formulate any of the ethical generalizations that govern their worlds. The larger society does not even recognize its lack of a genuine public philosophy.

Most murder mysteries have if not a locked room at least a closed list of involved persons who have been presented to the reader early enough to allow them to be considered suspect. The reader/detective's index of suspicion only can be increased by a record or history of other immoral or criminal behaviors. When the true murderer is eventually identified, most of these characters are exonerated. In a police procedural, those incidentally found guilty of other crimes will need to be arrested and punished; the crime-solver acting in a private or consulting capacity may choose to neglect any non-capital offences. If one applies Chesterton's favorite thought process by standing on one's head, it will be found that the detective's correct solution to the crime actually succeeds in finding a long list of suspects to be innocent.

For all his reputation as a crime solver, Judge Dee historically had an even greater reputation as someone who released many innocent persons from prison.²⁹ He reviewed and reconsidered many cases, overturned many guilty verdicts and wound up setting free many more persons than he ever imprisoned. If we view the Chinese Empire as an autocratic institution as opposed to Western democracies, and remember the latter's preference that any number of guilty parties should be set free rather than risk a single innocent person be punished, Dee appears to be acting very much in accord with modern taste. Dee's greater concern with the innocent does not stop there. As a magistrate charged with more than crime-solving responsibilities, he often acts to assist those suspects who were caught up in the maelstrom of violent crime. The law he represented already allowed the estate of a convicted criminal to be used to compensate a victim's family.

In Confucian society, justice was not simply retribution and punishment. It involved repairing the social fabric that had been torn by the crime. Modern societies call upon psychotherapists of various ilks to address grief, emotional trauma, and post traumatic stress in an attempt to heal the affected individuals with little or no thought to the body politic. Even Dee often had to settle with an approximation³⁰, an offering of incense at the City Temple along with a prayer that this might be enough.³¹ Dee is the Philosophical Detective but not with any of the sorry modern isms that currently pass for philosophy. Confucianism is a common sense philosophy not that dissimilar to the philosophy of Aristotle. Dorothy Sayers noted that the

²⁹ *Dee Goong An* (1948).

³⁰ In the case of murder, complete restoration would, of course, be impossible. Even the execution of the murderer would not return the victim to life.

³¹ The closest modern equivalent might be for Don Matteo to pray for healing and forgiveness at a Mass after a crime was solved. (RAI Television)

classic detective novel meets the aesthetic criteria of Aristotle's Poetics better than any other modern writing genre, and felt that much of its popularity related to its ethics: "Of all forms of modern detective fiction, the detective story alone makes virtue ex hypothesi more interesting than vice, the detective more beloved than the criminal."³² This has a Confucian ring to it.

Yu Tan³³ tells the story of a man who encountered several workers carrying bricks. He asked the first man what he was doing and received the response, 'Carrying bricks'. To the same query a second man replied, 'Erecting a wall'. When he quizzed a third worker, the response was, 'Building a cathedral'. The modern CSI technician carries bricks, while the more old-fashioned detective would erect walls. The Philosophical Detective, the detective with a philosophy as broad as the world it claims to understand, builds towering cathedrals that softly sing the praise of the entire creation; he carefully notes small but significant disharmonies and works to remedy them. Dee is such a Philosophical Detective, and he may be the only one.³⁴

³² Dorothy L. Sayers, "Aristotelian Detective Fiction", in *Unpopular Opinions* (London: Victor Gollanz Ltd., 1946), pp. 178-190. She might have added that classic detective fiction also fulfills the criteria found in Aristotle's works on ethics, logic and rhetoric. Barnes, *The Complete Aristotle*, I: 3-314; II: 1,729-2,129, 2,152-2,340.

³³ Yu Tan, *Confucius From the Heart: Ancient Wisdom for Today's World*, translated by Esther Tyldesley (New York: Atria Books, 2006), p. 136.

³⁴ Father Brown always relies on his Thomas Aquinas, but this philosophy is referred to indirectly and can only be expressed minimally in the series of Chesterton's short stories. Had there been a Father Brown novel, the application of Aquinas to the broken modern world might have been developed further. Chesterton, however, was critically opposed to mystery novels: he considered the short story to be the perfect form for the detective story. John Peterson, Pasquale J. Accardo, and George A. Vanderburgh. (editors) *The Complete Annotated Father Brown*, two volumes (Shelburne, Ontario: The Battered Silicon Dispatch Box, 2003).

JAMES CAHILL - ROBERT VAN GULIK AND HIS "EROTIC COLOUR PRINTS OF THE MING PERIOD"

Video-lecture to be played at symposium on van Gulik at Shanghai Normal University, April 20th, 2013: The Dutch Mandarin: Robert van Gulik and Chinese Culture

Greetings to all of you who have assembled in Shanghai to celebrate and study the life and works of that extraordinary scholar, author, and artist, Robert H. van Gulik. I'm sorry I can't be with you--I'm too old and infirm to travel--but I will be with you in spirit, as another admirer of van Gulik and his many achievements, and one who has published several articles on him and reviews of his works. I participated in two previous symposia on van Gulik, one in Beijing around 1988 and another in Taipei in 1909. I look forward to learning about the other papers to be presented at your symposium, and to reading some of them.

- VG001, photo of vG

Here, to begin with, is a photo of vG in his study--I'm sure it's familiar to many of you. My own contribution to this symposium will be limited to a single part of his broad span of achievements: his collecting and publication of Chinese erotic prints, and--as I shall attempt to show--his production of some of them himself-- imitations of them that is, one could even call them forgeries, because he pretended that they were based on real Ming prints when in truth they were not. Whether he should be admired or criticized for this is not a question I want to raise--the simple fact is that throughout his career his scholarship was mixed with a playful kind of forgery, in which he fabricated writings and pictures and passed them off as works of the Chinese past, when they were really his own creations. One of his early Judge Dee novels was in fact presented first as a translation from an old Chinese text.

- 2 JPG vG as Dutch ambassador

This photo shows vG in his full regalia as a Dutch ambassador. I never met him, although I could have, since he lived until 1962, when I was in my thirties. He served in the Dutch embassies both in Tokyo and in Washington D.C., both places where I myself lived, or often went. And I published a very favorable review of his 1960 book "Chinese Painting As Viewed By the Connoisseur," a review that I hope he read. I could have gone to the Dutch Embassy in either place and presented myself as one of his admirers and talked with him. But I didn't, and I've regretted that failure ever since. This was truly a man of many gifts, and many sides, and I could have learned a lot from talking with him.

- Brill_cover, Brill_title page

I also had the honor of contributing an introductory essay to the 2004 reprint of van Gulik's *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period, with an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch'ing Dynasty, B.C. 206 – A.D. 1644*. This was the famous or notorious book that he had privately published in Tokyo in 1951. The rare copies of the original, of which only fifty had been printed for worldwide distribution, were scarcely to be seen--many copies, and the prints from them, were stolen from the rare book rooms of libraries. But unauthorized reprints produced in Hong Kong and Taiwan were easily available, and for many years I used one of these "pirated" copies, printed in Taipei in 1993. And then in 2004 an authorized reprint was published by E. J. Brill in Leiden. Besides the introduction by myself, it contains "A Bibliographical Note on van Gulik's Albums of Erotic Colour Prints" by the bibliographer J. Sören Edgren.

- vG 008, woodblocks; then vG 010, 009, 1022, and 0125, as I talk

The third volume of van Gulik's work was devoted to reproducing a book titled *Huaying jinjen*, ("Variegated Postures of the Flowery Camp"), printed from blocks that van Gulik had purchased in 1949 from a Kyoto bookseller; he believed these to be genuine late Ming blocks, but Edgren believes they were blocks recut in Japan. As I said, only fifty copies of van Gulik's work were printed, and these were sent as gifts to selected libraries and museums worldwide. (A list of those recipients outside the Far East is Appendix II to vG's *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, a book that had been published in 1961 by E. J. Brill in Leiden.) So, for some fifty-seven years this was the only complete set of Chinese erotic prints that was available to scholars and others. The single known collection of Chinese printed erotic picture-books, owned by the Japanese scholar-collector Kiyoshi Shibui (1899-1993), was feared lost after Shibui's death. But early in 2008, the Shibui materials reappeared—they had been purchased from his son by a U.S. dealer in Japanese art—and the Chinese books among them were acquired by

= Photo of Christer von der Burg (crop off person at left), and beside him, cover of Orientations for April 2009

the Muban Foundation in London, a foundation devoted to collecting and supporting research on Chinese woodblock-printed materials, especially pictorial materials. This is a photo of the founder and owner of the Muban Foundation, Christer von der Burg. The Shibui group of Chinese erotic prints that he purchased is made up of nine Chinese items and a Japanese copy of one of them; they preserve five different erotic series. A special issue of *Orientations* magazine, the issue for November, 2007, was devoted to this important discovery, with articles by Christer, Soren, and several others including myself. Christer and Soren are planning to publish a whole book on the collection.

- 5, then 6: pages from vG's "Erotic Colour Prints."

Now I return to consider further vG's Erotic Colour Prints, the book he privately published in 1951. The text is written out completely by hand, both the English and the Chinese. vG was famous for, among other things, being an accomplished Chinese calligrapher. He copies out Chinese texts and adds scholarly notes on them; he supplies the names of collectors who, he says, own copies of them. And he writes as though he had free access to the collection of Kiyoshi Shibui, and was selecting prints from it to reproduce. In fact, when I spent some time tracking down the sources of vG's illustrations, I found something remarkable: not a single one of them is really reproduced from an original print owned by Shibui; all of them are re-printed from reproductions that Shibui had included with his own writings, which had appeared in small and obscure places, such as a journal at Waseda University where he taught. vG, in other words, had tracked down these reproductions, copied or re-drawn them, and re-published them in his book. This is of course very much worth doing, but it falls far short of his claim to be reproducing Shibui's prints first-hand from his collection.

- vG 005, then Brill page 1 beside it

vG must have worked with a woodcutter and printer in Tokyo, doing new versions of a few of the prints based on the Shibui reproductions. He makes some of the prints much more colorful than the originals were. The problem that this raises for scholarship is that people who accept these re-worked versions as the original prints will draw wrong conclusions about how the late Ming designers and printers used color, and so forth. This is why I went to some trouble to track down the original reproductions and reproduce them again.

- Brill Pl. XIII, then Brill Pl. XIV

This still does not exhaust the ingenuity and creativity that vG lavished on this book. He also made up "late Ming" prints with no originals at all, completely as his own creations. Here is one of them. If one recognizes his drawing style, as I came to do while I was working on him, it becomes clear that both the figures and their setting are not in a late Ming style at all, but belong to the style of van Gulik himself, as we can see it in his illustrations for his Judge Dee novels, or in this cover from one of them. His drawing of the bearded man, and of the woman he is having sex with, as well as the maid, match up closely with the similar figures in his "Judge Dee" illustrations.

- 9.jpg beside 14.jpg

The Dutch scholar Wilt Idema, in the introductory pages of his essay accompanying the Brill reprint, writes about van Gulik's heavy engagement in sensual pleasures, and about how his "carnal passions" had a lot to do with his choices of scholarly directions of research. All readers of his Judge Dee novels know how frequently unclad women appear both in the texts

and in the illustrations for them, which were drawn by van Gulik himself. Van Gulik even suggested that his desire to find Chinese models for the female nudes in these illustrations was the original motivation for his undertaking his studies of Chinese pictorial erotica. His publisher wanted a cover with a female nude on it; van Gulik objected that there was no tradition of drawing these in China; he wrote letters to "a few dozen antiquarian booksellers in China and Japan asking whether they had any relevant materials," and one of them had for sale the woodblocks that he purchased. And all the rest, as he relates it, followed from that.

- Chicago Woman, Bertholet Beauty Preparing to Bathe

Let me just point out here, as a matter of interest, that paintings of nude women were indeed done in China; here are two of them that will be shown in an exhibition of meiren or beautiful-women paintings that will be shown at our Berkeley Art Museum later this year. But I don't want to digress onto that subject; back to vG.

- Brill Pl. XIV, "Sipping the Nectar"

Here is another of the prints that appear in vG's book as works of the late Ming that are really his original creations. To account for these, vG made up an imaginary "Collector X" in Shanghai who had sent him tracings of erotic prints he owned, and vG had expanded these into finished-looking prints. But this "Collector X" was another of vG's inventions; the prints are entirely his own work.

- Brill Pl. XX, XVII, XX , one after the other as I talk

Here are three more prints published in vG's book, which he identifies as from an album titled Jiangnan Xia, "Summer in the Yangzi Delta," another that is supposed to have been owned by "Collector X" in Shanghai. As I said before, it is important to identify these as fabrications by vG with no Chinese originals behind them. If you ask why it's important, I can only point out again that if we accept them as Chinese, we are led to attribute certain sexual practices to the Chinese which they may never have practiced. I remember listening to a lecture on sex in China by a learned Chinese scholar, and being forced to point out, after the lecture, that a few of the illustrations he had used with his lecture were in fact by vG, and had no Chinese originals behind them. He was very upset to learn this, and challenged my judgment, which is based only on visual evidence--that is, I was reading the images as entirely in vG's style, with the figures and their settings and compositions unlike any genuine Chinese designs. But I believe firmly that visual evidence, when done with the analytic eye of a trained art historian, is just as valuable and reliable as literary or written evidence--both can be forged, and both must be used with suitable caution.

- 8.jpg, mystic diagram

But I want to end my talk by calling attention to a more serious charge that I believe can be brought against van Gulik, that of misdirecting foreign writers on Chinese pictorial erotica over the nearly six decades since his *Erotic Colour Prints* was published. He did this by juxtaposing Chinese sex manuals, mostly pre-Ming and heavily dependent on Daoist and Tantric Buddhist doctrines, with the late Ming erotic books, and implying a close link between them, with the books somehow explaining the pictures, or supplying their iconography. In the preface to *Erotic Colour Prints* he writes, for instance, about “the handbooks of sex and the erotic albums inspired by them.” Most would-be serious foreign writings on Chinese pictorial erotica have accepted this association of sex manuals and erotic paintings and prints, and written learnedly about this supposed relationship. I myself, by contrast, in some twenty years of research on Chinese pictorial erotica, have never found any support for this foreign belief about the paintings and prints in any Chinese writings, or in any writing associated with the pictures themselves. I am inclined to believe that van Gulik, who was himself erudite in esoteric Buddhist and Daoist studies, chose this way of giving a scholarly underpinning to his obsession with the erotic pictures, to mask his real, deeper impulses.

- VG016, photo of vG in his study, Tokyo, 1948.

None of this detracts seriously, in my view, from van Gulik’s immense scholarly accomplishments; it only makes us view some of them in a different light, and allow for some degree of scholarly deception in a few of them. It demonstrates that besides being a brilliant and productive scholar, he was sometimes an old trickster, taking pleasure in fooling the scholarly world. It warns us to look carefully at his productions, both scholarly and pictorial, and try to distinguish the genuine products of research from the playful creations of his own. It warns us that even the greatest scholars have private lives, and that those can affect their scholarly productions. I trust that in the future someone will do the same for me and my far lesser achievements; and I, watching from the afterlife, will not be offended.

One of the most influential sinologists in the 20th century, Robert van Gulik contributes tremendously to the understanding of Chinese culture in the West. It is time now to re-explore his sinological legacy among scholars in the global community of Chinese studies. This paper serves as an introduction to my research project on Robert van Gulik, whose participants include Craig Clunas from Oxford, Lothar Ledderose from Heidelberg, Dorothy Ko from Columbia, Shen Tung from National Taiwan University, Li Ling from Peking University and myself from National Tsing Hua University

陳珏

為紀念高羅佩誕辰一百周年，臺灣清華大學“高羅佩與物質文化研究”增能計畫，在 2009 年和 2010 年兩年，規劃一系列“高羅佩與物質文化研究”國際系列論壇。筆者的高羅佩研究即始之於此。

第一次論壇是“《秘戲圖考》在五十年之後”國際圓桌會議，靈感來自法國大仲馬名著《三劍客》（Les trios mousquetaires）的續篇《二十年之後》（Vingt ans après）。《秘戲圖考》限印版在 1951 年問世後，藏之“名山”（世界各大圖書館），鮮為人睹，半個世紀來，春宮圖與性文化研究，卻隨著時間的流轉，已經從學術的邊陲逐漸地向中心移動。不久前，日本澀井清氏所藏明刻本春宮圖，在五十年之後忽然重新出現，引起國際學術界的波瀾。由加州大學柏克萊分校藝術史榮譽教授高居翰（James Cahill）和普林斯頓大學東方圖書館善本計畫總編輯艾思仁（Sren Edgren）等推動，香港 Orientations（藝術史領域的國際名刊）於 2009 年 4 月出版專號，重評明朝的春宮圖，轟動一時，把該領域的始作俑者高羅佩及其《秘戲圖考》，重新推到學術研究的前臺。在此背景下召開的本次國際圓桌會議，因而帶有學術史的意義，與會者聽眾包括美國布朗大學東亞系教授李德瑞（Dore Levy）、科羅拉多大學東亞語文學系副教授祈泰履（Terry Kleeman）、臺灣東海大學歷史系助理教授許慧琦等。以《秘戲圖考》作軸心，為高羅佩與物質文化研究的課題拓展，開出了一片新天地。

第二次論壇以“高羅佩與文化史”為中心，邀請到多位重量級學者，討論高羅佩四部少為中文世界學術界所知之重要專書《米海岳硯史考》、《琴道》、《書畫鑒賞彙編》與《長臂猿考》，探索高羅佩在二十世紀歐美漢學典範轉移中的特殊地位，將視野拓展至文化史全景。論壇先由筆者作“學界奇才高羅佩之漢學家身份考”的整體論述，然後美國斯沃斯莫爾學院（Swarthmore College）講座教授柏士隱（Alan Berkowitz）主講“古琴之文化圖像學”，臺灣大學國際長兼音樂學研究所教授沈冬講評；瑞士蘇黎世大學長臂猿研究中心主任葛思曼（Thomas Geissmann）主

講“高羅佩與古往今來中國畫中之長臂猿”，臺灣大學藝術史研究所所長陳葆真講評；美國哥倫比亞大學歷史系教授高彥頤（Dorothy Ko）主講“高羅佩、米芾與藝術鑒藏”，臺灣明代研究學會理事長王鴻泰教授講評。

論壇上，高羅佩的這四部少為今人所注意的漢學名著，經過各位主講人與講評人令人耳目一新的發言，引起聽眾極大的討論興趣，激發現場的互動。學術界有近百人參加，包括臺灣大學中國文學系教授兼系主任鄭毓瑜等資深人士，也包括一批近年展露頭角、開始漸有國際影響的年輕助理教授如臺灣大學中國文學系林永勝、歷史系衣若蘭，臺灣師範大學漢學研究所鄭怡庭，中央大學中國文學系呂文翠，東華大學歷史系蔣竹山，暨南國際大學華語文教學研究所齊婉先等，將高羅佩與物質文化研究推到了一個新的熱點。

在這兩次論壇的基礎上，臺北舉辦第三次國際論壇，定名為“收藏中國：高羅佩的遺產”，規模與深度都大大超過以往，將上升到全球化的背景高度，從“新漢學”的視野，討論高羅佩如何以畢生的精力，將春宮圖、古琴、悉曇、書畫、硯石乃至長臂猿等形形色色之“物質文化”，作為中國傳統文化的“標本”，收藏到他留下的那座由十來本專書組成的“紙上博物館”中，其中的每一本書，都可以視為這座博物館中辟出的一個專門的展室。歐洲引領中國藝術史研究潮流的兩大高手柯律格（Craig Clunas）與雷德侯（Lothar Ledderose），均提交論文。兩人一為英國學術院院士，一為該院通訊院士。前者居牛津，有漢學界的物質文化研究開創者之稱。後者居海德堡，乃“巴爾贊獎”（Balzan Prize，歐洲人文與自然科學大獎，獎金僅略次於諾貝爾獎）得主。雷德侯為論壇撰寫的論文極富新意，牽涉到二十世紀三位與中國書畫藝術有不解之緣的人：荷蘭高羅佩、日本松丸東魚與德國雷德侯本人。松丸東魚，在今天的學術界聽來，似乎是一個陌生的名字。回到上世紀的上半葉，這位大名鼎鼎的松丸長三郎，卻是中國文化人圈中耳熟能詳的日本篆刻之國手，曾與傅增湘、吳昌碩、羅振玉諸公為友，也是高羅佩的朋友。講評人有臺灣大學藝術史研究所所長陳葆真教授和中央研究員歷史語言研究所特聘研究員石守謙院士。

如今，筆者將上述演講中之精華，編為一集，由聯經出版社出版，本次演講，為該書序言一部分。

CHRISOPHER DALTON - R.H. VAN GULIK'S CHARACTERIZATION OF DI RENJIE IN THE JUDGE DEE NOVELS

Introduction

As Robert van Gulik frequently pointed out in the introductions and postscripts of his Judge Dee novels, "Judge Dee was a historical person."³⁵ He lived, van Gulik tells his readers, "from 630 to 700 A.D." and adds that, "in the earlier part of his career, when he was serving as a magistrate in the various county districts, he earned fame as a detector of crimes; and later, after he had been appointed at Court, he proved to be a brilliant statesman who greatly influenced the internal and foreign policies of the Tang Empire."³⁶ The fictitious character based on the historical personage Di Renjie 狄仁傑, however, came into existence much later. Representative of the "pure official" (qingguan 清官) who upheld justice before all else, Judge Dee, as an archetypal judge of the "court case" (gong an 公案) genre, was also a character that was transformed from one generation to another to accordingly entertain, intrigue, admonish, and inspire audiences through fiction, chantfable, and drama.

This essay attempts to explore the most successful of Judge Dee's many fictional incarnations, and to examine the motives of the author who brought him back to life for a world-wide reading audience in the modern period. While some aspects of this article may touch upon the specific character traits and roles of Judge Dee, of both his modern and pre-modern representations, it is not the goal of this short study to propose any serious literary history or critique of Judge Dee fiction. Instead, what follows is an intellectual history of sorts, wherein I pursue van Gulik's frame of mind as he contemplated the transition from academic to artistic where Judge Dee was concerned. Therefore, my argument traverses a partially obscured path to a tenuous conclusion; in other words, it is difficult to say with any measurable certainty what van Gulik might have been thinking as he turned his efforts to writing fiction. There are some clues that indicate his reasons for doing what he did, and some of those clues he gives us himself, while others are left for us to piece together. This being the case, I restrict my arguments, generally, to the following suppositions: 1) as a scholar, van Gulik was fascinated by the unusual, and treated the puzzles he encountered, especially of the past, as mysteries to be solved; 2) he was a highly imaginative individual and took pleasure in the literate elite culture of the pre-modern Chinese scholar-official class, whom he identified with intellectually; 3) he was inclined to convey his knowledge and understanding of the East to a Western audience—whether that came of being a scholar, a diplomat, or even just a citizen of the world, it was an indispensable motivation for further characterizations of Judge Dee.

Solving Scholarly Puzzles

It is clear from the selection of various topics van Gulik chose to research that he was a genuinely curious individual. There was little if any pretense to what we may call his scholarly

³⁵ R.H. van Gulik, *The Haunted Monastery* (New York: Scribner, 1969), 159.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

agenda. Indeed, his scholarly writing demonstrates a distinctly unassuming nature. His time was spent on topics of minor concern to the field at large. As opposed to seeking after poets or philosophers of great renown, he gravitated toward the relatively obscure. Instead of focusing his attentions on the political or philosophical, he concerned himself with the social and cultural. He was just as fond of perfecting the practice of scholarship as he was producing it. His eclectic taste and balanced tone were the result of a unique upbringing, a thorough education, and a demanding career.

During his childhood, his experiences growing up in Indonesia, where his father was a medical officer with the army of Netherlands, markedly influenced his interest in Asian peoples and cultures. As a child, he was intrigued by the foreign characters that appeared on signs and buildings, often attempting to replicate them for his own amusement.³⁷ We also know that during his studies in secondary school, he demonstrated an interest in advancing his understanding of Eastern scripts and languages, most notably Sanskrit and Chinese. This interest developed further in his undergraduate studies at the University of Leiden, as he concentrated on literary Chinese and pursued Japanese as well. His graduate studies at the University of Utrecht produced a unique dissertation on the symbolic and religious representations of the horse cult in Eastern cultures, which concentrated on the Indo-Aryan, Hindu, and Buddhist devotions to the god Hayagrīva.³⁸ Though he was inclined by the expectations of his father to take a position with the Dutch Foreign Service after receiving his doctorate in 1934, he continued to pursue scholarly research as time permitted. Among his earlier works were a translation of Mi Fu's treatise on inkstones (1938), a musicological essay on the Chinese lute (1940), and a historical examination of the Wei dynasty literatus, Xi Kang and his work concerning the Chinese lute (1941).³⁹

Van Gulik's diverse interests were seemingly also born of the peculiar orientations of academia during the early to mid-twentieth century, as well as the political circumstances that often informed scholarly perspectives. One of his American contemporaries, Donald Lach, who was intrigued by his varied selection of research topics, noted that van Gulik was "a product of the European sinological school...and shared that school's enthusiasm for comparative studies and exotic subjects."⁴⁰ He went on to observe that, "for this breed of scholars, the smallest and most esoteric topics became broadly meaningful through extraordinary linguistic, literary, and artistic analyses and perceptions of the investigator."⁴¹ In other words, while the pursuit of knowledge generally proposed in the West emphasized an objective approach to scholarly

³⁷ Janwillem van de Wetering, *Robert van Gulik: His Life His Work* (New York: Soho Press, 1987), 17-19.

³⁸ See R.H. van Gulik, *Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1935).

³⁹ See R.H. van Gulik, trans. *Mi Fu on Inkstones* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2006); R.H. van Gulik, *Lore of the Chinese Lute* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2011); R.H. van Gulik, *Hsi K'ang His Poetical Essay on the Lute* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1969).

⁴⁰ Donald F. Lach, "Introduction." In Robert van Gulik, *The Chinese Lake Murders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

research, van Gulik and others from the European school allowed themselves to become absorbed in the subjective experience of their research. In this manner, a lively and original brand of scholarship not only permitted a broad and interdisciplinary scope of research topics to emerge, but encouraged it to thrive. There were, however, certain challenges that constrained the progress of this exciting new style of scholarship. The various political and military conflicts in East Asia that precipitated the Second World War frustrated the scholarly work of many Western academics. The turmoil affected not only the logistical aspects of engaging in research, but proved to be a psychological burden as well. As van Gulik was evacuated from his post in Japan, he lost many of his personal effects, and even his treasured collection of books and antiques fell into temporary jeopardy. He experienced typical problems travelling, communicating, and turning up research materials.⁴² He, like many of his colleagues, must have been acutely aware of the tragedies that befell the people of China. Yet in his scholarly work, instead of reflecting the violence and chaos which threatened China, he rendered a vision of China's golden age, of a past devoted to the ideals of law and order.

As an avid collector of vintage books and antiques, van Gulik was fortunate. Before the war, when posted in Tokyo, he spent his spare time procuring old Chinese manuscripts.⁴³ Though it may seem odd, the ready availability of Chinese sources in Japan was quite logical. Before the growing Japanese enmity towards China of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during the course of the Edo period, many Japanese intellectuals looked to Chinese literature with great appreciation. Indeed, Japanese sinologists of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries collected not only works of great literary or historical significance from China, but often sought after pulp fiction that was sometimes looked down on by the Chinese literati. In some cases, the relative convenience of obtaining various Chinese titles in Japan compared to the difficulty of finding them in China can be easily understood, particularly when taking into account the centers of intellectual activity in Japan—Tokyo obviously maintaining a more robust status for the Japanese intelligentsia. China, on the other hand, with its expansive geography, sustained several influential intellectual communities, wherein the literati were often inclined to distinct literary sensibilities or trends. There was also the case that important titles and collectible manuscripts in China were in greater demand by Chinese scholars, who attempted to preserve and protect them. Additionally, van Gulik's wartime station in China was in Chongqing, far from the intellectual centers and printing presses of eastern China.

Because van Gulik's interest was so broad, he invested in a variety of materials during his first sojourn in Japan, and acquired by chance in 1940, an eighteenth-century print of the fictional novel, Wu Zetian sida qi'an 武則天四大奇案 ("The Four Great Mysterious Cases of the Wu Zetian Reign").⁴⁴ As the war intensified, he was evacuated from Japan and was reposted to China. It was here that he began to take an interest in this title and in the enterprise of

⁴² See Janwillem van de Wetering, *Robert van Gulik: His Life His Work* (New York: Soho Press, 1987), 110.

⁴³ See R.H. van Gulik, *The Chinese Nail Murders* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 225-227.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

translating it. By his own admission, “this translation (was) chiefly a product of the Pacific War years, 1941-1945, when constant travel on various war duties made other more complicated Sinological research impossible.”⁴⁵ By perusing the notes that he authored as a companion to this translation, it is evident that this work was not merely an idle passion. The fictional aspects of this detective novel, as van Gulik assumed, were based not only on a long tradition of literary court case fiction, but based also on historic court cases and the nature of judicial procedure in the later imperial period. As he researched the historic precedents of the cases that appeared in this novel, he discovered an extensively systematized and highly nuanced code of law.

The translation of this novel, to which he gave the title, “Celebrated Cases of Judge Dee” (or Dee Goong An), as he prepared it for publication in 1949, captivated him. Sometime after he published the translation he turned to a more serious consideration of the Chinese legal system, and obtained a few collectanea of historic court case rulings. Among these were notable titles such as the Xingan huilan 刑案匯覽 (“Conspectus of Penal Cases”), the Xingbu bizhao 刑部比照 (“Parallel Cases of the Penal Board”), the Zheyu gujian 折獄龜鑑 (“Magic Mirror for the Solving of Judicial Cases”), and the Yi yuji 疑獄集 (“Collection of Difficult Cases”). However, his attention fell to the title Tangyin bishi 棠陰比事, of which he proposed the translated title, “Parallel Cases from Under the Pear Tree.” His selection of this title as an object of study and as a prospect of translation over and above the others he collected is explained in thorough detail in his notes that accompany the translation that he published in 1956. His selection depended on a number of reasonable methodological assumptions, yet his decision to take up this particular title was ultimately derived in his fascination with the way it emphasized the role of the judge, or in his words, “the vivid and unvarnished picture of the routine duties of the county-magistrate, the kind of cases that were brought before his tribunal, and the manner in which he dealt with them.”⁴⁶ This casebook also illustrated, as van Gulik related, “how the law was enforced in the lower strata of the administration, and how legal theory worked out in practice for the common people.”⁴⁷

Despite the accomplishment of translating two exceptional pre-modern sources on the nature of law and order in imperial China, van Gulik still felt that these renderings were both too specialized and too foreign for the common Western reading audience. To some extent, he had revealed through his translations the scholarly enigma of imperial China’s justice system. He had demonstrated its cultural importance and historic significance. But, he perceived yet another challenge on this front. There was something more behind these traditions he had discovered. As he was preparing the translation of Dee Goong An for publication, he referenced

⁴⁵ R.H. van Gulik, trans. (*Wu Tse-t’ien ssu ta ch’i an. English. Selections.*) *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee (Literature of Mystery and Detection)*. (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 1949), Author’s Statement.

⁴⁶ R.H. van Gulik, trans. *T’ang-yin-pi-shih, Parallel Cases From Under the Pear Tree: A 13th Century Manual of Jurisprudence and Detection* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956), viii.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

the work of other scholars who studied Chinese court case literature. In one particular survey of the genre, published in 1943 by the essayist Vincent Starrett, the issue of the genre's decline among the Chinese and its lack of appeal with Westerners was a point of interest to van Gulik. the essay pointed to several reasons for the genre's decline, most of which were originally proposed by the chinese scholar lin yutang (1895-1976). lin was quite interested in this genre, as he was with the character of the pure official, who was represented by various judges or magistrates like di renjie or bao zheng (999-1062). in fact, lin himself would go on to author a fictional novel that was set in the time of wu zetian and partially featured di rejie.⁴⁸ the problem with the genre as lin viewed it, was that "the chinese love of the supernatural...invalidated the chinese mystery story and (made) the (modern) detective story (as we know it) impossible."⁴⁹ to put it more simply, as starrett concluded, "the stories cry for a master hand to do them justice."⁵⁰ indeed, starrett implored, "that what is needed is simply a man of genius to pave the way for a new dispensation. a really great detective novel by the right man might exorcise all the devils and ghosts and goblins of china."⁵¹ essentially, the genre, by these estimations, was in need of modernization, or rather a more western emphasis on the power of reason and deduction, similar to what one might read in a Sherlock Holmes or Hercule Poirot mystery. What Lin suggested and Starrett agreed upon was that the Chinese of the twentieth century, or for that matter, any reading audience of the twentieth century, could no longer be convinced of the cosmic or mystical power of justice. Instead, they perceived justice as a power that resided solely in the hands of humankind.

Van Gulik, in his notes to the translation of *Dee Goong An*, also considered the aforementioned task of bringing the genre up to date: "I think that it might be an interesting experiment if one of our modern writers of detective stories would try his hand at composing an ancient Chinese detective story himself."⁵² He, similar to Lin and Starrett, recognized the appeal of detective fiction in the modern period, but perhaps parted with their assumptions that it needed to be entirely purged of traditional beliefs and spiritualism. For an example of this style of adaptation, he looked to the most successful mystery writer of the modern period, who would ultimately become the most translated and most published novelist of all history—Agatha Christie. In his critical assessment of the proposition, he observed, "that it is possible to write a fine detective story, which at the same time is acceptable from a scholarly point of view, is proved by Agatha Christie's "Death Comes as the End," the scene of which novel is laid in ancient Egypt."⁵³ This passing thought in 1949 would give way to van Gulik's first authorial

⁴⁸ See Lin Yutang, *Lady Wu* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1957).

⁴⁹ Vincent Starrett, "Some Chinese Detective Stories." In *Bookman's Holiday: The Private Satisfactions of an Incurable Collector* (New York: Random House, 1942), 25-26.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² R.H. van Gulik, trans. (*Wu Tse-t'ien ssu ta ch'i an. English. Selections.*) *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee (Literature of Mystery and Detection)*. (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 1949), 231.

⁵³ Ibid. 232.

attempt of his own Judge Dee novel in 1950, which would serve as the manuscript for the Chinese Bell Murders that was published in English in 1958.⁵⁴

Reimagining Judge Dee for the East

Initially, van Gulik believed that the appeal for a new installment of Judge Dee stories would best suit the interest of a Japanese or Chinese reading audience, who were already familiar with the genre of court case fiction and the character Judge Dee.⁵⁵ This is why he did not pursue the novels' publication in English right away. Instead, he first looked to the Japanese publishing house, Kodansha, which picked up the Chinese Maze Murders for translation and publication almost immediately after its completion in 1950.⁵⁶ There was interest in the project from many others as well, both in the East and the West. Indeed, the Judge Dee novels appeared to be a quite popular venture from the very beginning. And ultimately, van Gulik's success in the genre is evidenced by 17 Judge Dee titles, which from 1949 to 2006 boasted a total of 757 printed runs in 38 countries and in 29 languages.⁵⁷ Contrary to the propositions of Lin and Starrett, the attraction of the genre in the modern age did not rely on "exorcising" obscure aspects of Chinese tradition. Nor did it entirely rest upon the exaltation of reason and deduction. Instead, the answer to revitalizing the genre depended on accentuating the characteristic traditions of Chinese culture.

Van Gulik's initial attempts of penning a Judge Dee novel were assisted by an assorted bibliography that he had pieced together while translating both Dee Goong An and the Parallel Cases. These sources, many from the Ming and Qing, were very popular in their own time, while some are still quite identifiable for those who maintain an interest in traditional Chinese literature or court case fiction. It should be of little or no surprise that he drew heavily from the sources most familiar to him, namely the Parallel Cases, and to a lesser degree, Dee Goong An. Yet, he derived many of his preliminary plots and personas from the following titles: Longtu gongan 龍圖公案 ("The Court Cases of Lord Bao"); Liaozhai zhiyi 聊齋志異 ("Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio"); Yushi mingyan 喻世明言 ("Stories to Enlighten the World"); Jingshi tongyan 警世通言 ("Stories to Caution the World"); Xingshi hengyan 醒世恒言 ("Stories to Awaken the World"); Jingu qiguan 今古奇觀 ("Wonders Old and New"); and Jiuming qiyan 九命奇冤 ("The Strange Feud of Nine Murders"). These texts represent a canon, in their own right, of fictional tales and anecdotes that often involve crimes and mysteries, not a few of which are solved by district magistrates or judges similar to Judge Dee. Various portions of these texts, in accordance with common practice, were either adopted by their authors from popular oral traditions or later reprised in pulp fiction. Whatever the case, this body of literature provided,

⁵⁴ See R.H. van Gulik, *The Chinese Bell Murders* (London: Michael Joseph, 1958).

⁵⁵ See R.H. van Gulik, *The Chinese Nail Murders* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 225-227.

⁵⁶ See Henry Wessells, "R.H. van Gulik: Diplomat, Orientalist, Novelist," *AB Bookman's Weekly*, 100, no. 9 (1997): 454-460.

⁵⁷ See Marco Huysmans, "JUDD: The Judge Dee International Database." Last modified 2006. Accessed March 10, 2013. <http://www.rechttert.nl/databases/judd/index.html>.

as van Gulik acknowledged, “the pattern,” after which one might model their own detective story or novel that was “peculiarly Chinese.”⁵⁸

In reimagining Judge Dee for a modern reading audience, van Gulik understood that the deficiency in the pre-modern court case fiction was not in the “pattern,” but in the character development. The suspension of disbelief on the part of the reading audience would allow for the mystical beliefs of a pre-modern setting, and even some of its more supernatural manifestations. What the reader would not wait upon patiently, however, was the one-note characters that lacked an identifiable context. Modern mystery and detective fiction relied on the complexity of its dramatis personae, or on the familiar yet idiosyncratic roles that characters performed in such stories. In this regard, van Gulik lamented:

“It is unfortunate, therefore, that the Chinese detective novel cannot afford to devote much space to detailed character sketches any more than ours. This is all the more to be regretted in the case of the present novel (Dee Goong An), since Judge Dee was a real person, one of the famous statesman of the Tang dynasty (618-907)...Chinese historical records give a detailed account of his brilliant official career. But such biographies are of a strictly factual character. They are silent upon Judge Dee’s private life.”⁵⁹

Many of the specifics that van Gulik hoped to see in the original court case fiction were implicit to sixteenth, seventeenth, or even eighteenth-century Chinese reading audiences, who were already familiar with the various scenes, contexts, and details that ornamented Judge Dee’s life and times. Though Di Renjie’s biographies in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (“Old Book of the Tang”) and the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (“New Book of the Tang”) are as van Gulik pointed out, “strictly factual,” over the centuries they lent to more embellished portrayals of the Judge Dee character.

One of the earlier elaborations of his character was derived from the *Jiu Tangshu*, where we find Di Renjie troubled by “an abundance of deviant temples” in the Jiangnan region, of which “he solicited the destruction of 1,700 of such kind.”⁶⁰ While he allowed certain temples devoted to more classical figures to remain standing, he could not tolerate the suggestion of inordinate superstition. This account contributes to his character’s distinctly Confucian attitude toward folk beliefs and religion—that while such spiritualism may have an important function in this world, it should not supersede the pressing social or political concerns of this life. A variation on this theme may be perceived in a later collection of apocryphal biographies and anecdotes, the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (“The Extensive Records of the Taiping Era”), in

⁵⁸ Ibid. 231.

⁵⁹ R.H. van Gulik, trans. (*Wu Tse-t’ien ssu ta ch’i an. English. Selections.*) *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee (Literature of Mystery and Detection)*. (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 1949), xiii.

⁶⁰ Liu Xu, ed. *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan 89, liezhuan 39*, 7a.

which Di Renjie took on the responsibility of exorcizing an irksome ghost from a local temple by issuing an imperial edict that allowed the spirit to be purged by fire.⁶¹ Remarkably, after the incident, a mystic witnessed the ghost following Di and reported to him that the spirit was attempting to exact a compensation for his expulsion; Di, not bothered by this turn of events, simply continued on his way.⁶² In time, such accounts would be turned into chantefables or dramas that were performed for common audiences in the market place. And eventually, these performances would be transformed into printed stories and tales such as *Dee Goong An*, where it would be of no great surprise to the pre-modern Chinese reader when Judge Dee solemnly summoned a spirit from the grave to bear testimony against his murderer.⁶³

To the modern reader these accumulated layers of fact and fiction which the character has gradually assumed over the long duration of several centuries appear quite foreign and unfamiliar. Van Gulik understood this. This is why he did not, as Lin and Starrett suggested, dismiss the supernatural aspect of the court case genre as they did. It was not unappealing, it only lacked context. Another aspect of the genre that lacked context, but that was bound both to the judge's character and the genre in particular, was that of the Chinese legal system. Though the legal system appeared to the foreign eye as cruel and unenlightened, those with some knowledge of it understood the origins if not the functions of its austerity.

In rendering this aspect of Judge Dee's character, van Gulik dispelled the myth of the enlightened despot of a severe legal system, and instead carefully drew together a composite of the celebrated "pure official." He did this by illustrating the world of the district magistrate, explaining to his readers:

"The territory under his jurisdiction, a district, was the smallest administrative unit in the complicated Chinese government machine; it usually comprised one fairly large walled city, and all of the countryside around it, say for sixty or seventy miles. The district magistrate was the highest civil authority in this unit, he was in charge of the town and land administration, the tribunal, the bureau for the collection of taxes, the register-office, while he also was generally responsible for the maintenance of public order in the entire district. Thus he practically had full authority over all phases of the life of the people in his district, who called him, therefore, the 'father-and-mother official.'"⁶⁴

Rather than acting as a tyrant of his own small empire, Judge Dee was meant to shoulder a familial responsibility to the people he served. And in turn, the people were meant to

⁶¹ See Li Fang, ed. *Taiping guangji*, juan 298, shen 8, 5b.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ See R.H. van Gulik, trans. (*Wu Tse-t'ien ssu ta ch'i an. English. Selections.*) *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee (Literature of Mystery and Detection)*. (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 1949), 45-46.

⁶⁴ R.H. van Gulik, trans. (*Wu Tse-t'ien ssu ta ch'i an. English. Selections.*) *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee (Literature of Mystery and Detection)*. (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 1949), ix.

have some respect if not sympathy for the burdensome tasks he was charged to accomplish, the most challenging of which was “the maintenance of public order.”

More than a comprehensive knowledge of the legal code, district magistrates like Judge Dee were compelled to have a keen sense of justice. This is what separated them from being seen as tyrants. The concept of justice in traditional Chinese thought stemmed from early beliefs of the essential link between Heaven and Earth. Heaven, or the cosmos, represented the power that gave life to and ordered the world, or Earth. However, the natural world could be unpredictable, and so it was also believed that when unfavorable conditions for people to live and thrive were present on Earth, then the greater cosmic harmony was out of balance. According to early Chinese philosophers, the reasons for these imbalances in nature, or on Earth, were the fault of humankind, because they were not living in harmony with the natural order of Heaven. This concept of justice was characterized by the term *bao* 報, sometimes translated as “reciprocity.” Traditionally, this concept of justice implied that there were natural consequences for one’s mistakes or misdeeds just as there were natural rewards for one’s honesty or virtue. As agents for the emperor, or the “Son of Heaven,” district magistrates were responsible for not only upholding the law, but also for serving justice after this manner.

For Van Gulik, the Judge Dee’s grasp of justice, and perhaps more importantly, his ability to maintain order, were character traits of paramount concern. Again, the world that van Gulik lived in, torn apart by war and rebellion, was in dire need of justice and order. Van Gulik was a student of law and government; it was his job to create harmony between states and governments. This aspect of Judge Dee’s character reflected one of van Gulik’s core values. It was for this reason, among others already mentioned, that his first five novels, more than those that followed, looked to the archetype of the “pure official.” In addition to finding features of this persona in the aforementioned sources, he looked closely to the *Parallel Cases*. In total, he drew from its accounts of judicial proceedings nine cases, which would inform various attributes of Judge Dee’s character in the novels *The Chinese Bell Murders*, *The Chinese Gold Murders*, *The Chinese Nail Murders*, *The Chinese Maze Murders*, *The Lacquer Screen*, and *The Emperor’s Pearl*. The project of revealing each correspondence between the *Parallel Cases* and the aforementioned novels is perhaps a little too burdensome for this examination. Yet, a survey of a few that tend to situate Judge Dee’s character in the light that van Gulik sought to portray him would be beneficial.

The first of these reconstructions occurs through the use of a case from antiquity, recited in the 26th chapter of the *Parallel Cases*, in which the judge, Li Hui (circa 466), detects the facts of the case by inquiring of the evidence. Li Hui cleverly orders that a lamb-skin coat of disputed ownership be tortured until the object confesses its true owner. As it happens, the coat lets slip countless grains of salt, whereupon Li Hui grants ownership to the salt-trader

instead of the wood-cutter who sued for the garment.⁶⁵ Van Gulik adapts this episode in the 24th chapter of *The Bell Murders*, reversing its effect, to instead capture a salt-smuggler.⁶⁶ The quizzical scene presents Judge Dee interrogating a suspected salt-smuggler, who refuses to cooperate or admit his guilt. The judge, who had him followed, identified a secret room in which he had been storing smuggled salt. Calling in the witness, the three reed mats taken from the suspect's secret storage room, Judge Dee has them beaten to reveal the particles of salt hidden within them. Upon this evidence, the smuggler has no choice but to confess. Though this scene does not serve as the feature mystery of the novel, it is a superlative illustration of the judge's sharp wit and unparalleled wisdom.

Another example of van Gulik's attempt to contextualize Judge Dee's character is found in the 16th chapter of *The Gold Murders*. Here, the judge finds himself out of place in a rather vulgar audience attempting to understand the operatic renditions of popular court cases of old.⁶⁷ The scene within a scene, or rather a play within a play, is a common device in court case fiction (as well as detective fiction at large) that is meant to serve the judge according to his due diligence. Usually, this is where we might say that "fate takes a hand," yet more precisely, this is where *bao* or reciprocity "takes a hand" to reward the judge. This is not accomplished, however, without the judge becoming sufficiently humbled. His lieutenant is forced to interpret the high-pitched nasality's of the performer's songs, while he, the judge, is reproached by an elderly peasant trying to hear the play. Van Gulik then takes the opportunity to infuse into the dramatic reenactments an account from the 55th chapter of the *Parallel Cases*, in which a property dispute is settled simply by forcing each party to abandon their own estate for receipt of the other's.⁶⁸ While the commoners who surround Judge Dee are all too familiar with the plot, the judge struggles to comprehend and relate to what should be his area of expertise—judicial procedure. In this regard, he is humbled, but with the solution to a problem he faced.

Van Gulik's *The Chinese Nail Murders* is one of the more thrilling adaptations of the *Parallel Cases*, which features the most popular plot of the entire court case genre.⁶⁹ The betrayal and deception implied in the *Nail Murders*, demands an unequivocal display of justice. The plot, generally speaking, revolves around a man that dies mysteriously under suspicious circumstances. In this case, the wife of the coroner suggests that the skull be examined very carefully for a small nail or needle which had been driven into the victim's head while he was unconscious. The implications are clear enough that the coroner's wife, who innocently suggested the cause of death is also in fact guilty of a similar crime. While the variation in plot from the 16th chapter of the *Parallel Cases* features another means of detection, the more common motif presented in this case begs the question of what to do about the wife who is

⁶⁵ See R.H. van Gulik, trans. *T'ang-yin-pi-shih, Parallel Cases From Under the Pear Tree: A 13th Century Manual of Jurisprudence and Detection* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956), 113.

⁶⁶ See R.H. van Gulik, *The Chinese Bell Murders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 254-255.

⁶⁷ See R.H. van Gulik, *The Chinese Gold Murders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 188-189.

⁶⁸ See R.H. van Gulik, trans. *T'ang-yin-pi-shih, Parallel Cases From Under the Pear Tree: A 13th Century Manual of Jurisprudence and Detection* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956), 156-157.

⁶⁹ See R.H. van Gulik, *The Chinese Nail Murders* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961).

evidently guilty of this kind of murder.⁷⁰ Van Gulik, who alters the plot, allows Judge Dee to not only miss the nail that pierced the nasal cavity of the victim, but also fall in love with the coroner's wife who ultimately revealed the crime. His inability to solve the case as one might expect, or even demand, does not make him appear negligent. On the contrary, his devotion to justice and his concern for the people involved render him in a more favorable light. The poignancy of his frustration, his mistakes, and his failure endears him to the reader, revealing just how difficult it is to keep order and serve justice in a small community.

The complexity imbued in the judge's character in van Gulik's earlier novels helped readers already familiar with the court case genre to identify with the heightened struggle for order in the modern age. Without moralizing, Judge Dee conveyed the importance of morality, reminding readers of how easily civilized society can be threatened by the most common of self-serving thoughts and actions. For the Eastern reading audience, Dee was a symbol of moral excellence, a traditional model for a modern dilemma, for a time beset by various threats to order and justice.

Knowledge for a Western Audience

As his success in the genre eclipsed its intentions as an experiment in fiction writing for the reading audiences of the East, van Gulik increasingly wrote to his burgeoning Western audience, situated in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The plots moved further and further away from traditional court case sources, and he began to elaborate on mysteries of his own devising. The relative freedom from the old canon of court case material allowed him to more effectively reach his Western audience, and address their understanding of China.

In doing so, he took greater artistic license with Judge Dee's character. Judge Dee, van Gulik complained, was too confined to his tribunal, hearing cases, interviewing witnesses, and trying criminals.⁷¹ Even while moving through crowded audiences in disguise, bantering with local street vendors, or frequenting the scene of a crime, these appearances only reveal Judge Dee in an alternative manifestation of his official capacity. This was not the true cadence of official life. In district tribunals throughout the empire, hanging over the magistrate's bench where he sat to judge, a standard inscription on a large black plaque in golden script read, "The Hall of Playing Lute and Governing". This curious inscription was a Confucian allusion by to the ideal nature of government, that if done correctly through moral persuasion, the official might be able to spend half his time in the court room simply passing the time by strumming a melody on his lute. Van Gulik might have sympathized with this sentiment, as he implored:

⁷⁰ See R.H. van Gulik, trans. *T'ang-yin-pi-shih, Parallel Cases From Under the Pear Tree: A 13th Century Manual of Jurisprudence and Detection* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956).

⁷¹ See R.H. van Gulik, trans. (*Wu Tse-t'ien ssu ta ch'i an. English. Selections.*) *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee (Literature of Mystery and Detection)*. (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 1949),

“Chinese magistrates like Judge Dee were men of great moral strength and intellectual power, and at the same time refined literati, thoroughly conversant with Chinese arts and letters. In short, a kind of man, whom one would like to know better.”⁷²

His Western reading audiences held the same thought. Van Gulik reported in different interviews that fans of Judge Dee, “kept asking whether Dee couldn’t be ‘more warmly’ sketched.”⁷³

To this request, he responded, “well, I would say that I did my best.”⁷⁴ He took pride in crafting a great range for the character of Judge Dee. While he is solemn in demeanor, he is not beyond wry wit or dark humor. He is skeptical of the fantastic and the supernatural, although not dismissive of it either. He is fond of music, but not opera. While he is a talented swordsman and martial artist, he is also proficient with the brush in poetry and prose. Though he often appeared quite alone, he was a family man, who enjoyed playing dominoes with his three wives. Yet, this was perhaps not enough.

To further accomplish this end, van Gulik turned to his fascination of the pastimes of the Chinese literate elite. This aspect of writing his novels complemented his scholarly side. He looked fondly on the traditional illustration of Dee in his private chambers, where he is pictured reading in repose. For van Gulik enjoyed assuming the persona of the Chinese literatus, and even on occasion wearing the traditional attire of Chinese intellectuals.⁷⁵ He envisioned “imperial China most often from the viewpoint of the Confucian gentry for whose way of life he had respect and affection.”⁷⁶ He must have stirred at imagining the Chinese scholar’s studio, with its books, brushes, scrolls, and curios, alongside the sundry accoutrements of such a station. This was a key, “as an imaginative scholar with limited time at his disposal, van Gulik...realized that he could produce fascinating studies of the culture of the Chinese gentry through intensive study of the objects which those privileged people collected and the customs they observed.”⁷⁷ His work with Judge Dee represented a similar task.

Through Judge Dee, he could thoroughly explore the curiosities of traditional Chinese culture as well as negotiate interesting stories for his readers. This approach allowed him to retain some of the authenticity of the original court case genre. He thought of his work with Judge Dee as following after the tradition of Chinese story-telling, or in keeping with the practice of Chinese fiction writers. He related the possibility of truth, embellishing it with the details and nuance that appealed to his audience. He was very careful in his methodology,

⁷² R.H. van Gulik, trans. (*Wu Tse-t’ien ssu ta ch’i an. English. Selections.*) *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee (Literature of Mystery and Detection)*. (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 1949), xiii-x.

⁷³ Quoted in Janwillem van de Wetering, *Robert van Gulik: His Life His Work* (New York: Soho Press, 1987), 51.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ See *ibid.* 14-15.

⁷⁶ Donald F. Lach, “Introduction.” In Robert van Gulik, *The Chinese Lake Murders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 12.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 6.

conscious of the danger of straying too far from the purpose at hand. In many of the colophons and postscripts of his novels, he qualified the departures or liberties he was taking with the patently Chinese genre in which he worked. In one of these familiar refrains, he volunteers:

“I have adopted the custom of Chinese Ming writers, to describe in their novels, men and life as during the sixteenth century, although the scene of their stories is often laid several centuries earlier.”⁷⁸

The license he took with genre and with his stories were measured exigencies. His process, as he explained, included “laying the groundwork” for the novel by assembling the various plot elements or sketching out the map of the fictitious city in which the story took place.⁷⁹ When the research and the outline were completed, he turned his attention to writing. Again, as he explained, “the actual writing of each novel was completed in six weeks or so.”⁸⁰ For the first several novels, though he completed them quite promptly, he revised some of the manuscripts over a period of five to six years before they were published. He was also known to circulate privately printed or published novels for comment.

His novels have become especially well-known for their illustrations too, a majority of which he sketched himself after the manner of Ming and Qing dynasty woodblock prints. Many of these portray the nude figures of women who play a role in the novel. This particular aspect of his creative license has been questioned because of its obvious tendency toward controversy. Van Gulik, himself, initially questioned the authenticity of such illustrations when asked by his first publisher in Japan if they might portray the nude figure of a woman on the cover. His response to the publisher’s proposition, as he recalled, turned out an interesting sequence of events:

“I informed him that I could not do that, because I wanted to keep my illustrations in genuine old Chinese style, and that in China, owing to the prudish Confucianist tradition, there never developed an artistic school of drawing nude human bodies. The publisher, however, wanted me to make sure of this anyway so I wrote identical letters to a few dozen antiquarian booksellers in China and Japan of my acquaintance, asking whether they had Ming prints of nudes.

...All answers were negative, except for two: a bookseller in Shanghai wrote me that one of their customers possessed a few erotic albums of the end of the Ming period and was willing to let me have tracings of these pictures; and a curio-dealer in Kyoto informed me he had a set of actual Ming printing-blocks of

⁷⁸ R.H. van Gulik, *The Chinese Gold Murders* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), 199-200.

⁷⁹ R.H. van Gulik, *The Chinese Nail Murders* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 226.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

an erotic album, containing large-size male and female nudes. I purchased these blocks, and had tracings made of the albums of the Shanghai collector.”⁸¹

This being the case, he treated this puzzle as he did any other mystery he encountered, by pursuing its unique ends. Having already come across erotic literature during his research of Dee Goong An, these printing blocks offered a deeper view into several aspects of the literary culture he identified with so uniquely. This discovery encouraged not only his use of the plates in question in his Judge Dee publications, but also prompted further study of the prints themselves and their sociological indications of sexual life in late imperial China.⁸²

Similar examples prompted other avenues of research for him to follow as well, many of these much more minor in scope than the aforementioned. In addition to his interests in the law, he invariably worked other elements of Chinese tradition into his stories. He did not consider himself entirely invested where religion was concerned, though he was thoroughly steeped in a knowledge of Daoism and Buddhism, which showed in his various Judge Dee novels. He touched upon the intellect of prominent scholars, the examination system, and the civil bureaucracy. He employed aspects of the ancient science of cosmology and explained the mysteries of the Chinese zodiac. Of course, the role of music and the lute were integral to the understanding of Chinese culture. He introduced Chinese inventions such as the abacus, serving up an entire lesson on its use and importance. There remain just as many unmentioned topics of scholarly note in these novels. These were points of interest for him, and more decidedly, for his Western readers whom he hoped to inform and educate about China.

⁸¹ Quoted in Henry Wessells, “R.H. van Gulik: Diplomat, Orientalist, Novelist,” *AB Bookman’s Weekly*, 100, no. 9 (1997): 454-460.

⁸² See R.H. van Gulik, *Erotic Colour Prints of Ming Period: With an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch’ing Dynasty, B.C. 206-A.D. 1644* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004). See also *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca. 1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003).



Figure 1:
A van Gulik Sketch of Judge Dee from *The Chinese Lake Murders*

Conclusion: East and West

While the “Yellow Peril” of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries diminished in van Gulik’s time, echoes of racial and ethnic fear among majorities in the West were slow to disappear. As van Gulik knew all too well, the most common point of reference for many Westerners when it came to the East were stereotypes generated by the popular media either during the war or in the momentum building to it. In such depictions, the Chinese and the Japanese were rarely distinguished as separate peoples or civilizations. In literature or in film, the Asian archetype was often either the scoundrel or the fool, and sometimes both. Sax Roemer’s invention of Fu Manchu in 1933, just as Alex Raymond’s creation of Ming the Merciless in 1934, engendered a paranoia of world conquest in fiction, which featured a new breed of Chinese villains who possessed all of the ancient secrets of the East but who could also harness the modern power of science from the West.

Though clearly fictional, these depictions were not helpful for authors like Pearl Buck or Alice Tisdale Hobart who were attempting to enlighten the West with an understanding of the East.⁸³ So common was the task of dispelling the myths and misunderstanding that van Gulik took to repeated disclaimers about whom the Chinese were, and why they appeared so different in his novels than they might in the popular depictions of literature or film. Among his preferred clarifications of this sort was the familiar imperative that ended each of his English Judge Dee novels from 1961 forward:

⁸³ See Donald F. Lach, “Introduction.” In Robert van Gulik, *The Chinese Lake Murders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 1.

“Note that in Judge Dee’s time the Chinese did not wear pigtailed; that custom was imposed on them after 1644 A.D. when the Manchus had conquered China. The men did their hair up in a top-knot, and wore caps both inside and outside the house. They did not smoke; tobacco and opium were introduced into China only many centuries later.”⁸⁴

Even as Western readers took van Gulik’s cues, it was difficult for some to break the curse of so many decades of skewed perspectives. The novels, despite their westward reach, were still thought of as “Chinesey.”⁸⁵

Van Gulik’s attempts to break through such cultural barriers were represented in some of his later works. The stand-out novel, *The Willow Pattern* (1965), in which he steps clearly into what he referred to as a “conscious anachronism,” was perhaps his most successful endeavor in bringing the East and the West closer together. The reason for this relies upon the novel’s subtle symbolism. The focus of this novel is on a broken porcelain vase that is at the center of a series of mysterious murders. On the vase is a design known as the “willow pattern,” which van Gulik explains, “is a decorative motif of blue-and-white pottery and porcelain that originated in England in the 18th century.”⁸⁶ The pattern or image, as in the example below, features a scene in which three indistinct personages are crossing over a bridge underneath a willow tree, from a pagoda-like building to an islet pavilion.

The design is a pattern instantly recognizable to Westerners with some familiarity of porcelain. In fact, this is why van Gulik chose it as a device to move the plot. He stated, “I hoped to give Western readers the satisfaction of recognizing a theme so frequently found on English crockery, and to arouse the Chinese reader’s interest in a Western development of a Chinese decorative motif.”⁸⁷ The history of the pattern is fascinating. As English kilns perfected the process of making Chinese-style porcelain, the need for Chinese-export porcelain diminished in Europe. However, the aesthetic of the porcelain, known generally by the term “chinoiserie,” was still highly desirable. Therefore, an English artisan of disputed identity painted from impression his own rendering of a typical scene that might be found on Chinese porcelain. The result, “the willow pattern,” is thus a Western synthesis of a Chinese design. In other words, it is the product of a Westerner imagining China, working in a Chinese medium, as if he were himself Chinese. This must have been a candid self-realization for van Gulik, who attempted just this in his endeavors to author Judge Dee.

There is possibly another measure of symbolism in the twists and turns of the plot as it deals with the broken porcelain vase with its willow pattern design. Through the course of the story, Judge Dee and his associates believe that the pattern might have some bearing on the

⁸⁴ R.H. van Gulik, *The Emperor’s Pearl* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 185.

⁸⁵ Janwillem van de Wetering, *Robert van Gulik: His Life His Work* (New York: Soho Press, 1987), 102.

⁸⁶ R.H. van Gulik, *The Willow Pattern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 181.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

nature of the murders. As they attempt to expose the significance of the willow pattern, their efforts are frustrated, as the clue of the broken vase ultimately becomes attributed to something much more understandable. The representation here is one of enlightenment. In other words, that thought, which seemed at first quite complex or mysterious, in turn became much more familiar or understandable than it was originally thought to be. Van Gulik would have meant this message for his readers who were attempting to better understand China.

In the end, as we consider Judge Dee's world, which Robert van Gulik recreated, it is not so very different from the one we now live in. The past and the present share many of the same concerns: law and order, social justice, family unity. Similarly, the East and West are not very far apart. Certainly, there are cultural differences and language barriers that separate the two, but van Gulik may have given us clues for overcoming these obstacles. Many of these are epitomized in Judge Dee's character. Van Gulik must have recognized an extraordinary potential in Judge Dee to have turned so much of his attention toward authoring such fictional accounts. Toward the end of his life, van Gulik confessed that writing Judge Dee represented an important part of his work; the reason why, he suggested, is "while writing his novels an author is free to create his own facts and can fanaticize as much as he pleases."⁸⁸ There is merit to this kind of work, not only for what it reflects in terms of what has been accomplished, but also for what it aspires to in terms of expectations. In this regard, van Gulik was Judge Dee.⁸⁹



Figure 2:
Willow Pattern Plate, 19th century, Staffordshire, England.
Held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England.

⁸⁸ Janwillem van de Wetering, *Robert van Gulik: His Life His Work* (New York: Soho Press, 1987), 65-66.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 27, 77.

The Chinese Bell Murders	(1958)
New Year's Eve in Lan-Fang	(1958)
The Chinese Gold Murders	(1959)
The Chinese Lake Murders	(1960)
The Chinese Nail Murders	(1961)
The Haunted Monastery	(1961)
The Red Pavilion	(1961)
The Chinese Maze Murders	(1962)
The Lacquer Screen	(1962)
The Emperor's Pearl	(1963)
The Monkey and the Tiger.....	(1965)
The Phantom of the Temple.....	(1965)
The Willow Pattern.....	(1965)
Murder in Canton.....	(1966)
Judge Dee at Work: Eight Chinese Detective Stories.....	(1967)
Necklace and Calabash.....	(1967)
Poets and Murder.....	(1968)

Figure 3:
R.H. van Gulik's Judge Dee Novels
In Order of International Publication in English

GUO JIE - ROBERT HANS VAN GULIK AND MING EROTIC BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS

In a brief section in his privately published *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period: With an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch'ing Dynasty, B.C. 206-A.D. 1644* (1951), Robert Hans van Gulik (1910-1967) examines several important aspects of Ming erotic book illustrations, including their production, general quality, aesthetic achievement, and characteristics in comparison with erotic paintings and color prints from around the same period. Succinct as it is, this brief section is still of value to scholars of Ming book illustrations and Ming erotica today. In this paper, I first give an overview of van Gulik's major points made in *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period* on Ming erotic book illustrations, and then offer my critique of these views, particularly his remarks on the representation of nudity in Ming book illustrations. In addition, I examine his own visual treatment of (female) nude figures in his illustrations for the Judge Dee series, with the aim to achieve a better understanding of the characteristics of Ming erotic book illustrations. To reach this larger goal, I also offer a brief comparative study of the illustrations in the Chongzhen (r. 1627-1644) edition of the late Ming novel *Jin Ping Mei*. In short, the objective of this short paper is a modest one: the following is neither a comprehensive study of van Gulik's views on late imperial erotica nor an overview of Ming erotic book illustrations. Instead, taking rereading van Gulik as an opportunity to rethink late imperial book illustrations as well as their treatment of the erotic, I strive to offer here a few reflections that I have had by reading van Gulik's short discussion of Ming erotic book illustrations.

Erotic Paintings, Book Illustrations, and Color Prints

In *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period*, van Gulik treats Ming erotic book illustration as one of the three forms of "erotic art" (155)⁹⁰ – the other two forms being erotic painting and erotic color print – and devotes one section to each of these three forms in a part entitled "Historical Survey of Erotic Pictures." Such a categorization shows that van Gulik sees erotic painting, book illustration, and color print as distinct art forms. Indeed, his discussion points to several important differences between the three forms. First, their production. In his treatment of erotic paintings, van Gulik organizes his discussion around painters, particularly Qiu Ying and Tang Yin, whom he regards as the most important artists of erotic paintings.⁹¹ Clearly, for him, painters are at the center of the production of erotic paintings. In contrast, as he describes it, engravers played a critical role in the production of book illustrations and color prints, even

⁹⁰ Quotations are from the 2004 Brill edition of *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period* unless otherwise indicated.

⁹¹ James Cahill holds that since there is no contemporary evidence proving Tang and Qiu's participation in the creation of erotic paintings, it is problematic to treat them as authors of erotic paintings (Cahill, *Chinese Erotic Painting*, Introduction). Cahill, however, suggests that Chen Hongshou might have had a role in the production of erotic paintings (*Chinese Erotic Painting*, Introduction).

though it is often difficult to identify directly involved painters in their production. Still, as will be discussed below, for him painters were not without importance in this process. Second, their respective artistic achievement. For van Gulik, products of the three forms differ in degree of artistic refinement: while he thinks highly of the aesthetic quality of erotic paintings and color prints, he holds that book illustrations are less aesthetically satisfactory (see more discussion below).

Although he treats erotic book illustrations as constituting a distinct form from erotic paintings and color prints, his discussion still sheds light on important links and similarities between all three forms. First, he calls our attention to the geographic location of their production, highlighting the central importance of Jiangsu in the flourishing of erotic book illustrations in the Ming.⁹² He writes, “The greater part of erotic illustrated books belong to the Kiangsu [i.e. Jiangsu] School, patronised by the elegant literati who lived in Nanking and the surrounding area.” (163) In particular, he holds that painters such as Qiu Ying and Tang Yin played an indirect role in the production of erotic book illustrations: “The artists who designed the illustrations of these books were doubtless influenced by the erotic paintings of Ch’iu Ying [Qiu Ying] and T’ang Yin [Tang Yin], but their work is far inferior to that of these masters” (162-163), he comments. He even implies that some painters might have been single-handedly responsible for the transformation of an area into a center of printing and publishing culture. For instance, he mentions that Taohuawu, an area in Suzhou where Tang Yin resided, “became a well known centre of engravers of books and prints [due to Tang’s residency there]” (160). The reason, he suggests, has to do with the wide and lasting influence of the erotic “sketches” by Tang Yin, which “in 1600 were utilized by the editors of the erotic woodprint albums” (160). While the exact extent to which painters such as Qiu Ying and Tang Yin had influenced the production of Ming erotic illustrations and prints require further investigation,⁹³ van Gulik’s emphasis on the intertwined relations between location, print culture, publishing industry, literati culture and artistic production and circulation is nonetheless methodologically salient.

Second, as van Gulik sees it, the ways in which erotic paintings, illustrations, and color prints are viewed – are meant to be viewed – also share similarities. He points out, “erotic paintings were as a rule mounted either as horizontal hands scrolls ...[i.e. shoujuan] or as folding albums ...[i.e. ce],” for “they were not intended to be suspended on the wall [i.e. to be viewed in public]” (160-161). As to erotic color prints, van Gulik notes that their mounting “is the same as that of erotic paintings, viz. either hand scroll or album” (172). The question of “mounting” apparently does not apply to book illustrations as it does to paintings and prints. However, since book illustrations are part of books, which bear considerable similarities to albums (ce), the ways in which they are viewed or are supposed to be viewed – i.e. in private

⁹² Recent years have seen the emergence of sophisticated scholarship on late imperial print and publishing culture in this area, for instance, Lucille Chia’s article “Of Three Mountains Street: The Commercial Publishers of Ming Nanjing.”

⁹³ Again, for Cahill’s view on the problematic status of the two painters in the production of erotic paintings, see his *Chinese Erotic Painting*.

and usually by one and occasionally by a very small group of people – are in certain ways comparable, if not identical, to how albums or even scrolls are viewed. Methodologically, the “mounting” question that van Gulik drew our attention to remains important in our consideration of the consumption and circulation of late imperial erotic art.

Erotic Book Illustrations

It should be noted that van Gulik devotes only a small portion of *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period* to erotic book illustrations. In the brief discussion he makes, there are quite a few remarks that are worth rethinking, not only because they are of still some value to our study of Ming book illustrations today, but also because they are revealing about van Gulik’s own practice as a book illustrator (for his Judge Dee series). At the same time, a consideration of his practice as an illustrator, particularly his witting or unwitting deviations from late imperial illustrations, also helps shed light on important aspects of late imperial erotica.

In his rather concise discussion, van Gulik shows an intense interest in how exactly such illustrative pictures are created, and his discussion of the creation of such illustrations centers around the use of *diben*, i.e. existing “sketches” – or, as he puts it, the “painters’ models” (160) – that illustration designers supposedly depended upon in their creation of “new” pictures.⁹⁴ He not only emphasizes the illustrators’ reliance on *diben*, but particularly stresses its long lasting presence in the woodprint industry, holding that “[they] were transmitted through the centuries by means of collections of sketches in painters’ ateliers and in the remarkably retentive visual memories of Chinese artists” (160). Since van Gulik attributes the most influential “painters’ models” to as Qiu Ying and Tang Yin, for him, it is through the existence and circulation of *diben* that these famous painters shaped the creation of book illustrations.

In particular, van Gulik calls attention to “the tracing method,” a technique allegedly often employed by illustrators, who, according to him, would “traced a given *ti-pen* [i.e. *diben*] of a human figure on a thin piece of paper” (163), making changes to details wherever necessary. He holds that the tracing method is especially important to book illustrations since “the illustrator of a novel had to depict the same person or set of persons in a number of different pictures” (163).

In addition to the use of *diben*, another area that van Gulik pays special attention to in this section is the representation of nude human figures. He frankly utters his dissatisfaction with the general quality of nude figures in book illustrations: “[the Ming book illustrators’]

⁹⁴ Indeed, there is ample evidence indicating that late imperial book illustrators sometimes directly borrowed from other sources. In her article “The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of *Lienu zhuan*,” Katherine Carlitz points out that some late Ming editions of *Lienu zhuan* recycled (sometimes revised) pictures from other books. The Chongzhen illustrated version of *Jin Ping Mei*, which we shall examine below, also contains similar cases. For instance, the love-making human figures in “Fake Brother and Sister Form a Secret Relationship,” one of the two pictures accompanying Chapter 97, are the same as those in a picture entitled “*Rumeng ling*” (As in a Dream) in *Huaying jinzhen* – see van Gulik, *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period*, 229-230.

nudes are clumsily rendered, most of them having a disproportionately large upper body.” (163) Indeed, his chief complaint is with how human bodies are depicted. Commenting on the illustrations in the novel *Zhaoyang qushi* (An intriguing history of Zhaoyang), he observes, “... although the faces of the human figures are passable, their bodies are poor anatomical craftsmanship” (163).⁹⁵

Van Gulik attributes the alleged low quality of the human nudes to: first, illustrators’ lack of experience of actually observing real human bodies; second, their alleged over-reliance on *diben* (163). He concludes that the result is that “... these illustrators did not dare to try their hand at large nude figures; the nudes in the book illustrations seldom exceed two inches” (163). This reason is questionable, though. First of all, such a claim avoids taking into consideration the relatively small size of book illustrations compared to the size of paintings or even prints.⁹⁶ Indeed, given the limited size of books, it seems imperative for illustrators to keep human figures relatively small. Another important reason for illustration designers to keep human figures small might have to do with an important function of illustrations – i.e. to accompany and/or illustrate a narrative, which could be very complex. Limiting the size – indeed, scale – of human figures is practically important since this would allow more space within each illustrative picture for more complicated events or simply to include more characters if necessary.

Here I use the illustrations in the Chongzhen edition of the late Ming anonymous novel *Jin Ping Mei* to show the practicality of the small scale of human figures in book illustrations. I am aware that there are other kinds of book illustrations whose composition and scale differ in important ways from *Jin Ping Mei* illustrations.⁹⁷ On the other hand, these pictures are good examples to show some of important practical reasons for keeping the scale of human figures small in book illustrations.

In each of the *Jin Ping Mei* illustrations, the human figures – as well as objects – are rather small in size as well as in scale in relation to the frame of the picture. To borrow a photography term, these pictures resemble long or occasionally extremely long shots in the sense that the implied distance between the viewer and the human figures and objects featured in the pictures is long. The perspective of these pictures is quite consistent: pictures

⁹⁵ *Zhaoyang qushi* is one of the novels of van Gulik’s late imperial Chinese book collection, which is now deposited at the University of Leiden. The *Zhaoyang qushi* illustration he comments on here is reprinted as a plate in *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period*.

⁹⁶ As Robert E. Hegel points out, the production of late imperial books, including that of popular literature, went through a process of standardization, which means “a general standardization of the printed page” (121). Therefore we may assume that the size of single-page illustrations remain more or less standardized, although it should be noted that the kinds of Ming-Qing illustrations are diverse. For more discussion on the standardization of books, see Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, particularly Chapter 3 “Text as Artifact.” For an overview of the historical development of book illustrations in pre-modern China and an introduction of various kinds of book illustrations, see Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, Chapter 4.

⁹⁷ Again, see Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, Chapter 4, for an overview of the development of book illustrations in pre-modern China.

are often presented from below the viewer's eye-level. As a result, the viewer is often given a position where she/he looks (slightly) down at the world presented in the pictures (see figures 1 and 2). This allows the designer, whom we know nothing about, the opportunity to present a rather complex world in which a large number of characters interact with each in complicated situations and often in multiple spaces.



Figure 1. “Wu Song Beat up the Wrong Man”; rpt. in Jin Ping Mei xinke xiuxiang piping (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2011), Chapter 9.



Figure 2. “Ms. Yang Angrily Blamed Fourth Uncle Zhang the Fourth”; rpt. in Jin Ping Mei xinke xiuxiang piping (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2011), Chapter 7.

In Jin Ping Mei illustrations, keeping the size of human figures small in relation to the frame is important for several practical reasons. First, this gives the designer enough room to include multiple characters in a picture. Take, for example, figures 1 and 2 – while the former features six characters, the latter contains sixteen human figures.⁹⁸ Second, keeping the human figures small in relation to their environment allows the designer to present multiple spaces within each picture. Again, both figure 1 and figure 2 serve as good examples. Figure 1 features several actions, each of which takes place in a specific space: while the central event, i.e. Wu Song wreaking havoc in a wine shop by beating up a rascal takes place on the second floor of the building, the rest of the space is divided into two main areas – the “back” area where an escaping Ximen Qing gains an unexpected glimpse of a woman “doing her business” in a toilet, and the “front” area, the first floor of the wine shop building where an employee looks concerned with the disturbance upstairs. The division of the picture into smaller spaces representing everyday locations also serves as an important means to contextualize events and create realism. Moreover, the small scale of human figures leaves room for introducing into the pictures complex interactions between depicted characters, as can be seen in both figures 1 and 2.

In his commentary on high quality erotic paintings, which he takes to be inspired by erotic fiction such as Jin Ping Mei and Rou putuan (Carnal Prayer Mat), James Cahill aptly points out: “Spatially elaborated compositions opened the way to the introduction of sub-

⁹⁸ This edition contains numerous pictures with a considerably large number of human figures; for instance, the “Swing” illustration that accompanies Chapter 25 features ten characters.

themes such as voyeurism and sexual rivalry; multi-figure compositions could suggest more complex relationships and mini-narratives; richer settings and details permitted witty commentary on the events depicted” (xxiii).⁹⁹ Clearly, the same can be said about Jin Ping Mei illustrations, and the key for these illustrations to do so is, once again, the relatively small scale of the size of the human figures in relation to the frame of each picture.¹⁰⁰ A possible reason why illustrations are able to do so despite their relative small size may be that it is possible to produce extremely fine lines in woodblock illustrations. Indeed, van Gulik regards the fine lines a positive feature of book illustrations: “erotic book illustrations have always the pleasing effect of clear-cut line which is due to the engraver’s expert handling of the knife.” (164)

Van Gulik is not completely wrong in his comment about the “disproportionately large upper body,” though. Indeed, in the Jin Ping Mei illustrations that feature nudes, not only is the human figure’s upper body often too large, his/her genitals are often “disproportionately” amplified to, supposedly, intrigue and titillate the viewer. Take, for instance, the illustration entitled ““Fake Brother and Sister Form a Secret Relationship,” which accompanies Chapter 97. Even though the two figures depicted in this picture are so small that many features (e.g. the woman’s facial features) are barely visible, their private parts, however, are amplified and rendered with enhanced clarity.

To sum up, the rather succinct section on erotic book illustrations in *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period* focuses on two aspects: first, the importance of the use of diben and the tracing method in the creation of illustrations; second, the allegedly inferior quality of the nude figures in these pictures. Van Gulik’s “obsession” with diben and the tracing method and his rather critical attitude to the quality of the nudes in Ming book illustrations are reflected in the illustrations he designed for the Judge Dee series. First, he frequently adopted the tracing method when designing these illustrations. However, it is worth noting that he did not solely rely upon tracing. Rather, he often combined tracing and sketching to create pictures for his Judge Dee stories. For instance, Figure 3, a study he did for the first illustration in the Judge Dee novel *The Chinese Nail Murders*, contains both a bit of floral pattern he traced and a sketch of a man he drew.¹⁰¹ Figure 4 is a sketch he did for another Judge Dee novel *The Willow Pattern*, and here he relies solely on sketching.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ In tenth chapter of his electronically published book *Chinese Erotic Painting*, James Cahill identifies and discusses in detail three themes commonly found in Chinese erotic paintings, i.e. “voyeurism,” “deceiving the wife,” and “love in the garden.”

¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that some late imperial erotic paintings have scales comparable to that of the *Jin Ping Mei* book illustrations. For instance, the albums of two hundred painted *Jin Ping Mei* illustrations that Cahill attributes to the Qing painter Gu Jianlong contain paintings in which the scale of human figures in relation to the context is comparable, if not identical, to that in the book illustrations. For a detailed study of these painted illustrations, see Cahill, *Chinese Erotic Painting*, Chapter 5 “The Emperor’s Erotica, I: Gu Jianlong’s *Jin Ping Mei* Illustrations.” A comparative study of the scales of erotic paintings and those of book illustrations is worth pursuing.

¹⁰¹ The floral pattern in the published version of the picture is replaced by banana leaves – see van Gulik, *The Chinese Nail Murders*, 3.

¹⁰² There are minor changes in the published version of the illustration – see van Gulik, *The Willow Pattern*, 85.



Fig. 3. "Sketch for the first plate of The Chinese Nail Murders"; drawn by Robert Hans van Gulik, and deposited at the Boston University's Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center.



Fig. 4. "Sketch for the first plate of The Chinese Nail Murders"; drawn by Robert Hans van Gulik, and deposited at the Boston University's Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center.

Second, in his illustrations, the scale of the size of the human figures in relation to their environment bears some resemblance to that in the Ming erotic prints that he studied, for instance, Huayin jinzhen. That is, the scale of the size of his human figures is much larger than many Ming book illustrations such as those the Jin Ping Mei pictures. As a result, his illustrations cannot feature too many characters, and sometimes, human bodies are even truncated (e.g. figures 4 and 5).



DANANIR WELCOMES UNEXPECTED GUESTS

Figure 5. From Robert Hans van Gulik, Murder in Canton (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1966) 117.



A MEETING IN A FLOWER BOAT

Figure 6. From Robert Hans van Gulik, The Chinese Gold Murders (New York: Harper, 2004) 55.

Moreover, his nudes, or, indeed, female nudes, are conspicuously different from the ones in Ming erotic prints. First of all, the body proportions of the nudes are marked by better anatomical accuracy compared with those in Ming illustrations or prints. Indeed, as I have mentioned elsewhere, these nude female bodies look apparently “western” in terms of execution.¹ Although van Gulik often claims on the title pages of his Judge Dee novels that they contain illustrations or plates “drawn by the author in the Chinese style,”² in actuality he took great effort to make his nudes not resemble those done “in the Chinese style,” and the female nude bodies constitute a good example of his often deliberate departure from the Chinese style.

The way he deals with the feet of his female figures illustrates this intentional “deviance.” As he is aware, women in Ming erotic prints seldom bare their feet, which supposedly have been bound with almost no exception, for “representation of the woman’s uncovered feet is completely taboo” (170). In Huaying jinzhen pictures, for instance, while occasionally their binding strips may be loose, women “in most of the other pictures in this album wear only tight wrappings and the diminutive silk shoes on their feet” (171). Van Gulik seems to be caught in a dilemma when creating his Judge Dee pictures. On the one hand, he seems reluctant to depict bound feet, covered or uncovered; on the other, feet remain unavoidable in pictures featuring human figures. However, he was able to come up with solutions: feet of his female figures, including nudes, often remain conveniently concealed – whether behind a person or an object, under a long skirt, or under water (see, for example, figures 4 and 6). When they are exposed, they often belong to non-Chinese women – take, for instance, figure 5, in which the female character is an allegedly foreign woman.

Conclusion

In short, despite the claim that his Judge Dee pictures are done in the traditional Chinese fashion, van Gulik’s approach to the female nude as well as to these illustrations as a whole is highly idiosyncratic.³ The section he devotes to Ming erotic book illustrations on the one hand contains perceptive views that remain sound today.⁴ On the other hand, some of his comments in this section reflect his obsessions and/or are claims without solid evidence. Seeing van Gulik as at once “a productive scholar and an old trickster”, James Cahill have warned that in our examination of van Gulik’s writings, we need to take his views

¹ See my article “Robert Hans van Gulik Reading Late Ming Erotica,” p. 259, note 76. In that article I offer a detailed discussion of van Gulik’s treatment of eroticism in his Judge Dee illustrations.

² See, for instance, the title page of *Judge Dee at Work*.

³ Commenting on the picture “Judge Dee reading in his library,” which is included in *Dee Goong An*, Cahill also points out van Gulik’s idiosyncrasy: “Van Gulik is careful to get furniture and decorative details correct (some of them he copied or traced from genuinely old Chinese pictures), but the distinctive drawing and the whole conception are, to my eye, his” (2004, xx-xxi).

⁴ For instance, his view that “... [Ming] illustrations – however badly the nudes are drawn – always provide useful material for the study of Ming manners and customs” (164).

with a grain of salt (Chinese Erotic Painting, “Introduction”).¹ Still, when closely examined, some of his witting or unwitting mistakes may be good opportunities for us to rethink various aspects of Ming erotic book illustrations. Last but not least, while recent years have seen the emergence of scholarly studies on late imperial erotic paintings and print albums and scrolls,² the treatment of eroticism in book illustrations has received relatively less attention.³ Rereading – critically – van Gulik might be a productive way to venture into the area.

¹ In particular, Cahill warns we should not uncritically accept van Gulik’s argument that the origin of Chinese erotica had to do with early Buddhist and Daoist texts – see Cahill, *Chinese Erotic Painting*, Introduction.

² For instance, Cahill’s extremely important recent works *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China* and *Chinese Erotic Painting*. My article “Robert Hans van Gulik Reading Late Ming Erotica” offers a study of van Gulik’s treatment of the *Huaying jinzhen* prints and their accompanying texts.

³ Some scholars have started working on this area; for instance, Craig Clunas’s article “Looking at the Lewd in Ming China” calls our attention to the meaning and visual representation of the lewd in book illustrations.

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MEI-YEN LEE - REVIEW AND COMMENTS ON THE LORE OF THE CHINESE LUTE

An Essay in the Ideology of the Ch'in by Robert Hans van Gulik — in Terms of Van Gulik's Viewpoints on the Beauty of Chinese Lute Music

Abstract

Robert Hans van Gulik was the first famous sinologist in the western academic community to possess expertise on Chinese lute music. Van Gulik wrote: *The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An essay in the ideology of the Ch'in and Hsi K'ang and his Poetical Essay on the Lute*, both of which are still significant and valuable. Van Gulik's contribution in his writings lies not only in his bringing Chinese lute culture to the Western world, but also in conserving the data on Chinese lute music in modern China.¹

In 2003, *The Chinese Lute* was recognized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as part of "the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity", providing even greater proof of Van Gulik's foresight and sagacity. The paper aims to review and comment on *The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An essay in the ideology of the Ch'in* by Van Gulik. The main topics of this paper will focus on Van Gulik's viewpoints on the beauty of Chinese lute music, which is a very important part of the book.

Through the research on Van Gulik's cognitive and introspective viewpoints of Chinese lute music especially his interpretation of the beauty of Chinese lute music, the author will reveal Van Gulik's possibilities and limitations of spreading traditional Chinese texts about lute music to Western world.

Keywords: Chinese lute(Ch'in, guqin, qin zither), sinology, interpretation, fusion of horizon, cross-culture

Introduction

In Chinese musical culture, the Chinese lute is an ancient seven-stringed musical instrument, which has remained virtually unchanged during a period of more than 3,000 years, and which was prized as the primary musical instrument among Chinese scholars. Although the sound of the Chinese lute is very low, one can express a great deal of feeling through various techniques that have been preserved in Chinese lute handbooks. Modern people can hardly understand why Chinese lute music was so important in ancient Chinese culture.

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However, in the Netherlands, there was a famous sinologist, Robert Hans van Gulik(1910-1967A.D.). He is the only sinologist who focused his studies on the Chinese lute. "Chinese lute" is the rather poetic name coined by Van Gulik¹ for this musical instrument, known in Chinese as the Ch'in or Guqin ('gu' = old; 'qin' = stringed musical instrument). Van Gulik¹ wrote *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*; an essay in the ideology of the Ch'in and Hsi K'ang and his *Poetical Essay on the Lute*, which were published by Sophia University in Tokyo in 1940 and 1941. The publication of these two books made Van Gulik the first famous sinologist of Chinese lute music in the Western academic community. To this day, no one else has had the reputation that Van Gulik enjoyed in the Western world. In 2003, the lute was recognized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as part of "the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity". This was more proof of Van Gulik's foresight and sagacity; he had rediscovered the Chinese lute for Western Culture. Van Gulik's viewpoints regarding the Chinese lute were derived not only from his observations, but also from the fact that he was personally a lute player. In fact, during World War II, he and some Chinese scholars once played Chinese lute music for the public in Chongqing, China.²

In *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*; an essay in the ideology of the Ch'in, Van Gulik tried to give the description of beauty of Chinese lute music which touched his spiritual life. It is of interest to understand how Van Gulik translated and interpreted the beauty of Chinese lute music. According to the philosophical hermeneutics of Hans-Georg Gadamer, "every translation is at the same time an interpretation"³ He goes on to state that, "No one can doubt that the translation of a text, however much the translator may have felt himself into his author, cannot simply be a re-awakening of the original event in the mind of the writer, but a recreation of the text that is guided by the way the translator understands what is said in it. No one can doubt that we are dealing here with interpretation, and not simply with reproduction."² In other words, the translator combines his historical background with the multiple significant texts to form a new horizon of interpretation in the appropriate language, which constitutes the so-called "fusion of horizons." Furthermore, this "fusion of horizons" occurs when the translator is not only able to retain a historical correspondence with the meaning of the original texts, but also fuses his own horizon with that of the source text in a cross-cultural context. Therefore the rest of this manuscript will be in accordance with the

¹ The term for the lute is a translation of the Chinese word 'CH'IN' by Robert Hans van Gulik. Van Gulik said: "In selecting for Oriental musical instruments equivalents in a Western language one must choose between those which would suggest the outer form, and others of closer cultural reference. In the former respect 'cither' would seem most appropriate for the CH'IN, but because of the unique position it occupies in Chinese culture the author has preferred to follow the latter way, adopting the word which since olden times in the West has been associated with all that is artistic and refined, and sung by poets. Therefore 'CH'IN' is translated 'lute', and the word 'cither' is kept for such instruments as the sê and chêng", Robert Hans van Gulik. 1969. *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*; an Essay in the Ideology of the Ch'in. Tokyo & Rutland, Vermont: Sophia University in cooperation with Charles. E. Tuttle Company, Inc.; New edition, revised and reset, pViii. This work will be cited as *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* in the text with page for all subsequent references.

² *Ibid*, p347.

enlightenment of Gadamer's hermeneutics concerning the idea of the text to examine Van Gulik's translation and interpretation of the beauty of Chinese lute music.

The beauty of Chinese lute music

As a musical instrument historically associated with the literati, the cultural significance of the Chinese lute is deeply rooted in Confucianism (in trying to cultivate one's mind) as well as Taoism (in seeking harmony between man and nature), which have been preserved in Chinese lute handbooks. Playing the lute is not only for worldly entertainment, but for cultivating one's mind; that is the so-called "ideology of the Chinese lute". When playing variations of the Chinese lute, timbres are not only derived from finger skills, but even more so from "the tempo of respiration". Therefore, lute players have to regulate their tempo of respiration before playing. They always breathe deeply and focus their minds in order to free themselves from earthly constraints. When the lute player completely frees his mind and body, he can then put the tempo of respiration into the Chinese lute music and display his/her vivid artistic conception. That is why ancient Chinese lute players believed that playing Chinese lute music could free one from earthliness and allow expression of pure musical thoughts. The mood is just like the floating clouds and flowing water, the so-called "beauty of Chinese lute music."

From the spiritual perspective, the harp is a Western instrument that is somewhat comparable to the Chinese lute, as it is played with one's fingers, like the harp. The harp is also associated with the Judeo-Christian tradition, similarly to how the lute is associated with Chinese philosophy. However, these two instruments are very different in sound and shape. Basic cultural differences have resulted in many distinct different characteristics between lute music and Western Classical music, which can be summarized as follows:

(1) Lute music does not have a definitive pitch or tempo because its function is to cultivate man's personality to Chinese culture. Therefore, the pitch and the tempo are created by the individual player, rather than according to a predetermined order.

(2) The rhythm of lute music is far from regular. It is impossible to use bars to distinguish or mark the pitch and tempo because the tempo of lute music is produced by the player's tempo of respiration, thereby giving the players much freedom and flexibility.

(3) Lute music is monophonic while Western Classical music is polyphonic. In other words, Chinese lute musical notation simply records each separate note; each note can display many variations of timbre, which is achieved by finger skills. Through the subtle variation of "ornamentation", note after note continues to extend as linear music. Another important difference between Chinese lute music and Western classical music is that although there are many variations in Western music, the notes have to be accurately arranged according to rhythm, pitch, and melody, whereas Chinese lute music gives the player more freedom to

arrange melodic variations and “ornamentation.” The key to variations and “ornamentation” is that they follow the player’s tempo of respiration. When one plays the lute to reflect the tempo of respiration, although there is no sound, the scarcity of the sound is still continuous, extended, and stretched. It is derived from the lute player’s mental freedom. Why does Chinese lute music have these characteristics? For the Chinese, lute music is not merely a kind of music, but it is also a way to achieve self-cultivation in Chinese culture. Therefore, there is no doubt that the reaction to Chinese lute music is not dependent on melody. It is found not so much in the succession of notes, as in each separate note itself. In the mind of the listener, it can evoke a special reaction because of the player’s particular tempo of respiration. The tempo of respiration was the motive power of Chinese traditional art. What is the meaning of the tempo of respiration? If we listen to Chinese lute music with a serene mind, it is easy for us to find that the notes are very few in number, and simple; breath weaves through the notes, preceding and following. That is the so-called player’s “tempo of respiration”. In fact, this “tempo of respiration” of Chinese lute music is derived from the illumination of Taoist life aesthetics. The absorption of Taoist life aesthetics became the nutrient of the Chinese lute.

Robert Hans van Gulik’s viewpoints

Now let’s focus on *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*; an essay in the ideology of the Ch’in by Van Gulik, especially in regard to the beauty of Chinese lute music. The author tried to explore the contributions and limitations of Van Gulik’s viewpoints on Chinese lute music. The motif of the book by Van Gulik is “the beauty of Chinese lute music”, which is also the outstanding viewpoint in this book. With regard to the beauty of Chinese lute music, Van Gulik indicated the essential characteristic of Chinese lute music: “lute music in its simplest essence is the echo of these undying voices of living nature” (*The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, Preface, XI)

The above statement reveals that he had found the secret of Chinese lute music; that is that “Chinese lute music in its simplest essence is the echo of these undying voices of living nature.” At the same time, he expressed his experiences with Chinese lute music by comparisons with

“.....the two-stringed violin or êrh-hu, the four-stringed mandoline or p’i-p’a, or the moon guitar or yüeh-ch’in. The music of these instruments being highly melodical, it can be appreciated by anyone who possesses some capacity for musical adaptation. At first hearing their music may seem a little strange, but the ear soon adjusts itself to the quaint chords and unusual movements, and this music is easily understood.

The lute, on the contrary, is not so easy to appreciate, chiefly because its music is not primarily melodical. Its beauty is found not so much in the succession of notes as in each

separate note in itself. 'Painting with sounds' might be a way to describe its essential quality." (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, 1)

Then he indicated that the distinguishing characteristics of Chinese lute music are as follows: (1) Its music is not primarily melodic. (2) Its beauty lies less in the succession of notes than in each separate note in itself. (3) "Painting with sounds" might be a good way to describe its essential quality.

In addition, he also indicated that "each note is an entity in itself, calculated to evoke in the mind of the hearer a special reaction" (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, 1), ⁷ and "the impression made by one note is followed by another, still another. There is thus a compelling, inevitable suggestion of a mood, an atmosphere" (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, 2). These experiences were very crucial to the formulation of his opinions. He found that the beauty of the Chinese lute is associated with the experiences of nature in Chinese life. For example, in Chinese painting,

"Under an old pine tree, sitting on a steep bank overhanging a flowing stream, absorbed in the contemplation of far mountain tops severed from the earth by floating mists, such is the scenery with which Chinese painters love to surround the lute player.

When, borne on the unworldly and serene tones of the lute, the mind of the player is purified and elevated to mystic heights, his soul may commune with the essence of the rugged rocks and vast stretches of water confronting him, and so he may experience a complete reunion with tao." (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, ⁵⁷)

In other words, he found that the mood of Chinese lute players is always connected with the atmosphere of nature. Furthermore, he observed that "It was not only aesthetical considerations, however, that caused this custom of preferably representing the lute player as confronted with an impressive mountain landscape. Doubtless here the function of the lute as an instrument to strengthen the vital essence of the player also was an important factor." (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, ⁵⁷)

Therefore, he also found that the figure of the Chinese lute player applied the ideal to the design of a garden. They greatly emphasized the environment of "...the lute player when performing on the lute in the open: one should be near an old pine tree, admiring its gnarled, antique appearance. In the shade of the pines some cranes should be stalking, and the lute player should admire their graceful movements, modeling on them his finger technique.....

After some beautiful spot in the open, the abode of the scholar is the most suitable place for playing the lute. The ideal dwelling of the scholar should breathe an atmosphere of secludedness; it is surrounded by a garden, fenced off by pine trees or bamboos; narrow footpaths should meander among miniature rocks of interesting shapes and lotus ponds,

leading to a small pavilion of rustic appearance, where the scholar may compose poetry or read his books.” (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, 58)

In addition, the Chinese lute player liked to plant flowers, enjoy the glorious full moon, taste tea, and burn incense, which were also ways to help the lute players experience a complete reunion with Tao. From the aforementioned statement, Van Gulik’s viewpoints are truly worthy of careful deliberation, as when he said: “(Chinese lute) its music is not primarily melodic.” (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, 1); “Its beauty lies not so much in the succession of notes as in each separate note in itself.”¹ (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, 1) Some other experts, such as J.C.Y. Watt, raised different viewpoints:

“In the present author’s opinion, Van Gulik was wrong — and this is the only major point on which one takes issue with him -- when he described qin music as ‘not primarily melodic’ and concluded that, ‘Its beauty lies not so much in the succession of notes as in each separate note itself.’”⁵ Bell Yung stated:

“No one will dispute the notion that, in any music, a tone makes musical, or aural, “sense” only in the context of tones that come before and after. Similarly in zither music, a movement, which produces a tone, will make choreographic and kinesthetic “sense” in the context of the other movements that come before and after. A single movement, or a sequence of movements, may thus be examined within the context of a phrase.”²

“The program notes for a zither concert at the 1976 Durham Oriental Music Festival contains the following observation: “The beauty of its [Zither’s] music lies in the color of the tones, not in the melodic combination of pitches.” Similar statements have been often echoed elsewhere. Van Gulik writes in his *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* : ‘The lute (zither)...is not so easy to appreciate, chiefly because its music is not primarily melodic. Its beauty lies not so much in the succession of notes as in each separate note in itself’ (p.1). In truth, zither music is complex and fascinating from the melodic point of view. ”

Why didn’t other experts approve of Van Gulik’s opinions? Bell Yung’s statement was quoted from the program of Durham Oriental Music Festival in 1976. It showed that the same opinions may not only belong to Van Gulik, but also to other researchers. In fact, Van Gulik’s opinions of the Chinese lute did not conform to Chinese thought. It is impossible for Chinese people to view timbre, pitch, and melody separately. Why did Van Gulik explain the character of Chinese lute music in this way? Perhaps the answer is related to musical notation. There is no rhythm and pitch, let alone variation of melody in Chinese lute notation.

1 J.C.Y., Watt. 1981. *The Qin and the Chinese Literati*, *Orientalism* magazine, November, 38.

2 Bell, Yung. 1984. *Choreographic and Kinesthetic Elements in Performance of the Chinese Seven-String Zither*, *Ethnomusicology* (September) 28, 507

The lute notation just consists of postures, movements of the player's finger skills. But in fact, although the basic notes of the Chinese lute music are very simple, there are still many subtle finger skills involving different hand movements, which constitute so-called "ornamentations".

Westerners viewed playing Chinese lute music as just creating variations by the timbre of the hands, rather than on the whole melody. That is why Van Gulik said, "(Chinese lute) its music is not primarily melodic" (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, 1) and "Its beauty lies not so much in the succession of notes as in each separate note in itself." (The Lore of the Chinese Lute, 1) Therefore Westerners observed that the beauty of Chinese lute music comes from the variation of each separate note. This viewpoint of Van Gulik is only partly correct.

However, to a degree, the viewpoints of Van Gulik corresponded with the reality of Chinese lute music. There is no doubt that the reaction to Chinese lute music is not dependent on melody. It is found not so much in the succession of notes as in each separate note itself. Van Gulik absorbed the essence of Chinese culture, but the basic differences in cultural background resulted in some discussable questions, which he left for future researchers to answer. In addition, although Van Gulik observed that "the disposition of the lute player must be very much like that of a priest before sacrificing: he should be purified physically and mentally, freed from all earthly thoughts, and ready for communication with the deepest mysteries of life". (The Lore 11 of the Chinese Lute, 60) He did not realize that each separate note of lute music is not only an entity in itself, but can also evoke in the mind of the hearer a special reaction, because of the "player's tempo of respiration"- the deeper secret of Chinese lute music.

Conclusions

This paper illustrates that the essence of the Chinese lute music is based on Taoist philosophy. The beauty of Chinese lute music is established on "the tempo of respiration", which is derived from Taoist life philosophy. By examining the introspection of Van Gulik's discussion on the beauty of lute music, we learn that it is difficult for Westerners to translate and interpret this issue into English for the Western world.

This manuscript tries to draw the above ideas together, combining the ideas of the beauty of Chinese lute music and the aesthetics of Taoist philosophy with Van Gulik's viewpoints to create a deeper and fuller fusion of the aesthetic horizon. This is central to Gadamer's notion of hermeneutic philosophy. These ideas can be explained by a painting that is profound in meaning, and which has three significant components: the natural environment, the lute player, and the empty space. The last of these components signifies the Tao of being free, or the freedom of mind, letting oneself be free of oneself. From a

Western point of view, this space may also signify the horizon of understanding; the painting reminds the notion of the limits of our knowledge to which we aspire.

In the picture it is as if the lute player lives and breathes him into this empty space for musical inspiration; we can see the three important aspects of my paper: the lute player and the importance of respiration to achieve the Tao of freedom of being, all in a fusion of the horizon.

When the lute player totally frees his mind and body, then he can put the tempo of respiration into the Chinese lute music and display his/her vivid artistic conception. That is why ancient Chinese lute players believed that playing Chinese lute music could free one from earthliness, to express pure musical thoughts. The mood is just like the floating clouds and flowing water. That is the so-called “tempo of respiration,”-the key point of “the beauty of Chinese lute music.

However, it is not so easy for Westerners to penetrate the secrets of Chinese lute music as they reflect upon and encompass social and cultural elements beneath the surface. Therefore, as a Western foreigner, Van Gulik ventured to publish the Lore of the Chinese Lute; an essay in the ideology of the Ch'in. He indicated the intrinsic beauty of the lute to let the Westerner understand the marvelous nature of lute music. This was a wonderful contribution to Chinese and Western culture, and other researchers will continue, from where he left off, accomplishing the work that he initiated.



Painting by Chang Lu¹

¹ 8The painting was painted by modern Chinese famous painter Chang Lu. It was collected by Fei-Er Ge.2010.

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¹ Qing-Yun-Pei-Sheng: *The Chinese lutes in famous paintings*. Beijing: Culture & Arts Publishing House, P. 61.

SHI YE - ROBERT VAN GULIK'S EXPLANATION OF THE CHINESE GIBBON AND ITS PARADIGMATIC MEANINGS¹

The *Gibbon in China* is the first Western monography which studies the ancient Chinese gibbon culture systematically. Robert van Gulik (RvG) has wide interests in Chinese culture. His detective fictions Judge Dee series are famous as well as his researches on ancient Chinese sexual life, philosophy, the lute and inkstone, painting and calligraphy. But his research on the Chinese gibbon culture has only got scarce attention in the academic world.

It is a challenge to give a brief overview of RvG's records, as his career combines outstanding achievements in three areas. "Anyone of which would have sufficed to distinguish an ordinary person: as a diplomat who served in important posts as Netherlands envoy; as a Sinologue scholar, and one with extraordinarily wide-ranging interests and knowledge; and as author-artist, creator of the immensely popular Judge Dee novels and the illustrations for them".²

Key words: R.H. van Gulik, gibbon, literature, art

An overview of "The Gibbon in China" [Gulik, 1967]

In traditional Chinese culture, the gibbon is considered to be the gentleman in the animal kingdom. Its image is similar to traditional Chinese shi-da-fu 士大夫 (scholar-official). RvG chooses this animal to be his subject because of the gibbon caters to the aesthetic taste of Chinese scholar official and Taoism. *The Gibbon in China* (further abbreviated as: TGIC) is the first Western monograph which studies the ancient Chinese gibbon culture systematically. The way RvG uses it is an interdisciplinary research including literature, history, zoology, art etc. He cites the literature from the Shang and Zhou dynasties, down to the Ming dynasties, three thousand years of Chinese poetry, essay, historical notes on the gibbon. He focuses on the gibbon's status in the heart of the Chinese literati, discusses the relationship between the gibbon and humanity. So his research is original, pioneering and intercrossing. TGIC is also RvG's last sinological monograph, which took him many years to finish. [General remark: The gibbon is a (lesser) APE, the monkeys are lower on the hierarchical ladder of ancestry but they are all PRIMATES], hence gibbons (yuan); not monkeys (hou), (TGIC p 33).

¹ This paper was presented at the year 2013 meeting of the SEC/AAS, sponsored by the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, in Wilmington, North Carolina, USA. Jan 20, 2013.

² James Cahill, Judge Dee and the Vanishing Ming Erotic Colour Prints, *Orientation*, September 2003 volume 34 No.7, p40.

A distinctive vision on a broader Chinese gibbon culture

In order to give a detailed account on the changing of cultural image of the gibbon, RvG divides the history of ancient Chinese gibbon culture into three periods.

First period: early times to Han Dynasty (1500-202 BCE) (TGIC pp 18-43).

In the beginning of this period, the imagery of the gibbon is vague, and mixed with that of monkeys, orangutans and other primates. People in Shang Dynasty had no idea of the gibbon. All they knew was the monkey. One big gibbon variant named Kui 夔 was respected as one of the earliest ancestors and totems by the human being in Shang Dynasty. RvG differentiates and analyses the inscriptions on bronze objects, oracle bones and tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty (TGIC 18-23) and archaic words of the Zhou Dynasty (TGIC pp 20-21). He performs a textual research on five primates in Erh-ya 爾雅 [Coblin, 1993], the first dictionary in Ancient China (TGIC 32), such as 猩猩(orangutan)、狒狒 (baboon)、獠猿 (one kind monkey mentioned in ancient literature)etc., and on that data then claims the gibbon's existence in ancient China. The problem is that Chinese ancestors didn't have a clear idea of the differences between gibbons and other primates. He cites verses in Shi-jing¹(TGIC 242) and Chu-ci²(TGIC p 32) and Shan-hai-jing.³The Shi-jing and Chu-ci are considered to be important sources of Chinese literature. The great poet Qu Yuan⁴(340 - 278 BCE) is the founder and representative writer of Chu-ci. The "Shan-hai-jing", or "Classic of the Mountains and Waters" [Birrell, 2000] (TGIC p26) is the first fantastic book that records intensively the myth segment and primitive thinking of historic China. These books also add up material to be evidence. The South Mountain Jing 南山经 of Shan-hai-jing says: There is a mountain named Tang-ting three-hundred-miles eastward. There are a lot of Yan 椴 trees and white gibbons in the mountain. In Qu Yuan's poem The Mountain Ghost 山鬼 of Nine Songs 九歌, he described the gibbon was chirping at night. This is the earliest description of the gibbon's call and also the beginning of the literary theme: 'the gibbon's call is sad'. Actually, we may conclude to have many documents that prove RvG's opinion that the gibbon existed in early China and that the idea it formed a subject of admiration is right.

¹ Shi-jing 《诗经》, the first collection of Chinese poems, it's the source of Chinese literature, Book of Odes [Allen, 1996].

² Chu-ci 《楚辞》, one kind of poem created by Qu-yuan, it's also the source of Chinese Literature. [Hawkes, 1959].

³ Shan-hai-jing 《山海经》 is the earliest Chinese geography book which has rich myths and legends [Birrell, 2000].

⁴ Qu-yuan 屈原 (340-278BCE), a great poet in Warring States Period (475-221BCE).

Second period: From Han Dynasty to the end of the Tang Period (202 BCE - 907 CE) (TGIC pp 44-75).

In this period van Gulik thinks the gibbon's image is poeticized, mystified and gentlemanized. He presents in this way several famous poets like Tao-qian 陶潜¹ [Hinton, 1993], also called Tao yuan-ming (circa 362-427) quote: 郁郁荒山里,猿声闲且哀,² and Bao-zhao 鲍照³ quote: 鸡鸣清涧中,猿啸白云里.⁴ The concept that the gibbon's call is sad appears in different poems and becomes an unfailing literary motif which exists more than two thousands of years. Many poets in that period, especially Li-bai 李白⁵ contribute a lot to the poetical gibbon. Li-bai poured his plentiful emotion and his insights on life to these poems. "Before the gibbons on both riverbanks had ceased calling, my small boat had already passed ten thousand mountain peaks"⁶ described his excitement when he had a trip with his word. "The gibbon's make the hairs turn grey, now they flow my head as so many strands of silk"⁷ sighed life was but a span. "In Ch'iu-pu the (calls of the) gibbon sadden the night, the Huang Mountain raises high its white head"⁸ expressed the endless memory and love of his hometown. "A lonely gibbon calls sitting on the grave in the moonlight"⁹ reproduced the impermanence of life. RvG thinks Li-bai's poems on the gibbon described the spiritual, surreal and aloof gibbon imagery, so his poems are the representativeness of ancient Chinese gibbon literature.

Meanwhile, RvG notices that in the late Tang Dynasty, there was an emergence of secular and multicultural trends of the gibbon's imagery in Tang Legends¹⁰ like A fisher in Chu-jiang 楚江渔者, Ou yang-he 欧阳纆, Sun ke 孙恪, Chen yan 陈岩¹¹ and history books like Wu-yue-chun-qiu 吴越春秋¹², mention that the gibbon could change into an old wise man (TGIC p 73-74) or a beautiful woman (TGIC p71). Some of those gibbons indulge in alcohol and beauty or worldly love. They are the embodiment of secular people. The secularization of the gibbon is the reflection of the blossom of citizen literature during middle and late Tang dynasty.

¹ Tao-qian(陶潜 also called Tao yuan-ming 365-427),the famous poet of the Eastern Jin Dynasty [Hinton, 1993].

² Forlornly I dwell in the lonely mountains, where the calls of the gibbons are casual but sad, TGIC,p 52.

³ Bao-zhao (鲍照 circa 415-466), the famous litterateur of the Southern Dynasty.

⁴ The chicken cackle down by the clear stream, the gibbon call high up in the white clouds, TGIC, p52

⁵ Li-bai(李白 701-762), the greatest poet of Tang Dynasty.

⁶ 两岸猿声啼不尽,轻舟已过万重山. TGIC, p60.

⁷ 猿声催白发,长知尽成丝. TGIC, p61.

⁸ 秋浦猿夜愁,黄山堪白头. TGIC, p61

⁹ 孤猿坐啼坟上月. TGIC, p60.

¹⁰ Tang Legend, the fictions in Tang Dynasty.

¹¹ 《楚江渔者》、《欧阳纆》、《孙恪》、《陈岩》 are all Tang Legends which focus on the gibbon story, TGIC, P67.

¹² Wu-yue-chun-qiu (《吴越春秋》) is a history book which records the history of Wu and Yue during Spring and Autumn Period(770BC-476BC). The author is Zhao Ye 赵晔, a famous scholar in the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220).

There are several poetical essays which are devoted to the gibbon, like Xuan-yuan-fu 玄猿賦 by Wu-yun 吳筠(died 778 CE)¹ [Yip, 1997] (TGIC 54) and Bai-yuan-fu 《白猿賦》 by Li de-yu 李德裕 (787 – 849 CE)²(TGIC 56) [Yip, 1997]. The reclusive poet Wu-yun describes the gibbon as an example for man, who should live just as the gibbon, emancipated from all worldly cares (TGIC p54). Li de-yu points out the difference between the aloof gibbon and the quarrelsome and volatile macaque (TGIC p 56). Those macaques refer to Li de-yu's own enemies at court who brought about his downfall. RvG thinks those ancient scholar-officials project their ideal personalities on the gibbon image [TGIC 27,69,73].

Third period: From Song to Ming Dynasty (960-1644 CE) (TGIC pp 76-96).

From Song to Ming dynasty, as the consequence of human activities expanding, the gibbon moved to the remote mountain forests gradually. RvG focuses on the gibbon's image in works of art. RvG thinks there were two factors which improved the art of painting in Song Dynasty. One is the development of free sketch painting, the other is the popularity of Zen which made the artists concentrate much more on the communication with nature. While inheriting the literature traditions of former generations, the Chinese artists enrich and develop the image of the gibbon in paintings. RvG mentions many famous artists like Yi yuan-ji 易元吉 [Russell & Cohn, 2012] (TGIC p 79) and Mu-xi 牧溪 [Wey, 1974] (TGIC p 87).

Yi is a famous traditional realistic painter in the reign period of the Emperors Ren-zong (仁宗 1010–1063) and Ying-zong (英宗 1032-1067). Yi liked to observe the wild gibbons and often stayed with the gibbon, deer and other animals. So his paintings are so vivid that they look like photographs. Mu-xi is a monk painter with an impressionistic style. His gibbon paintings give a sense of spirituality and especially favored by Japanese art connoisseurs. RvG made a comparison of Yi yuan-ji's realistic and Mu-xi's impressionistic style. He claims he himself prefers the latter because this style answers to the highest requirement of Chinese esthetics, namely that called connotation 含蓄, meaning that there is more inside than is expressed on the outside.

According to the historical context, RvG collects and organizes the documentation related to both literature and image data and builds a logical, plentiful Chinese gibbon culture history. His research presents a clear changing track of the gibbon imagery to the Western audiences.

¹ Wu-yun 吳筠, a famous scholar and Taoist in Tang Dynasty.

² Li de-yu 李德裕, a famous prime minister in late Tang Dynasty.

A unique contribution to the Chinese gibbon culture

1. RvG summarized three main ideas of gibbon-worship tradition in China

In his monography, RvG refines three main ideas of Chinese gibbon worship tradition, that is, the gibbon has a noble character, strong family ties and it is good at gathering Qi 气¹. Meanwhile, RvG demystifies the deep factors of the gibbon worship.

The high status of the gibbon was built in early Zhou Dynasty. Bao Pu Zi, ²a Taoist book written by Ge-hong 葛洪 mentions that all Junzi 君子³in King Mu of Zhou's army changed to the gibbon and crane when he made the southern expedition. On the other hand, the gibbons live in the remote mountain forest, braving the wind and dew. People can hear their call but rarely to see them. So the gibbon is similar to the recluse. As a Junzi or a recluse, the status of the gibbon was further strengthened during the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties as well as Sui, Tang Dynasties. Li ying 李隐, a scholar in Tang Dynasty, told a gibbon changed into a fisherman and fished on Chu Jiang in his mystery novel collection Xiao Xiang Lu 潇湘录.⁴in ancient China, fisher is often implied to be a reclusive wise man. In Li's story, the gibbon and the recluse became one. Wu-yun 吴筠, the famous scholar in Tang Dynasty who went into seclusion after failed the imperial examination and became a Taoist, wrote a poetical essay Xuan-yuan-fu 玄猿赋 and he praised the black gibbon for having longevity as the crane and a character as a Junzi. He claimed if the human being can live as the gibbon, the world would return to the simple, honest, natural and harmonious golden era. The combination of the gibbon and crane often appeared in the poems and paintings. Some ancient Chinese scholars like to raise the gibbon and crane to be their partners and then demonstrate their noble characters.

RvG thinks the reason that the gibbon becomes a symbol of reclusive Junzi is due to their unique characters. The gibbon is kind, gentle, transcendent, tranquil and inactive. It lives a secluded life. These characters accord with the aesthetic taste of Taoism and of traditional Chinese scholars. The harmony between the gibbon and nature, lies in their special characteristics which are similar to the philosophical ideas of Lao-zi 老子⁵and

¹ Qi is a kind of energy. Chinese think It is the fundamental stuff of the universe.

² Bao-pu-zi, a Taoist book written by Ge-hong 葛洪(circa 284-342), a Taoist and medical expert (alchemist) in the Eastern Jin Dynasty(317-420) [Wang & Ping, 1999].

³ Junzi 君子, people who have a noble character and broad knowledge.

⁴ Xiao-xiang-lu 潇湘录, a mystery novel collection in Tang Dynasty. There are two views about its author, one is Li-ying 李隐, another is Liu-xiang 柳祥. None of them has life sotries.

⁵ Lao-zi(circa 571-471 BCE), also names Li-er 李耳, a famous philosopher in the Spring and Autumn Period, the founder of Taoism.

Zhuang-zi 庄子¹. Lao-zi (6th century BCE) is known as the author of the Dao-de-jing (TGIC p23) and Zhuang-zi (4th century BCE) is credited with writing—in part or in whole—a work known by his name, the Zhuang-zi (TGIC p23).

The gibbon has a strong family life. Their families have a human-like relation, they are monogamous, hierarchical and they respect seniority and morality. There are a lot of moving stories about the gibbon's family. In Shi-shuo-xin-yu 世说新语, 'New accounts of tales of the world', early literary sketches by Liu yi-qin 刘义庆,² told a story about a female gibbon died heartbrokenly because her son was rapped by a human being. Another story in Qi-dong-ye-yu 齐东野语 written by the scholar Zhou mi 周密³ in the Song Dynasty described a baby gibbon which cried and jumped to death because his mother was killed. Another reason that Chinese people respect the gibbon is because they think the gibbon is good at gathering Qi 气. The gibbon has long arms which can be used to gather Qi and this means longevity. Everybody hopes to have a long life as the gibbon.

2. RvG's correction on four major gibbon themes of Chinese literature and art

As a Western Sinologist, with his own knowledge background and scientific spirit, RvG surpasses plenty of materials and deep-rooted idea in order to survey the reliability of several traditional gibbon themes in Chinese literature and artistic works.

First, 'the gibbon's call is sad' 猿啸哀 (TGIC p 52).

One of the biggest themes of this subject's literature is on the gibbon's sad call. In the ancient poems and essays, the gibbon's call was often related with sadness and loneliness. As becomes evident from these quotes: "When the gibbons call thrice, tears wet one's dress." (猿鸣三声泪沾裳 TGIC p 46). "Hearing the gibbons call, inch by inch my entrails are torn." (闻猿啸而寸寸断肠 TGIC p 53) No one knows exactly how far back this statement goes. RvG thinks it may come from Qu yuan's poem Mountain Ghost 山鬼.⁴ But Shen de-qian (沈德潜 1673—1769), a scholar in Qing Dynasty think this statement derives from Zhi-jian 智匠, a monk scholar in Southern Dynasty. He wrote a musical monography Gu-jin-yue-lu 古今乐录, mentioned a folk song Nǚ-er-zi 女儿子 which described the gibbon's sad call for the first time.⁵

¹ Zhuang-zi(369-268 BCE), also names Zhuang-zhou 庄周, famous philosopher and litterateur in Warring States Period, another founder of Taoism.

² Liu yi-qin(刘义庆 403-444), a famous litterateur in Southern Dynasty.

³ Zhou-mi 周密(1232-1298), a litterateur in the Southern Song Dynasty (960-1279), wrote the historical notes Qi-dong- ye-yu 齐东野语.

⁴ TGIC, p33.

⁵ TGIC, p46.

RvG corrects that the gibbon's call is in fact not sad. Sadness is of course a very subjective emotion, and dependent of time and culture. Actually they derive great pleasure and satisfaction from calling, and it forms also part of their mating game.

Second, 'the gibbon can come down to drink, a hundred arms forming a chain' 猿猱下饮，百臂相联(TGIC p 43)

RvG cited a story in Tai-ping- -guang-ji 太平广记, 1later Wang i.e. Wang Jên-yü 王仁裕 (880-956), who was a poet, soldier and musician (TGIC p64) was relieved of his duties in Hanzhong 汉中 and crossed over into Sichuan 四川 province. When he and his retinue halted in front of a temple on the Po-chung mountain, on the bank of the Han river, a troop of gibbons let themselves down, holding each other's hands and feet, to drink from the clear stream (TGIC p 66). It is said that Wang set an imprisoned gibbon free and the animal in the wild recognized his master after a long time again.

RvG claims that this is an erroneous imagination. Although gibbons do occasionally hang on each other in play, they don't deliberately form a chain in order to reach an object lying on the ground. But the idea caught the fancy of Chinese writers, artists and artisans , as it suggests the group consciousness among the gibbons.

Third, 'the gibbon is better than the monkey , the former is clean, gentle and recluse, the latter is dirty, noisy, greedy and vulgar' 美猿俗猴(TGIC p 58).

RvG thought this idea was pragmatic; ancient Chinese literati like Wu-yun (TGIC pp 54-56), Li de-yu (TGIC pp 56-57). and Liu zong-yuan ²(Essay on the hateful Monkey-breed 憎王孙文, TGIC pp 57-58), they compared the quarrelsome and volatile monkey with the aloof gibbon. The lament is evidently directed against the people at court who caused themselves or their patron's downfall (TGIC p57). Wu-yun, Li de-yu and Liu zong-yuan have in fact the wrongdoers at the royal quarters in mind when describing the "violent and vulgar monkey", as contrasted to the high-minded and well-behaved gibbon. So the monkey is described as greedy, cruel and undependable, and ugly in appearance" (TGIC p 57).

Fourth, 'the arms of a gibbon are interconnected at the upper ends, and that the animal thus is able to lengthen one arm by pulling the other in' 猿通臂(TGIC p93).

¹ Tai-ping-guang-ji 太平广记, Comprehensive collection of minor literature, compiled by order of the Song emperor Tai-zong and finished in 978 A.D.

² Liu zong-yuan (柳宗元 773-819), famous poet and scholar-official in Tang Dynasty.

RvG cites a story in a literary sketch 簪曝杂记 written by Zhao-yi 赵翼¹, a scholar in Qing dynasty. "The magistrate of the district T'ier-pao sent me a black gibbon, which I had put on a leash attached to a pillar in my office. An office-attendant teased it, keeping at a distance of seven or eight feet. Suddenly the gibbon lengthened his right arm and grabbed the man's robe, nearly tearing it. At that time there was no arm on the gibbon's left shoulder. From this it can be known that the left arm had served to lengthen the right, and thus this was what is called a gibbon with interconnecting arms." (TGIC pp 73, 94). As a matter of fact, this conception is popular in ancient China. Both famous Water Margin 水浒传² and Journey to the West 西游记³ have a role named Tong Bi Yuan 通臂猿, interconnected-arm gibbon. The former Tong Bi Yuan is the nick name of a hero in Water Margin; the latter is a divine monkey which has magical capability.

RvG thought it's a strange old fantasy. This false impression must have been caused by the truly incredible speed with which a gibbon reaches out with one arm while keeping the other close to its body. In present-day primatology an explanation of shoulder hyper flexibility is found in its unique anatomy [Ankel-Simons, 2007].⁴

The Paradigmatic⁵ Meaning of RvG's Chinese Gibbon Research

We've already introduced RvG's distinctive vision and unique contribution on Chinese gibbon culture above. The most important thing isn't the conclusion he draws, but his methodological reasoning. These methods have paradigmatic meanings to the research on gibbon or other animals, even to scientific studies in other fields.

In a macroscopic view, RvG's research on the gibbon creates a model for other scholars' study on animal culture. Most Western scholars study the gibbon from the angle of zoology whereas RvG's viewpoint is from the angle of cultural history. His research based on the relationship between human being and gibbon, reveals the deep cultural factors of some phenomenon about the gibbon. His way of research inspires a lot of later scholars, for example, Roel Sterckx and his "The Animal and the Daemon in Early China" [Sterckx, 2002],

¹ Zhao yi (赵翼 1727—1814), an official scholar in Qing Dynasty, the author of the literary sketch Yan-pu-za-ji 簪曝杂记.

² Water Margin 水浒传, a popular fiction written by Shi nai-an (circa 1296-1371) in the end of Yuan Dynasty and the beginning of Ming dynasty, a 120-chapter novel.

³ Journey to the West 西游记, a popular fiction written by Wu cheng-en (1501-1582) in Ming Dynasty.

⁴ In primatology brachiation (from 'brachium', Latin for 'arm'), or arm swinging, is a form of arboreal locomotion in which primates swing from tree limb to tree limb using only their arms. During brachiation, the body is alternatively supported under each forelimb. This form of locomotion is used exclusively by the small gibbons and siamangs of southeast Asia.

⁵ The idea of the paradigm, an accepted view of the (key) phenomena of concern in a discipline, and the ensuing 'paradigmatic shift' is from Thomas Kuhn's (1922-1996) work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Second Edition, Enlarged, The University of Chicago Press, 1970. [Kuhn, 1970].

Robert Joe Cutter and his “The Brush and the Spur: Chinese Culture and the Cockfight” [Cutter, 1989] etc.

In a microscopic view, RvG’s research on gibbon supplies others with some scientific and practical ways.

One is citing ancient texts and images to be the source of evidence. RvG collects plenty of data from poems, essays, novels, notes, local annals etc. He himself transcribes all the original Chinese texts in TGIC. Although there are a few mistakes in those citations, his efforts (from seeking, selecting to combing and typesetting) on the raw materials is commendable. Thus those messy raw materials become persuasive evidences of his book. Besides, RvG uses a mass of images in his book, from the inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty to the gibbon paintings of Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties, totally amount up to 58 pictures. The pictures and their accompanying essay are both excellent. They are also the interesting visual evidences for RvG’s demonstration.

The other is raising animals in order to get first hand materials. RvG raised (at least) 4 gibbons in order to observe their habits and lifestyle. He also recorded the gibbons’ call and attached the disk behind his book. He hopes every reader can enjoy the gibbon’s graceful calls. Meanwhile, he creates a new social scientific research paradigm, that is, combining text, pictures and sound together in order to motivate readers’ sense organs and elaborative faculty. Beyond doubt, he is successful.

The point can be made: As a Western scholar, why was RvG so interested in the Chinese gibbon culture? I presume there are three main reasons:

First, his consistent love with the Chinese culture and his dream to be a Chinese style scholar-official. This kind of emotion can be found throughout his whole life. I have mentioned above, the gibbon is the gentleman in the animal kingdom, its image is similar to the traditional Chinese scholar-official;

Second, his respect and fascination with Lao-zi and Zhuang-zi's philosophical concepts and the Chinese recluse culture . The essences of Lao Zhuang philosophy are returning to nature and inaction expressed by the concept of 无为=wu wei, meaning 'Do nothing yet everything will be done'. Because the character traits of the gibbon accord with the Taoist aesthetics thoughts, a lot of Taoist recluses raised the gibbon to be their partner as pet animals. Tao-gu 陶穀(circa 950) [Tao-gu, 2007] , an official-scholar in Song Dynasty, records an anecdote in his historic note Qin-yi-lu 清异录, 'the Taoist Li Tao-yin 李道殷 who lived on the Hua Mountain kept a black gibbon whom he called Pi-tung 臂童. He had made for him a nest high up in an old pine tree, and there the gibbon slept; this he called Perch of Lofty Verdancy' (TGIC p 73).

Last but not the least, the deep affection with gibbons that he raised. Robert van Gulik's son Willem said the only time he saw his father wept was the time when Popo died (Popo was the gibbon he raised).

There are two important monographs on the gibbon published in 1967. One is RvG's "The gibbon in China" [Gulik, 1967], the other is Desmond Morris' "The Naked Ape" [Morris, 1999]. The former focuses on the gibbon's humanity and the Chinese gibbon culture; the latter reveals animal origin of mankind, which everyone should understand and accept this naturalness. Both of these publications are based on the relationship between the gibbon (or the ape in general) and human race. They are opposite and complementary to each other and they mutually testify their respective reasonability. They are both in essence pioneering and paradigmatic.

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提要：中國古老而豐富的動物文化是西方學界長期關注的熱點，荷蘭漢學家高羅佩的《長臂猿考》²即為其中一部力作。高氏以獨特的視角闡釋了從商周至元明中國猿意象的歷史流變，剖析了崇猿傳統的文化淵源，並對中國文學藝術作品中的四大傳統猿主題，即“猿嘯哀”、“猿連肱潤飲”、“猿善猴惡”、“猿通臂”進行了探討，糾正了長期以來不少認識上的誤區。在研究方法上，高氏不僅注重文字文獻和圖像文獻的引證，而且通過長期飼養猿以觀察其生活習性，搜集和積累有關猿的音像資料，其研究動物文化的宏通視野和獨特方法都具有一種範式意義。

關鍵詞：高羅佩 猿文化闡釋 範式意義

《長臂猿考》是西方第一部系統介紹中國猿文化的學術專著，也是高羅佩的最後一部漢學專書。高羅佩對中國文化有着廣泛的興趣，他的狄公案系列小說風靡全球，因中譯本的陸續出版和影視作品的改編，狄神探在中國家喻戶曉；他對中國古代性文化、琴文化、硯文化及書畫作品也曾有過深入且頗有見地的研究，部分學術專著已有中譯本出版。然而，高羅佩對中國猿文化的研究尚未引起學界關注，目前只有陳珏等極少數學者論及該書，³西方學界有關此書的論文也不多見。⁴筆者認為，高羅佩選取猿這一極為貼合中國古代士大夫審美趣味的動物，將上自商周下至元明三千餘年文獻及圖像中的猿意象納入視野，橫跨文學、史學、動物學、藝術學等領域，探討其在中國文化史上的地位以及猿、人關係的變遷，極具開拓性、原創性及交叉性，“這其實是一部以猿在中國人心目中的地位為研究半徑的文化歷史學名著，其學術開創上的意義，甚至超過了《秘戲圖考》”。⁵因此，本文就高羅佩對中國猿文化的審視與詮釋，從範式意義考察《長臂猿考》在學術史及跨文化傳播史上的地位和影響。

一 中國猿意象的流變及崇猿傳統的文化淵源

¹ 高羅佩 (Robert Hans van Gulik, 1910-1967)，荷蘭著名漢學家，出版過 *The lore of Chinese Lute*、*Mi Fu on Ink-stones*、《嵇康及其〈琴賦〉》、《書畫鑑賞彙編》、《棠陰比事》、《書畫說鈴》、《秘戲圖考》、《中國古代房內考》等學術專著及狄公案系列小說。

² R.H. van Gulik: *The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, Holland, 1967. 本文出自《長臂猿考》的引文皆為筆者自譯。

³ 參見臺灣國立清華大學陳珏《高羅佩與“動物文化史”——從“新史學”視野之比較研究》一文，《新史學》第二十卷第二期，2009年6月，167-206頁。該論文以《馬頭明王古今諸說源流考》與《長臂猿考》二書為重點，集中討論高羅佩漢學與“動物文化史”的關係。

⁴ 參見瑞士蘇黎世大學長臂猿研究中心主任葛思曼 (Thomas Geissmann) 博士：《高羅佩與古往今來中國畫中之長臂猿》(Robert van Gulik and the Apes of China in Arts: Past, Present and Future)，該文以畫論猿，為高羅佩之後數十年來第一篇結合動物文化史與藝術史的長篇論文。

⁵ 陳珏：《高羅佩與他所養的猿——〈長臂猿考〉的來龍去脈》，香港《文匯報》副刊 2006年6月3日。

《長臂猿考》對中國猿文化的考察跨越時代和學科，全書分“遠古至漢朝”、“漢朝至唐末”、“宋、元、明朝”三部分展開，在細緻梳理各時代有關長臂猿的文學、藝術、歷史、動物學資料的基礎上，着重探討了中國猿意象的歷史流變。

遠古時期的猿意象經歷了一個由蕪雜混亂而漸至清晰的過程，逐漸進入中國文人的審美視野。夏商周時期，初民對猩猩、猿、猴等動物的概念混淆不清，商代人不知道猿只熟悉猴，有種叫做“夔”的大猴被商人尊為始祖和圖騰。那麼，夏商周時期是否有猿呢？高羅佩從商代甲骨文及周代篆體字入手，做了很多辨析和厘清工作。經過對《爾雅》中猩猩、狒狒、獠猿等五種靈長類動物的考辯，他認為“獠猿”應該是猿而不是陸璣在《毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏》所認為的獠猴，¹也就是說遠古時期已有猿存在，但混雜在其他靈長類動物中，且常被誤認為是猴。這一判斷無疑是正確的，因為先秦有關猿的資料確實稀見，但中原大地已出現了它們的身影。

《山海經·南山經》明確記載曰：“又東三百里，曰堂庭之山，多棗木，多白猿。”²屈原《九歌·山鬼》的“猿啾啾兮狢夜鳴”，³是中國文學作品中最早出現的猿啼聲描述，成為後代“猿嘯哀”主題的發端。

漢代至唐末，猿意象被詩化、神秘化、君子化。也就在同一時期，漢唐小說中的猿形象出現多元化、世俗化趨向。魏晉南北朝至唐五代，中國的詩歌藝術漸臻佳境，因而這一時期的猿意象帶有鮮明的詩化風格。無論是已佚的東晉《宜都山川記》“巴東三峽猿鳴悲，夜鳴三聲淚沾衣”，⁴還是北魏酈道元的“高猿長嘯，屬引淒異，空谷傳響，哀轉久絕”，⁵都竭力渲染了猿啼之淒切哀婉，以致“猿嘯哀”成為綿延兩千餘年而經久不衰的文學母題。唐代“詩猿”獨步一時的盛況離不開詩仙李白卓而不羣的詠猿詩，他將豐沛的激情、人生的感悟融入詩中：“兩岸猿聲啼不盡，輕舟已過萬重山”是仗劍出遊時的興奮；⁶“猿聲催白髮，長短盡成絲”為人生苦短的感慨；⁷“秋浦猿夜愁，黃山堪白頭”表達的是綿延不絕的鄉愁；⁸“孤猿坐啼墳上月”再現的是生命無常的黯淡。⁹高羅佩認為李白詩歌完美再現了中國猿靈動超脫的奇妙意象，應為詠猿詩的代表。魏晉時期，猿的神秘性得到了進一步張揚，有人夜夢博赤猿，“其力甚於貔虎”，不知凶吉；東晉王嘉《拾遺記》卷八猿授玉版於“妙閑算術讖說”的周羣，扮演了一個指點迷津的高

¹ 陸璣《毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏》，該書《教獠升木》卷下：獠，獠猴也，楚人謂之沐猴。老者為獠，長臂者為猿。增訂漢魏叢書本，葉7A。

² 袁珂《山海經校注》卷一，上海古籍出版社，1980年，頁2。

³ 洪興祖《楚辭補注》，北京，中華書局，1983年，頁81。“狢”亦作“又”。

⁴ 《藝文類聚》卷九五“獸部下·猿”，上海古籍出版社，1982年，頁1652。

⁵ 《水經注》卷三四“江水”，上海古籍出版社，1990年，頁645。

⁶ 李白《朝發白帝城》，《全唐詩》（6）卷一八一，北京中華書局，1960年，頁1844。

⁷ 李白《秋浦歌》，《全唐詩》（5）卷一六七，頁1723。

⁸ 李白《秋浦歌》，《全唐詩》（5）卷一六七，頁1723。

⁹ 李白《悲歌行》，《全唐詩》（5）卷一六六，頁1722。

14a 《說郛》卷八八上，文淵閣四庫全書本，881冊，頁106下，107上；《拾遺記》，北京，中華書局，1981年，頁195

人角色。^{14a} 這些故事均增添了猿的神秘的“魅惑”氣息。而“所謂‘魅’乃是遠古時期由於科技的不發達所形成的自然自身的神秘感以及人類對它的敬畏感與恐懼感”。¹此外，《藝文類聚》卷九五引《抱朴子》“周穆王南征，一軍皆化，君子為猿為鶴，小人為蟲為沙”的傳說，²奠定了猿在靈長類動物中的君子地位，並將猿鶴對舉，建構了廣受後代文人藝術家青睞的猿鶴組合。高羅佩認為，猿鶴這兩種動物皆善吸氣，鳴聲似琴，姿態優雅，品性高潔，因此激發了中國文人的創作靈感，使“猿鶴配”成為高潔的君子品性的代言物。

這一時期的猿意象除了詩化、君子化、神秘化的特徵外，也出現了世俗化及多元化傾向，主要體現在《太平廣記》等筆記及類書的猿故事中。這些小說儘管多虛構的成份，但褪去了傳統文化的仙幻氣息，展現了更貼近世俗人生的豐富猿世界，如《孫恪》中的情猿，《狻猊》中的盜猿、《歐陽紘》中的淫猿，《陳巖》中的悍猿等等。^{16a} 高羅佩認為，小說中的猿世界其實就是人類社會的折射，《狻猊》和《歐陽紘》中貪戀酒色的白猿是世俗男子食色欲望的誇張表現，《陳巖》中嫁為巖婦的雌猿是世間悍婦的化身，《孫恪》中的袁氏則是專情賢淑的賢妻良母形象，而猿意象的世俗化也正好呼應了中晚唐市民文學嶄露頭角的趨勢。

宋元明時期，人類活動區域的不斷擴張導致長臂猿退居僻遠山林，詩文中的猿形象大多為前代的因襲，但畫作中的猿意象則異彩紛呈。中國的繪畫藝術在宋代得到了極大的提高，高羅佩認為其原因有二：一是寫意藝術的發展，二是禪宗思想的普及，使藝術家更專注於與自然的溝通。宋代的猿意象主要通過著名畫家易元吉和牧溪的畫作來展示，易元吉是活躍於宋仁宗、英宗時代的畫家，宋代工筆劃的代表，他喜實地觀察動物，因此他的猿畫，“幾與猿狖鹿豕同遊，故心傳目擊之妙，寫於毫端”。^{16b} 如《羣猿戲蜂圖》、《百猿圖》等都生動逼真，堪與攝影媲美。而宋代畫僧法常（字牧溪）則以寫意風格畫猿，其猿畫更靈動抽象，《峽猿圖》形神皆備。^{16c} 牧溪之畫備受日本人青睞，被視為國寶保存至今。高羅佩更傾向於寫意的畫風，他認為：

工筆意在忠實於自然，寫意儘管忽視細節，但仍非常可信，因為它表達出了客體的氛圍；工筆是描繪，寫意是放發。所以寫意派達到了中國美學的最高要求，那就是含蓄。含蓄意為相較於外在的表現，內涵往往更豐富，常被簡單地稱為“有餘”。在西方語境中，極至之美是神秘的、超現實的，永遠不可能被我們人類用真實的媒介來傳達，只能意會。³在此，高羅佩通過牧溪的寫意猿畫生動闡釋了中國美學中的含蓄美。

¹ 曾繁仁：《生態現象學方法與生態存在論審美觀》，《上海師範大學學報》（哲社版）2011年第1期，頁7。

² 《藝文類聚》，頁1652。

^{16a} 參《太平廣記》卷四四四，四四五，北京，中華書局，1961年，頁3639—3641，3629—3631，3632—3633。

^{16b} 《宣和畫譜》卷一八，《中國書畫全書》（2），上海書畫出版社，1993年，頁120下，121上、下。

^{16c} 《繪事備考》卷六，《中國書畫全書》（8），上海書畫出版社，1994年，頁667上。

³ *The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore*, P.88.

至此，高羅佩將其所能蒐集到的文獻與圖像資料按時代座標作了精心的組合和獨到的解讀，從而構建了一部脈絡清晰、內容豐滿的中國猿文化史，向西方讀者勾勒出了中國猿意象清晰的嬗變軌迹。

中國猿文化的主旋律為一以貫之的崇猿傳統，高羅佩在全書起始就提出了這一點：

它（猿）是中國傳統意義上純潔、超凡脫俗的典範。它是詩人和哲學家的象徵，並充當了人與自然間的神秘的紐帶。長臂猿引導人們探索深奧的科學及神秘的技術，正是它在彌漫着薄霧的清晨抑或月華滿天的夜晚的啼叫，提升了中國詩人和畫家的高尚的藝術品味。¹綜觀全書，高羅佩總結了中國崇猿傳統中的三大理念，也即猿性高潔、重人倫、善采氣。與此同時，高羅佩也揭示了形成這種崇猿理念的深層文化原因。

猿性高潔。猿在靈長類動物中的君子地位早在遠古的周朝已確立，周穆王南征時君子為猿為鶴的神話被後代廣為引用，樹立起了長臂猿保留至今的君子形象和崇高地位。由於猿棲息於深山老林，只聞其聲，罕見其形，餐風飲露，不食人間煙火，與道家隱士的形象頗為契合。猿作為君子和隱士的形象在魏晉南北朝及隋唐得到了進一步確立，唐代李隱的《楚江漁者》中老猿化為漁者垂釣楚江，遊歷人間，²猿隱在此合二為一。吳筠的《玄猿賦》也流露出強烈的慕猿思隱傾向，他在進士落第後隱居南陽，後隸入道門上清派，雖曾得玄宗賞識，但仍固辭塵俗，終老山林。在《玄猿賦》中，吳筠盛贊玄猿“壽同靈鶴，性合君子”的特質，認為人應如猿，逍遙自適，族類相親，那麼世界將重歸淳樸簡單、自然和諧的黃金時代。猿還常與鶴相伴出現在詩畫中，“鶴與猿皆因長頸或長臂而長壽，此外它們亦以悅耳的叫聲和優雅的姿態而聞名，逐漸形成固定的猿鶴配，大量出現在中國文學藝術中”。³中國文人確有養猿鶴以彰顯自己高潔品格者：“揚休喜閑放，平居養猿鶴，玩圖書，吟詠自適。”⁴宋代著名畫家文同養的猿去世，親友贈詩相弔，其《丹淵集》卷九留下了《和子平弔猿》詩。

猿能成為超脫俗世的隱逸君子形象與其天生的習性有關，猿深居簡出，性馴仁愛，鳴聲清亮哀婉，完全契合淡泊無為、逍遙物外、順應自然的道家理想及傳統文人的審美趣味。正因為猿的這些品性，它成為中國精英文化仁厚沉靜、超然物外的隱逸君子的最佳代言物。

猿重人倫。從動物學的角度看，猿與人有 98%至 99%的基因是相同的，因而猿性在某種程度上非常接近人性。猿群長幼有序、等級分明，展現了高度的社會性；猿的家庭通常也為一夫一妻制，它們有極強的家庭觀念，“居相愛，食相先，行不列，飲有序。不幸乖離，則其

¹ *The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore*, Preface.

² 李隱《瀟湘錄》，《太平廣記》卷四四六，頁 3643。

³ *The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore*, P.38.

⁴ 《欽定宋史》卷二八八，列傳第五八，乾隆四年校刊本，第 6 頁。

鳴哀。有難，則內其柔弱者”¹，家庭成員間有著異常堅固的親情紐帶。高羅佩在文獻中找到了大量的佐證，如《世說新語》載有母猿因子被人搶走而腸斷的故事，²宋代周密的《齊東野語》中記錄了因母被殺，猿子抱母皮號呼而斃事。³人倫綱常是儒家思想宣導的道德準則，當這種形而上的品德出現在猿身上時，自然會喚起人的親切感和審美體驗，異類因而化為同道。不同猿家庭都擁有自己的領地，相互之間的關係比較鬆散，甚至不相往來，類似老子“小國寡民”的理想社會，“鄰國相望，雞犬之聲相聞，民至老死，不相往來”。⁴比起猿的世界，人類社會則複雜、殘酷得多。為了追名逐利，很多人“背人倫而禽獸行”⁵，導致社會道德的淪喪。當人們發現猿身上保存完好的仁、善、美時，不免會驚呼“此所謂獸狀而人心者乎？”⁶因而猿所代表的純真的自然靈性和完美的生命境界成為人們企盼的精神烏托邦。

猿善采氣。道家哲學認為，氣是充溢於天地宇宙間的神秘物質，是人體生命活動的最大能源。采氣就是從日月星辰及天地萬物中，將各種不同能量吸納體內，以激發人體內在潛能，培養充實自身元氣，達到天人合一的最高妙境。中國古人認為，猿因臂長而成為采氣能手，並且因善采氣而長壽。高羅佩引證了董仲舒《春秋繁露》中的“猿似猴，大而黑，長前臂，所以壽八百，好引其氣也”⁷，又援引了《抱樸子》中的“猿壽五百歲，則變為獾，千歲則變為老人”⁸，進而得出這樣的結論：“長臂猿地位的提升更多得益於道家哲學。道家認為猿為動物中采氣的能手，而氣則是充溢於宇宙間的一種物質，善於采氣者即能獲取一種神秘的力量，包括幻化為人及延長壽命至幾百年的能力。”⁹戰勝死亡一直是人類的終極夢想，古代帝王煉丹服石以求長生不老，道家神仙食氣養生以求壽而不死，然而種種努力均以失敗而告終。於是，人們便把長壽的幻想寄託到猿身上，假想其能以神奇的長臂廣吸萬物之氣，擁有取之不盡、用之不竭的能量，從而長壽千年，成為人們歆羨乃至膜拜的神獸。這樣的神話在傳承過程中不斷融入各種民間信仰，成為崇猿傳統中最具吸引力的集體文化想像。

二、對猿主題中四大認知誤區的探討與糾偏

¹ 唐·柳宗元：《憎王孫文》，《柳宗元全集》，上海古籍出版社，1997年，第154頁。

² 南朝宋·劉義慶：《世說新語·黜免》載曰：“桓公入蜀，至三峽中，部伍中有得猿子者。其母緣岸哀號，行百餘裡不去。遂跳上船，至便即絕。破視其腹中，腸皆寸寸斷。公聞之怒，命黜其人。”曲建文，陳樺譯注：《世說新語譯注》，北京燕山出版社，1996年，第631頁。

³ 宋·周密：《齊東野語》卷十二“捕猿戒”：“範蜀公載：吉州有捕猿者，殺其母，母之皮並其子賣之龍泉蕭氏。示以母皮，抱之跳躑，號呼而斃。蕭氏子為作孝猿傳。”中華書局，1983年，第223頁。

⁴ 周生春：《〈老子〉評注》第八十章，鳳凰出版社，2007年，第113頁。

⁵ 馮國超編：《管子》“八觀第十三”，吉林人民出版社，2005年，第117頁。

⁶ 《齊東野語》卷十二“捕猿戒”，中華書局，1983年，第223頁。

⁷ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p.36.

⁸ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p.40.

⁹ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p.38.

高羅佩對中國傳統文化的迷戀持久而執著，貫穿了他的一生。然而，西方漢學家的知識背景和科學精神，又使他超越林林總總的文本材料和根深蒂固的傳統觀念，站在一個更高的層面來審視文學藝術作品中一些司空見慣的猿主題的可靠性。

1、猿嘯哀。中國古代詩文中，有關猿啼的描寫總與悲涼、孤寂聯繫在一起，這樣的例子比比皆是，如“鶴聲孤絕，猿吟腸斷”（庾信《傷心賦》），“鬱鬱荒山裡，猿聲閑且哀”（陶潛《丙辰歲八月中於下[?]巽]田舍獲》），“風急天高猿嘯哀”（杜甫《登高》）……等等。猿嘯哀之說始於何時？為何有此一說？眾說紛紜，至今亦無定論。據高羅佩考證，早在戰國時期，屈原在《山鬼》中就用“雷填填兮雨冥冥，猿啾啾兮又夜鳴”¹來渲染山鬼的相思之愁及離別之憂，他認為這是中國文學史上最早出現的猿哀鳴。另有宋人郭茂倩《樂府詩集》記載：“《古今樂錄》曰：《女兒子》，倚歌也。巴東三峽猿鳴悲，夜鳴三聲淚沾衣。我欲上蜀蜀水難，跼蹐珂頭腰環環。”²清代學者沈德潛在《古詩源》中對郭茂倩之說進一步闡釋道：“三峽謂廣溪峽、巫峽、西陵峽也。林木高茂，猿鳴至清，行者聞之，莫不懷土。說猿聲之悲始也。”³《古今樂錄》為南朝陳僧人智匠撰寫的一部音樂專著，也即從智匠始，郭茂倩、沈德潛等人認為猿鳴悲之說始於倚歌《女兒子》。然而對於猿聲是否真的如人們想像的那麼哀婉淒涼，高羅佩有自己的看法。他通過養猿的實踐，得出不同的結論：“野生雌猿會以啼叫吸引其相中的雄猿的注意，如果後者同意，也會以啼聲應答。除了樹枝上的特技表演外，啼叫是猿主要的情感表達方式。”⁴也就是說，猿啼是求偶的信號之一，大部分時間，猿啼無悲亦無喜，只是一種天生的習性而已。高羅佩為此也引證了宋代兩位詩人的詩句：“猿啼不自愁，愁落行人心”（徐照《三峽吟》），及“猿聲不悲亦不愁，吾亦于世何所戀”（葛長庚《聽猿》），他認為這兩首詩的獨特之處在於作者“準確地強調了猿嘯不悲的事實，正如本書的介紹中所雲，猿從啼叫中獲取極大的快樂和滿足，而且啼叫亦是其交配遊戲的一部分。”⁵高羅佩注意到了中國詩文有關猿啼悲愁的書寫傳統，並以科學的態度指出：被悲愁化了的猿啼是中國文人托物言志、借景抒情的一個審美載體，再加上長臂猿大多棲息在偏遠的山區，而且總在晨昏啼叫，悠長的聲調總會給遠離家山的遊人帶來淒清、孤寂之感，當這種感覺濃縮成文字時，不免摻進了想像與誇張的成份，而這樣的書寫傳統經過上千年的延襲後，猿啼便被抹上愈益濃重的哀愁之色，成為代表相思、離別和懷鄉的天籟之聲。

¹ 《屈原詩歌釋讀》，第 100 頁。

² 宋·郭茂倩：《樂府詩集》卷四九“清商曲辭六”，民國四部叢刊線裝本，第 713 頁。

³ 清·沈德潛：《古詩源》卷九，中華書局，2006 年，第 184 頁。

⁴ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p.9.

⁵ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p. 91.

2、連肱澗飲，水中撈月。這是一個廣為中國文人及藝術家青睞的傳統題材，無論是吳均“企水之猿，百臂相接”¹的描寫，還是李白“對嶺人共語，飲潭猿相連”²的詩句，抑或《埤雅》中“今猿不復踐土，好上茂木，渴則接臂而飲”³的記載，都指向同一想像，即生活在密林之巔的猿會連肱澗飲。這種想像又從文學滲透進藝術，於是，相關題材的畫作及工藝品層出不窮。唐代段成式《酉陽雜俎》中記載：“隋內庫為交臂玉猿，二臂相貫如連環。”⁴對此，高羅佩明確指出：“一個持續了上千年的中國傳統觀念認為，猿從不下樹飲水，然而可以接臂相聯下至水邊。然而，儘管我常看到兩三隻猿偶爾會接臂戲耍，但我從沒看見它們有意識地採用這種方式從高處下到地面。”⁵這個缺乏科學依據的意象，竟激發了無數中國文人、畫家和工匠的想像力，成為他們反復表現的一個題材。即便在 21 世紀的今天，我們還能在南方一些旅遊景區買到猿猴接臂相聯的工藝品或國畫。高羅佩在批評這一主題缺乏現實依據時又一次提到了善於觀察動物的宋代畫家易元吉：“易元吉對藝術真實的忠誠阻止了他嘗試去畫猿鏈，雖然這是一個吸引人的主題，但正如我們上文已討論過的，這種情形不會出現在猿的真實生活中。”⁶猿臂連環的主題後又發展為水中撈月的意象。對於“猿猱捉月”的意象，高羅佩認為這是一個純佛教主題，源自印度的梵文讀本 Maha-sanghika-vinaya，東晉名僧法顯將其譯為《摩訶僧祇律》，“書中講到一群猿看到樹下井中月亮的倒影，便從一根樹枝上接臂而下，試圖撈取那美麗而閃亮的東西。但那時樹枝斷了，所有猿都摔下淹死。這暗指人們熱衷於世俗塵世的徒勞無益，他們忙於攫取那些幻像時卻忽略了終極價值的永恆存在。”⁷佛教自傳入中國的那一刻起，便開始了其中國化、世俗化的進程，出現了許多猿結佛緣、皈依佛門的故事，如常在宋元話本及元明雜劇中出現的“聽經猿”⁸“求法猿”⁹等，所以捉月猿猱是佛教教義通俗化的事例之一，其主旨是勸化世人放棄對塵世的迷戀及對名利的追求。但中國藝術家或者工匠在物化“猿猱捉月”這一題材時，逐漸忘卻了其原本的宗教意義，也忽略了生活的本真，而將其演化為老小皆宜的觀賞、娛樂題材，如同高氏所雲，“中國人喜歡在畫作或雕塑中展現猿手腳相接的姿態，這種偏好更多來自於他們對奇巧及藝術效果的喜好，而非觀察。”¹⁰

3、猿雅善而猴俗惡。如上所述，中國源遠流長的崇猿傳統，猿被尊為君子、隱士，被納入審美視野，成為抒情言志的代言物；而與猿同屬靈長類動物、且外形極為相似的猴卻走向

¹ 梁·吳均：《與施從事書》，引自唐·歐陽詢《藝文類聚》卷七“山部上”，中華書局，1965年，第129頁。

² 李白：《安陸白兆山桃花岩寄劉侍禦綰》，《全唐詩》，第1766頁。

³ 宋·陸佃：《埤雅》，卷四“釋獸”，浙江大學出版社，2008年，第39頁。

⁴ 唐·段成式：《酉陽雜俎》卷一“忠志”，中華書局，1981年，第1頁。

⁵ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p. 7.

⁶ The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p. 93.

⁷ The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p. 89.

⁸ 參見隋樹森編：《元曲選外編·龍濟山野猿聽經》，中華書局，1959年，第949-960頁。

⁹ 參見明代洪梗：《清平山堂話本·陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記》，古典文學出版社，1957年，第121-135頁。

¹⁰ The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, “Introduction”, p. 7.

反面，逐漸成為風雅文人的審醜對象。早在戰國時期，莊子就用“狙公賦芋”¹的故事形象地描繪了猴的貪婪和愚蠢。到了唐代，吳筠在《玄猿賦》中盛讚玄猿的君子之性，並將“狙猱”（猴）作為其對照物加以臧否：“（玄猿）不踐土石，超遙于萬木之間。春咀其英，秋食其實，不犯稼穡，深棲遠處，猶有君子之性，異乎狙猱之倫”²，崇猿貶猴的傳統自此而始。李德裕的《白猿賦》和柳宗元《憎王孫文》進一步強調了中國傳統文化中猿君子、猴小人的觀念，李德裕以“既貪婪而鮮讓，亦躁動而不忌”³的沐猴影射其政敵，極言白猿仁愛沉靜的君子德性；柳宗元更直接蔑稱沐猴為王孫，“德躁以囂，勃爭號呶，啗啖彊彊，雖群不相善也。食相噬齧，行無列，飲無序。乖離而不思。有難，推其柔弱者以免”⁴，以此痛詆不容異議、把持朝綱的政壇小人，與此相反，猿在柳宗元眼中則是德靜以恒、仁讓孝慈的君子。對於傳統文學中這種厚猿薄猴的傾向，高羅佩認為對猴有失公允，猿與猴在動物性上並無高下之分，不同的只是它們的生活習性而已：“猴子們常出沒於人類居住區尋覓食物，因此極為常見且易捕獲。被訓練過的猴子甚至成為雜耍藝人的幫手，以其聰明的小把戲娛樂老老少少。相反，長臂猿居住於幽深遼遠的深山老林中，是原始森林上層華蓋中的神秘居民，那兒也被認為是仙人或妖精世界，因此猿難覓蹤影也極難捕獲。逐漸地猴成為狡詐、輕信及愚蠢的象徵，而猿則是遠離世俗的超凡神秘世界的象徵。”⁵高羅佩還進而指出，猿、猴形象在文人審美及重構過程中的分流體現了一種明顯的實用主義，即以猿自我標榜，彰顯自己的高潔及仁厚；以猴影射政敵，痛詆其鄙俗與貪婪。筆者認為，其更深層次的原因還在於猿與猴是人性中形而上的文化性及形而下的動物性的投射。人本身就是靈長類動物的一種，儘管處於進化鏈的最高端，但仍無法完全擺脫動物性，而超越動物性又是精英階層孜孜以求的理想，所以，人們會在動物身上找到理想的投射物，猿與猴的審美分流正體現了這一潛意識。

4、人稱猿通臂⁶。所謂通臂，即指兩條手臂自肩部合二為一，從而達到足夠的長度以獲取外物，這是中國古代非常流行的一個觀念。高羅佩列舉了兩個例子來展示這種以訛傳訛的現象。明代藏書家王濟在《君子堂日詢手鏡》中雲：“人稱猿通臂。嘗讀《埤雅》、《爾雅》，稽諸簡冊亦然。或雲臂通肩，餘未見為疑。”⁷王濟因未親見，所以心存疑惑。而清代趙翼則言之鑿鑿曰：“又天保縣令送一黑猿來，系於檻。有門子撻之，相距尚七八尺，忽其右臂引而長，遂捉門子之衣，幾為所裂，而猿之左肩則已無臂，乃知左臂已併入右臂矣，所謂通臂猿也。”⁸

¹ 《莊子·齊物論》：“狙公賦芋，曰：朝三而暮四。眾狙皆怒。曰：然則朝四而暮三。眾狙皆悅。”司馬哲編：《莊子全書》，中國長安出版社，2009年，第18頁。

² 唐·吳筠：《四庫唐人文集叢刊·宗玄集》，上海古籍出版社，1992年，第12頁。

³ 唐·李德裕：《李衛公會昌一品集》別集卷二《白猿賦並序》，中華書局，1985年，第186頁。

⁴ 唐·柳宗元：《憎王孫文》，《柳宗元全集》，上海古籍出版社，1997年，第154頁。

⁵ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, P.37.

⁶ 明·王濟：《君子堂日詢手鏡》，中華書局，1985年，第44頁。

⁷ 《君子堂日詢手鏡》，第44頁。

⁸ 清·趙翼：《簞曝雜記》卷三“獨秀山黑猿”，上海古籍出版社，1982年，第47頁。

高羅佩注意到了中國古人對此說法也存疑惑，李時珍《本草綱目》中說提到“或言其通臂者誤矣”¹，王濟更是在仔細觀察了所獲之猿後斷定：“予驗其形似，皆如諸簡冊所雲，但無通臂之說，恐別有種。”²“通臂猿”的觀念在中國確實相當普遍，在高羅佩未提及的小說《水滸》、《西遊記》中都有“通臂猿”這一角色。《水滸傳》中的“通臂猿”是梁山好漢侯健的綽號，“人見他黑瘦輕捷，因此喚他做通臂猿”³；《西遊記》中的“通臂猿猴”為傳說中六道眾生之外的靈物，為如來佛祖座下四神猴之一，本領高強，因嫉妒而與孫悟空為敵。至於猿通臂之說如何產生，高羅佩判斷說：“這個錯誤印象一定源自一隻猿伸出手臂接近另一隻猿時令人難以置信的快速。”⁴這種猜想是否正確姑且不論，但通臂之為謬論則確鑿無疑。

三、高羅佩有關猿文化研究的範式意義

以上我們從四個方面介紹了高羅佩對中國傳統猿意象中所存在的認識誤區的探討與糾偏，這裡重要的不是高氏的結論，而是他得出這些結論所運用的方法，這些方法對於我們從事猿和其它動物研究，乃至於廣義的學術研究都有一定的範式意義。高羅佩對中國猿文化研究的範式⁵意義可以從宏觀及微觀兩方面來探討。

在宏觀上，高羅佩對中國猿的闡釋為後來者提供了頗具示範性的動物文化研究綱領。高羅佩指出了中國源遠流長的崇猿傳統，認為猿是中國道家哲學中君子與隱士的象徵物，猿被中國古代文學及藝術作品廣泛描述。而且，他還闡釋了中國猿文化對同在儒家文化圈的日、韓等國的輻射。猿原產於東南亞一些國家，很晚才傳到歐洲。歐洲學者對猿的考察一般都基於動物學的角度，如高羅佩提到的西方動物學家 George-Louis-Leclerc Du Buffont、Pierre Dandelot 和 C.R.Carpenter 等人有關長臂猿的著錄，均屬於自然科學範疇。而高羅佩則從文化史的角度來考察中國猿，屬於社會科學的範疇。他留給後來研究動物文化學者一個重要的啟示就是必須將特定動物置於某個民族整個文化進程中予以考察，以歷史為經，以動物與人的關係為緯，觀察其流變，揭示表像下蘊的深層次文化因數，以達到由表及裡，由動物到人類，由自然屬性到社會屬性的目的。這種宏通的研究視野對於高氏之後西方湧現的類似學術著作，諸如 Roel Sterckx 的 *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China*、Robert Joe Cutter 的 *The Brush and the Spur: Chinese Culture and the Cockfight*、Keith Thomas 的 *The Man and the*

¹ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p. 114.

² 《君子堂日詢手鏡》，第 45 頁。

³ 明·施耐庵：《水滸傳》第四十一回，中州古籍出版社，2007 年，第 341 頁。

⁴ “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, p. 93.

⁵ 範式”（paradigm）這個概念是美國著名科學哲學家湯瑪斯·庫恩（Thomas Kuhn，1922-1996）在《科學革命的結構》（*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Second Edition, Enlarged, The University of Chicago Press, 1970.*）一書中提出的，指一個共同體成員所共用的信仰、價值、技術等等的集合。後“範式”這一概念被引申為某一科學領域內關於研究物件的基本意向和獲得最廣泛共識的單位，可以用它來界定什麼應該被研究、什麼問題應該被提出、如何對問題進行質疑以及在解釋我們獲得的答案時該遵循什麼樣的規則等。

Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800¹等有關動植物文化的論著，無疑起到了圭臬的作用。

在微觀上，高羅佩為猿文化研究提供了可供借鑒的科學方法和成功先例，這種科學方法具體表現在以下兩個方面：

一是古代文字文獻及圖像文獻的引證，注重文字與繪畫的結合。《長臂猿考》一書採集了諸如詩賦、散文、小說、筆記、方志等豐富的文獻資料作佐證，所有的中文文本均由高羅佩親手謄寫。儘管少數引文有錯漏之處，但從搜尋、遴選、梳理再到摘錄、排版，高羅佩所下的功夫不言而喻。而這些龐雜無序且乏人關注的文獻資料，經過高羅佩系統整理及深入研究，成為具有強大說服力的論據，協助作者勾勒出清晰的中國猿文化變遷軌跡。

這裡尤其值得注意的是，除文字文獻外，高羅佩還採用了大量的圖像資料展現中國猿意象，從甲骨文中的象形文字到歷代中國猿畫，共 58 幅之多。《長臂猿考》因此圖文並茂，生動展現了上古至明清各不相同的猿意象及其流變歷程。高羅佩對圖像有一種執著的偏好，幾乎他的所有學術著作，如《馬頭明王古今諸說源流考》、《琴道》、《秘戲圖考》、《中國古代房內考》、《米芾及其硯史》等等，都有大量圖像。這些圖像與文字相輔相成，緊密貼合，成為高羅佩學術著作的一大特色；這些圖像資料的引用不只是為了圖文並茂，更有著作為支撐其核心觀點的重要材料的作用。如本書中有關宋代畫家易元吉和牧溪畫作的舉證，不僅豐富和補充了文字文獻的枯燥和不足，而且對佐證有關猿臂連環的認識誤區提供了歷史的證據。

二是通過田野作業獲取研究對象鮮活的音像資料。田野作業又叫實地調查或現場研究，是由英國功能學派的代表人物馬林諾夫斯基（Bronisław Kasper Malinowski）奠定的。高羅佩親自飼養 4 只猿，從與猿的朝夕相處中，高羅佩充分掌握了它們的生活習性，並通過觀察其所養之猿，灌制了一張錄有猿啼聲的唱片附在每本書之後，意在使讀者切身感受猿優美如琴的啼聲，試圖喚起他們與中國古人的精神共鳴，“因為猿音樂般的叫聲在中國文學中起了一個很重要的作用”。²《長臂猿考》中還有 31 幅形態各異的猿生活照，其中 27 幅出自高氏擔任馬來西亞及日本大使時所養之猿。這些富於“田野”色彩和視聽感受的音像資料，創造性地同構文本、圖像及聲音，為學術研究提供了一種新的範式，即學術著作在調動讀者思考能力的同時，亦可調動其視覺乃至聽覺等感官，促使其更快進入作者所構建的論證體系。

在親自飼養猿的過程中，高羅佩還與猿建立了深厚的感情。高羅佩的長子威廉還記得，他父親養的一隻叫撲撲的長臂猿死了，“他第一次看到自己父親非常悲傷地哭泣。當高羅佩在 1964 年出版當年書展禮品書《斷指記》時，他把它獻給了‘我忠實的朋友長臂猿撲撲。’”³這種

¹ 參見陳珏：《高羅佩與“動物文化史”——從“新史學”視野之比較研究》，《新史學》二十卷第二期，第 185 頁。

² “The Gibbon In China: An Essay In Chinese Animal Lore”, Preface.

³ C.D.巴克曼，H.德弗裡斯著，施輝業譯：《大漢學家高羅佩傳》，海南出版社，2011 年，第 241 頁。

經歷無疑給《長臂猿考》的寫作提供了鮮活的材料和巨大的動力，全書的“介紹”（introduction）部分洋洋幾萬言，從動物學的角度詳細介紹了長臂猿的種類、體型、臂蕩技術、進食習慣、家庭組成、啼叫習慣及與人類的關係等，其中很多內容源自於他本人飼養長臂猿的經驗。

作為一個西方學者，高羅佩緣何對中國猿文化有如此濃厚的興趣？我認為有三方面的原因，一是高羅佩始於童年並貫穿一生的對中國文化的熱愛；二是對道家哲學及中國隱士文化的崇尚及迷戀而遷情于這種文化的象徵物猿；三是豢養寵物猿的過程中，與猿結下的深厚感情，這些因素共同推動他寫下這本專著從而將中國博大精深的猿文化傳播到西方世界。同在 1967 年，西方出版了兩本與猿有關的重要學術著作，一為高氏《長臂猿考》，另一為英國科學家德斯蒙德·莫利斯（Desmond Morris）的《裸猿》（The Naked Ape），前者聚焦猿的人性，考察猿與人、與中國文化的關係；後者則揭示人的猿性，強調人是曠世無雙、無與倫比的物種裡的一員，每個人都應該理解並接受自身的動物本性。兩書都以人與猿的關係為立足點，用人與自然萬物平等的語境展開討論，相反相成，各擅其長，構成了一對奇妙的組合。相較于莫利斯綜觀人類動物性的比較動物學、生物人類學視野，高羅佩開創性地採用綜合社會科學與自然科學多學科的研究方法，將猿擺在與人平等的地位，“討論中國人如何在與猿的關係上，從古到今始終未能忘懷以‘擬似人類化’（anthropomorphic）為主軸，從而包容動物的思維方式。”¹無論在學術史和中西文化交流史上，《長臂猿考》均有著拓荒性和範式性的重要意義。

¹ 陳珏《高羅佩與“動物文化史”——從“新史學”視野之比較研究》，第 191 頁。

Summary

During his colorful life span, Robert van Gulik was mainly remembered as a diplomat, prolific crime writer and successful Sinologist with a keen and extraordinary interest in Chinese culture. He noticed things easy to be neglected by other Sinologists and found valuable findings from those small clues. This outstanding academic sensitivity resulted from his study method – translation- and later benefited both his sinological study and literary writing. This paper sums up the strategies used by Van Gulik in his translation of Wu Zetian Si Da Qi An (Celebrated cases of Judge Dee) and analyzes his attitude towards translation as a major channel to understand and spread Chinese culture. At the end of the paper, the author points out that Robert van Gulik obviously did not follow the traditional view on the function of translation and had no intention to only transform precisely the aesthetic features of the original text from Chinese into English through his translation. Instead, he applied quite flexible strategies, such as abridgement, annotation and revision, to complete his mission as a cultural transmitter. Van Gulik was considerate and rigorous about the effect of the cultural diffusion, but some of his choices might be a little subjective and questionable. How to find a balance point in this dilemma continues to be a controversial topic in translation studies.

高羅佩與文化翻譯——以《武則天四大奇案》英譯本為例

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中國古代公案小說英譯作品中，不論是從長度和品質上來說，高羅佩的《武則天四大奇案》英譯本¹都可說是上乘之作，並與其用英文創作的《狄公案》系列小說一起風靡西方。高羅佩的總體翻譯原則和方法為文化翻譯研究提供了絕好素材。無論是他對於原語文本的選擇標準，還是對原文本中文化因素進行調整和制控的處理手法，都涉及到文化翻譯論者所討論的熱點問題。

1. 高羅佩對待翻譯的態度

高羅佩的語言天賦很大程度上為他的漢學研究創造了便利條件。與高羅佩素有來往的陳之邁曾經說“他(高羅佩)能閱讀中文書籍.....是精讀主義的忠實信徒，非將一部書讀通決不放手。精讀的一個方法是翻譯”²，可見閱讀和翻譯本是高羅佩在學習文化過程中相輔相成的實

¹ 《武則天四大奇案》英文譯本 Celebrated cases of Judge Dee (Dee Goong An) : an authentic eighteenth-century Chinese detective novel / translated and with an introd. and notes by Robert van Gulik New York, N.Y. : Dover Pub.

² 陳之邁：《荷蘭高羅佩》，臺灣：傳記文學出版社 1969 年，第 43-45 頁。

用工具。高羅佩對於中國文化的想像直接來自於中文書籍閱讀，其翻譯則是為了介紹自己閱讀中所認識到的中國文化（人物或現象）。

晚清末年，西方偵探小說在中國呈現獨步天下之勢，中國文人對自己的文化遺產卻視若無睹，高羅佩翻譯目的在於向中西方讀者顯示中國本土有狄仁傑這樣“訪案之細，破案之神，卻不亞於福爾摩斯”的人物。這就決定了高羅佩在翻譯時必須兼顧意義傳達和文化傳播，文學本身的美學價值倒在其次。在這種原則指導下，高羅佩將自己定位為文化仲介者，在翻譯中選擇意譯與直譯結合的方法，並在譯者前言和後記中綜合介紹原文本所涉文化現象並附簡短評論，包括公案小說特點，中國古代封建社會的官階制度以及律法，中國傳統占卜、婚俗等），從而引導讀者更加深刻地認識中國古代政治、經濟、社會以及文化面貌，具有很強的針對性和社會意義。這種翻譯觀與傳統翻譯研究中注重翻譯等值效用的觀念大相徑庭。從效果上看，高羅佩的翻譯不再是“從一種語言轉變成另外一種語言的純技術形式的翻譯”，而是“從一種形式轉化成另外一種形式，從一種文化轉化為另外一種文化”¹，是兩種文化充滿交鋒與妥協的互動過程的產物。

2. 翻譯的選材

選材上，高羅佩注重原文本的文化背景、通俗性、趣味性和市場接受性。他在《武則天四大奇案》譯者前言中明確指出，西方讀者對於中國人和中國文化缺乏瞭解，這常常是由西方文學中對於中國形象的歪曲造成的，“關於中國的或關於國外中國城的神秘小說多是為了給情節添加一種怪異的異域氛圍”²。這是西方人塑造的東方古國形象，是東方主義的表現之一。高羅佩嘗試翻譯公案小說的原因則是“一方面，中國人在犯罪文學中常常被誤讀”，他希望能夠讓“中國人在這個領域有自己的一席之地”。

高羅佩在《武則天四大奇案》中看到 he 需要的條件，在譯者前言中他指出：“這部小說遵循我們習慣的標準：沒有在開始就洩露罪犯身分，缺少稀奇古怪的超自然成分，人物不多，沒有旁枝末節，相對篇幅較短。同時，情節新奇，文筆優美，懸念迭起，悲喜劇因素的完美結合。它甚至滿足現代西方標準：文本不僅是偵探的智力之旅，同時讀者也可以跟隨偵探參與到一些危機四伏的偵探過程中。”高羅佩清醒地看到：在異質文化雙方缺乏交流、非常陌生的情況，求同存異是文化破冰之旅必須邁出的第一步。因此，他非但不是刻意地迎合西方讀者口味而歪曲中國小說，相反，他非常重視小說的中國背景可以帶給讀者的文化資訊。“雖然一些中國特有的特點在這部小說中沒有其他小說那麼明顯，但它還是徹頭徹尾中國式的。除了真實描

¹王寧：“再論翻譯學的學科定位和文化特徵”，《中國翻譯》2004年第3期，33-34頁。

²《武則天四大奇案》英文譯本 *Celebrated cases of Judge Dee (Dee Goong An) : an authentic eighteenth-century Chinese detective novel / translated and with an introd. and notes by Robert van Gulik* New York, N.Y. : Dover Pub.1976, Translator's words. 此節摘引文字如非特別說明，均引自該英譯本的譯者前言和譯後記，並由筆者譯成中文。

述古代中國判案人員工作方式，辦案之艱難，中國底層社會的旁門左道之外，這個故事同時還給予讀者關於古代中國統治的一個概貌，可以使我們熟悉中國刑法的規定以及中國的一般生活”。高羅佩在選材時也考慮過“《狄公案》如果以一種我們的讀者更熟悉的方式全部改寫會更受歡迎”，但這樣一來，“很多原作中真實的中國氛圍會消失，最後中國作者和西方讀者都受到損失”，可見高羅佩主要目標還是希望能夠借助這個文本來讓西方讀者最大限度的體會中國古代文化的真實面貌。

這種翻譯觀體現在高羅佩靈活的翻譯策略上。這不由讓人想到韓南在討論第一部漢譯小說時曾經指出：“所有的翻譯本身都是在兩種文化背景之間進行居中調停的工作……每個譯本在兩極之間，一極是全方位的保存，另一極則是全方位的同化。關於保存，我是指譯者努力嘗試進行複製——或者至少是在可能的情況下再現——原作的看得出的特徵。通常情況下他這樣做是出於這樣的信念，即特徵對於一種真正欣賞至關重要。關於進行積極同化，我是指作者通過對原作的修改，使之變成為一般讀者所熟悉的形式……大部分的翻譯作品都處於兩者之間……還有一點要注意，小說的譯者是很少在整部作品中始終如一”¹。這也就是說，一個文本經由翻譯從一種文化旅行到另一種文化的過程中或多或少地會受到譯者主觀因素的影響。

對此高羅佩也有清醒的認識，在譯後記中他提醒讀者該翻譯並不是嚴格的學術性翻譯：“翻譯總的來說應該是忠實于原文的，但這本書是為普通大眾所讀，而非漢學研究之用，因此有所例外”。總值，對待通俗小說的翻譯，高羅佩採取實用和靈活的策略，不拘泥于原文，儘量服務于文化傳播的翻譯目標。但他也有自己的堅持：“某些部分對於西方讀者來說可以趣味性稍差，但我相信在這種直譯會使這本小說比起那些明顯的胡言亂語更讓人滿意。那些胡言亂語被某個作者放在偽中國故事中強加給公眾，這些故事講述的中國和中國人只存在于他們貧乏的想像中”。在這種指導思想的影響下，高羅佩對於《武則天四大奇案》所作的調整就清晰地反映了他的文化選擇標準和文化傳播考量。

3. 翻譯的結構調整

《武則天四大奇案》全書共 64 回，高羅佩只翻譯了前 30 回，刪除後半部分 34 回。這在譯者來說是個十分大膽而且相當主觀的決定。在譯者後記中高羅佩解釋道“該書 64 回，第一部分主要描述狄仁傑前半生的故事，尤其是他解決的三個案件。第二部分，描述在朝經歷。這兩部分在文體和內容上差異很大。第一部分結構緊湊、佈局精巧。第二部分則相反，囉嗦冗長，情節比較笨拙，刻畫人物也不好。還有，第一部分寫的有節制，第二部分有些部分很色情，

¹韓南（Patrick Hanan）：《談第一部漢譯小說》，選自陳平原、王德威、商偉編《晚明與晚清：歷史傳承與文化創新》，湖北教育出版社 2005 年，第 453、458 頁。

例如關於武則天和懷義的關係。”¹對於看過原書的人來說，很難不贊同這種分析，話本小說中隨意嫁接、狗尾續貂的現象並不少見。高羅佩本意是，用狄仁傑斷案的故事吸引西方普通讀者認識中國古代神探，同時也可以浸淫在中國古代文化氛圍中，而不是被動地接受一些既有中國想像的誤導，因此高譯本捨棄注重政治鬥爭和色情描寫的後半部，這種主觀選擇對原文本“腰斬”的行為自然大大超出了譯者的傳統職能，雖然高羅佩坦陳了他的文學和文化方面的考量，但這樣做是否妥當還是見仁見智。

對於原文本多線並進的結構手法，高羅佩非常推崇，認為這種敘事方法在東西方都屬於“一種尚未使用的文學手法：三案並進，獨立發展，背景和人物各不相涉。”²這種方法後來多次被他應用到自己的系列小說中，可見翻譯對其創作的影響。

針對中國話本小說一些特殊的結構套路，高羅佩有選擇地進行了處理，例如，對於每一章節開頭起到提示內容作用的兩句詩文標題，即回目，他都予以保留。但話本小說中的標題詩句作用在於總領全章，通常明示了章節的主要內容，容易無形中洩漏案件偵破中的許多機關，因此高羅佩在保留這一形式的同時對於詩句的措辭作了一些修改，以便最大限度地避免破壞懸念。

在不影響小說的主要內容的前提下，高羅佩刪節了原文本中重複拖選的說書人慣用語句。比如，“欲知後事如何，且聽下回分解”這樣說書先生用來吊讀者胃口的常規語句；還有“上回書說道”或“卻說”等提醒聽眾的套語，反映在話本小說中就成為每章開頭總結性語句，這也被省略了。這是為了照顧西方讀者的閱讀習慣而為之，但這種結構形式還是被作者在譯者前言中慎重指明，以便讀者能夠有所瞭解。

除此之外，在結構上高羅佩進行的最大改動是大量刪節了原文本 28 回的內容。原小說第 28 回講述的是狄仁傑利用時人對於陰曹地府的懼怕心理，派人扮作閻王判官，嚇得犯人招供罪行。原作者為了宣揚因果報應、進行道德教化，因此濃墨重彩地大肆描寫陰森恐怖的陰間景象，以期震懾聽眾（讀者）。對於不瞭解中國文化的西方讀者來說，這種場面不僅滑稽殘忍，且有套供之嫌疑。高羅佩明顯對於這部分並不滿意，但其刪節和修改主要限於原文中過度誇張和強力渲染的部分。需要指出的是，他在後來自己創作的狄公系列小說中借用了“鐵釘案”中周氏的作案手法，但省略了陰司地府的恐怖場面以及衙役扮成小鬼索命等細節，完全摒棄了閻王審案的噱頭，而是要狄仁傑像一個偵探那樣驗出傷口、找到證據，揭開謎案真相。

由此可以說，雖然安德列·勒菲弗爾引入“改寫”（rewriting）這個概念，使得譯者在“文化層面的改寫¹”多少從一種全然背叛行為變成某種程度的修正行為，從而給文化翻譯

¹ 《武則天四大奇案》英文譯本 *Celebrated cases of Judge Dee (Dee Goong An) : an authentic eighteenth-century Chinese detective novel / translated and with an introd. and notes by Robert van Gulik* New York, N.Y. : Dover Pub.1976 , Translator's words.

² 同上。

以更大的發揮空間，但高羅佩作為一位謹慎的譯者，在翻譯中還是顯現出很大的自製，把自由發揮更多地融入到自己的文學創作中去。

4. 統一敘事角度

話本小說敘事角度如同全能上帝，能深入各個人物的內心世界。但其中說書人用“話說”來交待故事或人物背景，用“看官”來稱呼讀者，從幕後跳到前臺直接和讀者對話。這種缺乏連貫性、頻繁變換敘事角度的做法對於西方讀者來說比較困擾，因此，高羅佩在保持全知視角的同時，儘量消除說書人的影子。例如，第 28 回狄仁傑等假扮閻王小鬼審案之後，原文本安排說書人出場解密：“看官你道這閻王是誰人做的，真是個陰曹地府麼？乃是狄公因這案件審不出口供，難再用刑，無奈驗不出傷痕，終是不能定讞，以故想出這條計來”。

高羅佩的譯本則在案犯招認罪行被帶走之後，通過全知視角，描寫包括狄仁傑及其助手的一干人等取下頭上的面具來暗示這種特殊的審案方式²。

這當然說不上是忠實于原文的翻譯，但西方讀者對於說書人這個時隱時現的聲音會感到迷惑不解，處理成單一的全知視角使敘事簡潔而清晰，易於保持讀者的閱讀興趣。好在需要這樣轉換視角的地方在原文本《武則天四大奇案》中並不是很多，第 28 回這裡幾乎是唯一一處出現說書人與讀者直接對話的地方。

5. 避免道德說教

高羅佩指出：“狄公案的作者對於道德說教顯示出非凡的自製。事實上，這樣的離題之筆只有一處：在最開始的作者引言性的評論中。對於長期的道德教化為主的中國文學傳統來說，這可算是一個不可原諒的冒犯了。”³他所提到的這一處離題之筆出現在第 1 回開頭部分，作者在篇首詩之後，開章明義地一段關於清官對安邦定國之重要作用的議論，目的在於警示世人善有善報、惡有惡報，並涉及到書中的一些情節簡介，這在話本小說中是比較常見的一種開頭方式。

這一段高羅佩幾乎原文照翻，並保留了原文中作者的口吻，譯作“1”。但對於原文中涉及書中情節的部分，由於高羅佩只選擇翻譯了原文的前 30 回，因此譯文中去除了與原文後

¹ Andre Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* 上海外語教育出版社 2004 年，第 39-41 頁。

² 《武則天四大奇案》英文譯本 *Celebrated cases of Judge Dee (Dee Goong An) : an authentic eighteenth-century Chinese detective novel / translated and with an introd. and notes by Robert van Gulik* New York, N.Y. : Dover Pub., 1976 英文譯本第 28 回。

³ 《武則天四大奇案》英文譯本 *Celebrated cases of Judge Dee (Dee Goong An) : an authentic eighteenth-century Chinese detective novel / translated and with an introd. and notes by Robert van Gulik* New York, N.Y. : Dover Pub. 1976, *Translator's words*. 筆者譯。

34 回相關的語句。將作者的作用局限在介紹故事主角和背景，同時多用非人稱名詞作主語，使用被動語態來表現強化一種旁觀態度，淡化了原文中的主觀說教姿態。

另外，原文本的章節回目中作者毫不隱諱地表達個人對人物的褒貶，代表著當時主流社會對於人物進行的道德評判。例如，對於殺夫的女人不問緣由地口誅筆伐，在章回標題中也每每稱之為“淫婦、惡婆”。英譯本則採取比較客觀的立場，避免直接評價，例如，第十回“惡淫婦阻擋收棺” (Mrs.Djou refuses to let her husband be buried;)，第十五回“狄梁公故意釋姦淫” (Judge Dee allows Mrs.Djou to return to her home)，第二十七回“淫潑婦忍辱熬刑” (An adulterous woman persists in her innocence)，第二十八回“真縣令扮作閻王 假陰官審明姦婦” (A weird interrogation is conducted in the jail; A confession is obtained, and the mystery solved)。原文中帶有強烈貶義的指稱在高譯本中都被換成中性稱呼或者被巧妙地避免了。

6. 考量藝術效果：簡潔

高羅佩在討論中西方小說差異時認為：“中國人行事從容不迫，注重細節。因此，所有小說包括偵探小說，枝蔓縱橫，交織著長篇詩歌，離題的哲學議論，或者，全文引用案件相關的官方檔。因此，多數中國偵探小說動輒上百章節，翻譯時每個都可以夠幾本書的長度”¹。這種繁複的表現之一就是出場人物眾多。為了行文簡潔，同時也避免讓西方讀者不會因為文中眾多的中國人名、地名而頭暈腦漲，高羅佩對《武則天四大奇案》中的人名和地名進行了一些處理：例如，削減所有故事發展中並非至關重要的人名或地名，以防用大量陌生的名詞迷惑讀者，在涉及到不太重要的人物時，使用其職業而非人名來稱呼，這樣大大減少了小說中的人物總數。

後來在英文系列小說《狄公案》的寫作中，高羅佩有意識地減少出場人物的數量，並將這一點作為他編織故事能力提高的指標之一。他在自評《黃金案》（1956）時說：“這本小說我寫了大約 6 周，沒有大改。第一次感到自信擁有一種讓我自己滿意的模式，也很可能讓西方和亞洲的讀者接受的模式。進步的標誌是出於情節需要我設置 22 個人物，《銅鐘案》要 27 個，《迷宮案》24 個，《湖濱案》26 個。”²這種“讓西方和亞洲的讀者都接受的模式”無疑是受到了翻譯《武則天四大奇案》的啟發。

另外，高羅佩對於發音容易混淆的重要人名和地名也進行了一些改動。例如，當他發覺原文中有兩個線索提供者的姓氏“侯”和“胡”在英文中寫法過於相近時，他將“胡”改成了“龐”以便讀者記住和區分二者不同。連人名都擅自篡改，這在傳統翻譯觀看來簡直不可容

¹ 《武則天四大奇案》英文譯本 Celebrated cases of Judge Dee (Dee Goong An) : an authentic eighteenth-century Chinese detective novel / translated and with an introd. and notes by Robert van Gulik New York, N.Y. : Dover Pub.1976, Translator's words. 筆者譯。

² 引自 <http://www.rechttert.nl/bibliografie> 筆者譯。

忍。但高羅佩認為如果兩個地名或人名容易給讀者造成誤解或混淆，會給喜歡參與案情思考的西方偵探文學讀者帶來額外負擔，容易讓他們產生厭倦心理而完全放棄閱讀。

7. 中國文化參照

翻譯中國文學的譯者都面臨一個很難逾越的困難：詩詞的翻譯，尤其是其中典故的翻譯。大多數情況下，譯者必須對詩句進行處理才能比較全面地傳達其含義。一般情況下，譯者採取的辦法有兩種：直譯加注釋，意譯。

在《武則天四大奇案》中第一章出現四句題頭詩，高羅佩沒有將其刪除，一則是因為這是中國話本小說很重要的特色，另外它和作者的一段關於清官的議論以及整本書的寫作主旨有關。

世人但喜作高官，執法無難斷案難。
寬猛相平思呂杜，嚴苛尚是惡申韓。
一心清正千家福，兩字公平百姓安。
惟有昌平舊令尹，留傳案牘後人看。

這首詩的第二聯用了兩個典故，“寬猛相平”指的是寬猛調節的法制觀念，最早提出的是鄭子產（見《左傳》‘子產論政寬猛’），“呂杜”指的是呂不韋和杜周。“申韓”則是戰國時期法家韓非子和申不害的合稱，兩人都主張以法治國。這樣的典故恐怕現在的中國讀者也未必都能明白，更不要說當時對中國缺乏基本瞭解的西方普通讀者，因此，高羅佩採用了意譯的方式：

“Tempering severity by lenience, as laid down by our law makers,
“And avoiding the extremes advocated by crafty philosophers.”

這樣處理實用明瞭，雖然不如音譯人名再加注釋來得嚴謹，但更容易理解，畢竟通俗文學的讀者更希望從閱讀中獲得樂趣，如果能增加對於另一種文化的瞭解當然更好，但須以保持閱讀興趣為前提條件。儘管如此，高羅佩還是在譯者前言裡提供了關於原詩句的簡單解釋，以供有興趣的讀者參考。

另外，翻譯中國特有文化現象是每一個以文化傳播為目的的譯者需要認真考慮的問題。高羅佩的做法是將比較複雜的解釋放在注釋中，可以簡單解釋清楚的則在譯文中直接體現出來。

例如，狄仁傑化裝成游方醫生一節，不瞭解中醫藥和中國士文化的西方讀者可能會覺得奇怪，就西方的醫藥學科體系和管理制度來看，一個行政官員裝扮成醫生為人治病而不露餒是難以置信的。高羅佩就在後面加上一句解釋“*Like all literati, he had a good knowledge of drugs and the arts of healing, etc.*”

除此之外，我們還能從高羅佩的譯文中看到他對於中國文化深刻瞭解和充分尊重。高羅佩不僅在翻譯之初選擇多個版本進行比對，在自己的閱讀過程中對於原文本狗尾續貂的部分予以剔除，而且還對於原文中的一些常識性錯誤也沒有放過。在譯者後記中他向讀者說明原文中關於中國人的辮子和烏銃使用等描述不符合故事的唐朝背景，譯文中進行了刪除。所以高羅佩的譯本談不上忠實于原文，但他認真的翻譯態度、靈活的翻譯策略，還是非常具有借鑒意義的。從讀者接受角度來看，高譯本的實際效果也是積極正面的。

綜上所述，高羅佩以文化傳播為目的的文學翻譯觀與傳統注重美學表達的翻譯觀存在很大差異，因此他在翻譯過程中所採取的翻譯策略也與傳統翻譯手法不同。在翻譯選材上，他避開經典文學、主流名著，而是力求所選文本具有趣味性和文化對接的可能性，換言之，就是要能夠首先吸引讀者，並在閱讀過程中潛移默化地使他們熟悉和接受中國文化。在翻譯過程中高羅佩的處理手法靈活多變，翻譯原則是以前目標語讀者為指向，調整和“改寫”目的在於既能盡可能保留中國文化的原貌，避免給異質文化讀者造成錯誤的文化想像，同時也要去除原文本中可能帶給譯語文化讀者過大文化衝擊的部分，以免導致讀者的反感。歸根結底，高羅佩在翻譯中不是硬性照搬原文，而是注意要尋求原語文化和譯語文化的共性所在，通過強調普遍性來避免文化差異導致的疏離和不信任，這就需要譯者注意分寸感，不斷地總結經驗進行完善。高羅佩的嘗試也並不是都是恰到好處，有時他的考慮可能會顯得比較主觀，對原文的干涉顯得有些粗暴（例如，對於原文 28 回陰司斷案部分的處理）。但這畢竟是文化傳播和交流的第一步，步履維艱但用心良苦。高羅佩承認自己的翻譯並非嚴格意義上的漢學研究成果，並希望自己的“修改沒有本質上影響反應中文原文的文體和精神”¹。從譯文本本身來看，他確實在很大程度上實現了自己的心願。

¹ 《武則天四大奇案》英文本，譯者後記，筆者譯。原文：I hope that my sinological colleagues will agree that none of those alterations materially affect a faithful rendering of style and spirit of the Chinese original.

THE CATALOGUE: THE DUTCH MANDARIN

Following the conference the Robert van Gulik Now! committee will collect and put together the submitted conference papers in a catalogue. It is expected the catalogue will be ready for circulation June 2013. In case you would like to resubmit your paper, please contact the committee members.

In the coming weeks the committee will contact all participants and discuss the content which will be used for the catalogue. For questions, please contact the committee at RVGNOW@gmail.com.

The Robert van Gulik NOW! Committee

