第三屆

中國文化研究青年學者論壇
Young Scholars' Forum in Chinese Studies 2016

May 19–21, 2016

INSTITUTE OF CHINESE STUDIES

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Participants' List

No.	Title	English Name	Chinese Name	University
1	Mr.	Cao Yin	曹　寅	New York University Shanghai 上海紐約大學
2	Miss	Chan Manning	陳文寧	Hong Kong Baptist University 香港浸會大學
3	Miss	Chen Wenyan	陳文妍	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
4	Miss	Chen Yao	陳　瑤	Xiamen University 廈門大學
5	Mr.	Ilya Chubarov		The Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences 俄羅斯科學院遠東研究所
6	Mr.	Iain M. Clark	郭家彥	Macquarie University 麥覺理大學
7	Miss	Du Yue	杜　樂	New York University 紐約大學
8	Mr.	Guo Rufei	郭汝飛	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
9	Mr.	Masato Hasegawa	長谷川正人	New York University 紐約大學
10	Miss	Ho Hsingchen	何幸真	National Taiwan University 國立臺灣大學
11	Mr.	Hou Song	侯　松	Zhejiang Normal University 浙江師範大學
12	Mr.	Hu Guangming	胡光明	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
13	Miss	Jin Huan	金　環	Harvard University 哈佛大學
14	Miss	Lin Zhihui	林稚暉	Hong Kong Baptist University 香港浸會大學
15	Ms.	Lin Liting	林麗婷	Doshisha University 同志社大學
16	Mr.	Liu Yi	劉　毅	Nanjing University 南京大學
17	Mr.	Liu Shigu	劉詩古	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
18	Mr.	William H. Ma	馬新躍	University of California-Berkeley 加州大學柏克萊分校
19	Ms.	Shen Yiming	沈一鳴	Peking University 北京大學
20	Mr.	Shi Yangang	石岩剛	Shaanxi Normal University 陝西師範大學
21	Mr.	Shi Zhiqiang	史志強	The University of Tokyo 東京大學
22	Miss	Song Xue	宋　雪	Peking University 北京大學
23	Mr.	Daniel Stumm		Leiden University 萊登大學
24	Mr.	Nathan Vedal	魏寧坦	Harvard University 哈佛大學
25	Mr.	Yang Xu	楊　煦	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
26	Mr.	Zhang Zhaoyang	張朝陽	Shanghai Jiao Tong University 上海交通大學
27	Miss	Zheng Lifei	鄭立菲	The Academy of Korean Studies 韓國學中央研究院
28	Miss	Zhu Jing	朱　敬	The University of Edinburgh 愛丁堡大學

2016 Young Scholars' Forum in Chinese Studies

Co-organized by Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS) and The Chinese University of Hong Kong-Chiang Ching Kuo Foundation Asia-Pacific Centre for Chinese Studies (APC)

Program Schedule

May 18 (Wednesday)
Registration and Welcome Dinner
Venue: Room124, Institute of Chinese Studies

5:00 - 6:00pm	Registration
6:00 - 8:00pm	Welcome Dinner

May 19 - 21 (Thursday, Friday & Saturday)
Paper Presentations and Discussions
Venue: G27, Institute of Chinese Studies

Each panel session consists of 2-4 presentations that address a common topic. The moderator/ discussant of each session will provide comments on each of the papers and/or future research in the area. At the end of each session, there will be an open floor discussion (Q&A). Presentation flow of each session will be:
- 18 minutes for each presentation
- 20 minutes for comments by assigned moderator/ discussant
- 15 minutes for open floor discussion (Q&A)

May 19, 2016 (Thursday)

	Panel	Time	Name		University/Institution	Title of the Paper
1	明清語言文字與文學：I Language and Literature during the Ming and Qing Dynasties: I	09:00 - 10:30	主持及評論：尹翠琪教授 藝術系 Moderator: Professor Wan, Chui Ki, Department of Fine Arts			
			Nathan Vedal	魏寧坦	Harvard University	Letters from the Western Regions: Grappling with Alphabetic Scripts in Late Imperial China
			Lin, Zhihui	林稚暉	Hong Kong Baptist University	Women's Ghostwriting in Ming-Qing China
			Daniel Stumm		Leiden University	Philologists, Forgers and Disciples: Coming to Terms with the Authorship of Early Texts in 18th-century China
					20 minutes break	
2	明清語言文字與文學：II Language and Literature during the Ming and Qing Dynasties: II	10:50 - 12:00	主持及評論：徐瑋教授 中國語言及文學系 Moderator: Professor Tsui, Wai, Department of Chinese Language and Literature			
			Lin, Liting	林麗婷	Doshisha University	到日本留學去——讀清末小說《新石頭記》
			Song, Xue	宋 雪	Peking University	晚清小說中的「末日」與「未來」——梁譯《世界末日記》的意義
					Lunch: 12:00 - 13:50	
3	明清社會祭祀與宗教 Popular Cult and Religion during the Ming and Qing Dynasties	14:00 - 15:30	主持及評論：黎志添教授 文化及宗教研究系 Moderator: Professor LAI, Chi-tim, Department of Cultural and Religious Studies			
			Chan, Manning	陳文寧	Hong Kong Baptist University	論明清中國士人信徒對祭祖禮的探討 —— 以耶穌會羅馬館藏明清士人信徒夏瑪弟亞的祭禮文獻為考察範圍
			Ho, Hsingchen	何幸真	National Taiwan University	從國朝蠢年至新朝盛世：南京表忠祠由明入清的地位變遷
			Liu, Yi	劉 毅	Nanjing University	世俗空間的地緣性開放：帝國晚期佛教水陸殿及水陸壁畫的興起
					20 minutes break	
4	明清社會經濟、技術與交通 Social Economy, Technology and Transport during the Ming and Qing Dynasties	15:50 - 17:40	主持及評論：蔡志祥教授 歷史系 Moderator: Professor CHOI, Chi Cheung, Department of History			
			Liu, Shigu	劉詩古	The Chinese University of Hong Kong	「入湖權」的由來：明初鄱陽湖區的湖池「闌辦」與漁戶「承課」
			Masato Hasegawa	長谷川正人	New York University	Technology, Transport, and Reliability in Late Imperial China: The Case of Mao Yuanyi (1594-1641)
			Zhang, Zhaoyang	張朝陽	Shanghai Jiao Tong University	公眾權益與17-18世紀江南官河、官湖糾紛
			Chen, Yao	陳 瑤	Xiamen University	水路歌中湖南船工的世界
					Dinner: 18:00 - 19:20	
					Group Sharing: 19:30-20:30	

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May 20, 2016 (Friday)

	Panel	Time	Name		University/Institution	Title of the Paper
5	清代物質文化與藝術 Material Culture and Arts during the Qing Dynasty	09:00 - 10:30	主持及評論：姚進莊教授 藝術系 Moderator: Professor Yiu, Chun Chong, Department of Fine Arts			
			Iain M. Clark	郭家彥	Macquarie University	A Qing State Ritual Innovation: The Qianlong Empeor's Ceramic Sarificial Utensils
			Hou, Song	侯 松	Zhejiang Normal University	How Trees Could Be Remembered as Heritage Site? The Meaning-making of Trees as Guji in Qing-dynasty Hangzhou
			Chen, Wenyan	陳文妍	The Chinese University of Hong Kong	海珠印痕——清中晚期廣州河南地區文人印學群體研究
			20 minutes break			
6	明清社會跨文化交流 Cross Cultural Exchange during the Ming and Qing Dynasties	10:50 - 12:20	主持及評論：傅健士教授 文化及宗教研究系 Moderator: Professor James D. Frankel, Department of Cultural and Religious Studies			
			Shen, Yiming	沈一鳴	Peking University	中國伊斯蘭經學派在明末清初的創立和發展
			Cao, Yin	曹 寅	New York University Shanghai	Kill Buddha Singh: The Ghadar Party and its Enemies in Shanghai, 1914-1927
			Ilya Chubarov		The Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences	Russian Researches in Late Imperial China: the Case of Vladimir Obruchev's Expedition to West China, 1892-1894
			Lunch: 12:20 - 13:50			
7	清至民國中國女性 Chinese Women in the Qing Dynasty and Republican China	14:00 - 15:30	主持及評論：KIELY Jan 教授 中國研究中心 Moderator: Professor KIELY Jan, Centre for China Studies			
			William H. Ma	馬新躍	University of California-Berkeley	Copying and Tracing the Sacred and the Profane: Our Lady of China and the Empress Dowager Cixi
			Du, Yue	杜 樂	New York University	Concubinage and Motherhood in Qing China (1644-1911): Ritual, Law, and Custodial Rights of Property
			Guo, Rufei	郭汝飛	The Chinese University of Hong Kong	Sworn Spinsters: An Economic Analysis of Celibacy
			20 minutes break			
8	清至民國中央與邊疆之互動 Interplay between the Central Government and Borderlands in the Qing Dynasty and Republican China	15:50 - 17:20	主持及評論：金玟求教授 藝術系 Moderator: Professor Kim, Minku, Department of Fine Arts			
			Shi, Yangang	石岩剛	Shaanxi Normal University	清前期清廷和西藏之間信息情報的獲取與傳遞——基於滿藏文文書翻譯實踐、譯員及譯員培養的考察
			Yang, Xu	楊 煦	The Chinese University of Hong Kong	十六至十八世紀西藏建築之「都綱法式」在蒙古各部的本土變異及清廷的選擇性借用
			Zhu, Jing	朱 敬	The University of Edinburgh	Imperial Images? Rethinking the Miao albums of Yunnan and Guizhou
			Dinner: 17:30 - 19:20			
			Group Sharing: 19:30-20:30			

May 21, 2016 (Saturday Morning)

	Panel	Time	Name		University/Institution	Title of the Paper
9	清代中國社會變遷 Social Transformations in the Qing Dynasty	09:30 - 11:20	主持及評論：卜永堅教授 歷史系 Moderator: Professor PUK, Wing-kin, Department of History			
			Jin, Huan	金 環	Harvard University	Malleable Qing Propaganda and the Taiping Civil War: a Study of *Miracle Revelation of Imperial Instruction*
			Hu, Guangming	胡光明	The Chinese University of Hong Kong	聚焦寧壽宮：乾隆帝與內廷演劇的空間權力及文化寓意
			Shi, Zhiqiang	史志強	The University of Tokyo	Documentation and the Legal Process in the Qing Dynasty: A Case Study
			Zheng, Lifei	鄭立菲	The Academy of Korean Studies	從「天兵」到敗旅：甲午戰爭期間朝鮮戰場之清軍與朝鮮對華觀

Concluding Remarks: 11:30-12:00

Lunch: 12:00- 13:45

May 21 (Saturday Afternoon)
Cultural Tour
Ping Shan Heritage Trail (屏山文物徑)

Letters from the Western Regions: Grappling with Alphabetic Scripts in Late Imperial China

Nathan Vedal 魏寧坦　Harvard University

In the early 20th century, some Chinese thinkers looked at Chinese characters (漢字) as holding back China＇s progress toward modernity. Present day historians of language reform in China have often argued that premodern Chinese scholars prior to this period did not pay serious attention to alphabetic or syllabic writing systems. This claim neglects the substantial interaction with non-character based scripts in late imperial China, which played a significant role in contemporary philological scholarship.

This paper builds off recent research on the role of the Manchu script in the Qing dynasty to investigate the discussions and debates revolving around alphabetic and syllabic scripts in the preceding Ming dynasty. These discussions reveal important aspects of how Ming scholars understood both phonology and the applicability of non-character based scripts to Chinese. They also provide a unique window into contested notions of China's place in the world, as scholars took the Chinese language as representative of culture on a broader scale.

I focus primarily on the Siddham syllabary with which Sanskrit texts had been introduced to China, but also look at how Ming scholars viewed the Latin alphabet, among other writing systems. The paper makes use of several phonological treatises by Ming scholars which include discussions of alphabetic and syllabic scripts, as well as the important study of the Siddham script by Zhao Yiguang 趙宧光 (1559－1625), entitled Xitan jingzhuan 悉曇經傳. In addition, I make use of biji 筆記 discussions that make cultural claims about the superiority or inferiority of the Chinese script.

Late Ming scholars used non-Chinese scripts to develop new ways of understanding phonology and analyzing the linguistic sounds of Chinese. Supporters of the Chinese script in turn created new linkages between culture and language to bolster their claims about Chinese writing. In both cases, non-Chinese scripts played an important role in how Ming scholars attempted to describe the Chinese language.

Women's Ghostwriting in Ming-Qing China[*]
Lin Zhihui (Hong Kong Baptist University)

I. Introduction

As Hui-shu Lee forcefully points out, "ghostwriting can be a remarkably subversive means, subtle in appearance and application yet with potentially powerful ramifications."[1] Female writers in Ming-Qing China composed substantial amount of ghostwriting poems,[2] but unfortunately, this phenomenon has received insufficient scholarly attention comparing to fruitful researches on women's power and agency.[3]

Since the overthrow of the "women as victims" misconception, writing women and women's writing in late imperial China have received increasing well-recognition. However, how and why female poets ghostwrote for others remain little known and require explorations. During Ming and Qing dynasties, female poets composed verses on various others' behalf under variety of circumstances and for multiple purposes. Not only did they ghostwrite for the illiterates, but they also composed on behalf of male literati and even objects such as plants, animals and the immortals, which leads us to consider questions: on whose behalf did women write? What were the functions of ghostwriting practices? How did women interact with themselves and others in ghostwriting? What significant role did ghostwriting play in the expression and re-/construction of women's "self"? How they exerted impersonalization, self-bifurcation, and literary talent during writing practice mirrored their wisdom, ambitions, subjectivity as well as agency.

This study aims at providing a new understanding on women's writing practice and examining gender relation in Ming-Qing China. In order to unveil and analyze women's thoughts and agency in ghostwriting, the present study will use female elite's poems recorded in anthologies and separate collections as the main sources.

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[*] I would like to thank Professor Clara Ho for her valuable inspirations and comments at various stages.

[1] Hui-shu Lee, *Empresses, Art, and Agency in Song Dynasty China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), p. 86.

[2] Composing on behalf the other gender was a practice shared by men and women. As discovered by Hu Weikai 胡文楷, some women's poems were actually composed by men in a woman's name, see Hu Wenkai (comp.), *Lidai funü zhuzuo kao* 歷代婦女著作考 (Revised and enlarged by Zhang Hongsheng 張宏生. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008): pp. 9-10. Women's ghostwriting poems studied in this paper are those written in women's own names with specific indication of "on another's behalf".

[3] Lui Hoi Ling explores women's writing on behalf of their husbands and considered it as an affirmation of female talent and a type of literary sharing between the couple, see "Gender, Emotions, and Texts: Writings to and about Husbands in Anthologies of Qing Women's Works" (M.Phil. thesis, Hong Kong Baptist University, 2010): 75-77.

There were two distinctive features in women's ghostwriting. First, different from the poetic androgyny which based on the gendered differences in themes and expressing style, women's ghostwriting focused not on thematic and stylistic imitation, and they wrote not only on men's behalf but also on behalf of many different others.[4] Second, the female ghostwriter was not an invisible writing subject or a stay-behind person who was intended to conceal her identity, on the contrary, she specified herself as the true author of the poem by entitling it *daizuo* 代作 (on behalf of others), and might also circulated it publicly. Therefore, unlike prevalent ghostwriting practice in painting and calligraphy that raised problems in authenticity, women's ghostwriting phenomenon was a matter of identity and authority.

This paper contains four main sessions: while the first part of this research explores how women aptly ghostwrote for the illiterates and learners to transform the writing practice into a record of other's lives as well as a method of education, the second part focuses on the reconceptualization of womanhood by looking at their writings on behalf of male counterparts which served significant functions in social connection and gender relation. Part three moves to examine how ghostwriting became a form of expressing women's self-consciousness as female historians, leading us to the final part which focuses on women's self-diversification and self-re-/construction in subjectivizing the objects.

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[4] In her discussion on *ci* in late Tang and Song periods, Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩 points out that male poets expressed themselves in female's tone. See "Lun cixue zhong zhi kunhuo yu *Huajian ci* zhi nüxing xuxie ji qi yingxiang" 論詞學中之困惑與花間詞之女性敘寫及其影響, in her *Jialing lunci conggao* 迦陵論詞叢稿 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997). Kang-i Sun Chang observes that women in Ming-Qing era delicately imitated literati's writing style in order to gain their recognition and summarizes it as "cultural androgyny," see her "Gender and Canonicity: Ming-Qing Women Poets in the Eyes of Male Literati," *Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry*, vol. 1 (2001), pp. 1-18; "Ming-Qing Women Poets and Cultural Androgyny," in Peng-hsiang Chen and Whitney Crothers Dilley (eds.), *Feminism/Femininity in Chinese Literature* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 21-31. However, poetic androgyny established on an assumption that the theme, tone, and style of men and women's expressions were distinctively different and comparatively fixed, which was different from women's ghostwriting discussed in this research.

Philologists, forgers and disciples: Coming to terms with the authorship of early texts
in 18th-century China

Daniel Stumm Leiden University

In 18th-century China, the age of evidential studies (*kaozheng xue* 考證學), the provenance of ancient texts was an important topic of discussion. Trying to determine the authenticity of a work, an individual chapter, or even a single passage constituted an important part of what scholars did. In the course of such research, the relation between text and presumed author became increasingly tenuous for early works. It was almost as if the Chinese textual heritage consisted solely of misattributed texts. This triggered an antithetical counter-movement. Instead of questioning the authenticity of early texts, a small number of scholars started to question the concept of authorship that their contemporaries employed in the hunt for forgeries. They argued for the recognition of collaborative authorship and the ties that linked presumably inauthentic, later works to older traditions. The binary opposition between authentic and inauthentic was thus dissolved, to various degrees and from various perspectives.

到日本留學去——讀清末小說《新石頭記》

林麗婷　Doshisha University

After the First Sino-Japanese War (Aug.1st.1894-Apr.17th.1895), the Qing Empire began to send students to Japan officially from 1896.To study in Japan became a fashion gradually. By 1906, the first peak period, there were over 7,000chinse students in Japan. With the increasing overseas students, they were described in literature. For example, ku xue sheng 苦學生(qiyouzi 杞憂子,1905-1906),dong jing meng 東京夢(lvbing 履冰,1909) are relatively known. ku xue sheng 苦學生 however, it tells a story about one student who went to USA to study. As other researchers has pointed, most of fiction about overseas students are described negatively, their behavior are defamed. Shang xin ren yu 傷心人語 (shushisheng 漱石生,1905)is that. It reflects that the late Qing intellectuals held complex emotions about overseas students. However, I will discuss another little-known fiction—xin shi tou ji新石頭記 (nanwu yeman 南武野蛮,1909).Different from fiction what criticized overseas students, it tells that Jia Baoyu 賈寶玉 went to Japan to find Lin Daiyu 林黛玉.On the way to become a monk, Baoyu fell asleep for hundreds of years. After waking up, he met Liu Xianglian 柳湘莲 and was informed that Daiyu is alive. Baoyu was excited and rushed to shanghai. However, he was told that Daiyu is teaching Chinese in Yokohama, Japan. Baoyu started off on a journey to Japan. It was narrated in detail what Baoyu met, heard and felt. When Daiyu met Baoyu, yet, she encouraged Baoyu to be a national citizen. Therefore Baoyu became an overseas student and finally got married with Daiyu following the Mikado's goodwill. A ying classified this fiction into quasi old novels and gave it a low evaluation. Despite this, it returned back to researchers' perspective after1990s. Yan ansheng 厳安生 and David Der-wei Wang 王德威 mentioned it in succession. Yan pointed out that it reflects the case of overseas female students. Wang pointed out that the mythical charm of overseas study was brewing. Their views are brief and enlightening. According to the previous research, I will re-examine it in detail. Firstly, referring to the governmental/non-governmental material, I will survey the fee, the route to Japan of overseas study and discuss the context of xin shi tou ji. In fact, many Late Qing officials and intellectuals went to Japan to inspect and wrote a lot of diaries and journals. Besides those, overseas students also wrote articles introducing the culture of Japan. One of those is the guide of study in Japan 日本遊學指南（zhang zongxiang 章宗詳,1901）.With reading it and other relative material, I will analyze the similarities and difference between the reality and the fiction. Secondly, there is an important key that Daiyu had gone to USA to study and went to Japan to teach Chinese. Why did Daiyu go to USA at first? Why she worked as a teacher in Japan? There were some political expressions such as

national in xin shi tou ji, but it seems that the author didn't hold a clear idea about modern state concept. I will discuss that combining the late Qing ideological trend. Thirdly, from rebuking novels to xin shi tou ji, there is a change in describing overseas students. What does it mean? Based on the image of the history of overseas students, I will explore the meaning of the fiction.

晚清小說中的「末日」與「未來」——梁譯〈世界末日記〉的意義

宋雪 北京大學中國語言文學系

摘要：梁啟超經由日文重譯的哲理小說〈世界末日記〉（1902），帶有「豪傑譯」的個人風格，並在翻譯中提出了哲學命題。梁啟超在德富蘆花譯本基礎上，以中國典故對小說進行改寫，並添加按語，將修辭策略坐實為現實政治訴求，激發民智，期求新民。作為一部「反烏托邦」小說，梁譯〈世界末日記〉以華嚴佛理回應科學高度發展之後的末世，構想出人類沉重的未來，也代表著世紀初的末日想像。在科學、幻想、宗教與新的時空面前，梁譯〈世界末日記〉表現出諸多矛盾，卻也拓展了晚清小說的新概念空間。〈世界末日記〉是最早譯介到中國的短篇小說之一，民初又有評點本和插圖本。由其英文–日文–中文的跨語際之旅，可以展開晚清中國翻譯文本、思想轉型和科學理念的探討，梁啟超兼及「末日」與「未來」的關注，亦可作為研究其時間概念建構的重要參考。

關鍵字：〈世界末日記〉梁啟超烏托邦小說漢譯

論明清中國士人信徒對祭祖禮的探討——以耶穌會羅馬館藏明清士人信徒夏瑪弟亞的祭禮文獻為考察範圍
陳文寧　Hong Kong Baptist University

由 14 位作者寫於 17 世紀、收於耶穌會羅馬館的 28 篇祭禮文獻，是迄今所見最早一批出自中國士人信徒之手，在禮儀之爭期間就傳教士對祭祖禮的顧慮作出回應的文章。按內容來看，傳教士的顧慮可歸納為兩類，一是採取詢問的方式，向這批士人信徒請教與祭祀相關的問題，二是對祭祖禮已持有否定態度，致令這批作者撰文予以反駁。

從祭祖禮的觀點方面來說，28 篇文獻作者主要是從祭祖本義、祭祖禮是否有與天主教信仰相牴觸的成份等兩方面，進行論述。對於前者，他們認為祭祖源於人情、德育及治國三方面的需要；對於後者，他們指祭祖禮既無求福的成份，亦不認為祖先仍會來格來饗於祭祀現場，因此祭祖之"祭"與祭上帝之"祭"在本質上迥異。雖然在某些細節上，個別作者有不同的意見，然而他們基本上是一致認為祭祖禮應允許中國信徒繼續奉行。

從立論方式來說，28 篇文獻作者中縱使有個別作者對某些儒家經典的可信性存疑，但大多仍主要採用經學進路，強調先王、孔子、儒學的地位及中國文字用法有其特別之處，援引儒家經典、尤其是《禮記》對祭祖禮的描述，以及宋儒的觀點、當中又尤以朱熹為主，作為探討時的論據。

以 28 篇與其所身處的明末清初時期經學主流相較而言，他們反映了當時整體經學風氣所尚——以朱熹為宗、漸開漢宋兼爭之勢。不過，對於祭祖禮本義的理解，比對作為當時經學相關方面的代表人物——朱熹及其學派的陳澔、納蘭性德等人的觀點，在情、德、治三方面之外，朱熹等人並不否認祭祖求福、相信祖先能來格來饗，朱子甚至認為祭祖的本義之一，就在於以祭祀之誠讓祖先的魂魄能夠得以安頓。

以 28 篇與其所身處 17 世紀來華傳教士、教廷相較而言，耶穌會傳教士的觀點最與 28 篇相近，注意到祭祖禮在情、德方面對中國人的意義，認為仍有允許中國信徒奉行祭祀的價值。然而，多明我會、方濟各會傳教士的關注點不在於祭祖禮對中國人的意義、價值，而是禮儀中所存在的求福於祖先、相信祖先仍能來格來饗等成份，與天主教信仰相悖。至於教廷，則會按傳教士上呈的資料，而在答覆時作出相應的調整。立論方式上，除耶穌會與多明我會的萬濟國，會引用中國儒家經典作為討論依據外，托缽修會的傳教士主要是按眼見當時社會上祭祖禮情況作出判斷。

雖然在論述過程中，28篇文獻一方面與明末清初經學主流對於祭祖禮本義的理解存在歧異，亦出現對經典的錯解等不足；但不管是讓後世得以更全面地認識禮儀之爭這段歷史，或是為當代有關"祭祖"問題的研究帶來參考與啟發，這批文獻皆具有重要的價值。

從國朝暮年至新朝盛世：南京表忠祠由明入清的地位變遷

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本文透過明末、南明及清乾隆年間的三起事件，探討南京表忠祠在由明入清的過程中，其意義與性質的變與不變。在靖難戰爭和明清鼎革的歷史發展下，南京於永樂以降的明代及清代統治者眼中，成為一座匯集了舊政權象徵、記憶與支持者的城市。而坐落於這座城市，又與上述歷史密切關聯的南京表忠祠，作為明清時期的群祀祀典之一，它在國家祀典體系中自有其位置、規制與功能，但在實際運作的過程裡，卻很可能因為其政治及歷史意義的工具性與可操作性，受到朝廷、士人群體乃至地方精英的利用，而悖離原有規制，並產生其他效應。

南京表忠祠在晚明和南明弘光時期的破格待遇，反映了該祠於國初歷史創傷之紀念、與平反方面的象徵意義，以及激發忠義士氣的潛在功能。此功能雖一度隨著入清後政治局勢的變化，以及相關歷史的政治敏感性而消失，卻又在清政權統治趨穩、民間思明遺緒不再的乾隆年間，再度成為統治者進行操作，以教化百姓、激勵忠義、凝聚政治或文化認同的工具。而晚明和弘光時期南京表忠祠的發展，又涉及該城市在當時所面臨的政治處境，以及南京六部官員由此產生的焦慮感。南京表忠祠於乾隆年間的再發展，則反映了地方官員對國家權威的服膺與自動因應，亦顯示盛清時期的地方官員，確實在國家力量滲透地方的過程當中扮演要角。然而另一方面，地方官員的上述因應，往往是透過「與民間互動並從中取得資源」的手段，這也為日後官方力量減弱之時，地方精英在祠祀營運上的反客為主，奠下了基礎。

關鍵詞： 明清　南京表忠祠　建文　靖難　祀典

世俗空間的地緣性開放：帝國晚期佛教水陸殿與水陸壁畫的興起

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水陸法會是佛教世界最盛大且重要的儀式，自公元五世紀開始，經唐宋發展與元代積澱，至明朝達至鼎盛。法會及其相應的儀軌隨社會需求與文化取向而不斷完善，在歷史學範疇中呈現出切實的發展軌跡。同時，儀式本身與宗教理念以及宗教信仰的對應關系也在歷史發展進程中不斷調和，進而形成水陸法會與社會、習俗和文化的關聯語境。特別是在晚明時期，佛教的圓融思想、皈依淨土信仰以及居士佛教興起等等，強化水陸法會的神聖性與普世性的交合，這也在本質上促成其對明代特定意誌與理念的顯現。歷史學研究與本質性顯現構成了不相交集的兩條線索，某種程度上，晚明的繁榮標誌著水陸法會作為佛教理念的原型而得以顯現。水陸法會並不止於歷史學考察，而更加作為時代、社會與文化的整體意象而凸顯佛教理念本身。在這個意義上，明代水陸法會便成為歷史學考察的斷點，在特定存在形態的基礎之上向理念自身的原點回歸。因而，它不僅成為探析明代社會壹般狀況的有效路徑，而且也構成透視佛教內裏邏輯的原型。本文通過考察水陸殿與水陸壁畫的興盛，即分析水陸法會的存在形態與物質載體，來討論佛教理念顯現的原型與基本運作方式以及晚明佛教思想的特質。

「入湖權」的由來：明初鄱陽湖區的湖池「閘辦」與漁戶「承課」
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摘要

通過閱讀譜牒發現，現今生活在鄱陽湖周邊的漁民群體，並非原來生活在鄡陽平原的土著後裔，而是在不同時期陸續遷入的移民。現今留存下來的漁民家譜文本都試圖表達，他們的祖先來的比別人更早，並都有一個重要的祖先在明初「閘辦」了湖池，正式向官府登記納課。這套表達雖然存在細節上的矛盾，但各族關於祖先定居歷史的故事並非毫無意義，如族譜中都提及的祖先在明初「閘辦」湖池的故事就反映了明初湖區的重要制度變化。明初通過設立河泊所，國家力量開始介入到湖區的管理，如丈量湖池、編立青冊、徵收漁課以及管理漁戶制度，從而基本奠定了明清乃至民國時期湖池、河港的產權佔有格局。然而，在明初河泊所初設時，漁戶對於「閘辦」和「納課」之事，並不主動積極，為了規避漁課，有些漁民選擇了逃亡。沿湖漁民村落人口的增長，使得入湖捕魚日益成為了一種競爭資源。在圍繞湖池水面的產權糾紛處理過程中，沿湖漁民通過祖先定居歷史的追溯，並結合明初王朝對湖池水域的「閘辦」徵課冊籍，用以證明祖先在明初就獲得了特定水域的「入湖權」。

關鍵詞：明初、鄱陽湖、定居史、入湖權、閘辦

Technology, Transport, and Reliability in Late Imperial China: The Case of Mao Yuanyi (1594–1641)

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This paper examines the interplay between technology, transport, and the notion of reliability in Chinese society in the late imperial period. Primarily drawing on writings of one of the most prolific writers of the period on military matters, Mao Yuanyi (1594-1641), this study closely assesses how technologies, animals, and human labor enabled the overland transport of military provisions in late Ming society. A military strategist and advisor, Mao participated in the Ming defense effort against the Jurchen forces in Liaodong in the early seventeenth century. In his seminal study on the conduct of war, The Record of Military Preparedness (Wubeizhi), he extensively discussed the costs and benefits of the transport methods that were available in the late Ming period, including cart, horse, and water transport. Among the various methods considered in his Record of Military Preparedness and other treatises, Mao clearly favored what he termed "human transport" (renyun), which exclusively relied on the labor of human bearers. By analyzing his writings on the transport of provisions and his forceful argument in favor of employing human labor, this study not only highlights the manner in which consideration over the duration and speed of transport frequently entailed an appraisal of technologies, costs, and reliability in the long term. It also illuminates how local residents and communities became an integral part of the state's assessment of technologies of transport and reliability in late imperial China.

公众权益与 17-18 世纪江南官河、官湖纠纷

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摘要：内阁档案和地方石刻文献表明，17-18 世纪，江南地区的官河、官湖是真正意义上的"公共资源"。这些资源的用益权，理论上由万民自由共享，但在现实上，引发过很多纠纷。既有个人之间在官河捕鱼爆发的冲突，也有民众集体控告豪强圈占官湖、私征渔租，甚至还有民众联名控告地方官府借渔税扰民。这些纠纷具有"公众"维权性质：通过对一系列案件的判决和公示，江南"官河湖"的公众属性得到了法律确认,超越宗族、水利集团利益范围的公众用益权得到了保障。

关键词：17-18 世纪、石刻、公众权益、江南、纠纷

水路歌中湖南船工的世界
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與在海上航行一樣，在中國內陸河道航行，也需要對河道方向、行船技術、船身結構、船工水手規模等諸多方面的知識。每條河流都不同，河流的季節性水流量大小、河道寬窄、暗礁分佈、沿河碼頭分佈和規模等水文條件、河道狀態、沿岸環境的信息，是只有船運業者掌握的一套航行知識。傳統時期在河道航行的知識和技術完全靠船工多年的經驗積累，而航行知識的傳承則主要為口口相傳。

水道行船歌謠是船工傳承河道航行知識的一種方式。《中国歌谣集成·湖南卷·湘潭县资料本》中收錄有兩則《贊水路》歌，其一是 1987 年 3 月采錄于湘潭縣留田鄉前進村，演唱者為賀多福（男，七十一歲，農民，高小文化，留田鄉人），歌詞由他的同村人趙仲靈（男，六十八歲，大專文化，退休教師，留田鄉前進村人）記錄下來，內容為：“麒麟頭上一點藍，陪同夥計贊江山。岳山發脈本非凡，山後有個黑山潭。藏龍之地地勢高，一年四季水滔滔。逆水行舟走不快，要到新橋裝滿載。新橋貨物滿了艙，一直開船到板倉。好個沙皮河不寬，夜多余水好行船。下流三里到白果，藥糖爆竹好紅火。楚南橋上打一望，大旗嶺上好雄壯。過橋開船只顧下，下去五里黃龍壩。新鋪子來大江洲，湘衡分界在中游。過了曉南朝直走，無事不必灣龍口。龍口以下鐘家潭，要到花石把船灣。花石灣船港肚裡，就請老闆下谷米。馬家咀來觀政橋，千年古跡萬年牢。樂家閭伴陳家山，下去兩里河頭灣。延化寺過白龍潭，再到鹽埠把船灣。鹽埠灣船不就勢，就開金塘并錦石。射埠碧水路茫茫，順水流去到吟江。吟江開船望長灘，郭家橋水夾中間。順水行船無隔故，把船開到楊家鋪。過埠不？眨眼到了易俗河。在此停船再出口，進了湘江到河口。一十五里楊梅洲，要到縣城把漿收。湘潭灣船沙灣里，花糧行來起谷米。百十里水路到了家，恭喜世代享榮華！” 類似的水路船歌在《中國歌謠集成·湖南卷》的其他資料冊中也有發現，幾乎涵蓋湖南大小河流。

本文不僅視此類資料為交通史研究的依據，而是將這些資料視為船工關於船運知識的口述文獻，希望以此為主要資料，結合地方志、商人路程圖引與田野考察等，考察在清代湖南米糧輸出和商業繁榮的背景下，湖南大小河道上船運業從事者如何掌握并傳頌航行知識，從其自創的歌謠來分析他們認為哪些河道知識和信息比較重要，他們如何描述河道狀況和沿岸環境，以及用歌謠傳授航船知識的知識傳播方式本身，嘗試從船運業者自己的聲音了解他們的生活與想法。

A Qing State Ritual Innovation: The Qianlong Empeor's Ceramic Sarificial Utensils
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This paper discusses a little-known innovation in late Qing (1636 – 1911) material culture, the ceramic ritual vessels adopted by the Manchu imperium in 1748 for sacrifices at altars and temples in Beijing dedicated to the state religion of China. This important innovation is evidence that the Manchu Qing court from the mid-eighteenth century at least achieved a high degree of Sinificiation and suggests that the New Qing History School claims discounting Sinification should be reconsidered. The research is founded on an analysis of the contents of the 'Illustrated Compendium of Ceremonial Paraphernalia for State Rituals' Huangchao liqi tushi 皇朝禮器圖式, an imperial ritual encyclopaedia printed in 1766. The suite of new utensils, comprising at its core deng 登, dou 豆, fu 簠, gui 簋, jue 爵, xing 鉶, zhan 盞 and zun 尊 vessels first appeared at the Altar to Heaven before spreading across all twenty four altars and temples dedicated to state ritual.

The state religion arose in China from beliefs and practices inherited at the dawn of its recorded history. Before even the Xia (21st – 16th C BCE), people looked to the sky for propitious weather and to measure the seasons; and to the soil around them for sustenance. Their fates and destiny were dominated by the mysterious powers in the Heavens and the Earth. The feelings of admiration, wonder, hope and fear resulting from these observations found expression in ritual beliefs and practices. By the Shang dynasty (1600 – 1050 BCE), state ritual included the worship of Shangdi, an abstract Supreme Being in Heaven and ruler of all. Only the emperor as the Son of Heaven performed this sacrifice, monopolizing access to divine power and providing a basis for political domination.

By the end of the Song dynasty (960 – 1279 CE), state sacrifices firmly based on Confucian ideology with offerings to Heaven and Earth were widely accepted in Chinese society. The Ming (1368 – 1644) emperors recovered ritual practices neglected by the Yuan (1279 – 1368) rulers, with the Hongwu emperor (1368 – 1398) worshiping the gods of both Heaven and Earth annually from 1368. The third Ming ruler, the Yongle emperor (1402 – 1424) moved the empire's capital to Beijing at the turn of the fifteenth century and constructed state ritual altars and temples, the remains of which we may still see today. In 1370, the emperor's advisers had recommended that porcelain could be used in place of bronze for state ritual utensils, and common ceramic cup, bowl and dish forms might be used provided that they carried the special names recorded in the ancient texts describing ritual sacrifices.

Initially, white porcelain utensils were adopted. Then in 1530, the Jiajing emperor (1521 – 1567), among a number of important revisions and enhancements to ritual practice, decreed that the porcelain ritual vessels must be color coded to satisfy the requirements of the Five Phases Theory Wuxing shuo 五行說 in which each altar and temple was assigned one of five colors.

The early Qing emperors understood well that state rituals were not discretionary, but an essential symbol of office. The rituals included sacrifices to Heaven and Earth; the gods of Land and Grain; the imperial ancestors; Jupiter; the Sun and Moon, the Divine Farmer and Goddess of Sericulture; and the God of War. The annual ritual calendar listed more than fifty dates in the eighteenth century and for the emperor, each grand sacrifice was a three-day, nine-stage spectacle. The ritual utensils selected for these occasions not only contained the offerings in a display carefully color coordinated with the costumes worn by the celebrants, they also by their numbers helped place each sacrifice in the complex ritual hierarchy.

The Qianlong emperor (1736 – 1795) came to the throne as well prepared and as well suited for his task as any ruler in history and he went on to govern China for over sixty years. Successful military campaigns in East Central Asia, surpluses in the national treasury and a rapidly growing population were features of his reign. The relative peace and substantial prosperity of the empire afforded the emperor the means to embark on several decades-long undertakings. One important project was the enhancement of state ritual infrastructure, with all major imperial temples and altar precincts being expanded, rebuilt or refurbished to permit the most elaborate and magnificent ceremonies. The emperor also sponsored research into all aspects of ritual practice, including the nature and use of ritual paraphernalia.

It was in these circumstances that the call was made to both rectify the current state ritual practice, particularly with regard to the paraphernalia, and to document clearly the resolution for future generations. The resulting suite of utensils first appeared at the Altar to Heaven on the winter solstice of 1748, but the accompanying ritual encyclopaedia, the Illustrated Compendium of Ceremonial Paraphernalia for State Rituals was finally published only in 1766. Nevertheless, it shows emphatically the emperor's personal involvement and endorsement of designs for ritual utensils which reach back as far as Zhou dynasty (1050 – 221 BCE) precedents. The Qianlong emperor used these new assemblages of brightly colored vessels to demonstrate to the educated elite witnessing state rituals his profound knowledge and mastery of ritual practices from China's long distant past, to reinforce his right to the Mandate of

Heaven and the legitimacy of his rule over the Chinese Empire. It was also a measure of how highly Sinified the Manchu imperium had become, and quite contrary to public pronouncements regarding the maintenance of Manchu culture.

While it is problematic to draw general conclusions regarding Sinificiation from particular circumstances, the Qianlong emperor's important innovation in ritual material culture suggests that the New Qing History School claims discounting the thesis of Manchu Sinification might be refined and reconsidered.

How trees could be remembered as heritage site?

The meaning-making of trees as *guji* in Qing-dynasty Hangzhou

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Abstract：This article intends to explore how trees, which are normally regarded as natural beings today, were understood as *guji* (ancient vestige) or heritage sites in Qing-dynasty Hangzhou. To this aim, it analyzes the documentation of ancient trees in the volumes or chapters of *guji* in five of Hangzhou's local gazetteers compiled during the Qing dynasty available today to this study. They include three prefectural gazetteers of Hangzhou and one county gazetteer of Qiantang and one of Renhe. These two are major counties that constitute the city of Hangzhou during the Qing dynasty and the main urbanity of Hangzhou today. I show that trees were remembered as *guji* in Qing-dynasty Hangzhou through a fourfold meaning-making mechanism: (1) trees as historical names; (2) trees as rare, bizarre, and/or pretty landscape; (3) trees as site of poetics or *wen* (文); (4) trees as mnemonics. Through such culture-oriented meaning-making processes, trees were transformed into landscape or place that invites visiting, commemoration and interpretation. They, therefore, can be compared to cultural heritage or cultural landscape heritage sites. This study further challenges the cultural-natural divide and the materiality orientation in globalized heritage discourses and preservation practices from a local-historical perspective. It also urges us to reflect upon the Ancient and Renowned Trees protection in contemporary China that prioritizes biological and ecological thinking.

Key words: heritage, *guji*, tree, site, landscape, memory, poetics, Hangzhou, Qing dynasty

海珠印痕——清中晚期廣州河南地區文人印學群體研究

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摘要：清代中晚期是篆刻藝術發展的繁盛期，所發行的印譜數量也遠超前代，乾隆至光緒朝就有約六百六十種面世。此時亦是廣東經濟藝文發展的黃金時期，湧現出一批文人藝術家。書畫作品離不開印章，不少文藝人士也是篆刻藝術的愛好者。當時廣州河南地區是十三行商人潘氏、伍氏大宅坐落之處；也是晚清嶺南畫派先驅居巢、居廉的故里，及他們晚年作畫授徒之所在；亦為楊永衍等文人雅士曾居之地。雖然他們各為儒商族人、畫家、詩人，身份不盡相同，但同處一地，又皆雅好文藝，便常有雅聚往來，使此幽美之地愈發靈秀。更巧的是，他們都曾編輯藏印或自刻印印譜，互相之間也多有交流，甚至他們的後裔也喜好印藝，這一點很有趣，可見當時篆刻藝術在文人之間的滲透力。長期以來，清代印學研究集中在江浙、安徽等地區，廣州河南地區的文人印學群體可謂被忽視，有重新審視的必要。他們的收藏、篆刻作品、雅集活動等是清末民國時期嶺南印學興盛的伏筆與鋪墊，為清代嶺南印學發展的重要環節。他們亦是一個有著獨特形成背景與發展因緣，值得關注的清代嶺南文人群體。

　　本文試根據印譜、詩詞集、地方志、地圖等資料，探查此地文人印學群體形成背景及發展的過程，討論他們出版的印譜及對嶺南印學的貢獻。

關鍵詞：清中晚期、廣州、河南地區、文人、印學

中國伊斯蘭經學派在明末清初的創立和發展

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前言

　　伊斯蘭教自唐代進入中國，隨著蒙古人對亞洲的征服，大量來自中亞及更遠地區的穆斯林移居到中國中原地區。在蒙古人統治的元朝覆滅之後，由漢人建立的明朝見證了穆斯林移民的本地化和中國穆斯林社群的發展。由胡登洲开创的中国伊斯兰经学派即产生于这一时期。「經學」一般指儒家經典的注釋傳統，可以追溯到西漢時期。在中國穆斯林的語境下，經學特指對伊斯蘭經典的研習和注釋。當代學者一般認為今日中國中原地區的伊斯蘭教育，即经堂教育，便起源于经学派胡登洲（1522-1597）。[1]然而，對於這一觀點有以下幾點值得商榷的地方：

　　首先，「经堂教育」這一名詞出現於二十世紀初，強調了伊斯兰教学的地點，即清真寺。儘管清真寺在伊斯蘭教創立之初就作為穆斯林祈禱的場所，以及資訊交流和教育的中心[2]，但是現存的史料中並沒有明末以前在中原的清真寺中進行伊斯蘭教學活動的證據。[3]而胡登洲的傳記說其「設館於家」[4]，說明那個時期伊斯蘭教學場所為家塾而非清真寺。這一家塾的教學傳統尚不知從何時開始，但是可以確信自胡登洲開始一直持續了至少三代。直到胡登洲的第四代弟子馮養吾（生卒年不詳）時，才第一次被明確提及在「寺」（清真寺）中接受了伊斯蘭教育。[5]

　　其次，通過對經學派學者趙燦所撰寫的穆斯林傳記資料《經學系傳譜》（1713）以及地方誌等史料的研究可以發現，在明末清初的穆斯林社群的本地化發展過程中，除了胡登洲所創始的「經學派」以外，應該存在多個不同的穆斯林群體在同時從事伊斯蘭經典詮釋和中國穆斯林教育，而這些群體對於讀經和教育的方式持有不同的觀點。金宜久在《中國伊斯蘭探秘——劉智研究》一書的導言中也提到了中國伊斯蘭教育的發展過程中「不乏爭辯和挫折」，只是「它究竟受何挫折、其爭辯的對象究系何人，限於資料還難以說明。」[6]

　　由此可見，目前學界將經堂教育直接歸宗於經學派開創者胡登洲是不妥當的。

[1] 丁世仁：<中國經堂教育溯源>，《回族研究》第 2 期（2012 年），頁 106；馮增烈，「胡登洲」詞條，參見中國伊斯蘭百科全書編輯委員會：《中國伊斯蘭百科全書》（成都：四川出版集團，四川辭書出版社，2007 年第 2 版），頁 226。

[2] 有關穆斯林世界的教育歷史，參見 H. Khan: *History of Muslim Education* (Karachi: Acedemy of Educational Research, All Pakistan Educational Conference, 1967-1973)。有關中亞地區的穆斯林教育史，參見 Maria Eva Subtelny and Anas B. Khalidov: "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 2 (1995), pp. 210-236。

[3] 參見丁世仁：<中國經堂教育溯源>。

[4] 趙燦：《經學系傳譜》，《清真大典》影印清抄本（合肥：黃山書社，2006），頁 46 上。

[5] 趙燦：《經學系傳譜》，頁 59 上。

[6] 金宜久：《中國伊斯蘭教探秘——劉智研究》（北京：中國人民大學出版社，2010），頁 11。

伊斯蘭經學派與經堂教育有著密切的關聯，但是從教學活動地點，教學內容和方法上來看，並不完全等同於今天所說的經堂教育。雖然有學者認識到在穆斯林教育發展的過程中，伊斯蘭經學派經過了與不同學派的競爭，但是對於這一競爭的過程以及經學派學者如何應對等問題尚沒有相關研究進行充分的討論。基於史料和文本研究，本篇論文將梳理中國伊斯蘭經學派的出現和發展，並討論在與其他穆斯林群體的競爭中，經學派如何逐漸獲得權威性，並最終成為中國穆斯林教育的主流。

Kill Buddha Singh: The Ghadar Party and its Enemies in Shanghai, 1914-1927

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Abstract: On the morning of 6 April 1927, the Jemadar of the Sikh branch in the Shanghai Municipal Police, Buddha Singh, had been shot dead by an Indian nationalist. This incident has not drawn much attention from scholars studying the modern Chinese history. This paper argues that the narrative framework of the Chinese national history fails to provide a space for subjects such as Sikh migrants and nationalists that can hardly be appropriated.   By exploring how the Ghadar Party, the Comintern, and the Chinese communists cooperated with each other to shatter the British hegemony in Shanghai and how the British colonial authorities forged a coordinative network to check the ever flowing dissidents, this paper reconstructs the dramatic case of Buddha Singh not only in the milieu of the Chinese nationalist revolution but also in the context of the global anti-imperial and communist movements. In so doing, it challenges the established national narrative and champions an approach that incorporates the modern Chinese history into the global history.

Keywords: Buddha Singh; Shanghai; Ghadar Party; Chinese Nationalist Revolution

Russian Researches in Late Imperial China: the Case of Vladimir Obruchev's
Expedition to West China, 1892–1894

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Following the growth of Russian political interests in Inner Asia, since the mid-19th century, the Russian Imperial Geographical Society (RGS) initiated a series of deep multi-disciplinary field studies of the region, including the areas which now are parts of the People's Republic of China. These expeditions by RGS aimed to provide the Russian government and academia with detailed information on the region's ethnographic, geological, botanical and other features and also to promote Russian science on international level. One of the longest (both in terms of time and distance) was the first expedition of Vladimir Obruchev, future famous novelist and renowned Russian (Soviet) academician, at that time only a young but promising Siberian geologist. Starting from September 1892, in two years he covered the distance of more than 15000 km from the Russian city of Irkutsk on lake Baikal to the city of Yining presently on the border of China and Kazakhstan. Obruchev was inspired by the earlier studies of Ferdinand von Richthofen on the features of loess soils that are only found at the Chinese Loess Plateau in the middle stream of the Yellow River. Obruchev made a significant contribution to this field of study, but his work was not limited to this. During the expedition he also made a lot of valuable observations about the Chinese society of late Imperial China at the remote periphery, such as the Loess Plateau, the Gobi and the Alashan deserts, the Gansu Corridor, places rarely visited by Europeans at that time.

Despite big international success, attention of the public and awards received, this expedition rarely was in focus of specialized historical research, domestic, Western or Chinese. That was partly caused by the limited availability of the archive documents and complete unavailability in any foreign languages, partly due to political sensitivity of the study (foreign researches inside the Chinese territory in the late 19th century is sometimes seen in China as 'imperialistic' and 'colonial'). Tremendous shakes in the course of Chinese history in the past 120 years changed not only landscapes and faces of cities, but also their names and other toponymic markers. It is even more the case in the regions that Obruchev explored, which have both Han and non-Han population and thus different languages and naming system used simultaneously: Inner Mongolia, Gansu, Sichuan, Qinghai and Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region. All this lead to the fact that the very route of the expedition, i.e. the places actually visited by Obruchev at that time, became largely unclear and

lacking any adequate mapping.

Utilizing the route description from Obruchev's memoir "From Kyakhta to Kuldzha" (published in 1940), the original copies of his Field Report to the RGS (published in 1900) and various materials from the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the library of the Institute of Geography and Archive of the RGS as well as Chinese databases of geographical names and related maps, the author made a detailed geographical and chronological reconstruction of the expedition route of the 1892-94 Obruchev Expedition. The results obtained made the expedition itinerary more clear and related to the modern map of China. During the fieldwork held in October 2014, the author visited Gansu and Qinghai provinces and identified additionally several places mentioned in Obruchev's archives with the actual landscape and architectural features still existing today. The sites identified as visited by the expedition of Obruchev include the remote parts of the Great Wall of China in Qinghai Province near Datong and in Gansu province near Jiuquan, as well as Tianfu Shagong Hill near Lanzhou. The final map of all identified point consists of more than 100 places and is available online as an interactive presentation.

Copying and Tracing the Sacred and the Profane: Our Lady of China and the Empress Dowager Cixi

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In 1928 the Vatican approved a new Marian image: Our Lady of China (zhonghua shengmu 中華聖母). Since then the image has been widely circulated in many Catholic churches serving a large sinophonic congregation, inviting numerous reinterpretations and updates. Using this image as the focus of my paper, I recover its iconographic and historical relationship with a photographic portrait of the Empress Dowager Cixi. Though this relationship was also observed in recent scholarships, this paper identifies the precise Cixi portrait that was used as a trace model for the new Marian icon. It was a conscious collapsing of sacred and secular iconographies of authorities. By zooming in one this common commercial workshop practice of tracing, I employed its production process as a metaphor for the mechanism of cross-cultural exchange and translation in the age of colonialism.

In the past decade there has been a resurgence in the interest to revisit the role of Empress Dowager Cixi in the modernization of China. This effort culminated in the latest manifestation in the form of Jung Chang's popular yet highly problematic biography of Cixi. Less contentious was her achievements in the arts as an imperial patron. The studies on this were gathered in a special issue of the journal Nannü, where several scholars discussed her agency and influences in the visual cultures of the late Qing. This paper is a continuation of that revisionist look. Unlike the authors in Nannü, I do not focus on Cixi and her immediate artistic output, but rather to see her as both a political and national symbol through the reception and response to her artistic representations. Indeed, this is a paper about the creation and propagation of a religious image in China than a political one. The study of Christianity in China has placed too much emphasis on doctrines and heavily privileged the text. Yet for religion such as Catholicism, especially in the iconophilic post-Tridentine era of the missions, images were essential part of the faith. Early studies on Christian art in China have been centered around the moment of encounter during the Ming or early Qing, whether it was the purposeful confusion between the Virgin Mary and native goddesses like Mazu or Child-giving Guanyin or the negative reaction Chinese literati had toward the crucified Christ. My paper departs from this by investigating Christian art in the late-Qing and early Republican periods, when the shock of Christian iconographies had been faded and the debate turned to making Christian images Chinese again, all under the watchful eye of European colonial powers just off the

coast.

The paper is part of my dissertation on the art and craft workshops at Tushanwan orphanage in early-twentieth century Shanghai, Carving between Cultures: the Woodcarving Workshop at the Shanghai Jesuit Orphanage (Tushanwan) in the Early Twentieth Century. The larger goal of the dissertation is to understand how Western (Euro-American) ideas and techniques in the arts, religion, and modernity were transmitted and translated to China at the cusp of modernity in an urban center such as Shanghai. There they were absorbed, reinterpreted, and returned to the global West to re-present a new type of Chinese identity that, while rooted in both the traditional Chinese and Jesuit missionary past, it projected a changing present global condition.

The paper is broken down into several parts. Part I traces the history of the Marian image Our Lady of China from its initial commission by the Lazarian missionary René Flament for his church at Donglu, its creation at the Tushanwan painting workshops by Liu Bizhen using a contemporary photograph of the Empress Dowager Cixi and a painting by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, to its final elevation from to Our Lady of China from Our Lady of Donglu, and wide circulation put in place by the new Apostolic Celso Costantini. In Part II, I will attempt to provide the proper context to explain this curious case of iconographic appropriation. I note, for example, early attempts by Jesuits in Ming China and in Latin America to nativize the Virgin Mary by appropriating popular indigenous religious iconographic forms, motifs, and vocabularies. This action was also politically expedient, since it supported the larger agenda of the French Protectorate and the Catholic Church to return the Empress Dowager to her proper and apolitical role of a mother rather than the head of a state. This was achieved linguistically (the shengmu 聖母 of Cixi and shengmu of the Virgin Mary), iconographically (the addition of a child on her lap), and in practice (through the wide and commercial circulation of Cixi's imperial images). In Part III, I continue to track the symbolic changes Our Lady of China underwent, this time during the Republican Period, when she was complemented as the Chinese Mother of Christiandom to Sun Yat-sen's Father of the Chinese Nation. Channeling the Empress Dowager Cixi, Our Lady of China became a rallying symbol for a new Chinese national identity.

Concubinage and Motherhood in Qing China (1644–1911): Ritual, Law, and Custodial Rights of Property

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Drawing sources from court records in both published and archival forms as well as the Qing code and elite writings, this article explores concubinage, a widespread and well-regulated form of quasi-marriage in Qing China (1644-1911), and its relationship with motherhood, the major source of most women's this-worldly authority and afterworld security during this period. My discussion primarily focuses on legal discourse and practices as reflected in court records; but it also addresses social regulations and customary practices as reflected in contracts and other documents. In this way, on the basis of legal documents that uncover judicial and social practice usually concealed in literati writings full of Confucian ideological rhetoric and upper-class moral expectation, this article challenges the prevailing scholarly opinions on late imperial concubinage as expressed by Francesca Bray: "For a concubine, giving birth to a son was no guarantee of social motherhood. On the contrary: her biological motherhood imparted neither the ritual nor the legal status of mother."

I argue that a concubine's status, socially, ritually, and legally, was flexible and changeable, depending on whether she had a child, particularly but not exclusively a living son, on whether her husband and his legal wife were alive, and on whether her (deceased) husband-master's household was formally divided. It is true that a concubine-mother's motherhood was often tainted by her subordinate status in her husband-master's household, and her motherhood was incomplete as compared with that of a woman who was both legal wife to her husband and biological mother to her children. However, it does not mean that a concubine-mother was completely deprived of social and legal rights of motherhood; nor does it mean that concubinage led to upward social mobility only for the concubine's children rather than the concubine herself.

Through studying concubinage and motherhood in the Qing period, my goal is to improve our understanding of marriage, reproduction, and social mobility in late imperial China.

This article was divided into two parts. Part I "Concubinage, Motherhood, and Legal Relations Reflected in Mourning Degrees between Family Members" investigates how motherhood, which automatically granted a concubine-mother the status of "secondary mother" (shumu 庶母) to all of her husband-master's children,

significantly improved ritual and legal obligations that other family members of her husband-master's household owed her, as well as her authority over servants, helping her be better integrated into her husband-master's household. Her maternal authority over her own children, tied by blood and protected by the Confucian ideology of filial obligations, was guaranteed by law, and was enhanced after household division if she had a living son. As a result of cultural and legal superiority of relationships established by blood (zhengfu 正服) over those established by propriety (yifu 義服), not even a concubine-mother's remarriage, which severed her ritual-legal relations with her husband-master, could nullify her natural children's and their subordinates' absolute obligations to her.

Part II "Household Division and Concubine-Mothers' Custodial Rights of Property" examines how motherhood enabled concubine-mothers to achieve economic as well as ritual-legal upward mobility. In the Qing, women's custodial rights of property were considerable, and did not cease after their sons reached adulthood. A concubine's son's share of property was supervised by his natural mother instead of his ritual-legal mother (his father's legal wife). Consequently, the number of sons a woman produced, rather than the nature of her marital bond with her husband, determined how much of her deceased husband's property fell into her control. And her status as the maternal authority in her son's household was only legally recognized after formal household division was completed. In this sense, formal household division was the last step to consolidate a concubine's upward social mobility from a daughter or widow from a lower-class family to a maternal authority in a well-to-do household. To some extent, concubinage and human reproduction by concubine-mothers could be regarded as a means by which social wealth was redistributed to selected members of lower classes and their biological offspring.

As shown in the cases that are discussed in this article, most debates concerning concubines in court records are on two issues: their position as compared with that of a servant, and their position as their husbands' concubines versus their position as their sons' mothers. The first debatable issue indicates the same origin of concubines and servants, as both groups were from lower-class families incapable of supporting all of their members. And a chambermaid (tongfang yatou 通房丫頭), a female servant who was "favored" by her master, often occupied a social position between that of a concubine and that of a servant, making a clear-cut legal definition of her status more difficult. The second debatable issue indicates both the immense power of motherhood in a society whose order was based on filial obligations, and the inability of motherhood to change the marital relationship between a concubine and her

husband-master in a society which appreciated the Confucian "monogamous" ideal based on proper rites, as demonstrated by the fact that concubines who received honorific titles from the Qing state because of their sons' achievements became ladies in their sons' households but remained concubines (with children) to their husbands in the ritual and legal sense, especially in their afterlife.

All these tensions were nurtured by the inherent paradoxical structure of the Chinese ritual and legal system concerning marriage and family, whose framework was founded on a monogamous ideal but tolerated the practice of de facto polygamy and protected legitimate heirs produced through it. Late imperial China was a society of high social fluidity and its political and social institutions generally facilitated social mobility, but the Confucian ideology this society maintained highlighted social distinction, which further increased controversial aspects of the marriage system, making concubinage and its relationship with motherhood a good lens through which the dynamics and paradox of social change in the Qing period could be approached.

Sworn Spinsters: An Economic Analysis of Celibacy

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Abstract

Why some people swear to never get married? Many have taken a vow of celibacy beyond apparent religious concerns. To address this question, we study a group of women called Sworn Spinsters (Zishun ¨u) in Southern China. They emerged around the end of the 19th century and almost all of them worked in silk reeling factories. With the fall of China's silk industry and the outbreak of wars around the beginning of 1930s, most migrated to Hong Kong and Singapore to work as domestic servants. We present data showing that their openly taking a vow of celibacy made their employers pay more to them relative to their counterparts who did not take a vow. We use a model to explain how the vow increases their value when they work as silk factory workers and domestic servants: openly taking a vow of celibacy heavily taxes a girl's marriage opportunity, making her much less likely to quit her job for marriage. The vow is thus the girl's credible commitment device of high-intensity labor supply, inducing her employer to invest more human capital on her, or matching her to more important working positions. We present historical details to argue why collectively taking a open vow was likely to be the least costly commitment device, relative to a bilateral labor contract between a girl and her employer. Various bizarre local phenomena, such as nominal marriage, strong sisterhood, twisted customs, extreme religions, and widespread homosexuality can be understood as enforcement mechanisms of the celibacy vow. We also shed light on why for girls taking a vow of celibacy for their careers inmodern days would unlikely be the least costly commitment device relative to other types of contracting.

清前期清廷和西藏之間信息情報的獲取與傳遞——基於滿藏文文書翻譯實踐、譯員及譯員培養的考察

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正確的政府決策，端賴於正確的情報信息之上，而有關不同族群、地區情報信息的獲取則有賴於對不同族群所操不同之語言文字的翻譯和理解。清朝治理之下，廣土眾民，其中民眾所操語言、文字亦是種類繁多。然清朝並沒有採取與元朝相同之策略，即創造出一種新的文字八思巴字，來嘗試便利操不同語種、文字之族群與中央政府之間的交流。於此情形之下，清朝將大量的人力和精力用在了不同文字寫就的文書之翻譯上。清朝中央對不同語言文字地區情報的收集和正確的決策端賴於翻譯之上，故此說清朝乃一建基於翻譯之上而進行治理的"翻譯王朝"亦不為過。

肇始於努爾哈赤時代的與西藏僧眾之交往，延及與清朝在西藏統治的正式建立，期間曾有大量的滿藏文文本相互翻譯。然直到目前，學術界對滿藏文文書之間的相互翻譯問題之研究實數鮮見，更遑論就其中是誰在承擔翻譯任務、文書又是在哪裡翻譯、有關翻譯人才之培養狀況又是如何等相關問題的討論。

有鑑於此，本文即擬就清朝前期滿藏文文書翻譯實踐、譯員、譯員培養等相關問題進行論述和研究。

有關滿藏文文書的翻譯最大宗者，乃為西藏地方與清廷中央往來之文書。而此類大量文書在清前期的集中出現時間大致為清聖祖朝。在此之前有關滿藏文翻譯的文本，只散見於為數不多的碑刻、史書中的記載。故此，本文擬在結構上大致分為滿洲入關之前和入關之後的清聖祖朝兩個階段分別敘述。

關外遺留碑刻記載為我們提供了最早的滿藏文翻譯內容，而清內閣蒙古堂檔中對每份文書的處理記載則向我們展示了入關之後在宮廷內部的滿藏文文書翻譯實踐記述。故此本文有關翻譯實踐部份即是利用上述史料展開論述。

譯員及譯員培養部份，除上述史料之外，還綜合參考了清前期理藩院題本、清內秘書院蒙古文檔案、五世達賴喇嘛傳記、五世達賴喇嘛書信集、清實錄等史料進行討論。並對參與翻譯的人員構成、譯員培養的實際情狀和效果進行評價。

而對傳遞信息情報的主題——眾多使者的研究，因其數量眾多，且其中大部份就目前所見史料而言，難以獲得更多信息，故此本文擬就其中比較頻繁出現、或曰更為重要的使者，結合相關史料給出儘可能多的總結和介紹。

十六至十八世紀西藏建築之「都綱法式」在蒙古各部的本土變異及清廷的選擇性借用

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本文是一項綜合研究計劃的一部分。該研究旨在系統分析滿洲自努爾哈赤修建建州女真第一座都城（1587）至乾隆帝基本完成對各族群征服和帝國版圖整合（1796）的二百一十年間，在運用建築語言實現其帝國構建的象徵意義時對內亞建築模式的借用。傳統上，清代建築經常被納入「中國建築史」的範疇中進行研究，往往被視作承襲「中國建築」傳統的作品以及「中國建築」發展的最後階段。中國固有式建築研究的傳統問題往往成為對清代建築進行價值評判的出發點，從而掩蓋了清代建築潛在的學術價值。本研究對「中國建築」之話語概念提出挑戰，對清代建築與這一框架的關係進行解構，重新思考清朝作為一個整合滿洲、漢地、蒙古、西藏和回部等不同疆域和族群的複合帝國，在其物質文化生產中不同物質傳統的複雜影響。跳脫傳統上將清與漢地建築發展脈絡的當然連結，本研究側重於分析內陸亞洲方面的來源。

本研究現時擬提出四種源自內陸亞洲的空間概念作為案例，通過對它們被清帝國皇家借用的途徑和本地化重現方式的研究，來支撐對「空間概念借用」的總體論述。本文即為對第一種概念——「都綱」的案例研究。

清代有關皇家佛教寺院的文字記載中常常可見「都綱法式」這一特殊名詞，然而其指代的建築形式卻從未被學界清晰認知。本文首先從漢、滿、蒙、藏四種語言中對「都綱」一詞的語源進行了追溯，從語言學上證明了藏式建築空間被移植於漢地過程中經歷了在蒙古的傳播變異。其後，從藏地與蒙古在不同時期興建的「都綱」實例中提取出不同類型，在學界首次提出漠南蒙古、喀爾喀蒙古和布里亞特蒙古基於「都綱」分別發展出了不同空間組合方式，而清廷於十七世紀開始在華北與蒙古主導興建的一系列「都綱」卻有所取捨地選用了蒙古的都綱法式，並在乾隆朝發展出清廷自身再創作的形式。

本文表明，「都綱」作為一個產生於西藏的空間概念，在十六至十八世紀的蒙古經歷了與本土傳統的複雜融合，並隨著滿洲的興起而進入了華北皇家景觀。在不同時代和不同帝王治下，清廷的「都綱」建造呈現了多樣的情態。建築作為滿洲在帝國構建中的一種物質工具，在不同的意圖下被不斷地重新設計。在滿洲自身建築與藝術傳統積累不足的情況下，清廷從調和漢式營造與蒙古空間組合開始，至乾隆朝開始打破已有範式，嘗試由清廷主導的設計可能。都綱的演化歷程，顯現出清廷嘗試用其政權基地（漢）和內亞盟友（滿蒙）的多方建築語彙拼合出滿洲形象的執著探索。

Imperial Images? Rethinking the Miao albums of Yunnan and Guizhou
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This proposed paper is from the first chapter of my dissertation pertaining the visualization and conceptualization of the ethnic minorities in the southwest of China from late imperial to modern China. The whole thesis is aimed to explore a set of visual grammar of depicting the ethnic minorities of Yunnan and Guizhou in both late imperial and republican periods. It looks at two mediums: Miao album, a genre of illustration depicting the various ethnic minorities of southern China since late imperial China and modern ethnographic photography of Yunnan and Guizhou since late nineteenth century. The investigation of both these two mediums is to demonstrate how the ethnic minorities were visually transformed and what reasons caused these transformations. These two visual sources will also tell us stories of the encounter of tradition and modernity: how ethnographic visual history was recreated with the demise of Qing Empire. This research challenges the ideas of seeing the album as "real" reflection of ethnic minorities, a product of Qing evidential scholarship, instead it argues that lots of conventions were hidden behind the images, and it is called as visual grammar in my thesis. It exclusively focuses on three principle dimensions of the project of "visual grammar": body, sexuality and gender, which constructed the image of ethnic minorities. It fits into a wide range of contexts: global history; boundary history; social science of ethnic classification; history of human science; art history, photography history and anthropology.

The thesis is divided into four main chapters and each chapter discusses both the history of late imperial and modern period, in order to make the comparison clearer. The first chapter examines the several basic enquiries to the visual sources of both Miao albums and modern photography. This paper exclusively focuses on one section of the first chapter, the Miao albums from late imperial China, responding to several issues pertaining Miao albums, which are essential, while difficult and still not clearly answered in the study of Miao albums, such as who were the producer, the exact and potential viewers, and the collectors; when exactly the album were made and its styles in different historical epochs; and what was the functions of Miao albums. Since the majority of the albums were anonymous and undated, and their provenances were unrecorded in several museums and libraries, which makes it even difficult to responding to the aforementioned questions. The research of this part thus is based on extensive work of contacting with curators in a number of museums and libraries, meticulous readings of those albums which have a preface or colophon, and other sources in which Miao albums were roughly mentioned. The new discoveries here

challenge several of our understanding of Miao albums. This paper concerns in the first place when the Miao albums were made. The consideration over the production time is instrumental for our understanding of several issues related to Miao albums, including its viewer, circulation and function. The producing time, and the functions of Miao albums are the principal concerns of this paper.

The Miao album has traditionally been considered a product of the High Qing, epitomising imperial expansion at the southern borderlands during the eighteenth century, when the Qing Empire was at its prosperous apogee. However after scrutinizing the Miao albums preserved in the museums and libraries world widely, I realize that quite a few albums were products of the 19th century when the Qing empire started to decline and even in the Republican period, they were continued of being made when photography was prevailing for ethnographic research and interests. For example, two albums in the collections of British library were made in 1878 and 1810；Xunge Tu 旬格图 in the library of Zhongyang Minzu Daxue was a Republican product in1923, in which the individual figure was depicted, as a consequence of the influence of European ethnographic photography. Therefore, neither the decline of the Qing empire nor the emergence of the new technology of photography caused the demise of the genre, instead we see the conflation of Miao album and modern photography.

Moreover, after more extensive research and the new discovering of ethnographic sources, this paper also suggests that we are supposed to set the history of Miao album much earlier, probably at least the Ming dynasty, For example, one Miao album preserved in the Natural History Museum, New York, was attributed to Qiu Ying 仇英, an artist in Ming dynasty. Another scroll, Mexie Tujuan 么些图卷, preserved in the National Museum of China, which is also attributed to a Ming artist of Yunnan, He Jingwen 何景文. The authenticity of the albums might be contested, but the evidence associated with Ming dynasty alerts us to be cautious with the approaches of linking the album exclusively to the high Qing.

My new discoveries of the production of Miao albums in three periods: Ming dynasty, late nineteenth century and Republican China, demands us to reconsider the function of the Miao albums. If as several scholars argue that the Miao albums were imperial images of Qing dynasty, why they were produced after the 19th century? This paper argues that our understanding of the Miao albums should not confine within "imperial images". There are two goals expected to achieve: one is to emphasize Miao album's function as visual pleasure, available for purchase in the market place. Secondly, it

argues that the Miao album is not merely the imperial images of Qing Empire, but also to the British empire in the 19th century. Many of these albums found their way to Europe, including those of the notable anthropologists Edward Tylor and Berthhold Laufer, whose collections are now preserved in the Pitt Rivers Museum and the American Museum of Natural History Library. These albums became important sources for anthropological research in nineteenth-century Europe. Both of these two aspects contributed to the production of Miao albums in late 19th century and suggest that the Miao album is best understood by placing it in a global context.

Delving into the Miao albums of late imperial China preserved in the libraries and museum world-widely, this paper reconsiders the making time and functions of the Miao albums, and challenges our traditional understanding of roughly taking the genre as imperial image of Qing dynasty. As what Craig Clunas has argued, "by the middle of the Ming dynasty, if not well before that time, all sort of art objects were commodities, available through art market." The Miao album was also one example of the commercialized art in late imperial China. The Europeans' collection of Miao albums and the new style of Miao album influenced by European anthropological photography in Republican China all demand that we reinterpret the Miao album of Yunnan and Guizhou.

Malleable Qing Propaganda and the Taiping Civil War: a Study of *Miracle Revelation of Imperial Instruction*

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Abstract:

The Taiping Civil War (1851-1864) was one of the most destructive wars in human history. Not merely a political upheaval, it was also a drastic shakeup of Chinese literary culture, particularly in terms of cultural production and ideological contestation. Never before in Chinese history had texts been produced and disseminated for propagandistic purposes as widely as they were during the Taiping period.

This paper focuses on an Qing propagandistic text from 1849 entitled *"Miracle Revelation of the Sacred Edict"* (*Shengyu lingzheng* 聖諭靈征) that was produced to combat Taiping ideology. Highlighting the uncanny resemblances between this text and the Taiping propagandistic texts, I argue that the political rhetoric of the opposing regimes, however counter-intuitively, is far more fluid than previously perceived.

The sixteen maxims known as the *Sacred Edict* by the Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722) constitute the foundation of Qing propaganda. Since 1720, the *Sacred Edict* was regularly preached in local counties as a critical element in the Qing ideological control system. To facilitate the efficacy of Qing propaganda, numerous vernacular interpretations of the *Sacred Edict* had been produced since the eighteenth century, among as such texts is *Miracle Revelation*. Though cultural historians have delineated the genealogy of the *Sacred Edict* and its derivatives, no one has approached these texts from the perspectives of a literary analysis or book history. Further, no study has been done on *Miracle Revelation*, an important text that illustrates how the Qing propaganda functioned during the Taiping Civil War. The physicality of the book preserved in the library of Kyoto University suggests the text was produced for a mass audience. Compared with its predecessors, *Miracle Revelation* pushes the cosmological boundaries of the Qing propagandistic discourse. For instance, as it evokes the Saintly Emperor Guan (*Guan sheng di jun* 關聖帝君) and the God of Culture and Literature (*wen chang di* 文昌帝) as divine presences who maintain the moral order in the human realm, these reasoning processes and rhetorical strategies resonate with the Taiping propaganda. Overall, my study shows that Qing political rhetoric took on a new light during the Taiping Civil War, and the ideological contestation between the Qing government and the Taiping regime foreshadowed the forthcoming profound epistemological, political, and cultural revolutions.

聚焦寧壽宮：乾隆帝與內廷演劇的空間權力及文化寓意
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內容提要：

乾隆三十五年至四十四年（1770-1779），乾隆帝修葺建造了寧壽宮，這是他在位期間紫禁城內最大規模的宮殿建設。如果我們把寧壽宮看作一個「文本」，那麼，其「前朝後寢」、東中西三路對稱的結構佈局，一似紫禁城的整體格局，無疑是皇權通過建築在空間上的表達。寧壽宮的修建緣於乾隆帝執政六十年的預期以及執政六十年後退政頤養的理想。歷年相關的御製詩文，蘊含著乾隆帝幽微深渺的思想與心理，一種從勵精圖治向倦勤休憩行進的時間的期待與焦慮。閱是樓的演戲與觀戲，既是乾隆帝閱察人世而慨歎生命流逝的個人娛樂，又是他在舞臺上下的真實與虛幻之間，實現其萬國來朝的盛世曠典的自我想像，在庭院式的暢音閣大戲臺能夠滿足他的。室內的景祺閣戲臺，搬演的則是年終歲尾的祀竈與迎新之戲，觀戲的滿蒙王公貴族與乾隆帝有著血緣、姻親或侍衛從的親密關係，從而實現了皇族家長的乾隆帝對人倫情感的賦予和表達。宮廷演劇便在這不同的戲臺空間與人物關係中呈現出豐富的文化寓意。

關鍵詞：乾隆帝、寧壽宮、內廷演劇、戲臺、文化寓意

Documentation and the Legal Process in the Qing Dynasty: A Case Study
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Abstract

Although documents have appeared in nearly every study of Qing history, their portrayals given by previous scholars have been largely accepted them as objective and reliable records, and to focus on their content rather than their formation. Due to the scarcity of materials, previous scholarship tended to share the ignorance of the documentation process that occurred at every level of bureaucracy that sustained the legal process during the Qing. This paper had attempted to remedy this situation through an examination of writing at the different levels of judicial bureaucracy as well as legal backgrounds on Tu's case.

Thanks to a precious, multi-source and complete set of case materials, this paper presented the routine flow of documents inside bureaucracy, which was a process of transformation, distortion and modification of the meaning or the elements beyond what they should carry, by situating documents entirely within the dynamics of administrative control. This paper has shown how the discourses on the crime were produced or fabricated by bureaucratic texts through procedures, techniques and collusion.

In this case, in spite of formulaic regulations, both parties depended on their own cultural and economic capital to push litigation procedure further. However, ordinary people might encounter fewer opportunities to appeal due to cultural and legal barriers though there were few formal discrimination policies. Given that rigid regulations for judicial error covering every aspects from investigation to execution, officials were skating on thin ice and did not know when they might fall through. The unbalanced threat of sanctions to the different level of bureaucracy would create varying degrees of incentive for officials to monitor and control each other's behavior, either through group norms or more formal internal governance structures. To avoid sanctions' incorrectly decided cases, local officials tend to rely on superiors' comment on the report to know superiors' stance before made judgment. The reliance on superiors' comment undermined the value of review system, which contributed to passivity and dependency on the part of lower officials and inflated the workload of higher officials.

從「天兵」到敗旅：甲午戰爭期間朝鮮戰場之清軍與朝鮮對華觀

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在與中華帝國晚期（清末）相關的研究中，既有論證多自清內部著眼，以“文明開化”之視角分析晚清知識分子的世界觀。鮮有學者從他國之角度，以“他者”之立場反觀清末的社會與文化。相關命題，如該時期朝鮮之對清認識，在此背景下亦久遭忽視。查自明清鼎革以降，朝鮮向以“小中華”自居，以此強調其同滿清間的距離。然 1876 年開港之後，其所面臨的世界形勢日趨複雜，在外事往來中常陷於被動，往往不得不借助清與列強周旋。在此過程中，朝鮮對清的既有認識亦隨之呈現出諸多新的面向與內容，從一個側面反應出“中華帝國”在當時歷史條件下的諸多社會景象。經過初步整理，筆者認為朝鮮的對清認識可分為以下三個階段進行觀察：第一階段從朝鮮開港（1876）截至壬午兵變（1882）。這一階段朝鮮之對清認識仍較為積極；第二階段從中朝水陸商民章程之簽訂（1882）起到甲午中日戰爭爆發（1894）為止。在此階段清雖不斷試圖從政策方面強化對朝鮮的控制，但終未能阻擋朝鮮文明觀的變遷，朝鮮內部開化派勢力開始對清有了較客觀的認識；第三階段從馬關條約的簽訂（1895）到大韓帝國被迫與日本簽訂丁未七條約（1907）為止。此階段朝鮮從清徹底獨立，進而開始對清肆意批判。中国在朝鮮從文化樣本淪為落後文明的代名詞。就在該階段，朝鮮國內近代新聞業興起，各大報紙對清朝的社會及改革進行了多角度的報道。鑑於上述史實，本稿擬以第一、二階段為背景，重點考察第三階段朝鮮官民的對清認識，從他者之視角反觀中華帝國晚期的社會與文化。政府層面，主要考察朝鮮各大政派，包括事大党、溫和改革派、激進改革派之代表人物的對清認識；民間層面，則以相關報刊為中心梳理朝鮮社會輿論下中華帝國的諸般形象。值得一提的是，本稿參用的報刊史料頗為特出，包括《皇城新聞》、《獨立新聞》、《大韓每日申報》等，均未見相關既有論證，或可引起部分師友之興趣。筆者希望能藉此稿呈現出中華帝國的若干側面，在對研究空白有所彌補的同時豐富既有史識。如甲午戰爭之歷史影響，清政府、滿族之國際形象，清末改革派之評價，新政之成敗等，或亦可籍此得到一定輔證。