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Kuang Lu's Customs of the South: Loyalty on the Borders of Empire

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Note that at the farthest reaches of the world often occur new marvels and wonders, as though Nature plays with greater freedom secretly at the edges of the world than she does openly and nearer us in the midst of it.

Ranulf Higden (d. 1364), Polychronicon, 1.34

Abstract

The late Ming dynasty Cantonese scholar and poet Kuang Lu (1604-1650) is almost lost to history. The anecdotes that do tell of him, found scattered in the occasional notes of a number of early Qing writers, situate him on the margins of various discourses: the discourse on the strange and the absurd; that on depravity; and finally that on loyalty, for when Manchu troops occupied Canton Kuang Lu died a martyr to the cause of the Ming dynasty, his favourite qin clutched to his breast.

Kuang Lu was also, however, an early ethnographer. Having injured a local magistrate in an accident, he fled to live in Guangxi province amongst the Yao people, serving for some time as the secretary to a woman general there. My paper presents a reading of the account of his stay in the borderlands of the empire that he produced upon his return, his *Chiya* (Customs of the South), seeking to understand it not so much in terms of what he has to say about the Yao people and their way of life, but as a commentary upon the failings of the social and political order of the Ming dynasty itself.

Theoretical Orientations

This paper presents a preliminary reading of the late Ming dynasty text entitled *Chiya*, a title I have chosen to translate as *Customs of the South*. [1] Given the range of meaning and connotation of the two characters of the title, both singly and in combination with other characters, however, this translation is tentative. As my reading of this text will seek to demonstrate, the ambiguity of the title of this work, if perhaps not deliberately intended, is certainly relevant to our understanding of it.

Customs of the South is a short text divided, in the version that was later preserved in the *Siku quanshu* (Four Treasures of the Imperial Library), into three *juan*. Its author was the minor Cantonese late Ming poet and scholar-official Kuang Lu (1604-1650). Whereas the official canons of the history of the period tell us little about this man, stories about him abound in the occasional writings of a number of late Ming/early Qing scholars. [2] An anecdote found in Zhu Yizun's (1629-1709) *Jingzhiju shihua*, for instance, relates that Kuang Lu, recognising that he lived in an age of disorder, set himself the task of becoming skilled in the art of mounted archery. Practising his newly-acquired proficiency one day, he happened to injure the local magistrate who chanced to be riding by. Orders for Kuang Lu's arrest were issued. Rather than face the rigours of a trial, Kuang Lu fled to live amongst the various tribal chieftaincies of Guangxi Province. Although he does not

himself tell us the reason for his trip, his own later account indicates he wished to seek out the remains of Ghost Gate Pass and the Bronze Pillars that had once served to mark the farthest extremity of the sway of Han dynasty imperial authority. Whilst there he served for some time as secretary to the female general, Yun Channiang.

Customs of the South, written upon his return to China proper and dating from the Chongzhen period (1628-1644), presents itself as an account of the peoples with whom he lived in the borderlands of a rapidly collapsing empire, and provides a description of their tribal organisation and customs and their physical environment.

In a recent article Stephen Murray spoke of an ethnohistory that is based upon "culling information from early observers who were not 'professional anthropologists'", [3] and my interest in the text stemmed, initially, from the desire better to understand Chinese representations of the Other and this text's status as an example of traditional Chinese ethnography.

The most interesting recent discussion of such issues, Frank Dikötter's *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, limits itself to a discussion of the modern period - essentially from the nineteenth century onwards. He does, however, discuss briefly at the beginning of his book the preceding traditional discourse on race, concluding this section in the following manner:

Chinese attitudes towards outsiders were fraught with ambivalence. On the one hand, a claim to cultural universalism led the élite to assert that the barbarian could be 'sinicized', or transformed by the beneficial influence of culture and climate. On the other hand, when their sense of cultural superiority was threatened, the élite appealed to categorical differences in nature to expel the barbarian and seal the country off from the perverting influences of the outside world. In both cases, the foreigner was never faced: the myth of his inferiority could be preserved. Absorbed or expelled, he remained a nonentity.

The defensive reaction, however, remained exceptional. Culturally, apart from Buddhism, no serious challenge had ever affected the élite's symbolic universe. It was only in the nineteenth century that the Confucian universe would gradually disintegrate in the face of a complex combination of endogenous and exogenous factors. [4]

As implied in this quotation, Dikötter also excludes from the purview of his book discussion of Han Chinese perceptions of non-Han peoples who lived either within the Chinese empire or upon its margins. [5]

Such issues are taken up in a more recent book, *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, edited by Stevan Harrell. In his Introduction to this work, Harrell argues that over the centuries China's "peripheral peoples" (now usually labelled 'national minorities') have been subjected to a series of what he calls "civilising projects", defined thus:

... [as] a kind of interaction between peoples, in which one group, the civilising center, interacts with other groups (the peripheral peoples) in terms of a particular kind of inequality. In this interaction, the inequality between the civilising center and the peripheral peoples has its ideological basis in the center's claim to a superior degree of civilisation, along with a commitment to raise the peripheral peoples' civilisation to the level of the center, or at least closer to that level. [6]

Of the four distinct "civilising projects" that Harrell identifies, the Confucian Project, [7] as conducted by the Imperial State during the Ming and Qing dynasties in particular, is both of longest standing and least well studied. This project, he argues, in contradistinction to the other projects he discusses, was underpinned by an ideology that placed emphasis upon moral education rather than race, and which allowed for, indeed actively encouraged, a process of acculturation whereby "peoples who had been beyond the pale of civilisation could enter if they acquired the requisite knowledge and the proper modes of life". [8] In keeping with all other 'civilising' projects, however, the asymmetrical nature of the dialogue between centre and periphery that characterises the Confucian Project required that the centre develop formal knowledge of the Other (and of itself) by defining and objectifying the objects of its mission.

It was this longer standing, internal discourse of race and cultural difference that interested me. What could a text like *Customs of the South* tell us about Chinese representations of the Other who had to be 'faced', who had become, to some extent or another, part of the symbolic universe of the

late Ming élite? To what extent is it representative of a late Ming 'ethnology', an ethnology that Harrell argues provided no classification of people by means of race, language and culture, but rather by degrees of ecological adaptation? [9] In this respect, *Customs of the South*, situated as it is within the unmarked and shifting southern borderlands, seemed to be a text with particular promise. This is particularly so, given the fact that, as Arthur Waldron has reminded us in his book on the Great Wall, [10] the obsession of the times was increasingly with the fixed northern border and the Wall in particular as the focus of the contending discourses of difference and of exchange.

However, the more I studied the text and the more I learnt about its author, the more problematical became an understanding of it solely within an ethnographic context and framework. A lot more appeared to be going on in the text (and, to the extent that this could be reconstructed from their brief notes on the work, in the minds of contemporaneous readers), and it seemed more profitable to situate it also within various other related discourses [11] that characterise the intellectual and literary world of this period; in particular, the discourses on the strange and the absurd, depravity and, finally, loyalty to the cause of the Ming dynasty.

These considerations lead me on to another and more general one. Occasionally I experience a sense of unease about the way we make use of traditional Chinese sources in our contemporary sinological arguments. [12] All too often we tend to cite such sources as if they offer us, transparently and with a greater or lesser sense of immediacy, access to the facts or the truth of another time and another place. To the extent that traditional sources such as *Customs of the South* can be employed in an attempt to reconstruct, in this case, the history of the discourse of race in China, our reading of these texts must be informed by an awareness of recent theoretical or methodological advances in disciplines such as anthropology and literary theory.

In the specific case of ethnography, for instance, James Clifford has argued persuasively that the ideology that underpinned the "innocent" reading of sources has crumbled, and just as culture is best seen as being "composed of seriously contested codes and representations", so too must we highlight the "historical predicament of ethnography, the fact that it is always caught up in the invention, not the representation, of cultures". [13] Elsewhere in the same book, in an article entitled 'On ethnographic allegory' and arguing that ethnographical writing is allegorical at the level both of its content and its form, Clifford asserts that:

There is no way definitely, surgically, to separate the factual from the allegorical in cultural accounts. The data of ethnography make sense only within patterned arrangements and narratives, and these are conventional, political, and meaningful in a more than referential sense. Cultural facts are not true and cultural allegories false. [14]

Mary Louise Pratt too, in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*, has sought to develop ways in which to read texts produced in "contact zones" wherein "disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination": [15]

While the imperial metropolis tends to understand itself as determining the periphery (in the emanating glow of the civilising mission or the clash of development, for example), it habitually blinds itself to the ways in which the periphery determines the metropolis - beginning, perhaps, with the latter's obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself. [16]

It is in the light of these theoretical considerations that I have sought to understand both the text *Customs of the South* and something of Kuang Lu's purposeful manipulation of the patterns of this text.

The Text

The tripartite division of the physical text reflects Kuang Lu's loose categorisation of his content, as he deals successively with the people, their larger physical environment and then the flora and fauna that surround them. Of significance is the manner in which these categories interpenetrate each other and the extent to which each category blurs at the edges into what Judith Zeitlin has termed the discourse on the strange. [17]

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As Zeitlin and before her Charlotte Furth [18] have argued, this discourse was undergoing a radical process of legitimation during precisely this period of Chinese history. Through her analysis of late Ming discussions of sexual anomaly, Furth illustrates the extent to which "a bizarre world of seemingly outlandish phenomena" became part and parcel of "a philosophical inquiry into order and disorder in the cosmos" and the "strange" had begun to challenge long-established "cosmological paradigms and canons of intelligibility".

Zeitlin has extended this discussion of the late Ming/early Qing obsession with the strange into the world of traditional Chinese fiction. Working from the early prefaces to Pu Songling's (1640-1715) *Liaozhai's Records of the Strange*, she has shown how the strange becomes redefined in ethical terms. This process may be seen in this quotation from the preface to this work written by Tang Menglai (1627-1698):

I consider that regardless of whether something is normal or abnormal, only things that are harmful to human beings are monstrous. Thus [evil omens like] eclipses and meteorites, 'fishhawks in flight and mynah birds nesting', rocks that can speak and the battles of dragons, cannot be considered strange. Only military and civil conscription out of season or rebellious sons and ministers are monstrous and strange. [19]

We can observe this inversion of the 'strange' taking place in Kuang Lu's text as well. In the first *juan* of the text, for instance, he deals with matters of social and particularly military organisation, the ethnic differences between the various peoples of the region, their dress, their marriage customs and their rituals, and with issues of terminology.

However 'strange' and overwhelmingly non-Han the world is that he depicts, in ethical and social terms this world is nonetheless, in many senses, the positive mirror image of the disordered late Ming world Kuang Lu has been forced to quit. Although the laws are harsh and strict, the people are generally law-abiding and brave in battle. Although their chieftains are often young and ignorant, the usages of their minor leaders are those of the emperors and ministers of China's own antiquity. Fearful in private disputations, the people are brave in defence of the public good. As skilled as they are in the craft of warfare, they are equally skilled in the arts of song and dance.

Here, for example, is Kuang Lu's description of a people called the Daliang (Great Good):

They are of a type with the Zhuang but slightly different in nature. They maintain a system of population registration and are simple and uncomplicated in contrast to us. They enjoy paying their taxes. When someone arrives at their door, they immediately lay out a feast, whether or not they know the person, and their courtesy does not flag however long the guests remain. [20]

Or the Tong:

The Tong are related to the Lao, but they do not enjoy bloodshed. They are skilled at music and play a form of qin and flute. When they sing, they close their eyes, their heads begin to nod and before long they begin to dance. [21]

Of course, not all people are as passive and peaceable as these, nor all the customs described as appealing. Even the 'strangest' of them have their virtues, however, as Kuang Lu's description of the Muke (Wood Guests) - long understood to be a form of forest goblin - makes clear:

The Muke are child-like in appearance. I caught sight of some of them in Gong city. They walk and sit like humans, and their clothes too are no different from ours. The items they offer for sale in the markets are more exquisitely made than those of others. They much enjoy composing regulated verse, which poetry displays not the slightest hint of philistinism. They claim that they moved here during the Qin dynasty when they had been dispatched to gather timber for the Apang Palace. When Su Shi wrote the line: 'The forest goblins too can intone a poem', did he have any idea how distant was the source of poetry? [22]

The echoes here of that quintessential Chinese utopia, Tao Yuanming's 'Peach Blossom Source', are explicit. [23]

In the second *juan*, where Kuang Lu describes the mountains and rivers, the grottos and cliffs, the ponds, springs and wells of the area, the landscape, the very strangeness of which is marked by the

names of the sites, is nonetheless naturalised in certain ways. He first found Ghost Gate Pass and travelled through it, telling us as he does so that the old adage was that for every ten who passed this way, nine would never return. He also noted that, "Many were the Tang and Song dynasty poets who died here in banishment". The text which follows is very much in the grand tradition of landscape description - even to the extent that Kuang Lu makes repeated reference to the similarity between the actual landscape and the landscapes painted by some of China's great masters of landscape painting. Towards the end of this juan and in keeping with the generic instability of the text, he escapes from the static description of various sites with a piece entitled, 'A Short Record of My Trip to Guilin's Mountain that Summons Hermits'. [24] And everywhere he either discovers calligraphic inscriptions by famous earlier visitors or, significantly, composes a poem or two of his own. [25]

The extent to which Kuang Lu appears everywhere in his own text should be noted. He is an ubiquitous interlocutor, serving always as eyewitness to testify to the truth of what he has told us, his very presence in the text serving to naturalise the 'strange' tale he has to tell. Perhaps it is to him that we should now turn.

The Author and His Readers

Jiaoya (Songs of Lingnan), Kuang Lu's collection of poetry, was proscribed during the Qing dynasty literary inquisition. The Military Commission's official memorial on the text reads:

We have examined the work entitled Jiaoya and have determined that it was written by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty. The text contains many lacunae, but judging from the context, such places disguise the use of terminology insulting [to the Manchus]. Although Kuang Lu died a martyr to the cause of the Ming when our great army took Canton, his qin clutched to his breast, during the last years of that dynasty he received patronage from Ruan Dacheng and was on most familiar terms with this man and served him longer than anyone else. References to Mister Shichao in these poems are to Ruan Dacheng. His death at the end of the Ming is similar in kind to all those others who refused to take office with us and is only sufficient to make up for his previous failings. We should not because of this preserve his poetry, and we request that the work be destroyed. A further point. Several juan have been removed from the beginning of this text and it does not appear to be a complete version. Orders should be given for further investigation of this matter. [26]

Such further investigations were obviously not carried out fully, for the work remains extant today. But Kuang Lu's life was characterised by transgressions of one sort or another, as we shall see, and here, ironically, one of his transgressions is that of absence - the lacunae in the text of his poems that, in the eyes of the new Manchu rulers of China, could only signal insult to their race and their power. [27]

One other aspect of this poetry collection is directly relevant to our reading of Kuang Lu's Customs of the South. In contemporary notices of the work, Kuang Lu's poetic style is said to be that of the Chu ci (Songs of the South), an alternative Southern lineage of Chinese poetry that had traditionally been associated with the power of shamans and spirits and "lewd religious rites". [28] By the late Ming, as Frederick Wakeman has shown, [29] the haunting figure of the southern poet-statesman Qu Yuan had become also a paragon of stoical loyalism. In the eyes of his contemporaries, therefore, Kuang Lu's poetic voice and its association with that of Qu Yuan both served to legitimise his interest in the 'strange' customs of the South, and to embody his loyalty to the collapsing Ming dynasty.

Ji Yun (1724-1805), in his note recommending that the text of Customs of the South be included in the Siku quanshu, mentions Kuang Lu's poetry collection, and deals with his other damning transgression mentioned above - his association with Ruan Dacheng (?1587-?1646), by reputation one of the most unsavoury figures of this period and a leading member of what has been known in history as the 'Pernicious Clique'. There is of course considerable irony both in respect of the different fates of Kuang Lu's two major works, and the arguments given for the proscription of the one and the preservation of the other. Whereas both Ji Yun and the Military Commission are concerned to prevent the circulation of explicitly anti-Manchu sentiment (for Ji Yun, a Chinese scholar who had decided to serve the new and foreign dynasty, this is in itself an ironic situation), they are neither of them troubled by Kuang Lu's loyalty to the previous dynasty as expressed by his

suicide. Both alike are troubled, however, by Kuang Lu's earlier association with Ruan Dacheng, the man who above all others was held by later generations of Chinese scholars to have embodied the decadence and corruption that caused the Ming dynasty's loss of the Mandate of Heaven, and who later went on to serve the Qing dynasty. Whereas Ji Yun regards the manner of Kuang Lu's death to have been enough to make up for his previous moral failings, the Military Commission does not agree. [30]

Through reference to biographical information on Kuang Lu found in Niu Xiu's (d. 1704) *Gusheng* (The Overflowing Goblet) and Wang Shizhen's (1634-1711) *Chibei outan* (Occasional Chats North of the Pond), Ji Yun also associates Kuang Lu with the discourse on eccentricity. It is said, for instance, that when sitting for the Imperial Examinations, Kuang Lu wrote out his answers in four different styles of calligraphy and as a young man had been in the habit of appearing in the marketplace barefoot and dishevelled of appearance, a song on his lips.

A clue to the reading of both this problematical man and his equally problematical work lies, I believe, in Wang Shizhen's epitaph for him: 'kuangsheng' (impassioned eccentric). [31] Increasingly towards the end of the Ming dynasty, it was precisely this personality trait that was revalued and highlighted as representing authenticity, of both temperament and pursuit. And just as it can be said to characterise Kuang Lu's life and work (certainly in the eyes of his contemporaries), it can perhaps be said to have determined his interest in the 'peripheral peoples' of Guangxi - the pursuit of authenticity.

Conclusion

Stevan Harrell has argued that the ideology of any civilising centre needs to serve the needs of that civilising mission through the creation of a hegemony that seems both proper and natural to rulers and ruled alike. In seeking to do so, this ideology produces definitions of ethnicity that prove firstly the inferiority of certain peoples, and hence their need for civilisation, and secondly their amenability to improvement. In China, as elsewhere, this ideology has produced a set of definitions that have been expressed by means of persistent metaphors: "the metaphors of sex (peripheral peoples as women), of education (peripheral peoples as children), and of history (peripheral peoples as ancient)". [32] Precisely these metaphors can be found at work in *Kuang Lu's Customs of the South*, but read in the particular light of the vicissitudes of his life, one can perhaps best understand the meaning of these metaphors in a manner reversed to that which is normative in early Chinese ethnography of this period. It is within the periphery that the authentic virtues of Chinese civilisation lie, not at the centre.

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Endnotes

1 The edition of the text I employ in this paper is a facsimile version of that contained in the *Siku quanshu*, recently republished in the *Shanchuan fengqing congshu* collection under the title *Zhu fan zhi* (*Wai shisanzhong*) (1993) Shanghai: Guji chubanshe. The first character of the title, *chi*, can mean variously: red, naked, new-born babe, sincere, loyal; while the usual translation for the second character, *ya*, is elegance.

2 Kuang Lu, *zi Zhanruo*, from Nanhai in present day Canton Province. Modern reference works such as the *Cihai* and *Ciyuan* carry short items on both the man and his work. The *Jianming Zhongguo guji cidian*, Wu Feng (ed.), (1987) Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, also has an entry on the *Customs of the South*. Huang Shang (1992) *Yu xia zashuo.*, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, pp. 222-4, provides a brief discussion of Kuang Lu's poetry collection *Jiaoya*. Chen Tian (1993) *Ming shi jishi*, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 5, pp. 2948-9, gathers together some of the contemporary anecdotal material on Kuang Lu.

3 'A thirteenth century imperial ethnography', *Anthropology Today* (1994), 10(5), pp. 15-18. Murray's article, which is a study of the Yuan dynasty scholar Zhou Dagan's *Zhenla fengtu ji* (*The Customs of Cambodia*), begins in this way: "Many have written about the guilt of anthropology as an

eager if ineffectual servant of 19th and 20th century European colonialisms. They have ignored opportunities to compare the gathering of information about alien ('barbarian') cultures by earlier, non-'Western' writers, notably Arab, Chinese, and Indian explorers and traders" (p. 15). I am grateful to Dr Vishvajit Pandya for drawing this article to my attention.

4 Frank Dikötter (1992) *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, London: Hurst and Company, pp. 29-30.

5 *Ibid*, p. x.

6 Stevan Harrell (1995) *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, p. 4.

7 The others are the Republican, the Christian and the Communist Projects. Harrell's Introduction deals explicitly with all but the Republican Project.

8 Harrell, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

9 *Ibid*, p. 33.

10 Arthur Waldron (1990) *The Great Wall of China: From history to myth*, Cambridge University Press.

11 For the purposes of this paper, I make use of John Hay's workmanlike definition of this word "... to refer to the articulatory and expressive practices evolving in specific cultural spheres between and among individuals, groups and institutions, in media such as language, visual imagery, social relationships and psychodynamics. Discourses are the matrices and the products of exchange, rather than a body of objectifying commentary. Although coterminous with their specific cultural ecologies, which are their sum pattern, they are implicit and not explicit, and only fragmentarily or indirectly visible. Their most visible symptoms are probably the explicit systems of classification and the categorical patterns generated within a culture". See John Hay (ed.) (1994) *Boundaries in China*, London: Reaktion Books, Introduction, p. 7.

12 Wolfram Eberhard (1969), for example, in his *The Local Cultures of South and East China*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, makes use of Kuang Lu's *Customs of the South*, as does, more recently, Charles Hartman (1995) 'Stomping songs: word and image', *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 17, pp. 1-50.

13 James Clifford, Introduction: partial truths. In James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds) (1986) *Writing Culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, p. 2.

14 'On ethnographic allegory', in Clifford and Marcus (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 119.

15 Mary Louise Pratt (1992) *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*, London and New York: Routledge, p. 4.

16 *Ibid*, p. 6.

17 Judith T. Zeitlin (1993) *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese classical tale*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

18 Charlotte Furth (1988) 'Androgynous males and deficient females: biology and gender boundaries in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century China', *Late Imperial China*, 9(2), pp. 1-31.

19 Zeitlin, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

20 Zhu fan zhi (*Wai shisanzhong*), p. 344.

21 *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

22 *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

23 Kuang Lu's representation of this 'other world' approximates Foucault's "heterotopia". "There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilisation, real places ... which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within a culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality". Michel Foucault (1986) 'Of other spaces', *Diacritics*, pp. 22-7.

24 Zhu fan zhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-7.

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25 For an excellent recent discussion of the tradition of landscape description in China, see Richard Strassberg (1994) *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel writing from Imperial China*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

26 Cf. Huang Shang, *Yu xia zashuo*, pp. 222-3.

27 The version of the work sighted by Huang Shang was obviously very similar to that examined by the Qing imperial authorities, for it too is replete with textual lacunae, all of which, as Huang Shang illustrates, were indeed places where unflattering references to the Manchus as "barbarians" had been excised.

28 For a discussion of the dual ancestry of Chinese poetry, see David Hawkes (trans.) (1985) *The Songs of the South: An ancient Chinese anthology of poems by Qu Yuan and other poets*, Harmondsworth: Penguin. This association of Kuang Lu's poetic corpus with the *Chu ci* tradition is perhaps best exemplified by a line from a poem by the early Qing critic Wang Shizhen (1634-1711), which is quoted on the title page of the extant edition of the *Jiaoya*: "Each word is from 'Encountering Sorrow', the heart expressed is that of a Qu Yuan and a Song Yu", for which, see Huang Shang, *Yu xia zashuo*, p. 222.

29 Frederick Wakeman (1984) 'Romantics, stoics, and martyrs in seventeenth-century China', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 43(4), pp. 631-65.

30 An early editor of *Kuang Lu's Customs of the South* removes prefaces by Ruan Dacheng and his brother, in order, he tells us, to "protect" Kuang's reputation.

31 See Wang Shizhen (1993) *Chibei outan (Wai sanzong)*, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, p.156. See also Wakeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-65 for a discussion of this term.

32 Harrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.