TRACKS IN THE SNOW 鴻雪因緣圖記*

—episodes from an autobiographical memoir by the Manchu Bannerman Lin-ch'ing (1791–1846), with illustrations by leading contemporary artists

Translated by Yang Tsung-han
Edited by John Minford, with a Foreword by Liu Ts'un-yan

EDITOR'S REMARKS

During the last decade of his life (he was born in 1901, and was in his early nineties when he died in late 1992), Professor Yang Tsung-han 楊宗翰 worked on a complete translation of this illustrated memoir by the mid-nineteenth-century Manchu aristocrat Lin-ch'ing 麟慶. He was uniquely qualified to undertake this task, being himself the son of an eminent Mongol Bannerman, having a perfect command of the language and milieu of the book, and also possessing an extraordinary knowledge of the English language (as well as of several other European languages, living and dead).[1] The manuscript, written in his wonderfully eccentric hand, is teeming with little turns of phrase and critical remarks that bring his proud, sometimes irascible, personality back to life. He is occasionally impatient with the pretentious attitudes of our Manchu author (as he sometimes was with the pretensions of his own contemporaries). Sometimes in his commentary he just rambles, in the manner of a traditional Chinese commentator, and when he does he is often as fascinating as he was in personal conversation.

* Literally, *Wild swan on the snow: an illustrated record of my pre-ordained life.* The reference is to Su Tung-p'o's 蘇東坡 (1037–1101) famous lines, from an early poem written to rhyme with one by his younger brother Tzu-yu 子由 (Su Ch'e 蘇轍, 1039–1112), which freely translated run: "To what can this human life be likened? Perhaps to a wild swan treading on the snow; it leaves a few tracks and flies on blithely into the unknown." In *The gay genius* (London: Heinemann, 1948), p.54, Lin Yutang improvises inimitably on the essence of these lines: "The flying bird was a symbol of the human spirit. In truth, the events and doings of Su Tungpo ... are but the accidental footprints of a great spirit, but the real Su Tungpo is a spirit, like a phantom bird, that is even now making dream journeys among the stars."

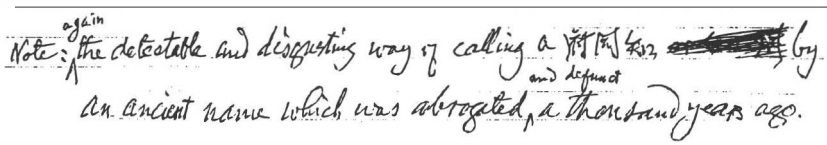


Figure 1

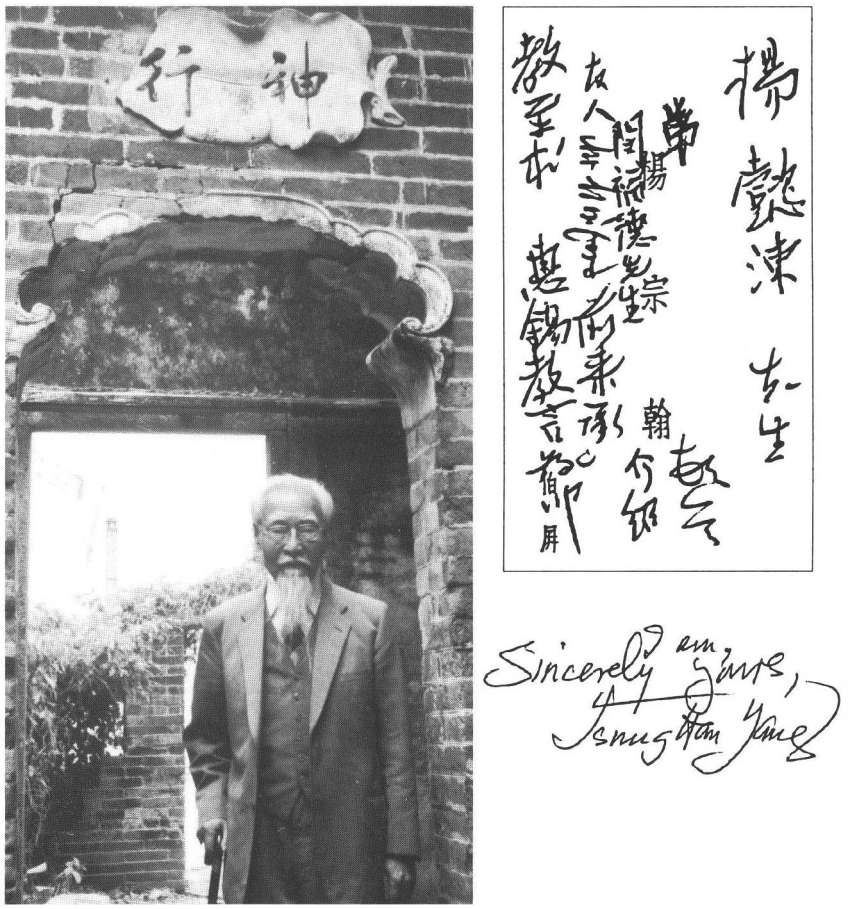
One of Yang Tsung-han's notes to his translation (cf. n.59 below)

[1] His father, En-hua 恩華 (*tzu* Yung-ch'un 詠春, 1879–1954), a Mongol of the Balute clan, passed the *chin-shih* examination in 1903, and was at various times Military Lieutenant-Governor of Chen-chiang, Vice-Director of the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, Vice-Minister of Justice, and President of Hua-pei University. He was a famous bibliophile, and his collection of Bannerman literature was renowned. Yang Tsung-han himself was educated at Tsing Hua and Harvard, and then returned to Peking in the 1920s, where he held various academic posts, including that of Head of the Department of Foreign Languages at Peking Normal University. After the Second World War he moved to Hong Kong, where he died in November 1992. I have heard it said that Yang was the original for one of the more colourful characters in Harold Acton's brilliant Peking novel, *Peonies and Ponies*. David Hawkes, who was in Peking from 1947, remembers him as a very stylish gentleman, always sporting a long gown, and often referred to as 'the Mongol Prince'. It must have been at this time (during the thirties and forties) that Yang first became a friend of C. P. Fitzgerald.

[2] Among his acquaintances Kao also counted such prominent men of letters as Fa-shih-shan 法式善 (1753–1813), Na-yen-ch'eng 那彦成 (1764–1833) and T'ieh-pao 鐵保 (1752–1824). The publication in 1805 of the imperially-commissioned *Hsi-ch'ao ya-sung chi* 熙朝雅頌集 [Anthology of Bannerman verse], edited by (among others) T'ieh-pao and Fa-shih-shan, indicates the growing awareness on the part of the Banner-men that their own literature constituted a separate lineage within Chinese (as opposed to Manchu-Mongol) literature. This had already found expression in the Bibliographical Monograph in *chüan* 120 of the second *Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih* 八旗通志 (Banner Chronicle), compiled in 1799 under the editorship of T'ieh-pao. Numerous literary collections by Bannermen are listed in this, whereas the equivalent monograph in the earlier Banner Chronicle compiled under Ortai in 1739 is mostly taken up with Imperial Edicts and other official compositions. Of course, the literary pretensions of these aristocrats are not always to be taken too seriously. A contemporary Manchu, Shu-k'un 舒坤 (1772–1845), in a marginal note to Yuan Mei's *Sui-yuan shih-hua* 隨園詩話, criticised Fa-

Figure 2

Yang Tsung-han in Hong Kong, 1983. The card, inscribed for the son of the scholar Yang Chung-hsi 楊鍾羲, was given to the editor in 1980. The signature is from a letter dated 1981.



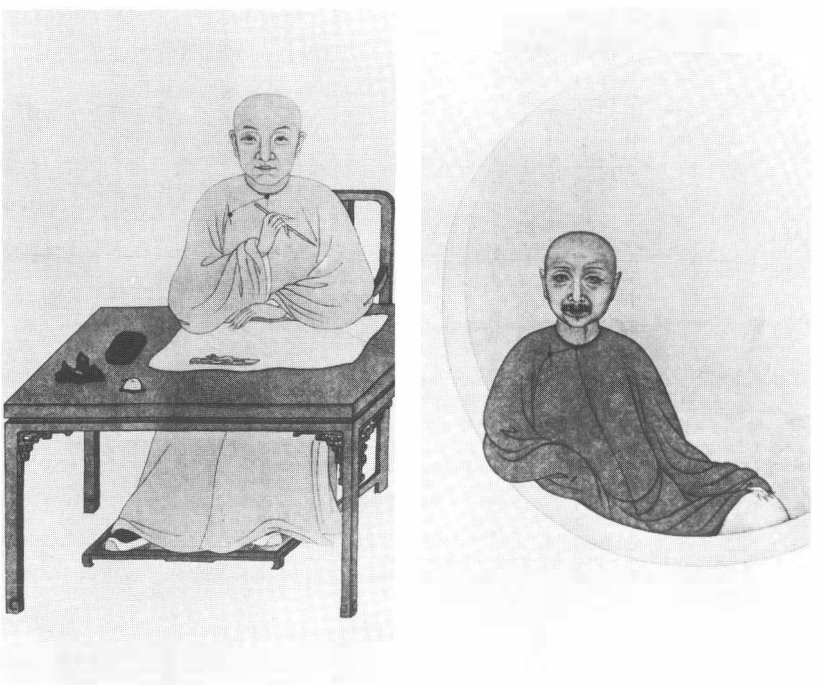
I myself first encountered the original work in 1978, when I was researching into the life and times of Kao E 高鶚 (c.1740–c.1815), the editor of the last forty chapters of *The Story of the Stone* (石頭記). Kao was himself a Chinese Bannerman, and a minor member of the élite Bannerman literary circle of the late Ch'ien-lung, early Chia-ch'ing period.[2] He and the author of this memoir, Lin-ch'ing,[3] were friends, though widely separated in age, and the only known 'pictorial' representation of Kao is the miniscule figure riding on a donkey in Lin-ch'ing's book.[4] Dipping into the text, I was greatly struck by the unusual nature of the book, in that it combines features of the traditional travel journal and diary, including the sometimes tiresome details of a successful Mandarin's career, family and social relationships, with fascinating detail of everyday life and technology in the mid-nineteenth

shih-shan for toadying to the aristocracy and pandering to their literary aspirations. "Fa's poetic acumen was excellent," he wrote, "but ethically he was not above reproach. The first half of the anthology was based on a genuine previous collection made by T'ieh-pao, but in the second half he fabricated poems on demand and attributed them unscrupulously to influential Bannermen who were scarcely literate or else babes-in-arms." See Wu En-yu 吳恩裕, *Yu kuan Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in shih-chung* 有關曹雪芹十種 (Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1963), pp. 130–1.

[3] (H & Ed) Lin-ch'ing (1791–1846), member of the Wanyen 完顏 (Wanggiyan) clan and descendant in the 24th generation of Shih-tsung, 5th emperor of the Jurched Chin dynasty (r. 1161–90). His family belonged to the Imperial Household Bond-servant Division of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner. He was a direct descendant of Daciha 達齊哈, who in 1644 had followed the Manchu forces across the Great Wall, of Asitan 阿什坦 (d.1683, "the /most outstanding of all translators—from Chinese into Manchu—of his time") in the 6th generation, and in the 5th of Hesu 和素 (1652–1718): "C'est lui [Hesu] qui a enseigné à la plupart des enfants de l'empereur Cang-hi les langues tartare et chinoise, qui a présidé à toutes les traductions des *King* et de l'histoire chinoise ... Il est mort depuis peu d'années avec la réputation d'un des plus habiles Mantcheoux qu'il y ait eu en ces deux langues." (P. Parrenin in *Lettres édifiantes.*) Among other texts Hesu translated the *Tso Chuan* and the *San Kuo Chih*. Lin-ch'ing's own career can be sum-marised as follows: *chin-shih*, 1809; Grand Secretariat, 1810; Board of War, 1814; Hanlin Academy, 1818; Prefect of Hui-chou-fu, Anhui, 1823; transferred to Ying-chou-fu, 1824; Intendant K'ai-Kuei-Ch'en-Hsu Circuit, Honan, 1825–29; Provincial Judge, Honan, 1829–32; Financial Commissioner, Kweichow, 1832–33; Governor of Hupeh, 1833; Director-General of River Conservancy in Huai-an, Kiangsu, 1833–42; deprived of rank and titles after collapse of /part of Yellow River dyke, returned to Peking, 1843; recalled to undertake conservancy work in Honan, 1843–45; appointed Imperial Resident in Urga, Mongolia, but granted leave to retire temporarily because of leg ailment. In addition to the present autobiographical memoir, and his literary collection *Ning-hsiang-shih chi* 凝香室集 (from the name of his mother's library—"Chamber of Concen-trated Fragrance": Li Po talks of the dew "concentrating the fragrance" of a flowering branch), Lin-ch'ing also compiled another illustrated book about implements used in river conservancy (*Ho-kung ch'i-chü t'u-shuo* 河工器具圖說), and a historical account of the junction of the Yellow River and the Grand Canal (*Huang Yun Ho-k'ou ku-chin t'u-shuo* 黃運河口古今圖說) One of his daughters married Lai-hsiu 來秀, a grandson of the eminent Mongol Bannerman Fa-shih-shan, and of the equally eminent Manchu Ying-ho 英和 (1771–1839). For his two sons, see below (p.15, n.4). One of his grandsons, Sung-shen 嵩申 (1841–91), rose to be President of the Board of Punishments in the last two years of his life. One of his great-grandsons, Ching-hsien 景賢, was an art adviser to Tuan-fang 端方 (1861–1911). It was one of the Ch'ing Dynasty's grand families until the end of the nineteenth century, when it fell on hard times. Twenty boxes of art treasures hidden in a well of the family home, the famous "Half Acre Garden," designed in the late seventeenth century by the great dramatist, poet, essayist and bon viveur, Li Yu 李漁 (1611–?80), were stolen during the Boxer Rebellion, and during the twenties and thirties the remainder of the art collection, and the family mansion and garden, were sold off. For this see the fascinating article by Van Hecken and Grootaers (cited in n.7 below), which was based not only on written sources, but also on information from Wang Ch'un-ling 汪椿齡, the great-grandson of Ch'ung-shih 麟慶, Lin-ch'ing's oldest son. The Verbiest Academy (a missionary institution) finally purchased the garden in 1947. In July 1951, as part of the purge of Catholics, the secret police raided the premises, and the missionaries were arrested and imprisoned in wooden cubicles 7 feet by 4, specially constructed in the T'ao-fu T'ang ("Hall to Receive Happiness"), while the courtyard before the building known as Fei-t'ao Hsien-kuan ("Fairy Chamber of the Flying Waves") was used to hang and beat the prisoners.

Figure 3

Two eminent Bannermen of the late Ch'ien-lung/Chia-ch'ing era: the Manchu Ying-ho (left), and the Mongol Fa-shih-shan (right). Their grandson married a daughter of Lin-ch'ing. From Ch'ing-tai hsueh-che hsiang-chuan *(1928)*



century, and at the same time some of the lyrical autobiographical qualities of Shen Fu's 沈復 (c.1762–1803) *Six Chapters of a Floating Life* 浮生六記 (see some of the sections on West Lake translated here). Parts of it are even reminiscent of P'u Sung-ling's 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) *Strange Tales* 聊齋志異 (see, for example, "Witnessing the Alchemic Orbs at Longevity Hall" on p.19 below). For most Chinese scholars today it is appreciated primarily for its illustrations, which are indeed of a very high quality.[5] But I found it fascinating most of all as a product of the highly cultivated Bannerman milieu,[6] that also produced such wonderful things as the lyric verse of Nalan Hsing-te 納蘭性德 (1655–85), and of course *The Story of the Stone*.[7]

I discussed Lin-ch'ing's work with Professor Yang in Hong Kong during the early 1980s, and was delighted when he agreed to translate the text. The Asia Foundation and the Chinese University's Research Centre for Translation generously provided grants for the project. To my knowledge only two very partial versions exist: T. C. Lai's *A Wild Swan's Trail* (Hong Kong, 1978), and

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[4] (Ed) Third Series, no.30: "Hsien-ch'iao fu-t'u." Kao wrote a preface for the collected verse of Lin-ch'ing's mother. See *Kao Lan-shu chi* 高蘭墅集 (Shanghai, Ku-chi, 1984), pp.141–2.

[5] (Ed) These were executed over a period of many years by a number of artists, some of whom had been in Lin-ch'ing's entourage at one stage or another of his career, and would therefore have had first-hand experience of the places mentioned in the text. Ch'en Chien 陳鑒 *(hao* Lang-chai 朗齋*)* supervised the whole project and was responsible for the final woodblocks. For full details see Third Series, no.42. One of the most famous of the artists involved was Ho Shih-k'uei 賀世魁 (died c.1844), who had earlier become famous for his portrait of the Tao-kuang Emperor, and his paintings to commemorate the suppression of the Moslems in Sinkiang. Derk Bodde used some of the illustrations for his delightful *Annual customs and festivals in Peking* (Peiping, 1936; reprint ed., Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965), translated from the work of another Manchu Bannerman, Tun-ch'ung 敦崇 (1855–c.1924), himself the grandson of the gifted Banner-woman poet Ku T'ai-ch'ing 顧太清 (1799–1876). Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸 speaks very highly of the woodcuts done for *Tracks in the Snow* in the Introduction to his *History of the Chinese woodblock* (see the remarks quoted in the publisher's Introduction to Chang Pao's 張寶 [b.1762] *Fan-ch'a-t'u* 泛槎圖, reprint ed. (Peking: Ku-chi Ch'u-pan-she, 1988). The illustrations reproduced here are taken from the original edition, my copy of which was acquired in 1981 from a descendant of the author, resident in Tientsin, of whom I only knew that his nickname was "Little Stone" (Hsiao Shih-t'ou 小石頭) and that his aunt had once been engaged to be married to P'u-yi's younger brother, P'u-chieh 溥傑. This edition was recently reprinted in a somewhat reduced format (Peking: Ku-chi Ch'u-pan-she, 1984). I also have a reduced lithographic reprint (Shanghai: Tien-shih-chai, 1884), but this contains many errors, and the illustrations are of a poor quality.

[6] Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–98) wrote, of a slightly earlier period, that "nowadays the Manchus are much more cultivated than the Chinese. Even their military men all write poetry." See *Sui-yuan shih-hua* 隨園詩話, vol.2, *chüan* 7. Cf Arthur Waley, *Yuan Mei* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), p.28.

[7] It is seldom acknowledged that the *Stone* is a Bannerman work, in the literary sense as well as the historical. It is not just that the women in the novel had unbound feet and wore Manchu head-dresses: the author (and his subsequent editor) were very much part of the Bannerman literary milieu, as undoubtedly were many of the novel's first and most avid readers. Just about every surviving poem mentioning Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in 曹雪芹 is from the hand of a Bannerman. While these poems have been read and reread in the search for some new and ever more tantalising clue about the novel and its evolution, few scholars have taken the literary and artistic milieu seriously. It is as if the Han Chinese have wanted very much to claim Ts'ao as one of their own. (For a discussion of this whole issue of the Han-Bannerman identity of the *Stone*, see Yu Ying-shih 余英時, *Hung-lou-meng te liang-ko shih-chieh* 紅樓夢的兩個世界 (Taipei: Lien-ching, 1978).) Wu En-yu 吳恩裕 is

Figure 4

The prolific writer on Bannerman and Peking culture, Chen-chün 震鈞*, and a specimen of his calligraphy. From Hashikawa Tokio,* Chūgoku bungaku jinbutsu sōkan.

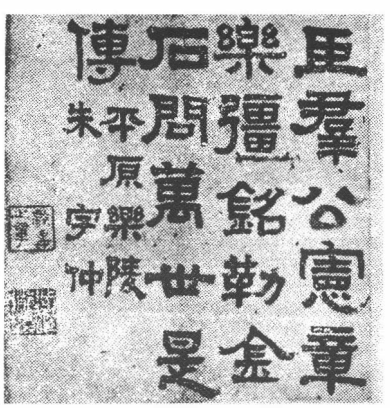
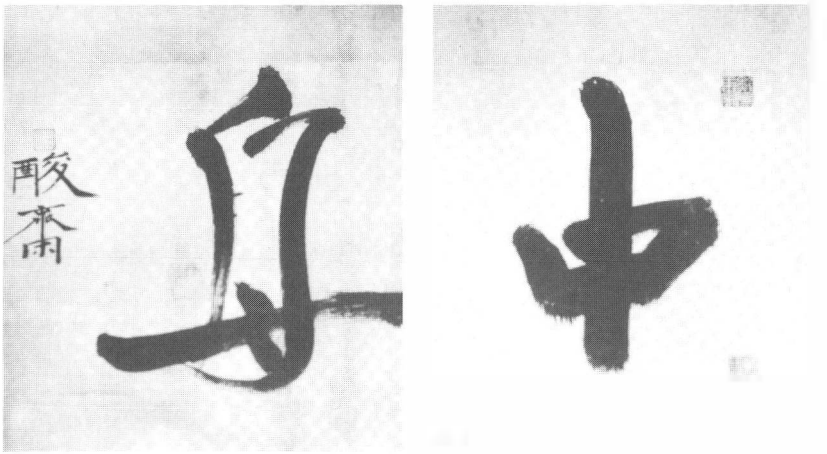


Figure 5
The author's eldest son, Ch'ung-shih: an official portrait [left], and a photograph taken in 1875, when he was acting Military Governor of Mukden [below] (from Monumenta Serica *18 [1959])*

/one of the few *Stone*-scholars to have done justice to this. It is interesting to note that Chou Ju-ch'ang 周汝昌 speculates, on pp.964–70 of his *Hung-lou-meng hsin-cheng* 紅樓夢新證 (rev. ed., Peking, Jen-min Wen-hsueh, 1976), that the famous *chia-hsu* transcript of the *Stone* may have originated in Lin-ch'ing's family. Since the end of the Ch'ing dynasty the Bannermen have (for obvious reasons) been largely ridiculed and reviled. One of the few May Fourth literary figures to take them seriously was Chou Tso-jen 周作人. The only book-length treatment of the literature of the Bannermen is Hashikawa Tokio's 橋川時雄 (b.1893) *Manshū bungaku kōhai kō* 滿洲文學興廢考[A study of the rise and decline of Manchu literature] (Peiping, 1932), discusses Lin-ch'ing on pp.38–9. See also his *Chūgoku bunkakai jinbutsu sōkan* 中國文化界總鑒[Comprehensive mirror of personalities in the Chinese cultural world] (Peking: Chūka Hōkai Hen'inkan, 1940) for in-/valuable information on many later Bannerman figures. For Lin-ch'ing, see the biography in the *Ch'ing-shih kao* 清史稿, *lieh-chuan* 170, and Yang Chung-hsi's (1865–1940: one of the teachers of Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎) entry in his cousin Sheng-yu's 盛昱 (1850–1900) *Pa-ch'i wen-ching* 八旗文經 [Bannerman prose], *chüan* 59. There is a great deal of information contained in the article "The Half Acre Garden, *Pan-mou Yuan* 半畝園," by J. L. Van Heckenand W. A. Grootaers, *Monumenta Serica* 18 (1959), pp. 360–87. See also the entries on pp.9b, 43a, and 51a of the important *Pa-ch'i i-wen pien-mu* 八旗藝文編目[Bannerman bibliography] of En-hua 恩華, Yang Tsung-han's father. This last work, completed during the years 1933–6, has a preface by the eminent Manchu statesman Pao-hsi 寶熙 (b.1871, minister in the Imperial Household Department till 1923, subsequently a member of the state council /of Manchukuo), who states that the project, which En-hua began in Liao-tung in 1912–13, when he was "taking refuge from the disturbed political situation," had the support of both Yang Chung-hsi and Lo Chen-yu 羅振玉. The bibliography includes the books in En-hua's own extensive personal collection, which Wu En-yu 吳恩裕 arranged to be deposited in the Peking Library after the author's death. Some titles in the collection (those by Bannerman friends of Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in) were reprinted in the 1950s. In 1982 the Manchu calligrapher Ch'i-kung 啓功 confirmed that the collection was still there in the basement of the library, unread and untouched, in its original cardboard boxes. Yang Chung-hsi's *Hsueh-ch'iao shih-hua* 雪橋詩話 [Snow Bridge poetry talks], published in four series from 1914 to 1925, in the *Ch'iu-shu-chai ts'ung-shu* 求恕齋叢書, is also a mine of information on Banner- /OVER

Figure 6
Calligraphy of the Uighur poet Kuan Yun-shih. From Monumenta Serica *9 (1944)*



/man writers, as are the various works of Li Fang 李放 (d. after 1940). Another prolific writer on the subject was Chen-chün 震鈞 (1857–1920), a Manchu of the Gualgiya 瓜爾佳 clan, once in the entourage of Lin-ch'ing's grandson Sung-shen, who, having lost his priceless art collection in the aftermath of the 1911 revolution, moved to Shanghai and sinicised his name to T'ang Yen 唐宴. See Hashikawa, *Comprehensive mirror*, pp.155, 613, 730 for a detailed listing of the works of these three writers.

[8] Joseph Needham refers to a later edition (1929) of this French version, which reproduces 26 of the 240 illustrations. See *Science and civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), vol.4, pt 3, p.759. On pp.262–3, Needham reproduces and discusses at length one of the illustrations from *Tracks in the snow*, and he refers several times in this volume to Lin-ch'ing, whom he held in high regard as "an able director of engineering works."

[9] *Monumenta Serica* 9 (1944), pp.92–100, "Hsiao-yun-shih khaya (1286–1324)." To my knowledge this is the only thing Professor Yang ever published in English.

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the rarer *Visite aux temples de Pékin: Extraits du carnet de voyage de Lin K'ing*, translated by Jean R. Baylin (Pékin, 1921).[8] In due course, the whole of Professor Yang's manuscript will be edited and the entire book published in English, complete with all the illustrations and prefaces.

As editor, I have sought to treat Professor Yang's text as I believe he would have wished, preserving the essential style, but not hesitating to rewrite where I thought it appropriate. The footnotes that are his are marked 'YTH', mine are marked 'Ed', while the occasional passages (or adaptations of material) from Hummel's *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* are marked 'H'. Unmarked footnotes contain Lin-ch'ing's own interlinear comments, often giving details of family relationships or official titles held.

Professor Liu Ts'un-yan, who knew Yang Tsung-han for many years, has written a foreword in Chinese, which I have translated into English, and has also read the manuscript and added many illuminating comments. These have, at his request, been absorbed into the text and notes.

Yang Tsung-han advised C. P. Fitzgerald informally when he was developing Chinese studies in Canberra. These first sections of his translation are edited and published here for the first time, as a tribute to a remarkable man. His own personality is best evoked by some words he wrote himself in 1944, describing a piece of calligraphy by the Uighur poet of the Mongol Dynasty, Kuan Yun-shih 貫雲石:

> The example before us combines the astringent form, solidity, control, and force of the best of the classical art in calligraphy on the one hand and withal romantic fluidity, rhythm, grace and even mystery on the other. Apart from the signature, there are only two characters: but what two characters! They represent an epitome of culture and personality. They are, I repeat, inspired and inspiring. Calligraphy has its basis in pictogram and technique, but the glory of a great achievement is above and beyond that. It is 'lo spirito' that creates real art.[9]

FOREWORD

An Imperfect Understanding : a Memoir of Yang Tsung-han

—by Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁

Many years ago, some time in the thirties, the Shanghai publishing house Kelly & Walsh brought out a book entitled *An Imperfect Understanding* by Wen Yuan-ning 溫源寧 (a professor at Peking University and editor of the well-known *Tien Hsia Monthly* 天下雜誌). It contained a series of "silhouettes" of personalities in the cultural and academic world of Peking (Pei-p'ing), including such men as Hu Shih 胡適, Chou Tso-jen 周作人 and Hsu Chih-mo 徐志摩. Subsequently some twenty of these "silhouettes" were translated into Chinese and published under the title "Some Contemporaries" 今人志 in the journal *This Human World* 人間世, edited by Lin Yutang 林語堂. Wen Yuan-ning was an old friend and colleague of Yang Tsung-han's, and during Wen's time as Chinese ambassador to Greece in the late forties, the two men worked together again for a while. Wen Yuan-ming died some time ago, I am sorry to say; if he were still alive, he would have been the right person to write this reminiscence of Yang Tsung-han. He would surely have been able to bring to the task a deeper and more discerning understanding.

I came to know Yang Tsung-han much later on. And at first I did not know him particularly well. He was the eldest son of the Mongol En-hua (not to be confused with the late-Ch'ing Manchu also named En-hua, elder brother of Su-shun 肅順, the statesman put to death by Tz'u-hsi 慈禧 in 1861). The Mongol En-hua was a Bannerman of the Bordered Red Banner, who took third class honours in the *chin-shih* examination of 1903, the 29th year of Kuang-hsu, *kuei-mao*. It so happened that my father's maternal cousin Tso P'ei 左霈 (a Chinese Bannerman of the Plain Yellow Banner) took second place in the first-class honours list of the same examination. People of the previous generation liked to talk about "old family" when they met, so when Yang Tsung-han and I met for the first time he brought up this family connection. And in fact the connection did not stop there. In the Republic, En-hua was for a time Vice-Director of the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs 蒙藏院, and he employed Tso P'ei as Principal or Deputy-Principal of the Mongolian-Tibetan School attached to the Bureau. Later Tso P'ei moved to the newly established Tsing Hua College 清華學校 to teach Chinese, and Yang Tsung-han, who himself studied at Tsing Hua from 1913 to 1921, undoubtedly received instruction from Tso, though much of his traditional education he "drank deeply at the source" of family learning.

From the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, under the Eight Banner system, there were Manchu, Mongol and Chinese Bannermen troops. The Chinese Bannermen were Chinese who had been captured and had surrendered to the Manchus. Their organisation was quite different from that of the regular

Chinese troops of the Green Standards---this is common knowledge. But a Chinese Bannerman was still Chinese, every bit as much so as a member of the regular Green Standards, and if a Chinese Bannerman became a scholar, then it was the culture of his own race and his own nation that he was studying. But in those times (unlike nowadays, when we regard the non-Han ethnic minorities as our equals), if a Manchu or a Mongol developed a passion for things Chinese, and became more of an expert in aspects of Chinese culture than many an ordinary Chinese, then we would say that he had been "acculturated", or "sinicised." How grand a thing we considered our own cultural tradition to be! Is there not just a whiff of the Ah Q spirit in all this? Nowadays at last certain people are beginning to recognise that there were Manchus and Mongols who actually had a more enlightened understanding of Chinese culture than some traditional Chinese scholars themselves. These Bannerman scholars (and the Han Chinese who imbibed their influence) often had a deep insight into Chinese culture, and a broad perspective, which contrasted strikingly with the narrow and slavish antiquarianism of some of their Chinese contemporaries. Many of the works contained in the *Bannerman Bibliography (Pa-ch'i I-wen pien-mu* 八旗藝文編目, 1941), compiled by Yang Tsung-han's father En-hua, testify to the truth of this. So does En-hua's own decision to send his son to Tsing Hua College in the first year of the Republic, and later after eight years of study, to Harvard on a government scholarship, to study a western curriculum.

Tsing Hua College has a very special place in the history of Chinese education. The Americans returned a portion of the "Boxer" indemnity imposed on the Ch'ing government in the treaty of 1901, in the hope that the Chinese could use the money to develop a new-style education system—and this is how Tsing Hua came into being. Before it was founded in 1912, the money was used to support Chinese students already in the United States (such as Yuen Ren Chao 趙元任, Hu Shih 胡適 and the meteorologist Chu K'o-chen 竺可楨, all of whom had gone abroad in 1910). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs meanwhile planned the establishment of a

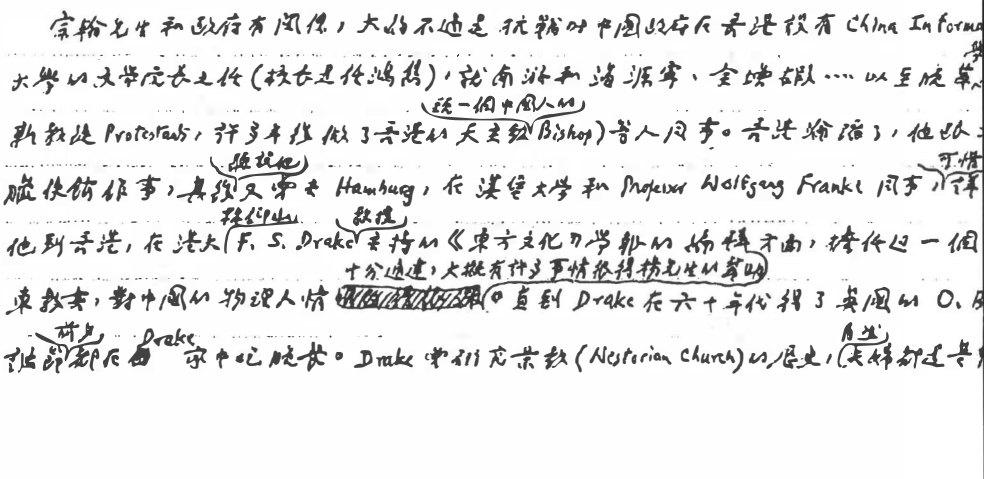


Figure 7
Part of Professor Liu Ts'un-yan's Foreword in his original Chinese

school to prepare students for study abroad. Tsing Hua did not come under the Ministry of Education, but under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was only after the success of the Northern Expedition and the consequent reorganisation of the old Peking administration in 1928 that Tsing Hua became a University, and at the same time the system of automatic overseas study after graduation was abolished. In this way Tsing Hua underwent a gradual transformation. The original "preparatory" college examined candidates in every province, and the age of admission was fourteen or fifteen. The students selected spent four years in the Junior High School section, then a further four years in the Senior High School: altogether this comprised the six years of a complete High School curriculum and the first two years of university. So students who were fourteen or fifteen on admission were in their twenties by the time they went abroad; when they left China they were supported by government scholarships and carried official passports—they even had a special allowance to get themselves Western-style suits made up in Shanghai. By the time they arrived at university in the United States they were already at third year level. Yang Tsung-han entered Harvard in 1921 and graduated with an A.B. in Political Science. This was the only degree he was ever awarded. And yet on his return to Peking, the courses he taught for many years at Peking University were courses on Western literature—Shakespeare and Milton. I am not sure if he ever taught Political Science in his entire life. This versatility was not unusual for men of his generation. Once in the nineteen-eighties, when Yang Tsung-han was already well over eighty years old, I remember John Minford telling me that the old gentleman had corrected him—not for his Chinese, but for his Latin!

Mongol surnames have their own system, which is quite different from that of the Chinese. In the Republican period many Manchus and Mongols took Chinese surnames, or changed their names altogether. Chen-chün, for example, author of *Hearsay in the Capital* 天咫偶聞, became T'ang Yen 唐宴; Chin-liang 金梁 took the surname Chin 金 (which no doubt had something to do with the fact that the Manchus had once called themselves the Latter Chin Dynasty); there is no need to bore you with more examples. En-hua, who held several positions in the Republic, never changed his name. But his son took the surname Yang, and gave as his place of origin Tan-t'u 丹徒, Chen-chiang 鎮江. And yet he never had any qualms about saying that he was a Mongol. He may have given Chen-chiang because he was born there, when his father was Military Lieutenant-Governor. En-hua had an extensive collection of valuable old Chinese books, especially rare works by Bannermen.

[illegible] Committee, 那时他怜巧就离四川
[illegible]徐诚斌 (Francis Hsü, 这时候还是
[illegible]先生联络进入内地，接[illegible]
[illegible]详细的情况我已不知道。五十年代初，
[illegible]的工作。Drake先生早年学在山
，B.E 劝使返国之前，宗翰先生每年暑
[illegible]。

With the huge interest in the study of the novel *The Story of the Stone*, a lot of writings by Bannerman authors connected with the novel and its author Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in were reprinted in the '50s—works like Yu-jui's 裕瑞 *Tsao-ch'uang hsien-pi* 棗窗閑筆, and Tun-min's 敦敏 *Mao-chai shih-ch'ao* 懋齋詩鈔. The originals of these came from En-hua's collection.

Yang Tsung-han's only connection with politics was during the anti-Japanese war, when he was involved in the China Information Committee set up in Hong Kong by the Chinese government. He had just left Szechwan University, where he was Dean of the Faculty of Arts (the President at the time was Jen Hung-chün 任鴻雋, H. C. Zen), and travelled south where he worked with people like Wen Yuan-ning, Ch'üan Tseng-ku 全增嘏 (T. K. Ch'uan) and younger scholars such as Hsu Ch'eng-pin 徐誠斌 (Francis Hsu, at that time still a protestant, but years later to become Hong Kong's first Chinese Roman Catholic bishop).

After the fall of Hong Kong, he travelled with Wen Yuan-ning into the interior, and later worked under him in the Chinese embassy in Athens. Subsequently I understand he worked for a time with Professor Wolfgang Franke at Hamburg University, but I do not unfortunately know the details.

In the early '50s he went to Hong Kong and worked for a while on the editorial board of the *Journal of Oriental Studies* under F. S. Drake 林仰山.[10] Drake had earlier taught in Shantung, and was very familiar with China, the land and its people. Until the '60s, when Drake received an OBE and returned to England, Yang Tsung-han would go to Drake's home for dinner every Christmas Eve. Drake had done some research into the Nestorian Church (he and his wife were, needless to say, Christians).

In Hong Kong there is a government-run tertiary college, really a sort of night school, called the Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies. In the '50s there were a large number of refugees from the Mainland whose children needed further education, and the Hong Kong government set up this evening school to cater for them, with the intention of eventually merging it with Hong Kong University. In the '50s the Hong Kong government had not yet decided to set up a second university (the present Chinese University of Hong Kong). The evening school had already had two Principals (they were actually called Superintendants), but the position was vacant and the government appointed Yang Tsung-han. I was doing some teaching there myself, and from June 1955, when Yang took over as Principal, until August 1958 when he resigned, I had the opportunity to work with him and we became friends "across the chasm of the years" 忘年交 (I was ten or so years his junior).

Strictly speaking this was when my real friendship with Yang Tsung-han began. From 1955 until August 1962, when I left Hong Kong and came to Australia, we saw each other frequently and had many long conversations together. This enabled me to come to some sort of understanding, however imperfect, of his personality and his aspirations. Differences of environment, different ways of life and positions in life, can combine with differences in

[10] F. S. Drake (1892–1974) succeeded J. K. Rideout as Professor of Chinese at Hong Kong University, a position he held from 1954 to 1964. He was born into a Baptist missionary family in Tsou-p'ing, Shantung, and in addition to his work for the church gave some lectures at Ch'i-lu University in Tsinan.

personality and temperament to make a true and complete understanding of another person an extremely hard task. So even an "imperfect understanding," however partial it may be, if it is sin-cerely arrived at, has its place and value. As I see it, Yang Tsung-han was a Chinese scholar formed by Chinese culture, and in this respect he was indistinguishable from other ethnically Han Chinese. There was one distinguishing feature, and that was the fact that he was not a Confucian scholar—or at least certainly not in the Neo-Confucian sense, more in the "expansive" mode of the Han-T'ang Confucians. And to this should be added a touch of the severity and intensity of a Legalist. This was his character. There was something very noble about him. He never held a prominent public position, he never did anything "important," he was never the leader of any grand movement—far from it. In his old age, when he was eighty or so, he was a solitary figure, and lived in greatly straightened circumstances. But it is still my opinion that he was one of the truly outstanding men to come out of China in the past eighty years.

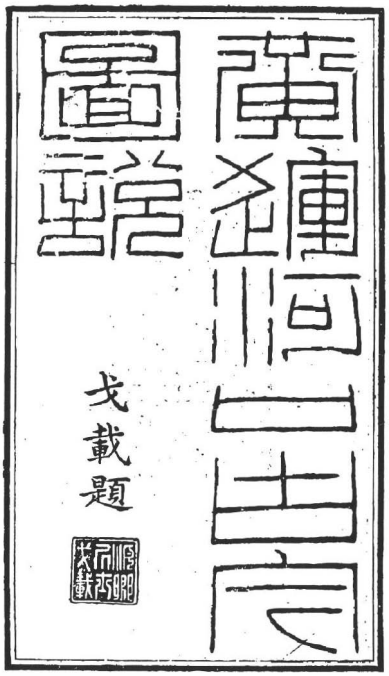
Figure 8
Calligraphy for the title-page of En-hua's Pa-ch'i i-wen pien-mu, *by the Mongol Ch'ung-i 崇彝, of the Balute clan, grandson of the Grand Secretary Po-chün 柏葰 (d.1859) [below]; calligraphy for the book's outside cover, by Pao-hsi [left]*

In conversation on matters intellectual or scholarly, his views were legion, his flow of ideas unstoppable. He was no mealy-mouthed pedant quoting empty chapter and verse from the classics—no "Rotten Armchair Talk" 席上腐談 from him, to steal a title from the works of the Yuan dynasty Taoist Yu Yen 俞琰. There was substance in his every word, every sentence had something solid to back it up. I was born too late, alas! By the time he was in the fifth form of Tsing Hua College (1917) I was just a babe in arms. A lot of his anecdotes were beyond me—conversations with him were sometimes like intensive study sessions for me!

He could recall clearly and effortlessly people and events in Peking in the two decades or so before 1937, the Marco Polo Bridge incident and the arrival of the Japanese. He was able to talk about these things in great detail and with scrupulous accuracy. On one occasion we were talking about Shen Mei-sou 沈寐叟 (Shen 'the Old Dozer', Sheng Tseng-chih 沈曾植, *tzu* Tzu-p'ei 子培, 1851–1922), the great scholar, Manchu loyalist and restorationist of the late Ch'ing and early Republic. Yang told me that in his later years, when Shen lived in Shanghai, he would sometimes fall asleep on his visitors—hence he gave himself the sobriquet 'the Old Dozer'. "Shen Tseng-chih's learning was vast," Yang told me. "He was at home in every field of traditional Chinese learning. Whatever the topic, he would be able to help you find your way through it." It was true. And Yang Tsung-han himself was to some extent a person of similar abilities. In 1956–57, when I was writing my thesis on the mid-sixteenth-century novel *Feng-shen yen-i* 封神演義 (The Investiture of

Figure 9

Calligraphy by Ko Tsai 戈載 for one of Lin-ch'ing's other books, Hua-yun ho-k'ou ku-chin t'u-shuo *(1836)*



the Gods), Yang Tsung-han remarked to me one day, quite out of the blue, that there was an interesting entry for the 17th of the the first month, 1893, in the diary of Wang K'ai-yun 王闓運 (1832–1916), *Hsiang-ch'i-lou jih-chi* 湘綺樓日記: "The titles used for the gods in *Feng-shen yen-i* show certain gross discrepancies. The book needs careful collating. The discrepancies can be established from textual evidence. The book uses the expression *lang-hsien* 狼筅, meaning a bamboo pike, which can only have occurred after the Chia-ching reign (1522--67)." This reference of Yang's indicates real learning, it is the sort of knowledge not to be derived from idle chat or hearsay. The "bamboo pike" was a weapon invented by Ch'i Chi-kuang 戚繼光 (1528--87) during the Chia-ching period to deal with the Japanese pirates *(wo-k'ou* 倭寇). It was made of a long bamboo staff with a sharp metal spike on the end of it and along its length a series of protruding bamboo branches. It was used by foot-soldiers. Yang Tsung-han studied Western political science and constitutional history, he was a scholar of Milton and Shakespeare, and there he was producing this reference from one of the more obscure byways of traditional Chinese learning. Imagine what else there must have been stored away in that brain of his!

In August 1958 he resigned from his position as Principal of the Evening School for Higher Chinese Studies. It was a sudden decision. I once asked him about it and he said:

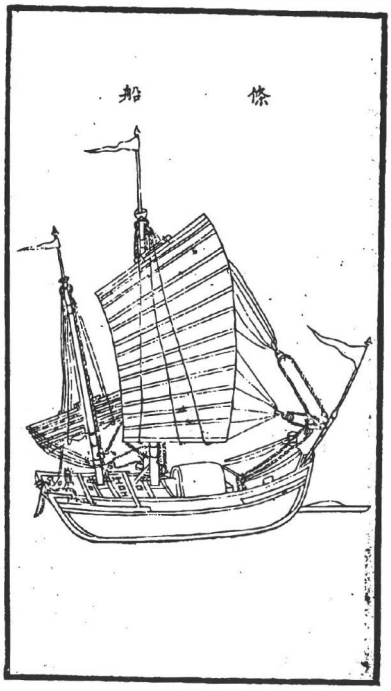
"When I took on this job, it was a decision reached jointly by the Hong Kong government Department of Education and Hong Kong University. The idea was to merge the school with the university. Now the two parties have failed to reach an agreement. Hong Kong University does not seem predisposed to take on the Evening School. Consequently my being there no longer has any meaning."

His analysis was close to the truth of the case. Soon afterwards he also resigned from his concurrent position lecturing on Western literature at Chung Chi College 崇基學院 (now one of the constitutent colleges of the Chinese University of Hong Kong). Colleagues at Chung Chi had criticised him for being too stringent in his marking, claiming that his standards were too high for an "independent college" such as theirs. In December of that year the Hong Kong government made him an Assistant Education Officer, and assigned him as a lecturer to the Northcote Teachers Training College. This was a very dependable job, but two months later he resigned again. He considered the training offered by Northcote College inadequate, and was totally unwilling to go along with what he saw as their slipshod approach. During the subsequent thirty-odd years I do not believe he ever had a definite job, although he may have taken on some literary piece-work. His fellow student from Tsing Hua days, the Wu-hsi man T'ang Ping-yuan 唐炳源 (better known as T'ang Hsing-hai 唐星海), later the owner of one of Hong Kong's largest textile factories, over the years until his death provided his high-minded old friend with occasional financial assistance. But Yang would not accept money from anyone else. Whenever I went to Hong Kong from

Australia I would always call on him at home. In the '80s he moved from Kowloon out to the New Territories, to a single-room apartment (with its own W.C.) in Yuen Long 元朗. But from there he could at least look northwards to China, and he continued to observe the world—I am sure I am not the only person to remember his well-informed and often idiosyncratic observations on world affairs. The well-known novelist Chin Yung 金庸 (Cha Liang-yung 查良鏞), until recently chief shareholder in Ming Pao Newspapers, hearing of Yang's plight, immediately proposed to make him an annual allowance (for "ice" and "charcoal", as the Chinese traditionally say). Yang let it be known that he did not wish to accept such a gift. But at the same time he remembered that one of Chin Yung's elder brothers Cha Liang-chao 查良釗 (a prominent figure in the Chinese legal world) had been at Tsing Hua, where he had been three years Yang's senior.

It must have been in the winter of 1991 that Yang Tsung-han went to live in a nursing-home in Aberdeen. In December of that year I passed through Hong Kong and called on him. He was still in good spirits, though he was beginning to show certain symptoms of persecution mania. He suspected that the sisters of the nursing-home were using "kindly" means to send the residents "back to their maker," and would plead with his friends to find some way of "setting him free." I talked with him at some length, trying to allay his fears, and left in a somewhat subdued silence. In June of the following year, once again I was passing through Hong Kong. A friend had already informed me that Yang had been sent by the nursing-home to the psychiatric ward of Queen Mary's (the Hong Kong University teaching hospital). It was raining slightly the day I went there to visit him. When finally I found him, he seemed in good spirits again, and there were no signs of his illusions of persecution. But as I was leaving he took hold of my hand and held it tightly, and asked me in a quiet voice: "How much does it cost here, per day?" I had no idea, and could not think how to answer him. In the end I just smiled. I am afraid my silence must have been a disappointment to him.

That was the last time I saw him. He had a younger brother. He once told me this brother, who died some time in the '70s, was my age. Yang Tsung-han was married, but had no children. His wife lives in Peking. She came to Hong Kong to see him once, and must have tried to persuade him to go back. For a while he seemed to have made up his mind to do so, but friends in Hong Kong advised him to stay, and he never went. I have on my desk in front of me a complete set (twenty-four thread-bound volumes) of the *Chin History* 晉書 in the *po-na* 百衲 edition of the *Twenty Four Histories*, a present from Yang Tsung-han. It is a lithographic reprint of the Sung edition that was once in the collection of Chi Chen-i 季振宜 (born 1630) and Chiang Kuang-yu 蔣光煦, which had thirty *chüan* (the *Tsai-chi* section) missing. When it was reproduced, this portion was made up from another Sung edition. My own family's set of the first series of the *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an* also contained this edition. My family books are dispersed, and now each time I turn the pages of Yang Tsung-han's gift, my mind fills with recollections of the past, with shadows of old friends and of old books that I once knew.

Figure 10

An illustration from Lin-ch'ing's Ho-kung ch'i-chü t'u-shuo *[Illustrations and explanations of the techniques of water conservancy and engineering], 1836. As Joseph Needham comments (*Science and civilisation in China, *vol.4, pt 3, p.596, fig.1009b), "this is the best traditional Chinese drawing of a standard transport junk, showing the system of battens, the multiple sheets with their euphroes, the halyards and the trapping lifts . . . . A transport of this kind could do coastal as well as river work." Elsewhere (ibid., vol.4, pt 2, p.348) Needham refers to this work as "the great Ch'ing compendium of water-conservation technology."*