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Wu Lanzheng's *Jiang Heng Qiu*

Sophie Volpp

Associate Professor, Departments of East Asian Languages and Cultures and Comparative Literature, University of California at Berkeley

Introduction

Wu Lanzheng's 吳蘭徵 (1776-1806) *Jiang Heng Qiu* 絳蘅秋 is the only dramatic sequel to *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (*The Story of the Stone*) to have been written by a woman.[1] Unfinished at the time of Wu Lanzheng's death at the age of 30, the play was published by her husband Yu Yongji 俞用濟 soon afterward, in a collection entitled the *Lingxiang ji* 零香集 (*Collection of Fallen Petals* [or *Scattered Fragrance*]) that included poems of mourning for Wu Lanzheng as well as requiems (*jiwen* 祭文) and biographies written by Yu and his friends.[2] As the only woman dramatist among the *Honglou meng* playwrights, Wu Lanzheng was the one who might most easily have invited an association with the original novel's Lin Daiyu 林黛玉. And indeed, Wu Lanzheng's literary pseudonyms clearly testify that she envisioned herself as

[1] I leave the title *Jiang Heng Qiu* untranslated. The first two characters clearly refer to Lin Daiyu 林黛玉 and Xue Baochai 薛寶釵 respectively. The third character could, in this vein, refer to Jia Tanchun 賈探春, but Tanchun plays a very insignificant role in the play. Since the play was unfinished at the time of Wu Lanzheng's death, it is possible that Wu Lanzheng planned for Tanchun to play a larger role in the latter part of the play. However, another possibility is that Wu Lanzheng uses the character 秋 (*qiu*, autumn) to describe the half-orphaned state of Daiyu and Baochai. She uses the character "qiu" in her own poems to refer to her sorrow after the loss of her mother. See 《過舅氏山莊登牛首山懷古》(梅嶺曉寒澹秋樹，芙峰暮靄落荒城), *Lingxiang ji,* 1.8a; 《母病》 (一自萱枝近憔悴，秋花春草變哀思), *Lingxiang ji* 2.7b; 《悼母詩十三首之一》 (薄命於霜失意秋，兒孤女幼繞床啾), *Lingxiang ji,* 3.11.b.

[2] The only surviving copy of the play was initially held in Fu Xihua's 傅惜華 private collection, and is now held in the rare book library of Zhongguo yishu yanjiu yuan 中國藝術研究院. Yu Yongji 俞用濟, ed., *Lingxiang ji* 零香集 (Fuqiu lou 撫秋樓, 1806). Fu Xihua's collection was recently published in its entirety as *Fu Xihua cang gudian xiqu zhenben congkan tiyao* 傅惜華藏古典戲曲珍本叢刊提要, eds. Wang Wenzhang 王文章 and Liu Wenfeng 劉文鋒 (Beijing: Xueyuan chuban she, 2010).

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having been inspired by Daiyu's example. She takes up the challenge that the original novel issues, to envision the relationship between the fictional and non-fictional, the immaterial and the material, a challenge encapsulated in the most oft-cited phrase of *Honglou meng*, "When the fiction is true, truth is also fiction" (*jia zuo zhen shi zhen yi jia* 假作眞時眞亦假).

This phrase seems to carry a particular import for the writer of a sequel such as *Jiang Heng Qiu*, for the phrase implies a structure of referentiality that is anticipatory as well as descriptive of a presumed past. This anticipatory structure of referentiality implies that the characters of the novel will have a material incarnation beyond the pages of the book, and that such instantiations will in turn find their own lives to be rendered as literature. In the pages that follow, I ask how *Honglou meng* creates the possibility of such later incarnations. How ought we to understand Wu Lanzheng's depiction of Lin Daiyu in *Jiang Heng Qiu* in the context of her own association with Daiyu? How might her particular interest in an "orthodox *qing*" (*qing zhi zheng* 情之正) complicate the long-standing notion that female readers of texts such as *Honglou meng* and *Mudan ting* 牡丹亭 (*The Peony Pavilion*) were susceptible to a kind of affective contagion that led them to emulate the female protagonists of these works? How would the original publication of Wu Lanzheng's play in the *Lingxiang ji* , where it follows poems and prose works in mourning for her, have potentially shaped readers' understanding of her portrayal of Lin Daiyu in *Jiang Heng Qiu*? [3]

The capacity of *Honglou meng* to have an anticipatory structure of reference was, by the early nineteenth century, already linked to the notion that the novel had the propensity to create a radical affective response, particularly among its female readers. *Honglou meng* inherited *Mudan ting*'s mantle, to the point where it also was envisioned as having a legendary ability to make young women expire in emulation of its female protagonist. The following anecdote from Yue Jun's 樂鈞 (1766-1814) *Er shi lu* 耳食錄 (*Record of Hearsay*), printed in 1821, describes a girl who perishes because of her infatuation with Lin Daiyu. This anecdote recalls the impassioned response to *Mudan ting*:[4]

> 昔有讀湯臨川《牡丹亭》死者，近時聞一癡女子以讀《紅樓夢》而死。初，女子從其兄案頭搜得《紅樓夢》，廢寢食讀之。讀至佳處，往往輟卷

[3] I would like to thank Bao Weihong 包衛紅, Chang Shu-hsiang 張淑香, Wai-yee Li 李惠儀, Liu Wennan 劉文楠 and Judith Zeitlin for their thoughts and suggestions, and would like particularly to thank Wang An-chi 王安祈 for her comments on an earlier version of this paper.

[4] See Xu Fuming 徐扶明, *Mudan ting yanjiu ziliao kaoshi* 牡丹亭研究資料考釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1987) and *Yuan Ming Qing xiqu tansuo* 元明清戲曲探索 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1986), pp. 104-118; Dorothy Yin-yee Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 82-110; Ellen Widmer, "Xiaoqing's Literary Legacy and the Place of the Woman Writer," *Late Imperial China* 13.1 (June 1992): 126-135; and Judith Zeitlin, "Shared Dreams: The Story of the Three Wives' Commentary on the Peony Pavilion," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54.1 (June 1994): 127-179.

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> 冥想，繼之以淚。復自前讀之，反覆數十百遍，卒未嘗終卷，乃病矣。父母覺之，急取書付火。女子乃呼曰：「奈何焚寶玉，黛玉？」自是笑啼失常，言語無倫次，夢寐之間未嘗不呼寶玉也。延巫醫雜治，百弗效。一夕瞪視牀頭燈，連語曰：「寶玉寶玉在此耶！」遂飲泣而瞑。
>
> In the past, there was a girl who read Tang Xianzu's *Mudan ting* and died; recently I've heard of a girl who was a fool for love, and who died because she read *Honglou meng*. In the beginning, the girl looked for *Honglou meng* on her brother's desk, and finding it, neglected to eat and sleep as she read it. When she had read up to a delectable part (佳處),[5] she would always rest the book and let her mind wander (輟卷冥想), and end by bursting into tears (繼之以淚). She began reading from the beginning again and again, leafing through it thousands of times; in the end she never once finished reading the novel before she grew ill. Her parents became aware of this and quickly took the book and burned it. The girl then cried, "How could you burn Baoyu and Daiyu?" From this time on she began laughing and crying in an unusual manner. Her words were no longer coherent, and she called for Baoyu continuously in her dreams. [The parents] invited witch healers and doctors who tried various cures, but a hundred cures had no effect. One night she stared at the lamp by the end of the bed and said repeatedly, "Baoyu! Baoyu has arrived!" Then she choked back her tears and died.[6]

The book acts as a talisman whose capacity to create illusion has a paradoxical effect upon the girl's vitality. Like Baoyu's magical rock of illusion (*huan shi* 幻石), this magical book of illusion (*huan shu* 幻書) becomes an object that is necessary to the continued vitality of its owner. Just as Baoyu becomes mentally incoherent without his stone, the girl loses coherence once the book is burned. Yet at the same time, the girl loses vitality by continuing to read it. In a trope familiar from late imperial tales of obsession, the reader exchanges her vitality for time spent with the beloved object.[7] The girl reads in such a way that she experiences the text as a series of fragments that she completes as she ruminates, that she completes in fact with her own tears of mourning (讀至佳處，往往輟卷冥想，繼之以淚). When the girl cries out,

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[5] Here the text references *Jin shu* 晉書. "When [Gu] Kaizhi 顧愷之 ate sugarcane he would proceed from the end to the root. When someone found this strange, he would reply, "I gradually enter the most delectable part." 愷之每食甘遮，恒自尾至本，人或怪之。云：「漸入佳境。」Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, ed., *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), p.2405.

[6] Yi Su 一粟, ed., *Honglou meng ziliao huibian* 紅樓夢資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), vol. 2, p. 347.

[7] See for example, Pu Songling's 蒲松齡 tale "Shi qing xu" 石清虛, translated by Judith Zeitlin as "The Ethereal Rock." Pu Songling, *Liaozhai zhi yi* 聊齋志異, ed. Ren Duxing 任篤行 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2000), p. 1580; Judith Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 83 and p. 207. Yi Su, *Honglou meng ziliao huibian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), vol. 2, p. 347.

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"How could you burn Baoyu and Daiyu?" it becomes clear that for her, the book has become a lived experience; in her mind, it is not the book that has been burned, but the characters themselves.

The anecdote suggests that the novel is inexhaustible even beyond its material incarnation as a book, because the characters, almost parasitically, have the capacity to be materially incarnated among its readers, through the reader's mourning. Once the book as an object perishes, the girl makes a sympathetic substitution with Lin Daiyu, but in doing so, she herself expires, at the moment that she senses Baoyu's illusory presence. There is a certain sleight of hand at work here: the book does not really contain a contagious affect; it is not a magical book of illusion. Rather, its readers project themselves into an imagined community who share a certain set of associations regarding the book. The imagined relation between this young reader and Daiyu is a structure of association that generations of readers have shared.

I. Chapter 23 of *Honglou meng*: 西廂記妙詞通戲語 牡丹亭艷曲警芳心

I would like to turn briefly to Chapter 23 of *Honglou meng* to consider how it creates the possibility of such structures of association as it draws on the tradition of response to *Mudan ting*. The fatal mind wandering experienced by the young reader of *Honglou meng* described in the anecdote above is predicted in Chapter 23 of *Honglou meng* itself, where the forbidden fruits of the newly established garden turn out to be the sensuous texts of *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 (*The Western Wing*) and *Mudan ting*. We cannot understand the fascination of the *Honglou meng* sequels with Daiyu as a character whose actions and thoughts would extend far beyond the plot of *Honglou meng* without considering the cult of *Mudan ting* and the way that it is referenced in Chapter 23 of *Honglou meng*.

Chapter 23 predicts the way that the novel will enter the world of its readers. In an oft-cited passage, Baoyu is sitting on a rock reading the *Xixiang ji*, and has just come to the line, "The red flowers in their hosts are falling" 落紅成陣 when suddenly a shower of petals falls over the book.[8] The line he reads seems to describe his

[8] David Hawkes, *The Story of the Stone* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), vol. 1, p. 463. In the *Xixiang ji*, the phrase "The red flowers in their hosts are falling" 落紅成陣 occurs at the opening of Book Two, where the love-torn Cui Yingying 崔鶯鶯 uses the phrase to convey the sense that her youth is passing as she pines for student Zhang 張生. The phrasing may also recall the fact that the moment she speaks, the temple in which she resides is indeed surrounded by battle hosts. See Wang Shifu 王實甫, *Jiping jiaozhu Xixiang ji* 集評校注西廂記, annot. Wang Jisi 王季思 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1990), p. 47. Idema and West translate this line as "Fallen flowers form battle arrays." I use Hawkes' translation simply so as to be consistent with *Story of*

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immediate environment, suggesting that the world of the book and the world exterior to the book are cotemporaneous and mutually permeable. The text of the *Xixiang ji* seems to enter the world of the *Honglou meng* and become absorbed in it as the characters "zhen" 陣 and "luo" 落 from the *Xixiang ji*'s line "The red flowers in their hosts are falling" 落紅成陣 surface in the phrases "suddenly a little gust of wind blew over" 只見一陣風過 and "covered his clothes, his book, and all the ground around him" 落得滿身滿書滿地皆是花片.[9] Happenstance in reading is central to the idea of a contagion between the world in the book and the world exterior to it; it allows the immaterial circumstances of the novel to incarnate suddenly in a material form.

The moment in which a literary text slides into the world in which it is held, and that world then in turn comes to seem literary, is here activated by a perceived randomness. This happenstance in reading the *Xixiang ji* prefaces Daiyu's chance overhearing of the words of *Mudan ting*'s aria "Youyuan jing meng" 遊園驚夢 (Wandering in the Garden, Waking from a Dream) sung in rehearsal as she walks past the Lixiang yuan 梨香院 (Pear Tree Court). The latter part of Chapter 23, then, demonstrates that moments of happenstance, whether in reading or hearing, create portals through which a dramatic text might affectively enter the world of its readers:

> 這裏林黛玉見寶玉去了，聽見眾姐妹也不在房中，自己悶悶的。正欲回房，剛走到梨香院牆角外，只聽見牆內笛韻悠揚，歌聲婉轉。林黛玉便知是那十二個女子演習戲文。雖未留心去聽，偶然兩句吹到耳內，明明白白，一字不落，道：「原來姹紫嫣紅開遍，似這般都付與斷井頹垣。」林黛玉聽了，倒也十分感慨纏綿，便止步側耳細聽，又唱道是：「良辰美景奈何天，賞心樂事誰家院。」[10]
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> With Bao-yu gone and the girls evidently all out, Dai-yu began to feel lonely and depressed. She was on her way back to her own room and was just passing the corner of Pear Tree Court when she heard the langorous meanderings of a flute and the sweet modulation of a girlish voice coming from the other side of the wall, and knew that the twelve little actresses were at their rehearsal inside. Although she was paying no particular attention to the singing, a snatch of it chanced suddenly to fall with very great clarity on her ear, so that she was able to make out quite distinctly the words of two whole lines of the aria being sung:
>
> Here multiflorate splendor blooms forlorn
> midst broken fountains, mouldering walls—
>
> They moved her strangely, and she stopped to listen. The voice went on:
>
> And the bright air, the brilliant morn
> feed my despair

the Stone. Wang Shifu, *The Moon and the Zither: The Story of the Western Wing*, trans. Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 219.

[9] Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹, *Chongjiao bajia pingpi Honglou meng* 重校八家評批紅樓夢, annot. Feng Qiyong 馮其庸(Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chuban she), p. 492.

[10] Cao Xueqin, *Chongjiao bajia pingpi Honglou meng*, annot. Feng Qiyong, p. 492.

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joy and gladness have withdrawn
to other gardens, other halls.[11]

The phrase "chanced suddenly to fall with very great clarity on her ear" 偶然兩句吹到耳內 furnishes an opening into a certain structure of relation between immaterial and material in the experience of a text. The world of the text suddenly becomes incarnate in the immediate surroundings of the reader. The commentator Zhang Xinzhi 張新之 (fl. 1828-1850) observes that the lines of *Mudan ting* that Daiyu first hears, "Here multiflorate splendor blooms forlorn/midst broken fountains, mouldering walls" 原來姹紫嫣紅開遍，似這般都付與斷井頹垣 are the ones Du Liniang 杜麗娘 utters as soon as she discovers the beauty of the garden.[12] The lines that Daiyu overhears, which originally described Du Liniang's response to the garden in *Mudan ting*, now seem to describe the garden in *Honglou meng*. They invite Daiyu to enter a structure of association with *Mudan ting's* protagonist Du Liniang, an association that causes a sensual awakening for Daiyu. The awakening caused by this moment of accidental overhearing does not only heighten Lin Daiyu's awareness of the sensuous pleasures of spring (as in the phrase, "Here multiflorate splendor blooms forlorn") but also of the impermanence of all worldly phenomenon ("midst broken fountains, mouldering walls"). In a gesture that is quite characteristic of *Honglou meng*, she gains an illumination regarding the possibility of sensual pleasure but at the same time is infected with an anticipatory nostalgia for her own youth, whose loss in fact seems to begin from this moment.[13]

This nostalgia gains momentum as Li Yu's 李煜 (937-978) lyric to the tune of "Lang tao sha" 浪淘沙 and Cui Tu's 崔涂 (854-?) poem "Chun xi" 春夕 (*Spring Evening*) crowd Lin Daiyu's mind (忽又想起前日見古人詩中有「水流花謝兩無情」之句；再詞中又有「流水落花春去也，天上人間」之句).[14] It is significant that the poems that Lin Daiyu links to *Mudan ting* are in the nostalgic (*huai jiu* 懷舊) mode; her empathic response to the lines of "Youyuan jing meng" recalls other scenes of falling flowers and flowing water (落花流水) that remind her that she is a southerner far from home. These poems in turn remind her of the lines from *Xixiang*

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11 David Hawkes, *The Story of the Stone* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), vol. 1, p. 463.

12 Cao Xueqin, *Chongjiao bajia pingpi Honglou meng*, annot. Feng Qiyong, p. 492.

13 The citation of the lines from *Mudan ting* actually creates a palimpsest of allusions: *Mudan ting*'s "良辰美景奈何天，賞心樂事誰家院" draws upon the nostalgia for gatherings with companions now scattered in Xie Lingyun's 謝靈運 (385-433) line "天下良辰美景，賞心樂事，四者難並." In this sense, the lines from *Mudan ting* already contain within them the sense of a correlative world that has already been lost. See Xie Lingyun, *Ni Wei taizi Yezhong ji shi xu* 擬魏太子鄴中集詩序, in Lu Qinli 逯欽立, ed., *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nan Bei chao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 1181.

14 See Li Yu, "Lang tao sha" in *Li Yu cixuan* 李煜詞選, ed. Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖 (Hebei: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2009), p. 52, and Cui Tu, "Chun xi" in *Tang shi hui ping* 唐詩彙評, ed. Chen Bohai 陳伯海 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chu ban she, 1995), p. 2864.

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ji that began the scene, "花落水流紅，閒愁萬種." As the lines cluster (湊聚在一處), their accumulation produces an involuntary somatic response: her heart is moved and her spirit rushes forth as tears fall from her eyes (不覺心痛神馳，眼中落淚). Here the connection we noted earlier between literary text and sensual experience comes into play as Daiyu is ravished by the emotional sweep of the allusions that come to her mind, even as, in the temporality of performance, Du Liniang is ravished by Liu Mengmei 柳夢梅. This chain of allusive associations produces tears of almost hypothetical or anticipatory mourning for her own death, presaging her elegy for fallen flower petals at the end of Chapter 27. In anticipating and mourning her own death, Lin Daiyu creates the very structure of associative contagion that later readers, such as the girl of the *Er shi lu*, will enter.

Lin Daiyu ends slumped against a rock as the lyrics of *Mudan ting* overwhelm her, in direct reference to Du Liniang's love-making with Liu Mengmei in Scene 10 of *Mudan ting* (Daiyu's rock, of course, reminds us not only of the analogous rock in *Mudan ting*, but of the "stone" Baoyu himself). The ravishment Lin Daiyu experiences, however sensual, is a purely literary experience; she is overcome by the weight of the allusions, each burdened by its own topography. The text of the *Honglou meng* in this scene seems encyclopedic because it absorbs other texts and reproduces them in its own world. The falling petals described in the *Xixiang ji* fall upon the *Xixiang ji* itself. Lin Daiyu models a kind of reading born of that world and appropriate to it, a kind of reading in which the absorptive associations of literary predecessors are so totalizing that she is felled by the weight. It is the capacity to experience this literary contagion of affect that permits Lin Daiyu to possess an interiority that allows her to acquire a material incarnation beyond the pages of *Honglou meng*. Such arcs of association form the inspiration for the dramatic sequels of *Honglou meng*.

I would argue that we cannot understand the fascination of *Honglou meng* sequels with Daiyu as a character without considering this scene's reference to *Mudan ting*. The impassioned response to Du Liniang referenced in this scene made possible the response of generations of impassioned readers to Lin Daiyu, in an echo of the sympathetic call and response between text and its environs that we find in this scene itself. The sense that Lin Daiyu is possessed of an interiority that will exceed her fictional incarnation begins in this scene, at the moment when Lin Daiyu is felled by a chain of allusive association after overhearing a few lines from "Youyuan jingmeng." Her absorption as she follows a chain of literary allusions is what makes her seem (like the reader) to be defined by the capacity to experience the contagion of literary affect. Here we see how the anecdote of *Er shi lu* with which we began is prepared for in the *Honglou meng* itself. This scene both predicts and produces the cult of Lin Daiyu.

II. Dramatic Sequels

The tradition of over-identification with Lin Daiyu was established almost

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as soon as the Cheng-Gao 程高 edition of *Honglou meng* was published in 1791.[15] The earliest *Honglou meng* play, Zhong Zhenkui's 仲振奎 (1749-1811) *Zanghua* 葬花 (*Burying Flowers*) appeared in 1792, only one year after the Cheng-Gao edition of the novel, and four years before the first fictional sequel, Xiaoyaozi's 逍遙子 *Hou Honglou meng* 後紅樓夢.[16] A short play entitled *Zanghua* by another author, Kong Zhaoqian 孔昭虔 (1775-1835), was published in 1796, the same year as the first

[15] Although the preponderance of research on sequels to the novel has examined fictional sequels, dramatic sequels of *Honglou meng* in fact preceded fictional sequels and subsequently were published at a similar rate. Equal numbers of fictional and dramatic sequels were in print at the time of Wu Lanzheng's writing of *Jiang Heng Qiu* in 1805. Five fictional sequels were in print by 1805 (seven by 1814). The first fictional sequel, *Hou Honglou meng* 後紅樓夢 was published in 1796, two sequels appeared in 1799 (*Xu Honglou meng* 續紅樓夢 in 30 chapters and *Xu Honglou meng xinbian* 續紅樓夢新編 in 40 chapters), two more in 1805 (*Qilou chongmeng* 綺樓重夢 and *Honglou fu meng* 红樓復夢). See Martin Huang, ed., *Snakes' Legs*, *Sequels, Continuations, Rewritings, and Chinese Fiction* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), p. 35. In comparison, five *Honglou* dramas preceded Wu Lanzheng's play; Zhong Zhenkui's 仲振奎 *Zanghua* 葬花 of 1792, Kong Zhaoqian's 孔昭虔 *Zanghua* 葬花 of 1796, Zhong Zhenkui's 仲振奎 *Hongloumeng chuanqi* 紅樓夢傳奇 of 1798, Liu Xitang's 劉熙堂 *Youxian meng* 遊仙夢 of 1798 and Wan Rong'en's 萬榮恩 two plays *Xiaoxiang yan* 瀟湘怨 and *Yi hong le* 怡红樂 of 1803. Succeeding Wu Lanzheng's play were Xu Hongpan's 許鴻磐 *Sanchai meng beiqu* 三釵夢北曲 of 1806, Zhu Fengsen's 朱鳳森 *Shi'er chai chuanqi* 十二釵傳奇 of 1813, Wu Gao's 吳鎬 *Honglou meng san tao* 紅樓夢散套 of 1815, Shi Yunyu's 石韞玉 *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 of 1819 and Zhou Yi's 周宜 *Honglou jiahua* 紅樓佳話 of 1826 and Chen Zhonglin's 陳鐘麟 *Honglou meng chuanqi* 紅樓夢傳奇 of 1835. A Ying 阿英, in compiling the two volume *Hongloumeng xiqu ji* 紅樓夢戲曲集 of 1978, left out the second *Honglou* play of Wan Rong'en's as well as Yang Enshou's 楊恩壽 *Gui hua feng* 姽嫿封 because these plays covered events tangential to the original novel. See A Ying, *Hongloumeng xiqu ji*, p. 1. Xu Fuming lists several *Honglou* plays besides those not collected in A Ying's volume: Tan Guangyou's 譚光祐 *Honglou meng qu* 紅樓夢曲, Lin Yigou's 林奕構 *Hua Qiang* 畫薔, Yan Baoyong's 嚴保庸 *Honglou xinqu* 紅樓新曲, Feng Jishi's 封吉士 *Honglou meng nanqu* 紅樓夢南曲, Zhang Qi's 張琦 *Yuanyang jian* 鴛鴦劍, Liu Xitang's 劉熙堂 *Youxian meng* 遊仙夢 and the anonymous *Shi quan fu* 十全福. See Xu Fuming 徐扶明, *Honglou meng yu xiqu bijiao yanjiu* 紅樓夢與戲曲比較研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1984), p. 233. Shen Jing provides an overview of the *Honglou meng* dramas in "Attempts to Adapt the Novel *Honglou meng* as a Chuanqi Drama," *CHINOPERL PAPERS* no. 29 (2010): 1-44. See also Liu Fengling 劉鳳玲, "Lun Qingdai *Honglou* xi de gaibian moshi" 論清代紅樓夢戲的改編模式, *Zhongyang xiju xueyuan xuebao* 3 (2004): 63, and Hu Wenbin 胡文彬, *Honglou meng xulu* 紅樓夢敘錄 (Changchun: Jilin renmin, 1980), pp. 312-317.

[16] Regarding Zhong Zhenkui, see Lu Eting 陸萼庭, *Qingdai xiqu jia congkao* 清代戲曲家叢考 (Shanghai: Xuelin chuban she, 1995), p.193-195.

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fictional sequel to *Honglou meng*.[17] As the titles of dramatic sequels such as *Zanghua* and Wan Rong'en's 萬榮恩 *Xiaoxiang yuan* 瀟湘怨 (*The Resentment of Xiaoxiang*) suggest, the revivification of Lin Daiyu was a constant concern of the sequels.

Relieved of the burden of exposition by the widespread popularity of the Cheng-Gao edition, the dramatic sequels were free to engage in literary games. In Kong Zhaoqian's sequel of 1796, which, like Zhong Zhenkui's play of 1792, was entitled *Zanghua*, Lin Daiyu (played by the *xiao dan* 小旦 role type), enters with a flower basket and broom for sweeping flowers and immediately begins to speak in a pastiche of Tang verse (*jiju* 集句) of the sort used by the playwright Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550-1616) to cap each scene in *Mudan ting*. That a "sequel" such as *Zanghua* begins with such a literary game suggests that the entire text is a kind of "capping" game in itself. We could think of the activities of these dramatists in the context of the literary games that were played by connoisseurs of *Honglou meng*, such as drinking games and poetry contests. The dramatic sequels incorporate a similar kind of poetic production; for example, in the scene "Yuanhun" 園諢 of Chen Zhonglin's 陳鍾麟 *Honglou meng chuanqi* 紅樓夢傳奇 (1835), Daiyu, Baoyu and Baochai match poems taking Liu laolao as their theme, mimicking the practice among *Honglou meng* fans of matching poems on *Honglou* characters and topics.[18]

As the only female dramatist among these *Honglou meng* playwrights, Wu Lanzheng is the only one who could readily have been considered by her reading audience to be a latter-day incarnation of Lin Daiyu. Her adoption of the pen name Meng Xiang 夢湘 (Dreaming of the Xiang river), which references Daiyu's literary pseudonym, Xiaoxiang feizi 瀟湘妃子 and her place of residence, Xiaoxiang guan 瀟湘館, suggests that she did associate herself with Lin Daiyu. Wu Lanzheng's husband Yu Yongji further related that her earliest title for her collection of poems was *Huan fen ji* 緩焚集 (*Saved from Burning*), recalling the conflagration of Lin Daiyu's handkerchiefs, and that she later changed the title to *Xiang ling cao* 湘靈草 (*Drafts of the Spirit of the Xiang River*), clearly in homage to Daiyu :

> 每覓句輒倚欄宵分不寐，語不驚人輒焚去，其可留著錄之，自題其稿曰：《緩焚集》，後更爲《湘靈草》，以外號夢湘也。
>
> Whenever she was searching for phrases she would lean against the railing unable to sleep, and if she did not come up with lines that would startle, she would burn her poems; those that she would permit to be retained she would write down, and she entitled her drafts "Saved from Burning," afterward

[17] Zhong Zhenkui's *Zanghua* of 1792 is no longer extant; it is thought to have been incorporated into Zhong Zhenkui's 1798 *Honglou meng chuanqi*.

[18] Chen Zhonglin 陳鍾麟, *Honglou meng chuanqi* 紅樓夢傳奇, in A Ying 阿英, ed., *Honglou meng xiqu ji* 紅樓夢戲曲集, vol. 2, pp. 664-667. Wu Lanzheng's own collection contains poems on Baoyu, Baochai and Lin Daiyu. See Yu Yongji, ed., *Lingxiang ji*, 1.12b-16a. Also see Deng Dan 鄧丹, "Xin faxian de Wu Lanzheng 12 shou yong *Hong* shi" 新發現的吳蘭徵12首詠紅詩, in *Honglou meng xuekan* 1 (2008): 42-51.

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changing the title to “Drafts of the Spirit of the Xiang River.”[19]

Why did Wu Lanzheng associate herself with Lin Daiyu to this extent? The scholar Deng Dan 鄧丹 has argued that Wu Lanzheng's identification with Lin Daiyu stemmed from Wu Lanzheng’s own romantic history.[20] Both Wu Lanzheng and her husband Yu Yongji wrote of the story of their first meeting in great detail, Wu Lanzheng in a long note to her poem “Zhixing” 誌幸 (Record of my good fortune), and Yu Yongji in his 5000-character biography of Wu Lanzheng, “Shiren Wu Libao Xiangqian zhuan” 室人吳麗寶香倩傳 (Biography of my wife Wu Libao, literary name Xiangqian). In Wu Lanzheng's telling of the story, she was twelve years old, and walking with her sister and cousins to attend a temple festival near her home. Some wealthy youths spied the girls walking and behaved inappropriately. However, an old lady pointed out the youngest among these youths, who kept his eyes focused on the temple walls. His cloth robe was plain and unornamented, but his “brows and eyes were as if painted” 眉目如畫. Her elder sister asked his servant and found out that he was the eldest son of the Yu family, and suggested the match to her parents. Wu Lanzheng’s mother, who had been so concerned about finding a match for Lanzheng that she had grown ill, made some inquiries and found out that not only was the youth wise and honest, but he had a nickname, “Little Cheng the Third” (*Xiao Cheng San* 小程三), suggesting that the locals affectionately considered him to be like a younger brother of the Song philosopher Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107). Her father refused to allow the match, however, because Yu's family, once distinguished, had fallen into poverty.[21]

In Yu Yongji’s account, he mentions that Wu Lanzheng’s father intended to marry her off to a wealth man of Xin’an 新安, but she grew so ill in despair that she nearly died. She became gravely ill, “tossing on her bed, her frame so gaunt that her bones protruded, breathing raspily, so that it seemed as though it would be difficult for her to sustain life” 輾轉床席，形銷骨立，奄奄一息，殆複難支.[22] In the end, her father, admiring her resolve, allowed the marriage with Yu. Her brother-in-law Wan Rong’en (mentioned above as the author of the sequel *Xiaoxiang yuan*) noted in his postface to her drama *Jiang Heng Qiu* that she was able to “identify the talent of the age with a glance” 目識名流 and was “willing to abandon wealth and live happily in

19 Yu Yongji, “Shiren Wu Libao Xiangqian zhuan” 室人吳麗寶香倩傳, in *Lingxiang ji*, 3.12a. See Deng Dan, “San wei Qingdai nü ju zuojia shengping ziliao xinzheng” 三位清代女劇作家生平資料新證, *Zhongguo xiqu xueyuan xuebao* 28.3 (Aug. 2007): 51-56.

20 Deng Dan, “San wei Qingdai nü ju zuojia shengping ziliao xinzheng,” pp. 51-56.

21 Wu Lanzheng, “Zhixing,” in *Lingxiang ji*, 1.18b-19a. Wu Lanzheng also writes two poems about her romance under the title “Su huai” 訴懷. A third poem in this series describes her mourning for her mother. Wu Lanzheng, *Lingxiang ji,* 1.20a-1.20b.

22 Yu Yongji, “Xiangqian zhuan,” *Lingxiang ji*, 3.3b; see also Deng Dan, “San wei Qingdai nü ju zuojia shengping ziliao xinzheng,” p. 55.

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poverty" 辭富安貧.[23] As the scholar Deng Dan has suggested, he likely refers to this story.[24] Wu Lanzheng's own description of the romance concludes, "And so we can see that the rock of three incarnations (*san sheng shi* 三生石) is still amongst us," and ends with the touching thought that even though she and her husband were not wealthy, they enjoyed a special affinity, and so their story might encourage others.[25]

The title of Wu Lanzheng's first southern drama, *San sheng shi* 三生石 (*Rock of Three Incarnations*), echoes with her phrasing in the passage above. This play is no longer extant. According to her husband, the play attempted to inscribe their love story in dramatic form: Yu Yongji said he felt that several acts from this drama ("Fools for Love [*Zhong qing* 鍾情], "Preserving Aspirations" [*Shou zhi* 守志] and "Spring Returns" [*Hui chun* 回春]) were written in reference to their love story.[26] It is quite possible that, as the scholar Deng Dan argues, Wu Lanzheng's identification with Lin Daiyu stemmed in part from her own romantic history.

We should note, however, that in so thinking we may in part be influenced by her husband Yu Yongji's suggested comparisons between himself and Baoyu. As noted above, *Jiang Heng Qiu* was Wu Lanzheng's last work, and was unfinished at the time of her death. Her final scene in *Jiang Heng Qiu* was a long soliloquy by Daiyu as she lay lonely and on the verge of death entitled "*Ji yin*" 寄吟 (Entrusted to her poems). Daiyu's thoughts in this scene are entirely of Baochai; she sings of her gratitude toward Baochai for her sisterly affection. It is clear from the two scenes prior to this one, which dramatize the Lin Siniang 林四娘 story of Chapter 78 of the original novel, that Wu Lanzheng was not close to concluding the play.[27] Wu Lanzheng's husband composed two more scenes to "complete" the play before publishing it. The scenes composed by Yu Yongji feature a bereft Baoyu mourning Daiyu and searching for her in the underworld, and one could well assume that he intended it to be read as an exposition of grief for his departed wife. In creating this ending, Yu Yongji grafted upon the play a reference to the likeness between himself and Jia Baoyu.[28]

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[23] Wan Rong'en 萬榮恩, "Wu Xiangqian furen *Jiang Heng Qiu* chuanqi xu" 吳香倩夫人《絳蘅秋》傳奇序, in A Ying, ed., *Honglou meng xiqu ji*, p. 350-351.

[24] Deng Dan also speculates that it was because Wu Lanzheng had such an experience that she was able to describe Daiyu's emotions and state of mind in such moving detail in *Jiang Heng Qiu*. See Deng Dan, "San wei Qingdai nü ju zuojia shengping ziliao xinzheng," p. 55. Certainly it seems as though her husband Yu Yongji were suggesting as much.

[25] She adds that as the story of their love affair got around, people commemorated their love in poems. *Lingxiang ji*, 1.19b.

[26] Deng Dan, "San wei Qingdai nü ju zuojia shengping ziliao xinzheng," p. 53.

[27] These penultimate scenes concern a tangent, a dramatization of the Lin Siniang 林四娘 story in a play within a play, which oddly spans two acts without a break. The Lin Siniang story obliquely suggests Daiyu's death, as becomes apparent in the title of one of the scenes, "Lin xun" 林殉. See Xu Fuming, *Honglou meng yu xiqu bijiao yanjiu*, pp. 73-74.

[28] Yu Yongji follows the text of the original novel far more closely than does Wu Lanzheng. So it

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I would contend, however, that Wu Lanzheng offers an important historical example of a sympathetic relation with Lin Daiyu that is not entirely or perhaps even primarily based in romantic love. She enters the tradition of identification with Lin Daiyu as a romantic heroine, but also provides a corrective to it. As becomes apparent in *Jiang Heng Qiu*, her vision of Daiyu is not focused so much on Daiyu's feelings for Baoyu but rather Daiyu's semi-orphaned state. For this reason, she both inhabits the tradition of the notion of contagion of affect and writes against it. Her portrayal of Lin Daiyu offers an important counter-example to the tendency of contemporary scholars to focus on *qing* in its more sensual or romantic incarnations.

III. Written in Mourning: the *Lingxiang ji*

Reading the *Lingxiang ji*, we discover that Wu Lanzheng lost her own mother at the age of 15. Her mother was only 38.[29] The poem "*Guo jiushi shanzhuang deng Niushou shan huaigu*" 過舅氏山莊登牛首山懷古 (*Passing my uncle's mountain villa and ascending Ox-head Mountain*), a seemingly innocuous occasional poem, is followed by a note that blindsides us with her grief at the loss of her mother.[30] The long note to the poem becomes a biography of Wu Lanzheng's mother, lauding her wisdom and filiality, her kindness to the servants, the delicacy of her calligraphy and needlework. Wu Lanzheng attributes her mother's illness to the long and stressful process of begetting a son. Her mother, failing to produce a son, urged her father to take a concubine. When the concubine did not get pregnant, she urged him to take a second concubine; when the second concubine also did not produce a son, Wu's mother pressed him to take a third concubine, who finally gave birth to a son. Wu writes that perhaps because of her mother's long-term anxiety about producing an heir, her mother was always ill after this, and died before her half-brother was two years old. She continues:

> 母時年三十八，意欲即做三十八首，以歌而佐哭。乃成至十三首，實悲咽不能成字，慟倒者屢矣。姊力勸無過爲此摧殘心肝事，倘悲恨有不測。[31]

would not be quite correct to say that he imposes his own interpretation upon her play; rather, he goes back to the original novel and renders the scenes concerning Daiyu's death in dramatic form to provide a kind of closure.

29 The poem "*Mu bing*" 母病 (My mother's illness) describes her mother's final illness. Wu Lanzheng, "Mu bing," *Lingxiang ji*, 1.7b.

30 Wu Lanzheng, "Guo jiushi shanzhuang deng Niushou shan huaigu," *Lingxiang ji*, 1. 8b.

31 *Lingxiang ji*, 1.9a. The possible complexity of the situation is suggested in Yu Yongji's "Xiangqian zhuan," in which he writes that although Wu Lanzheng's mother urged her father to take a concubine, her father resisted, saying that Wu Lanzheng was as good as any son. Wu's mother then asked if she would be willing to give up her place as the favored child should a

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> My mother was 38 years old that year.[32] I had wanted to write 38 poems with which to keep my tears company. But I only composed 13 poems. Truly I was choked by grief and could not get the words out. I was felled repeatedly by my emotion. My sister forcefully urged me not to overdo, not to torture myself in that way. But still I was overcome with unfathomably deep feelings of grief.

In trying to write these 38 poems, one for each year of her mother's life, it is as though she were trying to invoke her mother's presence by re-incarnating her in text, but unable to bear the sensation of loss that follows. The poems she wrote for her mother follow. The third poem tells us that her mother lost her own mother when young.[33] Another poem observes that the clothes and shoes her mother brought with her in her trousseau were still fresh after having been folded in chests for twenty years.[34] A comment (*meipi* 眉批) notes that Wu Lanzheng's manner of exposition is quite indirect but also quite pointed (*shushu luoluo de xudian zhi fa* 疏疏落落得敘點之法) suggesting that the struggle for Wu Lanzheng in these pages is to restrain her own emotion as she writes of her mother.

The mourning for Wu Lanzheng's mother that suffuses Wu Lanzheng's own writing is framed in the *Lingxiang ji* by Yu Yongji's mourning for Wu Lanzheng herself. The title page of the *Lingxiang ji* is rather unusual in that it is so crowded with text. The note to the left of the page states that the collection was composed in mourning, adding that Wu Lanzheng (*Xiangqian* 香倩) never particularly cared to collect the drafts of her poems, and so they were scattered, presumably among friends and family. After her death her husband tried to collect her works and was only able to collect a few volumes. The inscription on the title page feels almost like a gesture of humility made by Yu Yongji on Wu Lanzheng's behalf; she herself never treasured these poems, and for that reason, they are all the more to be prized. At the same time, the inscription frames the collection as an act of mourning.



The collection feels haphazardly arranged, and this seems in part to have been Yu Yongji's intent, perhaps as a way of avoiding decisions about the relative importance of the various contributions he solicited. He writes in a note that the woodblocks for the poems in mourning for Wu Lanzheng were cut as the poems arrived, not in any particular order of importance. Perhaps for this reason, works of mourning alternate with Wu Lanzheng's own poems, which he was also in the process of gathering. The effect is to mourn her and

concubine produce an heir; Wu answered that of course she was willing. Yu Yongji, "Xiangqian zhuan," 2b.

32 Her mother was 37 years old by western count, 38 according to the traditional Chinese method of counting age.

33 *Lingxiang ji,* 1.10b.

34 *Lingxiang ji*, 1.11a.

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revive her, mourn her and revive her again. Her voice in the poems is immediate and fresh, creating the illusion of presence; in each section containing her poems, the reader establishes a connection with her, only to discover anew that she is gone as the reader encounters the requiems and poems in mourning that follow. In this sense, the structure of the collection repeatedly creates the experience of loss. But it also suggests the possibility of a future instantiation that succeeds loss.

We noted above that in *Honglou meng*, the petals described in the *Xixiang ji* fall upon the book itself; the book is simultaneously present as a world made incarnate in the immediate environs of the reader and as a bounded object between whose covers such a world is described. The *Lingxiang ji*, alternating as it does between the illusion of presence and grief at the loss of that presence, creates a similar structure of resonances. Grief succeeds the illusion of presence, but—contrary to the normal temporal experience of reading—the opposite is also true; Wu Lanzheng is revived after we mourn her. As the structure is replicated, the two modes of reading reverberate with each other. In the context of the collection's requiems and poems of mourning, reading Wu Lanzheng's own work becomes an act of nostalgia and even mourning. We as readers are tempted to revive Wu Lanzheng and to mourn her by entering the structure of association predicated by this alternation of her own works and the poems in mourning for her, only to find in her *Jiang Heng Qiu*—which fills the last volumes of the *Lingxiang ji*—that she has a conflicted relationship with the notions of contagion of affect and sympathetic association, precisely because they permit an over-indulgence of grief.

IV. "Orthodox *qing*" 情之正

In Yu Yongji's preface to *Jiang Heng Qiu*, he recounts a conversation with Wu Lanzheng in which she spoke of an aspiration to make transparent the "orthodox *qing*" (*qing zhi zheng* 情之正) that she felt adhered in the original *Honglou meng*. He had suggested that, given her capacity for vivid portrayal, she take a creative approach to her *Honglou meng* sequel; she rejected his advice, saying that she preferred to reveal what she considered to be its hidden meaning:

> 矧茲《紅樓夢》說部，作者眞有一種抑鬱不獲已之意，若隱若躍，以道佳公子淑女之幽懷，復出以貞靜幽嫻，而不失情之正。即寫人情世態，以及瑣碎諸事，均能刻劃摹擬，以爲司家政者之炯戒。雖消遣之作，而無傷名教，小說中亹然可觀者。余定其事，以傳其奇，庸何傷？
>
> How much more is this case with the novel *Hong lou meng*. The author truly had a meaning he could not capture fully, which was at times hidden and at times apparent, that he uses to describe the lovely boy and pure girls' hidden feelings; to reveal such feelings he uses chaste tranquility and hidden beauty, and does not lose sight of orthodox *qing*. So if one wants to write of love and the ways of the world, even of trivial scattered affairs, one can capture it all in

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> fine detail, and this can form an admonishment or warning to be used by the head of the family. Even if novels are only composed as a way to pass the time, we can always see that they do not harm the classical teachings. If I settle on these affairs, and relay their interesting points, how can it cause harm?[35]

As Wang Ayling 王瓊玲 has noted, sinologists have neglected a strain of thought regarding *qing* that is present even in the work of late Ming writers such as Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597-1679), whom we normally regard as interested in the aesthetics of casual pleasures: the notion that "orthodox *qing*" has the potential to sway morally and educate readers (*feng jiao* 風教).[36] Wu Lanzheng was perhaps influenced by her husband Yu Yongji, who was Yao Nai's 姚鼐 (1731-1815) disciple,[37] and so of the Tongcheng school 桐城文派. Perhaps because of the conservative influence of this tradition, Yu Yongji portrays Wu Lanzheng as having been quite careful in terms of the public circulation of her work. She had a long association with the famed poet and patron of women writers Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1760-1798); senior members of both her husband's family and her natal family claimed friendship with him. Yu Yongji wrote that his wife often asked him to forward her poems to Yuan Mei to receive his criticism.[38] When Yuan Mei printed the work of his female disciples as a collection in 1796, he wrote from Suzhou asking for Wu Lanzheng's poems. Surprisingly, she refused. Her husband wrote, "I had gathered them and was about to send them, but Xiangqian [Lanzheng] would not permit it and steadfastly refused. I asked her why, but she would not answer."[39] Perhaps because her father was a disciple of Yuan Mei's, she would have considered it improper to allow herself to be spoken of as a disciple; it would violate the proper distinctions among the generations.[40] In 1805, Wu Lanzheng

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35 Wu Lanzheng, *Jiang Heng Qiu*, in A Ying, ed., *Honglou meng xiqu ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju), 1978, p. 351.

36 Wang Ayling argues that with the works of Wang Siren 王思任 (1575-1646), Meng Chengshun 孟稱舜 (1594-1654), Zhang Dai and Zhuo Renyue 卓人月 (1608-1636) there is a turning to *li* 理 within the expression of *qing*. Her research, in delineating the interest in "orthodox *qing*" during the late Ming and first decades of the Qing, subverts the old canard that the valorization of pure passion during the late Ming was succeeded by a more repressive interest in orthodoxy as the Qing government took a firmer hold. Wang Ayling 王瓊玲, *Wan Ming Qing chu xiqu zhi shenmei gousi yu qi yishu chengxian* 晚明清初戲曲之審美構思與其藝術呈現 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu suo, 2005); see especially pp. 31-105.

37 Yao Nai wrote a preface for the *Lingxiang ji*.

38 Deng Dan, "San wei Qingdai nü ju zuojia shengping ziliao xinzheng," p. 55.

39 Ibid., p.55.

40 "Xiangqian zhuan," in *Lingxiang ji*, 3.12b. See also Deng Dan, "San wei Qingdai nü ju zuojia shengping ziliao xinzheng," p. 54. As Deng Dan has noted, studies of Yuan Mei's female disciples simply take his anthology as their frame of reference in documenting his activity as a mentor, but this example suggests that there were also female students too modest to enter their poems in the anthology.

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was seriously ill, and Yu prepared her poems for publication in the hope that it would encourage her health.[41] The remedy did not have the desired effect, and he was left to collect her poems after her death in 1806.[42]

Wu Lanzheng's interest in manifesting the potentially orthodox (正) quality of *Honglou meng*'s *qing* begins in Scene One with her introduction to the land of illusion (*taixu huanjing* 太虛幻境) and continues with her characterization of Daiyu. As the play progresses, however, a tension develops within "orthodox *qing*;" it is not univocal. Scene One minimizes the sprawling cast of characters in the original novel, featuring only the fairy Disenchantment's (*Jinghuan xiangu* 警幻仙姑) command of the land of illusion. Disenchantment sets the tone with a short speech that takes the considerable range of meanings of *qing* in the original novel and restricts it to a schematic summary of the original novel's concluding tension between Confucianism and Buddhism:

> 眼前之春月秋花，須臾一瞬；世上之恩山義海，關係三生。俺想情之爲義，忠孝廉節，百折不回，寂寞無處，一覽而盡。情裁以義，聖哲所以爲儒；情化於忘，空幻斯之謂佛。我仙人調停中立，毋過量，毋不及量。先後同揆，以此始，必以此終。
>
> The beautiful things of this world—the spring moon and autumn flowers—are over in the blink of an eye, whereas feelings of love (e*n* 恩) and loyalty (*yi* 義) are vast and unchanging as the mountains and seas, and affect our lives in past and present reincarnations. I believe that when *qing* is associated with *yi*, it is loyal, filial, honest, and chaste, and is unchanging. One cannot feel emptiness and nothingness, and one comprehends everything with one glance. When *qing* was understood in terms of *yi*, the sage philosophers took it to be Confucianism; when *qing* was transformed into oblivion, this empty illusion was called Buddhist. I, the fairy Disenchantment, act as an intermediary, taking a position between the two of them, going neither past the mark or touching it. One should measure one against the other, and take this as a principle. [43]

This speech is remarkable for its pedantic definition of Confucian and Buddhist notions of *qing*. The fairy claims to act as an intermediary, but far more space is devoted in this speech to defining *qing* in Confucian terms. A signal difference between the definition of *qing* here and in the original novel is that defining *qing* in terms of *en* and *yi* precludes thinking about *qing* in terms of passion or romance. The portrayal of the relation between Confucianism and *qing* is not well elaborated, and it seems more a statement of a position rather than an attempt to explore.

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41 Yu Yongji, "Xiang qian zhuan," in Yu Yongji, ed., *Lingxiang ji*, 3.12b.

42 After her death, Yu Yongji finished her play and collected her poems (in his own account, he relates that she had never prized them as a collection, and they were scattered among friends) so that her works could be published. He collected 220 poems under 132 titles, 16 song lyrics, and 10 miscellaneous poems, and then solicited poems of mourning from men who knew of her work. Deng Dan, "San wei Qingdai nü ju zuojia shengping ziliao xinzheng," p. 54.

43 Wu Lanzheng, *Jiang Heng Qiu*, p. 233.

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In Scene 4, "*Ku ci*" 哭祠 (Crying in the Ancestral Temple), however, the relation between *qing* and *yi* is shown to be far more complicated in practice. Wu Lanzheng makes a significant change to the plot of the original novel, so that Daiyu is absent in Chapter 3, which in other ways roughly follows the analogous chapter in the original novel. Instead, she is introduced to us in a long soliloquy in Scene 4. In this scene, Lin Daiyu is portrayed in her study at home in Yangzhou 揚州 prior to joining the Jia family 賈府. She asks her maid to prepare her brush and ink, so that she can copy from the *Four Books* (*Si shu* 四書).

> 這是四子書。你看上論，首章言學，第二章言孝弟，非孝弟無以成學，學字已包括倫常，而有子舉孝弟，言似夫子，信哉。
>
> These are the *Four Books*. If you look at the first half of the *Analects*, the first chapter describes study, the second chapter describes filial behavior to one's parents and elder brother; without such filial piety between brothers, one has nothing to realize one's learning; the word "learning" also includes the bonds of human relation, and when the master You[44] raised the topic of filial behavior with regard to one's parents and elder brother, his words were like those of Confucius the master; this is definitely the case.[45]

After singing of examples of filial piety, Daiyu leafs through poems by Wang Wei 王維 (？-761), Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) , and Li Bai 李白 (701-762) and copies them to prepare for chanting them later. As she copies them, however, she comes across one of the characters in her mother's name, and to respect the taboo on writing this character, writes only half of the character to resolve the problem. This uncompleted character, which perhaps recalls her mother's uncompleted life, leads to an expression of intense longing for her mother, in a set of arias that follow the exclamation, "How I miss my mother!" (*xiang muqin ya* 想母親呀). Daiyu puts her brushes and books away to make sacrifices in honor of her mother, but instead faints with emotion. Her father and tutor Jia Yucun hear her crying for her lost mother and rush to comfort her, saying that a girl who has studied the *Four Books* cannot be so unrestrained:

> （外）聞小女祠內哭亡過荊人，不免去解慰一番。（副淨）正是。女學生年輕，不可過慟。（外）那係別室，先生同行。（副淨）是。（作到介）呀呀！女兒哭暈了！（副淨）女學生怎麼恁樣？（外）丫嬛！（小旦扮二丫嬛上。外）我見，禮由情生，情以禮制，我兒以後，不須過哀。（副淨）女學生，貴體孱弱，切休如此。（貼）是。
>
> Lin Ruhai: I hear my young daughter making sacrifices and crying for my departed wife; I might as well go to comfort her.
>
> Jia Yucun: Just so. My female student is young, and should not permit herself

[44] You Ruo 有若 was a disciple of Confucius, whose speech supposedly had a quality similar to Confucius.

[45] Wu Lanzheng, *Jiang Heng Qiu*, p. 244. Also see Hua Wei's discussion of this scene in Hua Wei, *Ming Qing funü zhi xiqu chuangzuo yu piping* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu suo, 2001), pp.75-82.

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to be overly emotional.... Aiya! The girl has cried herself into a faint! How can a female student behave in this way!

Lin Ruhai: Servants! (Lesser female leads dressed as maids ascend the stage): As I see it, ritual arises from emotion, and one can use ritual to control emotion. My daughter, from this time, you shouldn't allow yourself to indulge in grief.

Jia Yucun: My female student's health is fragile; please do not allow yourself to mourn this way any longer.

Lin Daiyu: Yes.[46]

A grounding in the *Four Books*, then, is meant to provide a form of self-cultivation that will guard against an excess of emotion. This scene forms a background to Scene 12, "*Ci jing*" 詞警 (The lyrics enlighten), which re-envisions the section of Chapter 23 of *Honglou meng* that we discussed above. We remember that when Lin Daiyu of the original novel heard the lines from "Youyuan jing meng," the notion of happenstance, of these lines accidentally falling upon the ear, became a kind of doorway that allowed Lin Daiyu to enter the world of the lyrics and experience a chain of literary associations that produced an anticipatory mourning for her own future demise. Wu Lanzheng's latter-day Daiyu has a more considered response to *Mudan ting*. She pauses at the sensuality of the lyrics of "Youyuan jing meng" as she passes the Lixiang yuan, rather than succumbing to them as did the original Lin Daiyu. She savors the quality of the writing and evaluates the technical proficiency of the actress's rendition of *Mudan ting*:

（悶走介）呀，不覺已到梨香院了。呀，是何處笛聲？（內唱）原來是「姹紫嫣紅」二句。（貼聽介）何其感慨纏綿也。（又唱「良辰美景奈何天」二句，貼點頭）好文章何不一足也。（內又唱「只爲你如花美眷」一隻，貼不語介）好一個如花美眷，似水流年。

[Walks along in a subdued manner]: Ah, without realizing it I'm already at the Pear Fragrance Court. Ah, where is the sound of the flute coming from? Whose flute is that? [Singing from offstage] So it's the two lines about "deepest purple and brightest scarlet." [She listens.] How these lines resonate and linger. [They sing again, the two lines "Bright the morn, lovely the scene" and Daiyu bows her head.] Good writing does not get better than this. [Offstage, a voice sings the line: "With the flowering of your beauty...." Lin Daiyu is mute.] That was a good [rendition of] "With the flowering of your beauty, as the river of years rolls past."[47]

In the original novel, one has the sense that Daiyu, struck by the first time with the full force of the lines from *Mudan ting*, is ravished by them and so is left mute and felled. In Wu Lanzheng's play, Lin Daiyu discusses the quality of the writing and evaluates the technical proficiency of the actresses' rendition. The effect is to show that Daiyu

46 Wu Lanzheng, *Jiang Heng Qiu*, p. 246.

47 Wu Lanzheng, *Jiang Heng Qiu*, p. 280.

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responds with a kind of identification in which cognition—a kind of cognition that can forestall the contagion of affect—is foregrounded.

Wu Lanzheng has Lin Daiyu sing her own aria after hearing "Youyuan jingmeng," joining her voice to those singing off-stage, and capping "Youyuan jingmeng" with her own lyrics of transport. Wu Lanzheng's Daiyu submerges herself in the lyrics, succumbing like Lin Daiyu to nostalgia. However, she is more wary of the words of "Youyuan jing meng" than the original Daiyu; she foregoes associative allusive response of her own, in contrast to the original Daiyu's associations with Li Yu and Cui Tu. Wu Lanzheng's latter-day Daiyu remonstrates with the original: water flows without intention (this, of course, is an emotional topos of its own). Countless lyrics have told us that autumn follows spring; we were fully forewarned, so there is no need to be sentimental:

只爲這潺湲無意，年光到處流。不管六朝金粉，三月揚州。便千金何處，又想世上傷心斷腸的事，最是紅顏白頭。不堪回首，因此上代訴春復秋。指點兩悠悠，人間何處邱？贏得個萬種絲抽，春去驚幽。這香詞兒，怎便將人意投？

（作懶態介）奴家如醉如癡，不免到前面假山石上，坐地細味一回者。【尾聲】迴腸牽繫眉縐，也有甚如花消受。只恐把詞兒裏紅情，生拉向夢兒裏湊。（下）

All on account of this water that flows without intention,
The years flow who knows where.
Let's not speak of the gold-flecked beauties of the Six Dynasties[48]
Or spring in Yangzhou.[49]
Even if one had a thousand taels how could one use them?
When I think again upon the heartbreaking affairs of this world,
What is saddest is when a young beauty grows white-haired.
One can't bear to look back,
And so those in generations past have always mentioned autumn when they spoke of spring.
One could point anywhere on heaven and earth
Where will our graves be?
My myriad thoughts have been hard won[50]

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[48] Although the phrase "gold-flecked beauties of the Six Dynasties"六朝金粉 literally refers to beautiful women whose powder was flecked with gold, the phrase was used after the Yuan to describe places of luxury and beauty, sometimes referring to Nanjing.

[49] Li Bai writes of spring in Yangzhou 三月揚州 in his poem *Seeing Meng Haoran Off for Guangling at Yellow Crane Tower* 黃鶴樓送孟浩然之廣陵：「故人西辭黃鶴樓，煙花三月下揚州。孤帆遠影碧空盡，惟見長江天際流。」See Li Bai 李白, *Li Bai ji jiao zhu* 李白集校注, eds. Qu Tuiyuan 瞿蛻園 and Zhu Jincheng 朱金城, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1980), p. 935.

[50] Wu Lanzheng uses the characters "si chou" 絲抽 in the phrase "ying de ge wan zhong si chou"

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After spring passes one is awakened from the dream
　　of its elegant tranquillity
These fragrant words,
How is it that the lyrics enter my heart? [51]
[She makes a languid gesture]: I feel as though drunk, as though stupefied; I might as well go to that artificial rock in front, and sit there and savor this for awhile.
Coda: The sound entangles my heart and furrows my brows.
It will, like a flower, fade in an instant.
I'm just afraid that I will take the passions of spring in these lyrics
And drag them into my dreams. [Exits] .

Wu Lanzheng allows Daiyu to hesitate as she prepares the character to leave the stage. Despite the extended effusion of cautionary words, the coda ends with the sense that the lyrics of *Mudan ting* will eventually prevail: "I'm just afraid that I will take the passions of spring in these lyrics and drag them into my dreams" 只恐把詞兒裏紅情，生拉向夢兒裏湊. Wu Lanzheng's Daiyu would prefer not to be susceptible to these lyrics, but fears that she does not have the power to withstand them.

Wu Lanzheng's sequel to *Honglou meng* warns against the entire mode of sympathetic association on which all readings of *Honglou meng* depend. If the water is not callous in flowing without intention, then there is no possibility of entering the lived reality of the book or allowing its characters to live beyond the confines of its cover. Wu Lanzheng warns us against reading as an act of sympathy. It is not simply that such reading is a sensuous act, as it was for the young girl who expired before she could ever finish *Honglou meng*. Rather, if we are truly to take the opportunity afforded us by the line "After spring passes one is awakened from the dream of its elegant tranquillity" 春去驚幽 to attain the kind of awareness that *Honglou meng* initially promises us, then we must avoid becoming entangled in the fragrance of the lyrics and the possibility of creating allusive homologies.

Wu Lanzheng's re-envisioning of Lin Daiyu is important in that she is concerned to re-define the *qing* of *Honglou meng* in terms of *qing zhi zheng*, desiring to show that *qing* is not simply romantic love and that it should not be allowed to flourish to excess. She warns against the contagion of affect, showing us that *qing zhi zheng* offers a way of controlling grief. If, over the last decades, sinologists have over-emphasized the sensual aspects of *qing*, and romanticized such young female readers as the one with which we began, Wu Lanzheng offers us a corrective. *Qing zhi zheng* need not be seen as pedantic; it is a way of tempering the excess of emotion that ensues from Lin Daiyu's loss.

贏得個萬種絲抽 (My myriad thoughts have been hard won). "Chou si" 抽思 is the title of one of the *Jiu zhang* 九章 of the *Chuci* 楚辭. Zhu Xi, ed., *Chuci jizhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), pp. 83- 86.

51 Wu Lanzheng, *Jiang Heng Qiu*, p. 280.

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Conclusion

Lin Daiyu's experience of *Mudan ting* is characterized by nostalgia that quickly slides into anticipatory mourning. Her nostalgia strives to create an illusion of presence (perhaps indeed to create a notion of presence so abstracted that it can no longer be considered illusory). It is for this reason that happenstance is so important in creating portals through which a more complicated structure of reference can be realized, as in the moment when the falling petals described in the *Xixiang ji* fall upon the *Xixiang ji* itself. The world of the book suddenly expands to envelop the reader; its structure of reference momentarily describing the reader's world, even as the book remains a bounded material object in the reader's hands.

The structure of the *Lingxiang ji*, in alternating between Wu Lanzheng's poems and poems in mourning for her, permits a similarly complex structure of reference to take shape. As we re-encounter Wu Lanzheng's own works after reading the works in mourning for her, the experience of coming across her work by happenstance opens just such a portal as that described above, such that the reader is suddenly both within and without the world of the book, and the temporality of reference becomes anticipatory as well as descriptive of a presumed past. The poems written by Wu Lanzheng invite us into the world she describes; the poems written in mourning for her ask us to share Yu Yongji's grief. The anecdote from the *Er shi lu* suggested that *Honglou meng*, as a magical book of illusion, had the capacity to make readers so deeply associate with Lin Daiyu they would die of a fatal contagion of emotion. The structure of the *Lingxiang ji*, by contrast, follows Wu Lanzheng's own envisioning of "qing zhi zheng" in *Jiang Heng Qiu*, creating a means by which the reader can modulate attachment to the text by alternating between works by Wu Lanzheng and works in mourning for her.

We began with the question of how literary reference might be anticipatory, that is, how it might describe an as yet unrealized instantiation of the presences described of the world of the book. This is a structure of reference particularly suited to *Honglou meng.* In closing, I would like to ask whether *Honglou meng's* particularly complex structures of literary reference and history of reception could open a way of thinking about the conception of literary reference that underlies biographical criticism. Biographical criticism has been given short shrift in academic literary criticism in recent years, perhaps in part because underlying notions of reference have been thought to be naïve or problematic. If we were to use *Honglou meng* as a point of departure for thinking about biographical criticism, we might produce a more complex notion of referentiality, such as that which underlies the anticipatory nostalgia invoked by *Honglou meng*.

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吳蘭徵之《絳蘅秋》

袁書菲

加州大學柏克萊分校東亞語言文化學系暨比較文學系副教授

吳蘭徵的《絳蘅秋》是唯一一部由女性作家書寫的《紅樓夢》續集。在吳蘭徵三十歲逝世時，該劇並沒有完成。她的丈夫俞用濟（字遙帆）將該劇編入《零香集》，該集包含有吳蘭徵的悼念詩、祭文、俞用濟和朋友書寫的吳的傳記，並且將其出版。吳蘭徵的筆名明確地證實了她將自己視爲後來的林黛玉。在這篇文章中，我將探討《紅樓夢》以何種方式參與進後來林黛玉形象的化身過程。我將提出吳蘭徵在《絳蘅秋》中對林黛玉的描述如何以作者自比黛玉的身份被解讀，以及提出她的寫作是反對「感情傳遞」這種典型《紅樓夢》女性讀者性格，而且以另一種「情之正」來控制悲痛的觀點。最後，我認爲《紅樓夢》創造了一種參與指涉。以《零香集》爲背景閱讀《絳蘅秋》，我們看到文學指涉是如何具有參與性的，即文學指涉將如何描述一個尚未被意識到的，在書中世界被勾畫的存在實例。

關鍵字：吳蘭徵　《絳蘅秋》　《紅樓夢》戲曲　《紅樓夢》續書　情之正

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Wu Lanzheng's *Jiang Heng Qiu*

Sophie Volpp

Associate Professor, Departments of East Asian Languages and Cultures and Comparative Literature, University of California at Berkeley

Wu Lanzheng's (1776-1806) *Jiang Heng Qiu* is the only dramatic sequel to *Honglou meng* (*Story of the Stone*) to have been written by a woman. Unfinished at the time of Wu Lanzheng's death at the age of 30, the play was published by her husband Yu Yongji soon afterward, in a collection entitled the *Lingxiang ji* (*Collection of Fallen Petals* [or *Scattered Fragrance*]) that included poems of mourning for Wu Lanzheng as well as requiems (*jiwen*) and biographies written by Yu and his friends. Wu Lanzheng's literary pseudonyms clearly testify that she envisioned herself as a latter-day Lin Daiyu. In this essay, I examine the ways in which *Honglou meng* anticipates such later incarnations of Lin Daiyu. I ask how Wu Lanzheng's depiction of Lin Daiyu in *Jiang Heng Qiu* can be read in the context of her own identification with Daiyu, and argue that she writes against the notion of affective contagion that typically characterizes female readers of *Honglou meng*, envisioning as an alternative an orthodox *qing* (*qing zhi zheng*) that helps to modulate grief. Finally, I suggest that *Honglou meng* creates an anticipatory referentiality. Reading *Jiang Heng Qiu* in the context of the *Lingxiang ji*, we see how literary reference might be anticipatory, that is, how it might describe an as yet unrealized instantiation of the presences described in the world of the book.

Keywords: Wu Lanzheng *Jiang Heng Qiu* *Honglou meng* sequels *Honglou meng* drama orthodox *qing*

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