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# The Significance of the Zhang Henshui Revival

KING-FAI TAM

Repeatedly during my research trips to Shanghai and Beijing in 1986 and 1987, scholars took great delight in telling me the following two stories about Zhang Henshui (1895-1967), the famous popular fiction writer.

The first story presumably took place some time during Zhang Henshui's stay in Nanjing from 1936 to 1937. Japanese aggression against China had become quite overt at the time, and the invasion force sought to consolidate its military conquest in China by cultivating the goodwill of her cultural celebrities. Zhang's popularity made him a prime target of this policy. The person given the responsibility of winning Zhang Henshui to the Japanese side was none other than Doihara Kenji (1883-1948), reportedly the mastermind behind the abduction of Pu I to Manchuria in 1931 to head the puppet government of Manchukuo. Doihara first pretended to be an avid reader of Zhang Henshui's works and declared that he hoped to have the honor of meeting face to face with his favorite author. Divining the real reason behind this sudden show of friendship from a Japanese militarist, Zhang went to extreme lengths to avoid meeting Doihara. Not a bit discouraged, Doihara then asked through a third person to have two autographed novels from Zhang Henshui. Zhang realized that he would have to take stronger measures to bring this unsolicited association to an end, and, at the same time, he saw an opportunity to make his feelings known. A package containing two books were then sent to Doihara, who, upon opening the package, found that Zhang had sent him two of the most anti-Japanese novels he had written. One was the famous *Wangong ji* (*Stretching the Bow*), the title of which suggests the expression "*wangong sheri*" (literally, stretching the bow to shoot down the sun — the Japanese), and which

Zhang had composed in a fit of creative fervor over the Mukden Incident. How Doihara reacted to this undisguised demonstration of hatred of the Japanese is not reported, but one can assume that he left Zhang Henshui alone after that.

The second story involves an even more well-known historical figure. Six and seven years later, Zhang was working for *Xinmin Bao*, a newspaper in Chongqing, writing essays and novels about the corrupt wartime government. *Bashiyi meng* (*Eighty-one Dreams*), a series of satirical short stories, was particularly scathing in its attacks. This time, he became the target of Communist propaganda. Although not a communist, Zhang had shown sympathy for the Communist course over the years. On a certain night in the fall of 1942, Zhang was invited to an evening gathering at the home of Chen Mingde, a colleague at *Xinmin bao*. Also present was Zhou Enlai who, as a guest of the newspaper, had come to discuss with the newspaper staff the state of the country at war. Turning to Zhang Henshui, Zhou delivered the following remarks, now frequently quoted: "In our struggle against the backwardness of society, we can launch a frontal attack or a lateral attack. I think that using the novel as a tool to expose the dark side of society is in itself a very good way of attacking laterally, because it avoids having empty spaces left in newspapers when the censors decide at the last minute to take out things that they don't like, the way they do with unacceptable news reports. Has Mr. Zhang's *Bashiyi meng* not alerted us to the corrupt rule of the Chongqing government?" From that time on, Zhang's relationship with the Communist Party became closer and closer, and the Communist leaders saw to it that he was presented from time to time with dates and rice harvested in Yanan.

Putting aside the veracity of these two stories,<sup>1</sup> their circulation betrays a lingering sense of uneasiness among scholars in China who study Zhang Henshui. The points of the two stories are obvious: the first underscores Zhang's patriotism and the second establishes his correct political affiliation. They are products of the rhetoric of the defensive, whereby Zhang's position in Chinese literary history is not secured solely by his literary accomplishments but has to be buttressed by his ideological stance. The study of Zhang Henshui is being carried out, as it were, with a false consciousness.

Although these two stories have come into circulation only in the nineteen eighties, they are more representative of the first vintage of Zhang Henshui

scholarship, characterized by the amassing of anecdotes about Zhang and his associates. In many cases, these anecdotes are pure fabrications, and, though amusing, are informative only insofar as they shed light on the forms in which curiosity about popular figures is expressed. Apocryphal stories are told, for example, about Zhang's remarkable ability to play mahjong and write the latest episode of a serialized novel simultaneously, with the messenger from the newspaper waiting at the mahjong table for Zhang to finish so that he could rush straight to the typesetting room. His unrequited love for the famous writer Xie Bingxin is the gist of another story, which serves to explain his pseudonym, Henshui (literally, "hate water"), as an expression of his spitefulness towards the unresponsive Xie Bingxin (literally, "icy heart").<sup>2</sup> Scattered among periodicals, such as *Chunqiu*, *Daren*, and the leisure pages of various newspapers, a sampling of these anecdotes can now be conveniently found in two research sources: *Zhang Henshui ziliaoji* (*Materials on Zhang Henshui*) and *Zhang Henshui zhuanji ji qita* (*Biographical Materials on Zhang Henshui and Miscellaneous Writings*),<sup>3</sup> both of which also contain information more credible than the stories mentioned above.

Fortunately, thanks to a number of publications which have come out in the last ten years, facts about Zhang's life have now been more or less set straight. Zhang Henshui's real name was Zhang Xinyuan. Because his father, a minor official, had to move from place to place as his assignment dictated, much of Zhang's childhood was spent on the road and his education was frequently interrupted. His interest in novels was initiated on a boat trip to Nanchang for his father's new assignment, where he inadvertently came across a copy of *Cantang yanyi* (*The Romance of Late Tang*) in the cabin of the boat. His formal education, such as it was, consisted of attending traditional clan schools and, later, western-style schools with modern curricula. When he reached seventeen, he intended to go to England for further studies, but the plan was aborted by the sudden death of his father in the same year.

Zhang began to try his hand at writing novels the following year and, from that time on, devoted his life to this literary pursuit. However, as a novelist's income was undependable, Zhang, like most writers of his times, relied for his livelihood on his income as a journalist, though this could be a considerable drain on his creative energy at times. Nevertheless, he soon gained a reputation as a novelist based on his early works, most of which

are dramatizations of current events and famous personages. His style changed a number of times in his life — from love stories, to war stories, and finally to historical stories.

Zhang's mature years were spent in three cities. As a budding novelist and journalist, he lived in Beijing, seeking inspiration from the lives of celebrities in this cultural center. In 1936, after a brief stay in Shanghai, he discovered that he had been blacklisted by the Japanese in Beijing. Unable to return to Beijing, he moved to Nanjing and started a newspaper, *Nanjing Renbao*, which had an impressive circulation of 15,000. (See Illustration 1.) With the occupation of the city by the Japanese in 1937, Zhang had to close the newspaper. By a circuitous route he reached Chongqing, the seat of the wartime government. Now more aware than ever of the magnitude of the national crisis, he continued to speak critically of the corrupt government in his capacity as a journalist at the *Xinmin bao*. At one point, he was approached by a government agent who threatened him with imprisonment at Xifeng, the notorious prison for political offenders, if he kept up his anti-government attacks.

The end of the war saw Zhang returning to Beijing, where he served as the editor of the Beijing edition of *Xinmin bao*, until his resignation in 1948. He suffered a stroke in 1950, which prevented him from attending a meeting of writers that eventually gave birth to the National League of Writers (Quanguo wenlian). Slowly recovering, he managed to resume writing, and published a number of novels before he died in 1967.

The most notable source of information about Zhang's life is of course the book *Xiezuozhengya huiyi (Memories of a Life of Writing)*, titled after the main essay of the volume, written by Zhang in 1949.<sup>4</sup> In addition to a number of essays, the book contains a table of Zhang's major works compiled by his sons: Zhang Xiaoshui, Zhang Ershui and Zhang Wu. Zhang Mingming, Zhang Henshui's daughter, published on her own a memoir about her father, *Huiyi wo di fuqin Zhang Henshui (In Memory of My Father, Zhang Henshui)*,<sup>5</sup> which focuses on Zhang's later life, and, as the intimate title suggests, provides a glimpse into Zhang's family life. Hsiao-wei Wang Rupprecht is the first scholar to have made extensive use of available materials to reconstruct Zhang's life. In the first part of her dissertation on Zhang Henshui,<sup>6</sup> she details Zhang's development, bringing in information obtained through personal communications with Zhang's descendants when public sources prove inadequate. The most systematic treatment of

1. This is an advertisement for the literary wares of the Xinzhi Bookstore that appeared in several major newspapers in August of 1939. Zhang Henshui is the major attraction and his name is in the column of extra-large typesize: "The stories of Zhang Henshui." Other authors like Ba Jin and Zhang Ziping, who are considered more important today, are appended to the remainder of the advertisement, in smaller type.

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Zhang's activities, however, is found in "Chronology of the Life of Zhang Henshui" in *Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao* (*Research Materials on Zhang Henshui*), compiled by Wei Shouzhong and Zhang Zhanguo.<sup>7</sup> Their painstaking research has yielded a year-by-year chronology that provides easy reference for researchers.

There is always a danger, however, of allowing the meticulous attention one gives to an author's life to spill over into one's study of his literary works. As is evident in the early serious attempts to study Zhang Henshui's works rather than his life, there is a great temptation to take his fictional characters as thinly disguised journalistic portraits, a reading strategy that is no doubt encouraged by Zhang's lifelong career as a journalist and his occasional remarks about the close relationship between his fictional works and the contemporary events. For example, Zhang openly admits that the wealthy clan in "A Tour of Heaven," one of the stories in *Bashiyi meng*, is based on the family of Kung Xiangxi, who, as the Minister of Finance in the wartime KMT government, brought havoc to the unstable economy.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the practice of approaching Zhang's repertoire as thinly disguised

real events was encouraged, if not established, by Zhang himself. Hou Rongsheng demonstrates what can be achieved by this method of reading. In a 1973 article,<sup>9</sup> she identifies the real-life individuals on whom a number of characters in *Chunming waishi* (*The Unofficial History of Beijing*) and *Sirenji* (*This Man*) are based. While the true identities of these fictional characters may appear irrelevant to the modern reader's appreciation of the novels, earlier readers found that the knowledge of the correspondence between reality and fiction enhanced their reading pleasure.

In the nineteen eighties, as the study of Zhang Henshui in the West emerged from the simplistic biographical approach common in earlier decades, it has apparently benefited from the proliferation of modern literary methodologies. Perry Link, in a chapter of *Mandarin Duck and Butterfly*,<sup>10</sup> discusses at great length the cultural implications of the romantic triangle in *Tixiao yin yuan* (*Fate in Tears and Laughter*), and supplements his close reading of the text with a profusion of sociological data about readers, book markets and publishing. Hsiao-wei Wang Rupprecht, on the other hand, represents a combination of literary approaches. In her *Departure and Return*, she first periodizes Zhang's career and then examines seven of his representative works, applying extensively Andrew Plaks' model of complementary bipolarity and multiple periodicity. Rey Chow's dissertation, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Towards a Rewriting of Modern Chinese Literary History* (Stanford, 1986) also contains sections on Zhang Henshui, where she argues that the narrative model one finds in the so-called Mandarin Duck and Butterfly school can be described as the "feminization" of the otherwise predominantly masculine Confucian tradition.

In mainland China, scholarly efforts are now focused on the compilation of research materials and the explication of individual texts. Often categorized as a Mandarin Duck and Butterfly writer, Zhang Henshui is included in Wei Shaochang's *Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao* (*Research Materials on the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School*) and Fan Boqun et al., *Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue ziliao* (*Materials on the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School of Literature*).<sup>11</sup> Apart from short biographies of Zhang Henshui, these two titles offer samples of Zhang Henshui's writings together with several critical articles on his novels. *Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao*, mentioned above, stands out in this category of scholarship in that it is wholly devoted to the study of Zhang Henshui. Matching in usefulness the chronology of Zhang's life is the chronology of his works, which lists poems and essays as well as

novels. Each entry gives the title of a work, and the date and place it was published. Although the list is far from exhaustive and is marred by occasional misprints, it is indisputably the most complete record of Zhang's works available.

Unlike these compilations, which provide in single volumes the basic data about Zhang Henshui, critical analyses of his works are difficult to locate in the Chinese literature. However, the present state of confusion may soon be corrected, thanks to the preliminary steps taken by the organizers of the Anhui Conference on Zhang Henshui (October 1988) towards the establishment of a Zhang Henshui archive in Zhang's ancestral home, Qianshan, Anhui. A landmark in the study of Zhang Henshui, the conference attracted Zhang Henshui scholars in China as well as the United States. Some forty papers were distributed for discussion at the conference. Apart from close readings of individual texts, a wide variety of broader issues were raised, including such questions as the domain of "*xiandai wenxue* (modern literature)" and "*tongsu wenxue* (popular literature)," and Zhang's position in the history of Chinese literature. All these questions betray, I believe, the anxiety felt by scholars regarding the legitimacy of studying Zhang Henshui, a matter that I raised earlier.

The conference roughly coincided with the publication of two new books on Zhang Henshui: *Xianhua Zhang Henshui (Casual Notes on Zhang Henshui)* by Xu Chuanli and Dong Kangcheng (Anhui: Huangshan, 1987) and *Zhang Henshui pingzhuan (A Critical Biography of Zhang Henshui)* by Yuan Jin (Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 1988). As the clearly worded titles suggest, the first book collects in one volume essays about various aspects of Zhang Henshui's life and art written by the two authors, while the second book, the only full-length treatise in Chinese about Zhang Henshui to date, combines critical examination of Zhang's works with a detailed account of his life and times. The conference itself will also contribute to the growing literature about Zhang Henshui since Anhui Wenyi Chubanshe, which has previously issued reprints of Zhang's novels, has agreed to publish the conference proceedings. To my knowledge, this will be the first collection of essays devoted specifically to Zhang Henshui.

Ironically, when it comes to systematic analysis of the novels, Zhang's very popularity presents the first road-block. The question of editions of Zhang Henshui's novels, while in no way comparable to the complicated arguments surrounding the multiple rescensions of some traditional works

of fiction, is nevertheless baffling enough for a writer of so recent a period. Zhang wrote so much during his lifetime that apparently even he could not keep count of all his works. The announcement of the Qianshan Conference estimates that Zhang published from twenty to thirty million characters in his lifetime. Assuming that he started writing the day he was born, this works out to an average of 750 to 1,100 characters a day. Another way of measuring his prolific output is to count the number of his works, which turns out to be more complicated than it sounds. Rupprecht counts 48 novels in book form,<sup>12</sup> while a list compiled by Zhang's children totals 93 novels, and 2 volumes of prose essays.<sup>13</sup> If one includes works which appeared only in serialization in newspapers, the number can easily exceed 120 titles. The most reliable source on this question is the article "Xiezuo shengya huiyi," which Zhang wrote in 1949. While it provides a considerable amount of detailed autobiographical information, "Xiezuo" is nevertheless far from clear when it comes to the question of Zhang's total literary output. Enumerations of works produced are often accompanied by noncommittal qualifications, such as "some of the books I wrote in that period are . . ." or "as I remember . . .," which, instead of settling questions, only engender more.

Zhang's uncertainty as to the number of books he was responsible for contrasts strikingly with the determination of others to capitalize on his reputation. The division of China into different spheres of jurisdiction provided book-pirates with an added protection from lawsuits concerning copyright violations. And, especially in the northeastern provinces, where Chinese law carried little weight even before the onset of full-fledged Japanese aggression, forgeries of Zhang's works proliferated. Even to this day, libraries in Dalian are reported to have in their possession the largest number of forgeries of Zhang Henshui's novels in the world. *Nuehai chenyuan* (*Injustice Forgotten in the Sea of Sin*) which can be found in the Gest Library, but does not appear in any of the reliable sources about Zhang's repertoire (including the lists compiled by Zhang himself, Zhang Mingming, Zhang Wu and others), most probably is a forgery. While the issue can only be settled by deeper research, the stylistic and dramatic crudities of the book, which are a far cry from the sophistication one expects to find in Zhang Henshui, also seem to corroborate this speculation. (See Illustration 2.)

More difficult to identify than the wholesale forgeries are books that misappropriate portions of Zhang's writings. Some of these appear in the form



2. This is the cover illustration to a “Zhang Henshui” novel, *Nuehai chenyuan*, the edition of which is in the Gest Library collection. But despite Zhang’s name, it is most likely a forgery.

of unauthorized revisions of his novels, where, for example, the original main story line is preserved, but characters are added or deleted at the whim of the forgers. This disregard for the integrity of the texts caused so much confusion during Zhang's lifetime that he was forced on a number of occasions to publish books for the sheer purpose of forcing these unauthorized editions off the market. One recalls the publication of the sequel to *Tixiao yinyuan* in this connection. For a long time, Zhang resisted entreaties from his readers to provide in a sequel a happy ending for the characters of *Tixiao yinyuan*, on the grounds that the open-ended conclusion of *Ti* was a true reflection of life, where things are seldom brought to a satisfying end. In 1933, however, after learning that others had seized the opportunity to publish their own sequels to *Ti* in his name, Zhang grudgingly complied with his readers' requests.<sup>14</sup> As it turns out, the sequel to *Ti* is one of the most contrived stories that Zhang ever wrote. Incidentally, it ends with the death of all but the two major characters, thus precluding any possibility of yet another sequel.

Readers of today may skirt the danger of confusing a forgery with an authentic work by relying on recent reprints of Zhang Henshui's novels. Not only have these reprints been verified as genuine by Zhang Henshui, they are often accompanied by critical prefatory materials written by modern scholars. The most ambitious publisher in this task is Anhui Wenyi Chubanshe, whose *Zhang Henshui xuanji* (*Selected Works of Zhang Henshui*) is a series, including eight volumes as of November 1987; it contains some of the best-known novels by Zhang. Zhang Yuluan's essay "Zhanghui-xiaoshuo dajia Zhang Henshui" (Zhang Henshui, the Master of Linked-Chapter Novels), which prefaces the reprint of *Chunming waishi*, is one of the most insightful overviews of Zhang's career as a novelist.

Despite the convenience of using new reprints, the reader must be forewarned of two possible pitfalls. First, there is in the new reprints a general over-representation of works originally published in the thirties and forties. Although, by scholarly consensus, these years coincide with the most productive and mature period of Zhang's life, readers seeking a complete understanding of Zhang's literary career cannot afford to lose sight of his earlier and later creations. Second, one must bear in mind that these modern editions represent only the last stage of what can be called a long process of evolution of the texts. However useful the modern prefaces are, they should not take the place of older ones, which unfortunately are often left out in

the new reprints. The Gest Library copy of an old edition of *Tixiao yinyuan* (n.p.: Wenyi, December 1930) is prefaced by two pages of poems by Li Haoran that the editors of many later reprints see no harm in leaving out. There are other unexpected minor inconveniences, such as the use of simplified characters, which, at least in one case, neutralizes the symbolism of a highly symbolic name.<sup>15</sup>

The study of Zhang Henshui is in its beginning stage. While facts about Zhang Henshui's works are admittedly baffling, secondary literature about him has not proliferated to such an extent that it has become unmanageable for researchers or libraries. The collection of Zhang Henshui material at the Gest Library, which surpasses any major research library in the West, makes it the best place to study Zhang Henshui. It holds more than fifty titles of novels, of which at least forty were published with Zhang's knowledge and acquiescence. The others are new reprints, which the Library continues to acquire. Users of the Gest Library will also find all existing scholarship on Zhang Henshui. Like other libraries, however, holdings of newspapers and journals that carry Zhang's writings are far from satisfactory. Fortunately, there is reason to believe that such a shortcoming can be soon corrected. The Beijing Municipal Library is at present reproducing a sizeable portion of its unrivaled collection of Chinese newspapers in microfilm and photo-facsimile. As soon as these reproductions are available on the market, the Gest Library will have the option of further strengthening its impressive collection.

What is one to do about that lingering sense of uneasiness evident in the current study of Zhang Henshui? What can be added to existing scholarship?

In many respects, the Zhang Henshui revival in recent years has come as a surprise. One would have expected that years of dominance of modern Western-inspired literature in the critical circles would once and for all have relegated writers such as Zhang Henshui to oblivion. However, our interest in alternative literary traditions seems too deeply ingrained to be totally uprooted by an artificially established taste, brought about in this case by a series of movements that are often literary in name but political in nature.<sup>16</sup> With the relaxation of ideological control in China, it has now become possible as well as profitable to reprint reading matter that had previously fallen into disfavor. And Zhang Henshui, the perennial popular author, has become once again a much sought-after writer in the book market.

This is where the sense of uneasiness originates: Zhang Henshui scholars are embarrassed to be on the side of popularity when it is pitted against respectability. The two can be reconciled, for example, by making the popular respectable. In the study of literature, such an effort may call for an ingenious story or two about the author. At times, it may involve the elevation of ignored texts to the position of classics (what Rey Chow calls “restorative appropriation”),<sup>17</sup> thus opening the door of the hall of fame to admit new members. In the case of Zhang Henshui, however, it becomes more and more evident that the introduction of new data necessitates an adjustment of our approach, so that not only does the subject, but also the perspective, have to change. In other words, one may be able to break new ground by putting Zhang Henshui in a new critical context.

Several possibilities present themselves. Zhang Henshui has up to this point been studied as a novelist, to the neglect of his huge corpus of poems and essays. This lop-sided emphasis on his novels is most unfortunate, as Zhang often claimed that he was a much better essayist than a novelist. Scholars interested in this direction may thank Wei Shouzhong and Zhang Zhanguo for their *Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao*, which provides the only guide to those of Zhang’s essays that were published in newspapers, but are as yet uncollected. Tracking down the newspapers pertinent to the study of Zhang Henshui will probably lead one to the Beijing Library, where the largest collection of newspapers from the Republican period is found.

Another new direction would be to treat Zhang Henshui as a writer of the popular tradition, as opposed to the literati tradition. Without going to undue length into the nature of popular literature, it stands to reason that an author writing for newspaper serialization would have a higher stake in pleasing the audience than someone writing with the mere purpose of self-expression. In fact, Zhang’s prefatory and autobiographical writings demonstrate this very thing — a writer of popular literature who could even publish books the messages of which he had outgrown and renounced.<sup>18</sup> Once the role of readers’ preferences in literary creations is ascertained, one can then theorize about the influence of reality on literature through the shaping of popular taste, a mechanism that is still awaiting thorough study. (See Illustration 3.)

Lastly, instead of being the last major figure in the classical narrative tradition, Zhang is more appropriately and fruitfully seen as providing a transition from the classical to the modern period. The early part of his career



3. This illustration shows a melange of editions of Zhang Henshui's novels. Catchy and elaborate cover designs indicate the market into which the books were introduced and the character of the reading audience.

saw him learning to master the traditional linked-chapter form. By no means accepting the tradition unquestioned, he subjected it to different experiments. Later, he abandoned the linked-chapter form briefly, probably because he wanted to be free from its strictures to deal with modern subject-matter. In his later years, he returned to the linked-chapter structure, especially with historical themes. Rarely does one find an author who moves so expertly and facilely between the classical and modern narrative models. For this reason, Zhang is an ideal case study; an overview of his novels will cast light on, among other things, the aesthetics of the two narrative models, their different thematic associations and philosophical underpinnings.

Critical interest in the works of Zhang Henshui is significant in several ways at this juncture of literary history. It parallels, however distantly, the West's departure from the tradition of narrative realism in search of alternatives — often seen as less developed and hence “primitive” — like folk tales and tribal mythologies. Within the Chinese context, it gives us an indication of the tenacity of cultural conditioning, which reasserts its influence under the most unexpected circumstances. The Zhang Henshui revival leaves one perplexed; and one is left with the hope that our understanding of the nature of literature will advance when the reasons behind this revival are fully comprehended.

## NOTES

1. The story about Zhang's interaction with Zhou Enlai was first recorded in Luo Chenglie, "Nanwang di shenqing jiaohui," *Sichuan wenyi*, Vol. 2 (1977). The same story is repeated by Zhang Mingming in *Huiyi wo di fuqin Zhang Henshui* (Tianjin: Baihua chubanshe, 1984). Since then, it has been quoted in a number of essays and has now become part of the common lore about Zhang Henshui. A more elaborated version of Zhang's joke aimed at Doihara Kenji is recorded in *Huiyi wo di fuqin Zhang Henshui*, where the book in question is the *Sequel to Tixiao yinyuan*, whose anti-Japanese message, though shrouded, is just as intense as that of *Wangong ji*.
2. See, respectively, *Zhang Henshui ziliao ji*, pp. 9 and 10.
3. *Zhang Henshui ziliaoji* (Hong Kong: n.p., n.d.); *Zhang Henshui zhuanji ji qita* (n.p.: 1977).
4. *Xiezuo shengya huiyi* (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1982).
5. See note 2.
6. The dissertation was published as *Departure and Return: Chang Hen-shui and the Chinese Narrative Tradition* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1987).
7. *Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao* (Tianjin: Remin chubanshe, 1986).
8. *Xiezuo shengya huiyi*, p. 64.
9. "Jiantan Zhang Henshui xiansheng di chuqi zuopin," *Mingbao yuekan*, Vol. 91 (July 1973).
10. *Mandarin Duck and Butterfly* (Berkeley: University of California, 1981).
11. *Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao*, first edition (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi, 1962; revised edition for internal circulation, 1984). *Yuanyang hudie pai wenzue ziliao* (Fujian: Renmin chubanshe, 1984).
12. See "Introduction," *Departure and Return*.
13. "Zhang Henshui xiansheng xiaoshuo chuanguo nianbiao," *Xiezuo shengya huiyi*, pp. 157-62.
14. See the Preface to the *Sequel to Tixiao yinyuan*, in *Tixiao yinyuan* (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1981), pp. 375-76.
15. I have in mind the character Chen Gonggan in *Yanguilai*. The name in the old script can be interpreted as "working for the public." In simplified characters the symbolism is lost.
16. Starting with the May Fourth Movement, all literary movements in twentieth-century China have in effect been only para-literary. With these movements invariably motivated by a sense of mission, literature is a subject of reform only because it is taken as a vehicle towards a better society and a stronger country.
17. *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Towards a Rewriting of Modern Chinese Literary History*, p. 7.
18. See, for example, "Preface," *Sirenji* (Shanghai: Baixin, 1946).

## GLOSSARY

<i>Bashiyi meng</i>	八十一夢
<i>Cantang yanyi</i>	殘唐演義
Chen Gonggan (old script)	陳公幹
Chen Gonggan (new script)	陳公干
Chen Mingde	陳銘德
<i>Chunming waishi</i>	春明外史
<i>Chunqiu</i>	春秋
<i>Daren</i>	大人
Doihara Kenji	土肥原健二
Dong Kangcheng	董康成
Fan Boqun	范伯群
Hou Rongsheng	侯榕生
<i>Huiyi wo di fuqin Zhang Henshui</i>	回憶我的父親張恨水
Jiantan Zhang Henshui xiansheng di chuqi zuopin	簡談張恨水先生的初期作品
Kung Xiangxi	孔祥熙
Li Haoran	李浩然
Luo Chenglie	羅承烈
<i>Mingbao yuekan</i>	明報月刊
<i>Nanjing renbao</i>	南京人報
Nanwang di shenqing jiaohui	難忘的深情教誨
<i>Nuehai chenyuan</i>	孽海沉冤
Quanguo wenlian	全國文聯
<i>Sirenji</i>	斯人記
<i>Tixiao yinyuan</i>	啼笑因緣
tongsu wenxue	通俗文學
<i>Wangong ji</i>	彎弓集
wangong sheri	彎弓射日
Wei Shaochang	魏韶昌
Wei Shouzhong	魏守忠
xiandai wenxue	現代文學
<i>Xianhua Zhang Henshui</i>	閒話張恨水

Xie Bingxin	謝冰心
Xiezuo shengya huiyi	寫作生涯回憶
Xifeng	息烽
Xinmin bao	新民報
Xu Chuanli	徐傳禮
Yuan Jin	袁進
Yanguilai	燕歸來
Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue ziliao	鴛鴦蝴蝶派文學資料
Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao	鴛鴦蝴蝶派研究資料
Zhang Ershui	張二水
Zhang Henshui	張限水
Zhang Henshui pingzhuan	張限水平傳
Zhang Henshui xiansheng xiaoshuo chuangzuo nianbiao	張限水先生小說創作年表
Zhang Henshui xuanji	張限水選集
Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao	張限水研究資料
Zhang Henshui zhuanji ji qita	張限水傳記及其他
Zhang Henshui ziliaoji	張限水資料
Zhang Mingming	張明明
Zhang Wu	張伍
Zhang Xiaoshui	張曉水
Zhang Xinyuan	張心遠
Zhang Yuluan	張友鸞
Zhang Zhanguo	張占國
Zhanghuixiaoshuo dajia Zhang Henshui	章回小說大家張限水
Zhou Enlai	周恩來