

also pleasant to read. It certainly inspires, and paves the way for, further academic inquiries. For instance, what kind of empire was the Qing, compared to other Eurasian empires? And to what extent can we call Qing China an empire in the first place? Lastly, Wang portrays the Qing-Chosŏn relations as mutually constructed and Chosŏn as a proactive actor in creating its identity and protecting its benefits. The book spends a substantial portion to describe Chosŏn's agency in all phases of the bilateral interactions. Although this theme is regrettably not highlighted in this review, I would urge interested readers to discover the excellence of this part through their own reading.

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***The Dreaming Mind and the End of the Ming World.*** By Lynn A. Struve. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019. Pp. x + 319. \$72.00.

During her long and distinguished career, historian Lynn A. Struve has immensely broadened our understanding of the experiences, ideas, and attitudes of educated Chinese during the Ming-Qing transition. One of her early essays probed the conflicting impulses to which a number of figures who reached maturity after 1644 were prone,<sup>1</sup> and in her later *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm* she brought together a riveting collection of personal testimonies by survivors of dynastic change.<sup>2</sup> In more recent years, Struve has turned her attention to the dream records left to us by witnesses to the trauma of the Qing conquest, publishing a series of fascinating articles on such hitherto little-known figures as Huang Chunyao 黃淳耀 (1605–1645), Xue Cai 薛棗 (1598–1665), and Zhang Maozi 張茂滋 (c. 1633–after 1651). This focus on dream experiences is a natural extension of Struve's research interests since, as she puts it in her new book, “dream-writing in general brings us closer than any other kind of writing to the subjective consciousness of the highly literate” (p. 12).

<sup>1</sup> Lynn A. Struve, “Ambivalence and Action: Some Frustrated Scholars of the K'ang-hsi Period,” in *From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China*, ed. Jonathan D. Spence and John E. Wills, Jr. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 321–65.

<sup>2</sup> *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm: China in Tigers' Jaws*, ed. and trans. Lynn A. Struve (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).

*The Dreaming Mind and the End of the Ming World* marks a splendid culmination of Struve's inquiries into Chinese dream culture. Although dream-writing in China has attracted the interest of a number of scholars in recent decades, this book for the first time comprehensively describes and elucidates an era when dream sensibility was a notable characteristic of self-expression and cultural production. It presents a bold but persuasive argument that a period from about the mid-sixteenth century through the end of the seventeenth century was "*the* most generative of dream-related writings and visual materials in Chinese history" (p. 4; italics in the original).

In her introduction, Struve sets the scene, placing the idea of a historical "dream arc" (p. 4) in a global context and suggesting that it was not unique to the Chinese situation. Comparable cases can be found at other times and in other places, she suggests: during the Romantic period in Europe, and among Sufis in the Ottoman Empire and Quakers in early America, when, likewise, heightened concern for the interior self encouraged greater attention to dream phenomena.

In Chapter 1, "Continuities in the Dream Lives of Ming Intellectuals," Struve presents a magisterial survey of the dream lore and dream culture that would have been familiar to writers in the late Ming period and that underpinned their ideas about dreaming. She begins by helpfully identifying two coexisting notions of dream dynamics: a partite notion, the idea that in sleep the aerial soul could separate from the terrestrial soul and experience phenomena inaccessible to the waking mind, and a phasic notion, which attributes dreams during the sleep phase to one's bodily condition during sleep or to thoughts or experiences during the waking phase. She then moves on to an appraisal of "classic" dream texts that were common knowledge to members of the educated elite, carefully examining references to dreams in key Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist texts, and noting the contradictions, ambiguities, and paradoxes within and between them. Her coverage of traditional dream culture includes celebrated Tang tales such as "Within a Pillow" and "Governor of South Branch" and the literature that developed around prognostic and diagnostic dreams; the chapter closes with an interesting digest of the dreams reported by emperors and other members of the Ming and Qing imperial households.

In Chapter 2, "Sources of Special Dream Salience in Late Ming," Struve turns to the catalysts that spurred a more intense interest in dreams and launched a full-blown dream arc in the late Ming. During this period, she argues, special conditions—a combination of cultural factors that affected people's inner and outer lives—created rich soil for dream writing to grow. Particularly significant were changes in Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist intellectual belief systems that shifted attention toward the subjective side of human understanding and brought dreaming to the forefront. Also important, Struve argues, was the flourishing in the late Ming of various kinds

of “dream-friendly” writing, such as autobiographies and diaries, *xiaopin* 小品, short stories, and musical plays. She also notes significant changes in artistic conventions at this time—in particular, developments in the pictorial representation of dream experiences that were emblematic of the late Ming interest in subjectivity and inner worlds. She scrutinizes the role of dream records in the political realm, showing how, in the fraught world of late Ming politics, rivalry and rancour served to encourage a calculated deployment of dream records to deliver negative commentary on the conduct of others. Finally, she sees angst as another trigger for dream reportage: intellectuals troubled by failures and setbacks found in dreams a way of working through their frustrations.

In Chapter 3, “Crisis Dreaming,” Struve takes stock of how the mid-seventeenth-century crisis imbued dreams with special resonance, imparting to them unusual emotional weight. In some cases, dreams reinforced dreamers’ sense of the correctness of their actions and endowed them with a certainty that they were doing the right thing. Liu Xixuan’s 劉錫玄 (b. 1574) dreams during a tense military stand-off gave him a sure sense of supernatural support, while Qu Shisi’s 瞿式耜 (1590–1651) dreams as he awaited execution by his Qing captors allowed him to affirm his resolve to seek death as a Confucian martyr. In other cases, guilt, shame, and bewilderment influenced fugitives’ dream states and plunged them into uncertainty. The graphic dreams recorded by Zhang Maozi, which show clear evidence of post-traumatic stress, are ghastly nightmares, “neither sources of answers nor expressions of firm convictions” (p. 187). In 1643, as crisis deepens, the dreams of Xue Cai, formerly prefect of Kaifeng, grow steadily darker, ultimately becoming a medium of search for a sustainable mode of religious seclusion. In yet another variation, for some unusual individuals such as Dong Tuo 董說 (1620–1686),<sup>3</sup> dreams could enable a state of release and relief, and the chapter closes by citing Dong’s alluring conceit that dreams could serve as a form of self-medication.

Chapter 4, “Dream-Coping in the Aftermath,” examines the extent to which dreams figured in the inner lives and written expression of those who survived the change of dynasties and lived into the Qing. Here Struve draws a stark contrast between two groups of people. On the one hand, she finds a rich dream world among Ming *yimin* 遺民, haunted by loss but stubbornly committed to their lonely path of non-collaboration. Among these Ming loyalists, she distinguishes four kinds of endeavour that inform their engagement with dreams. For some, like the poet Qu

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<sup>3</sup> In Western scholarship Dong’s name has often been written as Yue, but Struve adopts the rendering proposed by Zhao Hongjuan 趙紅娟 in her richly documented study of the author, *Ming yimin Dong Tuo yanjiu* 明遺民董說研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), pp. 217–18.

Dajun 屈大均 (1630–1696) or the essayist Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597–1689),<sup>4</sup> dreams served as a vehicle for remembering people, places, or things; in other examples, like that of Fang Zhuankai 方顯愷 (1637–1722), individuals found in dreams a way of mentally distancing themselves from the world in which they lived. Struve discerns a third pattern in the writings of such men as Wang Hongzhan 王弘撰 (1622–1702) and Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–1692), whose dream references served to convey their enduring loyalty to the Ming. Finally, in a fourth permutation exemplified by the writings of Wei Xi 魏禧 (1625–1681), Struve presents evidence of guilt-ridden dreams reflecting concern over personal failings.

By contrast, among Qing servitors—those who bowed to the authority of China’s new rulers and accepted office in the Manchu-Qing administration—Struve finds a notable dearth of dream reports. She does note a couple of exceptions, however: Ding Yaokang 丁耀亢 (1599–1670) and Li Wen 李雯 (1607–1647), who entered government service but were deeply conflicted in their decision to do so, recorded dreams reflecting their disquiet. Among early Qing officials who felt more settled in their roles, Struve finds that only Wei Xiangshu 魏象樞 (1617–1687) wrote regularly about his dreams, mainly as a way of celebrating his Confucian values and exemplary conduct.<sup>5</sup>

In an epilogue, “Beyond the Arc,” Struve surveys developments after the early Qing and observes a reduced level of interest in dreams among major authors of the mid- and late Qing, even in periods of traumatic upheaval like the Taiping Rebellion. She acknowledges the importance of *Honglou meng* as the most lasting legacy of the dream arc, but sees the novel not as a natural outgrowth of the contemporary scene as much as a unique, delayed-effect outcome of the earlier fascination with dreams. By the eighteenth century, she suggests, dream materials had become gendered as “soft” (p. 248) in distinction to the “hard” topics favoured by males, bequeathing to long fiction and drama a rich storehouse of ideas and perspectives.

*The Dreaming Mind* is a marvellously illuminating study, flawlessly executed. Three aspects of the book particularly deserve highlighting.

<sup>4</sup> The year of Zhang Dai’s death has been much debated. Here I follow Lu Wei 路偉, who has recently presented new evidence that Zhang died in 1689. See his introduction to the *Zhang Dai quanji* 張岱全集 edition of *Tao’an mengyi* 陶菴夢憶 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2018), pp. 15–20.

<sup>5</sup> One might note, in this context, that the contrast between Ding and Li, on the one hand, and Wei, on the other, finds a parallel in some of the cases discussed by Bai Yijin 白一瑾 in her studies of early Qing scholar-officials. See, for example, Bai’s article, “Lun Qingchu erchen shiren ‘liangjie ren’ de chujing xintai” 論清初貳臣士人「兩截人」的處境心態, *Beifang luncong* 北方論叢, 2010, no. 1, pp. 65–70. Bai’s focus is not on these men’s dream lives, however, but on their general outlook.

First, Struve's command of the relevant materials is truly remarkable. The book's 45-page bibliography reflects an enormous amount of reading in both primary and secondary sources, ranging freely across historical, literary, artistic, philosophical, and religious texts. Struve has sifted through this rich body of materials with a keen eye, honing in on particularly telling examples. She is just as at home untangling the implications of the late Ming novel, *Xiyou bu* 西遊補, as she is laying out the historical backdrop to the 1622 siege of Guiyang 貴陽, and she proves just as knowledgeable about trends in Buddhist thought as she is about the proliferation in the late Ming of plays that took dreaming as their theme.

Secondly, Struve deploys outstanding interpretive skills in probing the meaning of dream-related materials. Noting at the outset that in dream accounts "the nonsense factor looms large" (p. 11), she nimbly avoids the danger of reading too much into dreams; at the same time, she treats dream reports with the seriousness that they often deserve and shrewdly assesses their likely import. Whether she is discussing Qu Shisi's dream of catching a ceramic vase before it falls to the floor and shatters (p. 183) or examining a nightmare recorded by Xue Cai, in which he discovered countless human eyeballs buried in the structure of a Confucian temple (pp. 189–90), her interpretive comments succeed in teasing out the possible implications of dream experiences without ever veering into fanciful speculation.

Thirdly, Struve's writing is crisp, elegant, and expressive. That she is able to cover so much ground within a compact frame is testimony to her skill in presenting what is sometimes quite dense material in succinct and accessible form. In her summaries, even familiar stories acquire new charm, and the book is studded with memorable turns of phrase that reflect her deep understanding and sympathy for her subjects. Of the late Ming writer Ye Shaoyuan 葉紹袁 (1589–1648) and his wife and daughters, she writes, "premodern mortality stalked this endearing family with no pity" (p. 109). In a single sentence she deftly sketches a character profile of Song Maocheng 宋懋澄 (1569–1620): "A candidly emotional man, he was a sanguine but eclectic spiritual seeker, applying (but not always living up to) Confucian standards in his family life, and moving erratically among Daoism, Buddhism, and the mantic arts in his individual religiosity" (p. 112). Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521–1593) is "perhaps the period's maddest creative genius" (p. 113), while Dong Tuo is "our champion dream-writer of the seventeenth century" (p. 139). The volume's many passages of translation are meticulously done.

A wide range of readers will find much to learn and enjoy in this stimulating and delightful book, and I recommend it heartily.

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