

一種語言訓練，也不是純技術性活動，更可以發展其作為文化交流歷程中不可或缺的關鍵性地位，從而建立理論基礎與其歷史軌跡。第三，翻譯研究不再是外文學門的專利，更是中文學門的新興領域。近年，跨學科的研究已經成為人文學界的重要研究趨勢。當代的學科區分愈趨細瑣，學問就愈趨狹隘。做學問不當自我設限，尤其人文學更是如此。李爽學這本翻譯史的先驅性研究，已經為後繼者奠定一個研究典範。期待看見更多作品邁向新的里程碑。

話說回來，李爽學是修辭學的高手，運用文字的功力之深，已經在這本書中發揮得淋漓盡致。這本翻譯文學論，雖是學術專書，但其自身就是一本文學作品。基本上，我這篇書評僅作點綴性評論，讀者親自閱讀全書後，自然理解前述所言不虛。本書結論基本上鋪陳了下一階段的翻譯文學論。除了劉禾的「被翻譯的現代性」，還有沒有其他語詞能夠描繪晚清的翻譯文學論？如果自晚明以來，中國文學與歐洲文學已經交流超過兩百年，那麼晚清的交流是迎接一個全新相異的歐洲文學，還是在中國文學中已經有的異文化文學元素，而編織了更加豐富但又複雜的晚清翻譯文學的面貌？雖然本書已經收錄八篇專文，但這並非李爽學近年所有論文，為數不少的單篇論文未收錄，甚至還有多篇持續發表之中。期待翻譯文學論這個研究典範的奠定者，在不久將來，再向前推進一個新的里程。

潘鳳娟

國立臺灣師範大學東亞學系

Courtesans, Concubines, and the Cult of Female Fidelity: Gender and Social Change in China, 1000–1400. By Beverly Bossler. Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013. Pp. ix + 464. \$39.95/£29.95.

This is an ambitious, well-researched effort to understand the changing contours of gender relations over the course of the Song and Yuan dynasties. By gender is meant not only male and female but also, among women, the gradations between courtesans, concubines, and wives. Bossler's efforts focus on developments within the upper class family. Her hypothesis is that, compared to the Tang dynasty (when the elite was small and stable, with status defined by birth into an aristocratic family) the much larger elites of the Song were established through merit, via the civil service examination or success at commercial ventures. The new pattern was more fluid and gave rise to status anxieties that played out in new roles for courtesans, concubines, and wives.

At the beginning of the period under review, the Northern Song, courtesans were more or less free agents, although many operated as government-sponsored hostesses and entertainers. By the end of the period, under the rather rigid Yuan dynasty, courtesans had moved into family compounds as concubines. With this development, men who had previously enjoyed the company of courtesans but who sometimes faced censure for overindulgence could claim that they had regulated such attachments by bringing them under family control. Meanwhile, all concubines, whether former courtesans or not, faced issues of status within the family, for they could be expelled upon the death of their master, and their children were not guaranteed parity with the children of first wives when it came to inheritance and other matters. For such women, it became increasingly politic to play down sexual attractiveness and to demonstrate virtuous behaviour. Eventually they were held to the same standard of chastity that was required of first wives.

At the same time, wives were under increasing pressure to accommodate themselves to new competition from such quarters. Whereas wives did not appear much in literature early in the Song, by the end of the Yuan they could be the subjects of published biographies, where they faced scrutiny on two major fronts: were they loyal (as partners to their husbands and as subordinates to his parents), and did they behave compassionately to the various women of the household, or were they cruel to underlings?

The very strict standards of loyalty that had developed around first wives by the end of the Yuan, Bossler tells us, can be seen as an indirect response to the sense of humiliation among Han elites at political losses: first of the whole northern portion of the country during the Southern Song and then of the entire country under the Yuan. Another important element in this picture is the growth of Neo-Confucianism, with its increasing emphasis on hierarchy and the subordination of women to men and of gradations of women to one another. Rather than lead the way to the new subordinations of the Yuan, however, Bossler sees the new ideology as a means to rationalize a new order that had already taken hold.

Bossler's eye for the big picture means that her central focus on women is partly meant to invoke questions of masculinity. How was masculine behaviour implicated in efforts to encourage loyalty in women, how might a man use women to impress other men or work out friendships with them, how did men gradually learn to tone down the romantic (*fengliu* 風流) behaviour that had been the norm under the Tang, and how did they attend to the inheritances of their children by various women—these are all questions to which the book's emphasis on women leads. When we recall that practically the entire literature on which this book is based was composed by men, not women (a point Bossler makes clear at the beginning), we can plainly see how important the masculine dimension of the story is. In the end, then, this is not best

described as a book about women. Its real subject is the way male-generated rhetoric was used to influence the behaviour of both women and men.

Bossler builds her hypothesis out of a rich array of sources, from funerary inscriptions to personal accounts to local histories, but with particular emphasis on tales, dramas, and didactic literature. Translated anecdotes or stories appear at the beginning of each chapter, and this literature is skilfully mined for signs of the changes noted above. These head-of-chapter translations also help to focus the discussions in each of the nine substantive chapters (three categories—courtesans, concubines, and wives in each of three periods—Northern Song, Southern Song, and Yuan). Thanks to these introductions and to the very clear argumentation, the underlying premise is not difficult to follow, despite the wealth of detail.

As a student of the Ming and Qing dynasties rather than Song and Yuan, I will not attempt to second-guess this study's basic premises, nor will I query the methodology, except to observe that Bossler is very frank about the strengths and weaknesses of her source base. From her we learn that sources are more ample from around the capital for the Northern Song, whereas the Southern Song offers better materials about matters outside of the capital. However, because the organization emphasizes parallels between each of the three eras, and because the work as a whole is very consistent in a formal sense, were it not for warnings of this kind, one could easily be lulled into thinking that every one of the nine substantive chapters draws on similar data. As long as one pays close attention to authorial reminders, however, one can understand the changing types of evidence from which each piece of the argument is drawn.

One of the most valuable features of this study for scholars of later periods is the demonstration that certain basic premises were not immutable features for all of Chinese history but came into being over time and for specific reasons. I think especially of the gradual evolution of first wives as a topic—from something off limits to writers of didactic and entertainment literature to their later position as a staple of that literature. The dynamic that unfolds in Bossler's project begins with a longstanding taboo mandating that wifely behaviour should not inspire comment outside the family. Only in response to the insecurities and changes Bossler discusses did it become necessary by the Yuan for wifely fidelity to enter public discourse as a topic, even to be touted as a lesson for others, and for men to be judged by the quality of their homes. That these two points continue to inform the literature of the Ming and Qing makes Bossler's study indispensable reading for scholars of the later era.

Bossler sometimes comments directly on the Ming and Qing. At such times she is careful to show that these dynasties continued to develop in response to factors that were not present during the Song and Yuan. Thus the emphasis on a kind of martial masculinity that is discussed in work by Martin Huang, Kam Louie, and others is

one example of a tendency that develops later but is not present during the era under discussion. Another example is the growing trend toward widow suicide during the Ming and especially the Qing. One might also ask whether the number of celebrity courtesans who became concubines at the end of the Ming is a direct continuation of earlier efforts to accommodate courtesans within elite homes (and hence a tamping down of overt sensuality) or a resurgence of sensuality? However one chooses to read these elaborations on fundamentals, Bossler argues, the basic parameters of Chinese discourse on gender had stabilized by the end of the Yuan.

Bossler makes it clear that she writes as an historian, not as a student of literature, and yet students of literature will find much to reflect on in her large conclusions. If we compare various versions of the “Story of Ying Ying” 鶯鶯傳 from the Tang, Song, and Yuan, we may be able to align them somewhat with Bossler’s observations. At least we can say that the happy ending tacked on the Tang tale in “Master Dong’s Western Chamber Romance” 董解元西廂記 of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (Jin), has the effect of turning an illegitimate love affair into something more in accord with later values, inasmuch as Ying Ying eventually marries Student Zhang 張生. But what do we make of the wife in the late-Ming tale “The Pearl-sewn Shirt” (“Jiang Xingge chonghui zhenzhu shan” 蔣興哥重會珍珠衫) who ends up with a second husband and manages to wrap herself in a mantle of respectability even so? Should this particular work be chalked up to late-Ming sensuality, and seen as a return to some of the same romantic attitudes that had once been present in the Tang? What also to make of “The Story of Xiaoqing [馮] 小青,” which in its earliest version portrays a concubine made miserable by cruel wifely behaviour, but at the same time grants that concubine considerable appeal? What also to make of later versions of the story that resolve it less tragically by integrating Xiaoqing as a concubine into the gentry household of her friend? The move toward this relatively happy ending would seem to be anticipated by the trends Bossler describes.

We might also consider *The Plum in the Golden Vase* 金瓶梅, which is set in the time of Northern Song emperor Huizong 徽宗 but written in the Ming, where wifely virtue of the type Bossler analyses is in very short supply (although wives do at least try to appear virtuous), and where concubines and ex-courtesans, too, behave quite badly. No wonder this work is interpreted as a critique of late-Ming frivolity, a point Bossler’s work could have anticipated. Understandably, Bossler’s emphasis is seldom on the greatest works of fiction and drama. Hers is not a literary approach, hence her greater concern with broad tendencies than with literary stand-outs. But students whose main focus is literature will want to grapple with the paradigms she identifies to see whether the greatest works resist or conform to the trends she has identified for Song and Yuan.

The care, wide reading, and integrative capacity that have gone into Bossler's study are what establish its value as background for Ming-Qing literature and history. Although not every work of Ming-Qing literature conforms to this study's conclusions in every particular, most will confirm Bossler's arguments very nicely; and whenever a work does not, it provides interesting dissonance. Having this work at one's fingertips will enrich one's inquiries into questions of gender in late imperial China and give them a foundation they have not had before.

A few other points can be singled out as possible avenues for scholarship on later eras. One is the increasing importance of first wives. Beleaguered as they may have been by the need to accommodate female entertainers within the household, they seem to have gained in stature as quasi-heads of household, particularly when the master was not at home. Susan Mann develops a focus on heads of households in her study of Zhang 張 family women of nineteenth-century Changzhou 常州,¹ but it can already be seen in some of the situations Bossler describes. In Bossler's account, first-wife paramountcy is not directly related to the question of female literacy, which surged in great families toward the end of the Ming; but it must have been enhanced by this important development. Without high literacy, women of good family who found themselves in leadership positions within their families might have been more helpless against the attractions of courtesans and concubines, some of whom were likewise highly literate. First wives' ability to keep the family budget and lead in that respect was also enhanced by their ability to read.

The history of printing is another topic that relates to Bossler's subject-matter. Alongside all the fascinating dynamics that this book describes, the transition from manuscript to print culture takes place more in the background than the foreground, although this transition is registered as the reason Song dynasty source materials are so much richer than Tang. Obviously this kind of change is quite fundamental to the circulation of verbal images. When we learn that wifely virtues are praised on tombstones early on and only later in hagiographies, we can understand the change as a result of the increasing importance of first wives, but it also reflects the advantages of paper over stone as a means of transmitting ideas. One has only to open a local history to note the growing importance of printed accounts of virtuous women under the Song. Relatedly, we might ask a question about geographical regions. Bossler sometimes refers to "the local" as opposed to the national, but her overarching framework does not allow her to be very specific about individual locales, leaving us with questions like the following: if Fujian is one of the sites of greatest publishing

¹ Susan Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007).

activity under the Song, as Lucille Chia has argued,² should we not expect this and other regions with widespread publishing to extol wifely virtue more insistently than other parts of China, or should we assume a national distribution for publications and attitudes emerging from Fujian? And what do we make of the distinction between higher and lower quality publishing and the implication of higher and lower levels of reader? Is there any impact of such gradations on the question of how family reputations are spread and maintained? Furthermore, who exactly should we assume is reading all the propaganda on wifely virtue that was put out at this time? And is it safe to assume a behind-the-scenes manipulation of imagery, so that whether a person is really as good as advertised matters less than the way that person's reputation is manipulated on its way to printed form?

The interplay between reputation and reality is one feature of the eighteenth-century novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢. The extent to which tendencies along these lines come up in the Song or Yuan is a question that might someday give rise to another study. Bossler's work is so complex that she understandably relegates such dynamics to the background, otherwise her argument might be overwhelmed by all the moving parts. Yet a follow-up effort by Bossler or someone else could build on this study to deepen our understanding even more.

ELLEN WIDMER
Wellesley College

² Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th–17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, MA: Published by Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2002).