Zeitschrift: Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques : revue de la Société Suisse-Asie

Herausgeber: Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft

Band: 56 (2002)

Heft: 3: Textual scholarship in Chinese studies : papers from the Munich conference 2000

Artikel: On the usages and usefulness of textual philology for modern texts : considerations demonstrated on a Lu Xun Manuscript of 1934

Autor: Findeisen, Raoul David

DOI: https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-147586

Nutzungsbedingungen

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. Mehr erfahren

Conditions d'utilisation

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. En savoir plus

Terms of use

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. Find out more

Download PDF: 26.11.2025

ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, https://www.e-periodica.ch

ON THE USAGES AND USEFULNESS OF TEXTUAL PHILOLOGY FOR MODERN TEXTS

Considerations Demonstrated on a Lu Xun Manuscript of 1934

Raoul David Findeisen, Ruhr University of Bochum

Textual philology in Chinese studies (making them Sinology) usually concentrates on texts with only few extant *testimonia* (witnesses), with an uncertain genealogy of transmission, with the assessment of possibly fragmentary witnesses still anteceding the received text, and with all problems of corruption, interpolation, etc. related. However, as far as I can see, no use has been made so far in matters of textual philology of the relatively great number of facsimile editions of 20th century texts, due to the still magical status of the Chinese script. On the contrary, the term *jiaokan* 校勘 is applied to, at the utmost, critical amendment by comparing different printed editions. On the other hand, facsimile reproduction of manuscripts in textual philology for Western authors has become a tool considered indispensible for making editorial decisions in establishing a text transparent—if indeed this establishment is deemed desirable at all, as in the French school of 'genetic criticism'. So we find critical editions of Western texts written as late as 1968, for example by the Austrian poetess Ingeborg Bachmann (1926–1973),[1] whereas with a wide range of published manuscript witnesses of 20th century texts, the critical speculation in Chinese philology dates to texts written not later than in the 18th century. This is why I shall attempt to demonstrate what textual philology may reveal on a Lu Xun manuscript of 1934, i.e. of the "Reply to the Editor of *The Theatre*" of Nov 14, 1934,[2] collected in *Qiejieting zawen* (compiled in 1935 and posthumously published in 1937), in particular as regards the assimilation of the modern language standard then being established.

1 I. Bachmann, *Letzte, unveröffentlichte Gedichte*, ed. H. Höller, Frankfurt a.M. 1998.

2 "Da 'Xi' zhoukan bianzhe xin" 答《戲》週刊編者信, in *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 [Complete Works], 16 vols., Beijing 1981, 6: 144–149.

1. General Considerations

Appreciation of the individual handwriting, and not predominantly of the text as such, but rather as a comprehensive work of art, i.e. of calligraphy, has resulted in transmission of examples ever since Wei-Jin times, even if the original medium used for writing, i.e. usually paper, has not survived. Script that can be attributed to an individual hand has also been widely distributed for didactic purposes since Song times. It has long been carved on stone and cut in wood, more recently also painted on aircraft—as with the late prime minister Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (1898–1976), formerly minister of foreign affairs, who wrote the abbreviated *Minhang* 民航 for the carrier CAAC (Civil Air Administration of China) which has since disappeared. But there is not only the 'dedication by providing the calligraphy' (*ti zi* 題字 or *ti qian* 題簽) used on countless book-covers, shop inscriptions, university gates and journal and newspaper titles up to the present day. There is also the reproduction of full texts in the author's or somebody's else's calligraphy. Of particular interest for textual criticism are authors' drafts and manuscripts. It is by no means limited to usages that may be generally labelled propagandist and legitimatory, as in the case of letters by Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893–1976) published in book-form in facsimile with a cover calligraphy by Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平 (1904–1997). Texts published in the author's calligraphy also form an integral part of a writer's self-representation, as may be seen from the edition of *Hu Shi wencun*, edited by the author himself. It gives a summarizing overall preface only as a facsimile (cf. figure 1).[3]

For the 20th century, this appreciation of the individual handwriting has resulted in a considerable number of facsimile editions. Despite the strong and long-standing philological tradition in China, however, this has not elicited any attempt to connect widely available manuscripts with the history of textual constitution. Although collations of printed texts have been prepared (such as

3 Cf. also the illustration section in *Xiandai* 現代 2,1 (Nov 1932), with authors' portrait photographs, on the one hand, and facsimile calligraphies on the other by Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896–1945), Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 (1900–1990), Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967), Bing Xin 冰心 (1900–1999), Lao She 老舍 (1899–1966), Dai Wangshu 戴望舒 (1905–1950), Shen Congwen 沈從文 (1902–1988), Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978), Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896–1981), and Ye Lingfeng 葉靈鳳 (1905–1975) dealt with as equal documents; or Xu Zhimo's 徐志摩 (1897–1931) preface to *Feilengcui de yi ye* 翡冷翠的一夜 (1928) printed only in facsimile and without transcription.

Takeuchi Minoru for Mao Zedong),[4] and we may even find scattered references to the manuscript, such as in the *Complete Works of Xu Zhimo* in 5 volumes.[5] To my knowledge there has been only one single attempt at a truly critical edition from a single 20th century literary text: letters to Yu Dafu which, as they have been found in the late 1960s and thus are not even authorised, hence may well be considered simply as documents.[6]

Western philologists and textologists may only dream of such a favourable source situation for reconstructing the genesis of a text. For example, they have only recently be granted access to an extant corpus of Kafka manuscripts held at the Bodleian Library to develop a comprehensive image of the author's production techniques. At the same time, even for an author like Lu Xun whose complete works are available in facsimile, the step from the detailed collation of printed versions back to the manuscript has never been taken. As the source situation is by far the best for this author, I shall try to demonstrate what the findings might be and try to map out how a historical and critical edition of Lu Xun's works could proceed.

2. The Text

I have chosen Lu Xun's open "Reply to the Editor of *The Theatre*", written on Nov 14, 1934, for various reasons: (1) The manuscript shows an exceptionally wide variety of corrections, and above all has a particular *stratum* (textual layer), which Lu Xun only used in his later years, i.e. the inclusion of already printed text in the manuscript, in this case a newspaper clipping of the open letter to which Lu Xun is responding; (2) the fact that the extant manuscript was prepared for publication after the first printing, yet was only published in the intended book form posthumously, opens perspectives on the problem of authorisation; (3) the very genre designation as a letter as well as reference to

4 *Mao Zedong ji* 毛澤東集 [Works], 10 vols., ed. Takeuchi Minoru 竹内實, Tôkyô 1971–72; *Mao Zedong ji bujuan* 補卷 [Supplements], 10 vols., Tôkyô 1983–86.

5 *Xu Zhimo quanji* 徐志摩全集, 5 vols, ed. Zhao Xiaqiu 趙遐秋 / Zeng Qingrui 曾慶瑞 / Pan Baisheng 潘百生 Nanning 1991, 1: 25–26 ("Wo you yi ge lian'ai" 我有一個戀愛 [I Have a Love]), 1: 35–36 ("Guguai de shijie" 古怪的世界 [Strange World]), 1: 40–42 ("Ta shi shuizhe le" 她是睡著了 [She is Now Sleeping]), *passim*.

6 H. Martin (ed.), *Gei Yu Dafu de xin* 給郁達夫的信, Hong Kong 1970; cf. the report in *Guangjiaojing* 廣角鏡 no. 117 (Hong Kong 1982) which has served the author as a point of departure for some authentification in her *Wang Yingxia zizhuan* 王映霞自傳, s.l. [Nanjing] 1996, 245–264.

other authors, to the role of censorship, and the handling of letters to editors in general situates the text in the crucial margin between public and private sphere;[7] (4) in terms of content, it is highly auto-referential as it discusses a stage adaptation of his most famous literary character, A Q, emphasizing the core problem of how individual experience is transposed into fiction; and (5) it is also auto-referential in its manuscript form, as the question of language register used in Lu Xun's narrative in contrast to the stage play reappears in the various textual layers that may postulated.

The setting is as follows: The weekly supplement *Xi* 戲 (The Theatre) to the Shanghai daily *Zhonghua ribao* 中華日報 was edited by the playwright Yuan Muzhi 袁牧之 (1909–1978). He had already published a journal of the same name the year before, which had seen only two issues in September and October, 1933. It had propagated a "theatre for the masses" and carried contributions, both critical and creative, by Zheng Boqi 鄭伯奇 (1895–1979), Hong Shen 洪深 (1894–1955), Ouyang Yuqian 歐陽予倩 (1889–1962) and other leftist authors.[8] The supplement, second of its name as happened frequently with abortive journal projects run by writers not particularly familiar with business affairs, started publication with a serialized stage version of A Q and printed an open letter to Lu Xun in issue number 13, on November 11th, upon completion of Act 1, urging him to cooperate in its staging, and asking him to write a preface: "This request comes from the editor, the playwright, the readers

7 The letter form, although very common at the time as a medium of public expression, and an indication about the original usage of a text, rather than a genre designation, has caused the editors of the "Complete Creative Works of Lu Xun" (their English subtitle) *Lu Xun zuopin quanbian—zawen* 魯迅作品全編—雜文 2 vols., eds. Wang Dehou 王得後 / Qian Liqun 錢理群, Hangzhou 1998, to exclude the text from their edition otherwise prepared with great care and presenting the texts in strictly chronological order. This happens despite the fact that it had been authorised by Lu Xun for inclusion in *Qiejieting zawen* 且介亭雜文. However, they seem to have felt not entirely comfortable with their editorial principles of omitting "scholarly essays, speeches, pre- and postfaces, declarations, letters, diaries, etc." ("Bianji shuoming" 編輯說明, vol. 1), as they put considerable effort into justifying why in some cases they made an exception (see "Qianyan" 前言, 1: 6–7). Nonetheless, they deemed fit for inclusion the Response to Mr KS ("Da *KS* jun" 答KS君, 1: 261–263) dealing with Lu Xun's lasting legal conflict with his former superior Zhang Shizhao 章士釗 (1881–1973).—I indicate Latin script within Chinese texts by asterisks (*).

8 Tang Yuan 唐沅 et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan mulu huibian* 中國現代文學期刊目錄匯編 [Compiled Tables of Contents of Modern Chinese Literary Journals], 2 vols., Tianjin 1993, 1: 1563–1564.

and the actors."[9] Following an opening remark in which his reply is justified, Lu Xun makes two points: Ironically confessing not to have understood some Shaoxing dialect expressions in the play—as a genuine native!—, he explains how much he had done to render the location of A Q universal, and in passing criticizes a Chinese translator of Gogol'. "Writers of literary gossip past and present nearly all believe that certain stories were written for personal revenge, hence they go to great pains to discover the real individuals involved."[10] Second, he talks about the dialect used by the play's A Q character and opts for local dialect throughout, as the modes of upper and lower class were different even without using the Mandarin dialect distinction as a marker. In a third, somewhat disjointed part, he launches an attack on an article by Tian Han 田漢 (1898–1968), published several months before and deploring that Lu Xun was himself the best example that "the Chinese tended to compromise," as well as ironically referring to a story by Ye Lingfeng 葉靈鳳 (1905–1975)—for the simple reason that both were one-time contributors to the supplement. In Ye Lingfeng's story, the narrator says: "According to my old custom, after getting up I took a copy of *Nahan* I had bought for 20 cash at a junk dealer's, tore 3 pages out of it and went to defecate on the outside toilet. I did not dare to dream of a water closet in my dwelling at that time."[11] This is evidence of Lu Xun doing exactly what he criticizes his colleagues for: He identifies a literary character, in this case a narrator in the first person, with the author.

Together with yet another letter to the *Xi* weekly supplement, penned just four days later, and 34 additional texts written during the year 1934, the text under discussion was printed for a second time, now in book form. In March 1935, Lu Xun started compilation under the title "Miscellanies of the Pavilion of the Semi-Concession",[12] but only concluded it towards the end of the year, adding a preface and a relatively extended appendix. Yet the volume was not published until July 1937, privately printed under the publisher's designation Sanxian shuwu (Three Leisures Bookstore), "and he did not manage to read

9 *Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 144; quoted from Lu Xun, *Selected Works*, tr. by Yang Xianyi 楊憲益 / Gladys Yang, Peking 1961, 4: 139.

10 *Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 145; *Selected Works*, 4: 141.

11 Ye Lingfeng, "Qiongchou de zizhuan" 窮愁的自傳 [first in *Xiandai xiaoshuo* 現代小說 3,2 (Nov 1929)], in *Ye Lingfeng xiaoshuo quanbian* 小說全編, 2 vols., eds. Jia Zhifang 賈植芳 / Chen Zishan 陳子善, Shanghai 1997, 1: 303.

12 Zhou Guowei 周國偉, *Lu Xun zhuyi banben yanjiu bianmu* 魯迅著譯版本研究編目 [A Systematic Study on Book-Editions of Lu Xun's Original Works and Translations], Shanghai 1996, 154–155.

through it again and add typesetting instructions, due to his ill health,"[13] according to Xu Guangping in her editorial note dated June 25, 1937. In his preface, Lu Xun bitterly complains about colleagues monopolizing the world of publishing, whereas in his appendix, he gives a detailed indication about the occasions on which each text was written as well as about the censorship requirements he had faced. Above all, however, he includes the full text of Tian Han's article "Compromise".[14] He also relates responses, e.g. to the publication of his open letter by a "so-called comrade-in-arms" who is said to have laughed loudly: "The old guy is making trouble again!"[15]

3. The Manuscript

More than one third of the texts collected as "Miscellanies of the Pavilion of the Semi-Concession", are extant in manuscript form, one of them in two different versions, one prepared for the first publication, the other for the compilation as a book.[16] The manuscript has been published twice, first in 1973 in the "Third Sequel of Selected Works of Lu Xun in Facsimile",[17] then in the great publication of all manuscripts, 1978–86. This major undertaking which, apart from letters and diaries, includes more than 200 extant works (i.e. 25 percent of all), was initiated by Lu Xun's son Zhou Haiying 周海嬰 (1929–), who in October 1975 suggested to Mao Zedong "to foster Lu Xun research" by publishing a facsimile edition.[18] The 1973 edition is printed on yellowish paper, with no hints as to the original paper size, and traditionally bound, whereas the 1978–86 edition gives full though slightly reduced page reproductions with separate page numbering on a white frame.

The manuscript of "A Reply to the Editor of *The Theatre*" has 6 pages. It is written with black ink and brush. Horizontal and vertical lines form horizontal

13 Xu Guangping 許廣平, "Houji" [Postface], in *Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 637.

14 Shaobo 紹伯 [Tian Han 田漢], "Tiaohe" 調和 [first in *Huoju* 火炬, supplement to *Dawanbao* 大晚報, Aug 31, 1934], copied in *Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 208–211.

15 *Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 212.

16 It is "Rushu" 儒術, dated May 27, 1934, and first published in *Wenshi* 文史 1,2 (June 15, 1934); see *Lu Xun zhuyi xinian mulu* 魯迅著譯系年目錄 [Chronological List of Works and Translations by Lu Xun], ed. Shanghai Lu Xun jinianguan 紀念館, preface by Luo Sun 羅蓀, Shanghai 1981, 252.

17 *Lu Xun shougao xuanji san bian* 魯迅手稿選集三編 went into at least two prints, in April and June.

18 Cf. Zhou Guowei, *Lu Xun zhuyi banben yanjiu bianmu*, 326–329.

rectangles which results in 12 vertical writing lines of 36 rectangles each, all printed in green. At the foot of these blocks, each measuring 140x220 mm, two long hyphens are printed to contain page numbering, in this case filled page numbers 128 to 133. With the exception of the "Appended Note to *Qiejieting zawen*", where each single character is written on the squaring lines (pages numbered 203 to 209), Lu Xun usually filled the rectangles precisely, except for the respective titles of each individual text (cf. figure 2).

This differs from letters written on paper with printed red columns with no vertical division where Lu Xun frequently put two lines into one column. The manufacturer of this very common paper is unknown. This is not so in the case of the blank notebooks Lu Xun used for his diaries that originated, for example, from the *Yiwenzhai* 懿文齋 ('Studio of Virtuous Texts') stationery during the years 1928–29, and from the *Songguzhai* 松古齋 ('Studio of Relaxation with the Tradition') during 1930, respectively.[19] On the draft paper for the *Yusi* 語絲 ('Thread of Talk') journal, we find not only fields for the administratively important "total number of pages", but separate vertical columns, also printed in green, imitating the shape of bamboo strips—in this case hosting 23 characters each (cf. figure 3).[20]

Only very few extant manuscripts of Lu Xun are written on blank paper, such as the "Midsummer Jottings", which were not published during his lifetime and posthumously compiled as *Qiejieting zawen weibian* ("Inedita"). This manuscript also shows the rare device of pencil corrections (cf. figure 4).

Typographical instructions would have been added in red ink and are missing only in part for the whole body of the *Qiejieting zawen* manuscripts, contrary to Xu Guangping's assertion. Absent page numbers for several manuscripts may indicate that Lu Xun had not yet taken an ultimate decision about the sequence when he interrupted his work on the compilation, despite the order suggested by the sequence of discussion in his "Postfactory Note". Moreover, the numbering bears traces of a correction that is hard to determine.

From the page numbering as well as from the collation of the first publication (*chukan* 初刊, 'first printing') and the first edition of the compilation in *Qiejieting zawen* (*chuban* 初版, 'first book publication'), with the 1981 edition of "Complete Works" as a reference,[21] we may infer that the extant manuscript

19 See *Lu Xun shougao quanji*. Riji 魯迅手稿全集：日記 vol. 6., Beijing 1980.

20 Cf. W. Boltz' contribution to this volume.

21 Sun Yong 孫用, "*Lu Xun quanji*" *jiaodu ji* 《魯迅全集》校對記 [Notes on Collating the "Complete Works of Lu Xun" {of 1981}], Changsha 1982, 401.

was prepared for the book compilation and not for the first publication. So at least four witnesses may be postulated:

(1) the lost manuscript of the original letter to the *Xi* supplement (M1);
(2) the first publication, published together with the second letter as "Two Letters From Mr Lu Xun, One Concerning the Stage Play on A Q, The Other Illustrations to A Q" ("Lu Xun xiansheng lai han er feng yi feng tan A *Q* juben yi feng tan A *Q* chahua" 魯迅先生來函二封一封談阿Q劇本一封談阿Q插畫), which I have not seen but which are easily reconstructable from Sun Yong's collations (P1);
(3) the extant and published manuscript under discussion here (M2);
(4) the first publication of *Qiejieting zawen* in June 1937 in fact edited by Xu Guangping, but to be considered authorised to a high degree (P2).[22]

Technically speaking, 7 different types of interventions by the author on the manuscript text may be discerned: erasures, whether accompanied by substituting characters or not,[23] by (1) full erasure making the character or characters (i.e. the textual segment) completely illegible, so that it can only be identified speculatively or by autopsy of the reverse manuscript side (MS p. 132: line 6. character 23; figure 8), (2) various types of erasure, mostly by diagonal hatching, within a circumscriptive line (130: 2.16; figure 7), (3) only circumscription that allows easy identification of erased characters (132: 12.12–15), (4) other less systematic forms of erasure, insertions (5) marked by additional graphic (i.e. metascript) means (132: 12.19), (6) not marked other than by position (129: 12.27; figure 6), and finally (7) inversions (133: 8.17–19; figure 9).

In the manuscript, four textual layers may be identified: The first one (a) is the text from an alien source, i.e. the clipping with the open letter to Lu Xun published in *Xi*, which in this context is purely hypothetical and which I call

22 The first book publication of *Qiejieting zawen* clearly satisfies the conditions for a "decisive role in reception history" (cf. S. Scheibe, "Editorische Grundmodelle", in *Zu Werk und Text. Beiträge zur Textologie*, eds. S. Scheibe / C. Laufer, Berlin 1991, 1.8.4; id., "Zu einigen Grundprinzipien einer historisch-kritischen Ausgabe", in *Texte und Varianten. Probleme ihrer Edition und Interpretation*, eds. G. Martens / H. Zeller, München 1971, 33 and 40).

23 In contrast to the usage in electronic text processing, and in absence of any established terminology in English, I suggest here the coining of "erasure" for any metatextual indication that devalidates a text, no matter whether or not it is substituted (as equivalent to *Streichung*, Chinese *shan'gai* 刪改), "deletion" for devalidated text that is not substituted (*Tilgung*; *shandiao* 刪掉), and "overwriting" for the modification of a character without erasing it (*Überschreibung*; *gaixie* 改寫); cf. A Grésillon, *Eléments de critique génétique. Lire les manuscrits modernes*, Paris 1994, Appendix.

(a0)—simply a quotation given as a facsimile within the facsimile. The usual underlying process for quoting a given text, sometimes also used by Lu Xun, would be (1) manuscript by alien author, (2) printed version, handwritten copy thereof.[24] The ground or basic layer (a) is the first version prepared for the printed book version, modified by immediate corrections (b1) and later interventions by erasure, insertion, overwriting or inversion on the same layer (b2). Finally, two additional layers occur in one single passage towards the end of the text where Lu Xun complains about unauthorized publication of some of his letters: "I have no authority to prevent my letters from being published and no way of knowing in advance what other articles there will be; I am not compromising with any other writer on the same issue."[25] These layers are added to an inversion (b2) and include an erasure with substitution (c) which in turn is modified by insertions (d).

As for dating the layers of the manuscript M2, the ground layer (a) was prepared from the first print P1, thus also copying the date of composition (Nov 14, 1934) which is, of course, not identical with the date of producing the manuscript. According to Lu Xun's diaries, is was actually put down in March 1935, as are the immediate corrections (b1). Layers (b2), (c) and (d) were most likely added shortly before Lu Xun brought editing to near completion, i.e. towards the end of 1935 and immediately before adding preface and postface. The immediate corrections (*Sofortkorrekturen*) might have occurred in a number of instances on layer (b2), but the "break in the writing process",[26] the orthodox definition for this type of correction, is documented only in one case—in a passage where two appearances of the verb *wen* 聞 ('hear') follow in quick succesion, the second being erased immediately and substituted by the more colloquial synonym *ting* 聽 in the writing space immediately following, whereas the first is being likewise substituted only afterwards, i.e. *wen* erased and *ting* inserted outside the writing space offered by the rectangles (MS p. 130, line 1).

24 This holds for "Fenming de shifei he relie de hao'e" 分明的是非和熱烈的好惡 [Making the Difference Between Right and Wrong and Passionately Taking the Position for Good or Evil] by Wei Jinzhi 魏金植 (1900–1972), hand-copied by Lu Xun as "Reference Material" to his "San lun 'Wenren xiang qing'" 三論 "文人相輕" (*Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 375–376) for the MS of *Qiejieting zawen* (ff 4–5, unnumbered). In the 7th sequel "Qi lun 'Wenren xiang qing'—liang shang" 七論 "文人相輕"—兩傷 (*Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 403–406), a longer quotation from an article by Shen Congwen from the Tianjin *Dagongbao* 大公報 appears as a clipping, whereas Lu Xun quotes his own 1925 translation from a Petőfi poem by hand (MS ff 2 and 4).

25 *Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 148; quoted from *Selected Works*, 4, 144, with modifications.

26 See Scheibe, "Editorische Grundmodelle".

The top layer was the basis for P2, the first book edition of *Qiejieting zawen*—for which Lu Xun even designed the cover, never actually used during his lifetime (cf. figure 5). Except for the use of one single form for *li* 裡 ('inside') for the two manuscript variants with the 'clothes' radical *yi* 衣 once at top and bottom and once skipped, it is absolutely faithful to the manuscript.

4. Types of Interventions on the Manuscript

44 interventions may be identified on the manuscript. If extended to the first printed version of the text for which the collation lists 8 variant passages, one of which coincides with the 44, there is evidence of a total of 51 interventions by the author on the text.

M1 manuscript for open letter to *Xi* weekly, dated Nov 14 [1934] (lost)
P1 "Lu Xun xiansheng lai han er feng yi feng tan A *Q* juben yi feng tan A *Q* chahua", *Xi* [*Zhonghua ribao* fukan] no. 15 (Shanghai, Nov 25, 1934).
M2 "Da 'Xi' zhoukan bianzhe xin", 6 pp. numbered 128–133, Mar–Dec 1935, in *Lu Xun shougao xuanji sanbian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973).
P2 In *Qiejieting zawen*, ed. Xu Guangping (Shanghai: Sanxian shuwu, 1937).

[x] deletion
<x> insertion
x unidentified character
5 x 5 unidentified characters
x1–7 1st to 7th of a group of unidentified characters

Plain numerals represent the count of editorial interventions on the manuscript reproduced in *Lu Xun shougao xuanji sanbian*, those following the manuscript page number, column and position, whereas numerals preceded by an asterisk refer to the findings by Sun Yong in "*Lu Xun quanji" jiaodu ji* [Notes on Collating the "Complete Works of Lu Xun" {of 1981}] (Changsha: Hu'nan renmin chubanshe, 1982) and volume, page and line from top (t) or bottom (b) in *Lu Xun quanji*, 16 vols. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981).

1	128:8.15	Dan ruguo xiansheng he duzhe<men dou> ken yuxian liaojie wo buguo shi yi ge waixingren de suibian.
2	128:12.14	yi xianshi Weizhuang huo Luzhen de quan[tu] de fangfa quan<mao> de fangfa
3	129:6.6	na [x] na <shi>

4	129: 6.22	jiaru xie yi pian baolu xiaoshu, zhiding [chu]
		zhiding <shi>qing shi chu zai mouchu
5	129: 8.2	yiban ren [x] piaopiao ran
		yiban ren <que> piaopiao ran
6	129: 8.6	<bu>dan zuopin de yiyi
7	129: 8.12	zuopin de yiyi <he zuoyong> wanquan
8	129: 8.15–16	wanquan [x x]
		wanquan <shidiao> le
*2	6: 145.b12b	P1: rencan bai mai[4] le
		P2: rencan bai mai[3] le
9	129: 11.23	wangwang yiwei <you xie> xiaoshuo de genben shi zai bao sichou
*3	6: 145.b10	P1: jiushi shiji shang [wei] shei
		P2: jiushi shiji shang de shei
10	129: 12.27	caizi xuezhe<men> de baifei xinsi
11	130: 2.1	zhiyu A *Q* <de xing> ne
12	130: 2.16	na [x] hai shi fasheng le yaoyan.
		na <shi> hai shi fasheng le yaoyan.
13	130: 6.13	*4 P1: fahui de <geng> qianglie
14	130: 9.27	Dan wo kan [x]
15	130: 9.32	Dan wo kan [x] lilai de piping<jia>
*5	6: 145.t5	P1: zhe hui bianzhe duiyu zhujiao A *Q* suo shuo de Shaoxinghua
		P2: zhe hui bianzhe <de> duiyu zhujiao
16	130: 11.1	qu le zheyang suishou hu[xie] de taidu
		qu le zheyang suishou hu<diao> de taidu
17	131: 1.21	A *Q* <yisheng> de shiqing
18	131: 1.35	ta dangran [x] shuo Shaoxinghua
		ta dangran <gai> shuo Shaoxinghua
19	131: 5.20	Wo xiang, zhe ye bingfei quan wei<le> yong zhelai qu bieren de shangxia
20	131: 6.9	shi <jingju huo lianhua>, jici he huaji, shi zhi jiu shi chu yu xiadengren zhi kou de
21	131: 7.6	shi bendi de kanke<men> nenggou chidi de liaojie
22	131: 8.13	bie de [x]se ye da keyi yong Shaoxinghua
		bie de <jiao>se ye da keyi yong Shaoxinghua
23	131: 9.14	dadi qian<zhe> juzi jian, yu zhuci he gantan ci shao
23	131: 10.11	tongyi yisi de <yi ju> hua, keyi chenchang dao yi pei
*6	6: 145.b3	P1: keyi [shen]chang dao yi pei
		P2: keyi <chen>chang dao yi pei
25	131: 12.8	ta dadi shi xiang <muqian> biaodian Mingren xiaopin de mingren yiyang
26	131: 12.25	bing bu zenme dong <de> de
27	132: 1.5	wo kongpa ta [wen] le zhi hou, bu hui bi [wen] ting waiguo maxi li de da hun geng you suode.
		wo kongpa ta <ting> le zhi hou
28	132: 2.36	buguo ye shi zuojia de [x] guancaiding,

29	132: 3.26	sui shi sui di, <wubu> ke yong de juben
30	132: 6.23	zhe benzi jiu suan shi yi [x] diben
		zhe benzi jiu suan shi yi <ge> diben
31	132: 6.28	jiang [x] qi zhong de shuo bai dou gai wei dangdi de tuhua
32	132: 12.12–15	[buguo x x] mei you
		<dangran jue> mei you
33	132: 12.18	mei you ba[er] jun de weiba de you qu.
34	133: 1.1	buguo <hai> shi fei shuo bu ke.
35	133: 2.1	zhe xin hou<lai> bei fabiao zai "Shehui yuebao" shang le
36	133: 4.33	dan wo jide "Xi" zhoukan shang yi<ceng> fabiao guo
37	133: 5.19	Ye xiansheng hai hua <le> yi fu A *Q* xiang
38	133: 6.14	shang bu shi <duo nian> bianmi
39	133: 8.8–9	[?yiding] wo bing
40	133: 8.11–9.14	a) wo bing [39 x]
		c) wo bing <wu ci zhong quanli, [?neng] jinzhi bieren jiang wo de xinjian zai kanwu shang fabiao, erqie lingwai hai you shei de wenzhang, geng wu cong yuxian zhidao, suoyi duiyu tongyi kanwu shang de renhe zuozhe, dou mei you> biaoshi diaohe
		d) wo bing <wu ci zhong quanli, <keyi> jinzhi bieren …
*7	6: 148.t2	P1: keyi jinzhi bieren jiang [tong] wo xinjian
*8	6: 148.t4	P1: suoyi duiyu [tong]yi kanwu shang de renhe zuozhe
41	133: 8.17–19	a) wo bing [x1–5 x6 x7 x8 x9–39]
		b) wo bing [x1–5 x7 x5 x6 <x> x9–39] biaoshi diaohe
42	133: 9.18	diaohe <yu fouding> de yisi
43	133: 10.21	a) [x] zai mingxian de diren zhi shang de.
		b) [x <x>] zai mingxian
		d) [x <x>] <shi> zai mingxian
44	133: 11.3	Zhe <dao> bingfei geren de shiqing

I shall, however, concentrate on the 44 interventions on M2, which can be grouped as follows: roughly 27 insertions, 13 substitutions, i.e. with preceding erasure and 4 deletions, i.e. without any related substitution. Three of the full deletions can be interpreted as immediate corrections with no additional reference. Of the 27 insertions, 13 are concerned with suffixes, particles and the substitution of a monosyllabic by a bisyllabic word. Among the suffigations we find the plural marker *men* from *duzhe* to *duzhemen* 讀者們 (#1), from *xuezhe* to *xuezhemen* 學者們 (#10),[27] or the nominal marker *jia* from *piping* to *pipingjia* 批評家 (#15), whereas for particles there is *weile* for *wei* (#19). The original *hua* is expanded by the the perfective particle to *huale* (#37), and in several

27 On the individual usage of the suffix in Lu Xun see Lin Wanqing 林萬箐 ["Lim Buan Chay"], *Lun Lu Xun xiuci: cong jiqiao dao guilü* 論魯迅修辭：從機巧到規律 ["Lu Xun's Rhetorical Style: From Devices to a Principle"], Singapore 1986, 176–180.

instances the attributive *de* is added. The monosyllabic *yi* is substituted by *yi-ceng* 已曾 (#36) or *hou* by *houlai* 後來 (#35). Maybe most important is the addition of classifiers in four instances. All these interventions are clearly aimed at transforming the original layer of the text in M2 which is replete with *baihua-wen* 白話文, to bring it closer to the vernacular.[28] These findings correspond, within a single text, to the diachronic analysis made on a much larger sample, an analysis yet based exclusively on the standardised text version in the *Complete Works* ever since 1938, without any reference to manuscripts.

The remaining 14 additions either expand the expressions semantically or add new expressions, but in most cases they aim at an intensification, such as in *fahui de qianglie* which is modified to *fahui de geng qianglie* 發揮得更強烈 (#13). Most significant among all interventions on the vocabulary, however, is where the verb *wen* is substituted by *ting*, as already mentioned.

Editorial intervention by the author on this single text has resulted in a considerable increase in quantity of text, although the increase amounts to less than five percent. Nonetheless, it reproduces precisely what is one of the concerns in the text's subject matter. Within his reflections about the function and effects of shift in register on the stage, Lu Xun makes a sociolinguistic observation when rejecting the contrasting pattern of *guanhua* 官話 vs. dialect used in traditional opera. He proposes flexibility instead, while giving a critical assessment of Yuan Muzhi's stage version of A Q: "Though it would be all one single dialect [if the whole play were written in *Shaoxinghua* 紹興話], the upper-class language is different from the lower, having shorter sentences with fewer exclamations and interjections—a lower-class sentence with the same meaning may be twice the length."[29]

5. How Could a Critical Edition Proceed?

As the text has been transmitted in standard editions of complete or selected works ever since 1938, with meanwhile even a facsimile edition of the first collected print in *Qiejieting zawen* (P2),[30] it seems superfluous to produce a

28 For a list of distinctive features in Lu Xun's idiolect cf. R. Hsü [Xu Shiwen 許士文], *The Style of Lu Hsün*, Hong Kong 1979, 212–216.

29 *Lu Xun quanji*, 6: 146; quoted from *Selected Works*, 4: 142.

30 *Lu Xun zibian wenji* 魯迅自編文集 [Collected Works in Lu Xun's Own Selection; 1935–37], 19 vols., ed. Nan Yuan 南轅 & al., Tianjin 1999, 18: 172–179.—This edition, despite its overt address to an intended readership among book collectors, is serious and reliable

new edited text with lemmatic apparatus listing variants. Any attempt to constitute the ground layer fully, as the most important stage of M2 forming the bridge between P1 and P2, as an edited text would be hampered by the difficulty of some suspected, but not evidenced immediate corrections mentioned above. Also a synoptic edition including all variants would not seem as suitable as a genetic or so-called "stair-edition" to make the process of textual production much more transparent than it has been made so far, even with the most detailed collations. In such an edition, each identifiable manuscript layer would result in one "step" of the stair, with metatextual signs denoting interventions on the respective layer. It is evident that such a procedure would finally constitute a bigger quantity of text than Lu Xun had actually ever written—a phenomenon that has been labelled as the "metaphysics of edition".[31] However, as can be seen from the facsimile pages I have shown, reading of some deleted passages in certain cases presents difficulties that may only be mastered by an autopsy of the manuscripts which consists of paper used just on one side almost throughout.

6. Conclusions

I hope I have made sufficiently clear, with these few examples, that a historical and critical edition may contribute much to our knowledge and understanding of the process of literary production. But not only this: As the text was written in 1934, this falls exactly within the period when the still new and unstable written standard of *baihua* 白話 was being established and virtually none of the important New Literature writers had not published a manual on style, or *xiuci* 修辭, between 1930 and 1936—the year of publication of the first *Cihai* 辭海 encyclopedia edition. It may also shed light on the range of linguistic registers available to an individual author. With regard to the subject matter of the letter-article, and in particular the sociolinguistic reflection at its core, the manuscript with its various layers might even be said to physically enact the switch from one register to another. And to continue the metaphor: The manuscript even

---

and of impeccable printing quality, unlike a number of recent MS facsimile editions, such as Mao Dun, *"Ziye" shouji ben* 《子夜》手蹟本, ed. Wei Tao 韋韜, Beijing 1996, and *Lu Xun mingpian shouji* 魯迅名篇手蹟, 4 vols., eds. Wang Bin 王彬 / Cui Guozheng 崔國政, Beijing 1999).

31 M. Kohlenbach / W. Groddeck, "Zwischenüberlegungen zur Edition von Nietzsches Nachlass", *Text. Kritische Beiträge* 1 (1995), esp. 32–34.

functions as the very stage to which Lu Xun would have liked to see his A Q adapted. Lu Xun's *mise-en-scène*, however, is only in part successful. Moreover, in his counterattack launched at Tian Han several months after the *casus belli* discussed here (and its textual witness of almost 2,000 characters, copied by hand nearly two years later), Lu Xun does not escape the isomorphous trap of analogy, or the creative principle of self-similarity, to put it in terms of chaos theory. In this context, I should like to point out that a significant concentration of immediate corrections starts to occur shortly before the shift to the third part which is unrelated to the letter's original motivation by the A Q play, and which goes into the details of Lu Xun's own "vengeance", precisely the principle he had so vigorously attacked as an alleged motivation for creative writing.

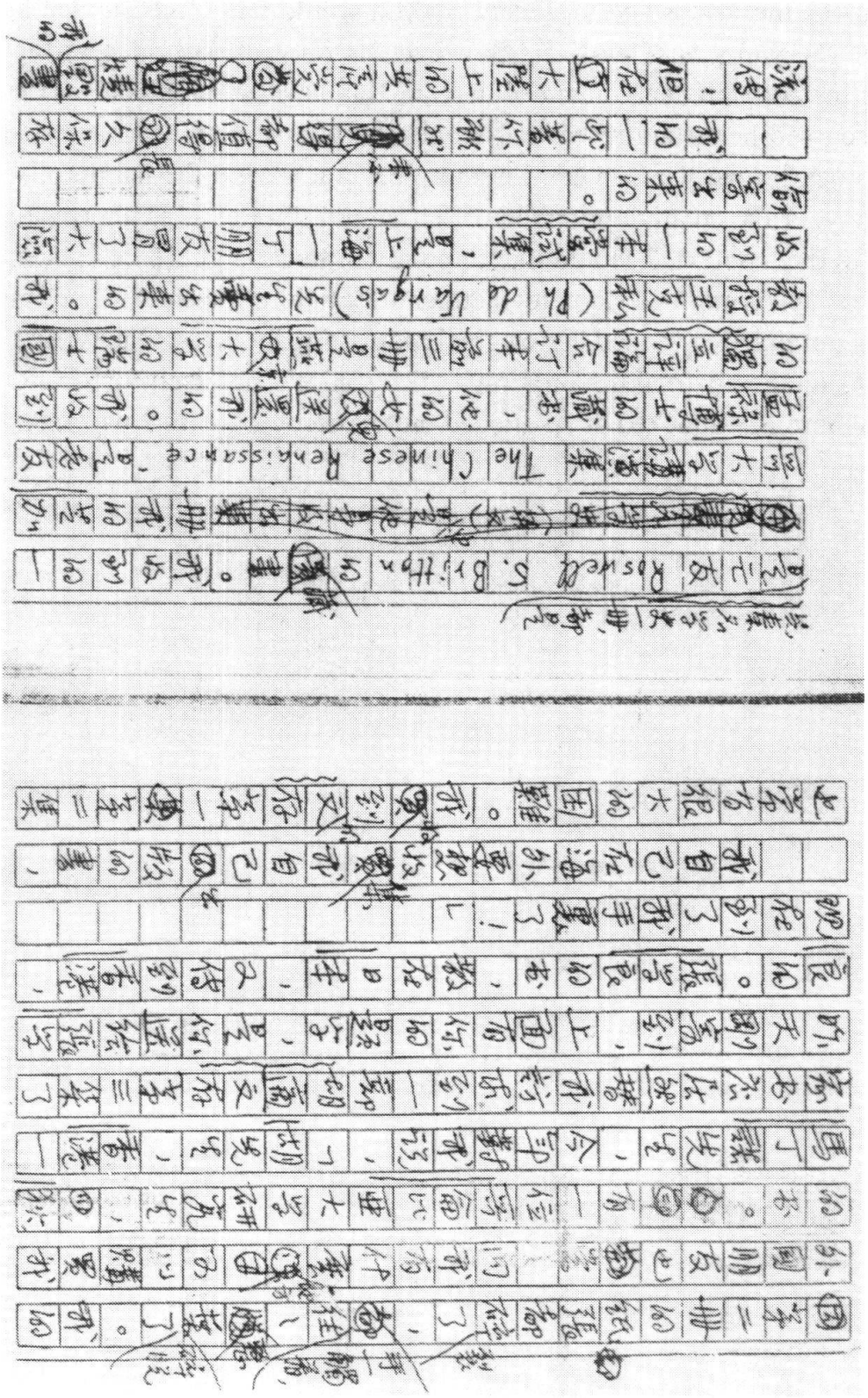

Figure 1: Hu Shi 胡適, "Hu Shi wencun si bu heyinben zixu" 胡適文存四部合印本自序 [Preface to the One-volume Edition of the Four Parts of "Writings of Hu Shi"; New York, July 4, 1953], in *Hu Shi wencun*, 4. vols., Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, s.a. [ca. 1960], vol. 1, n.pp., MS p. 5.

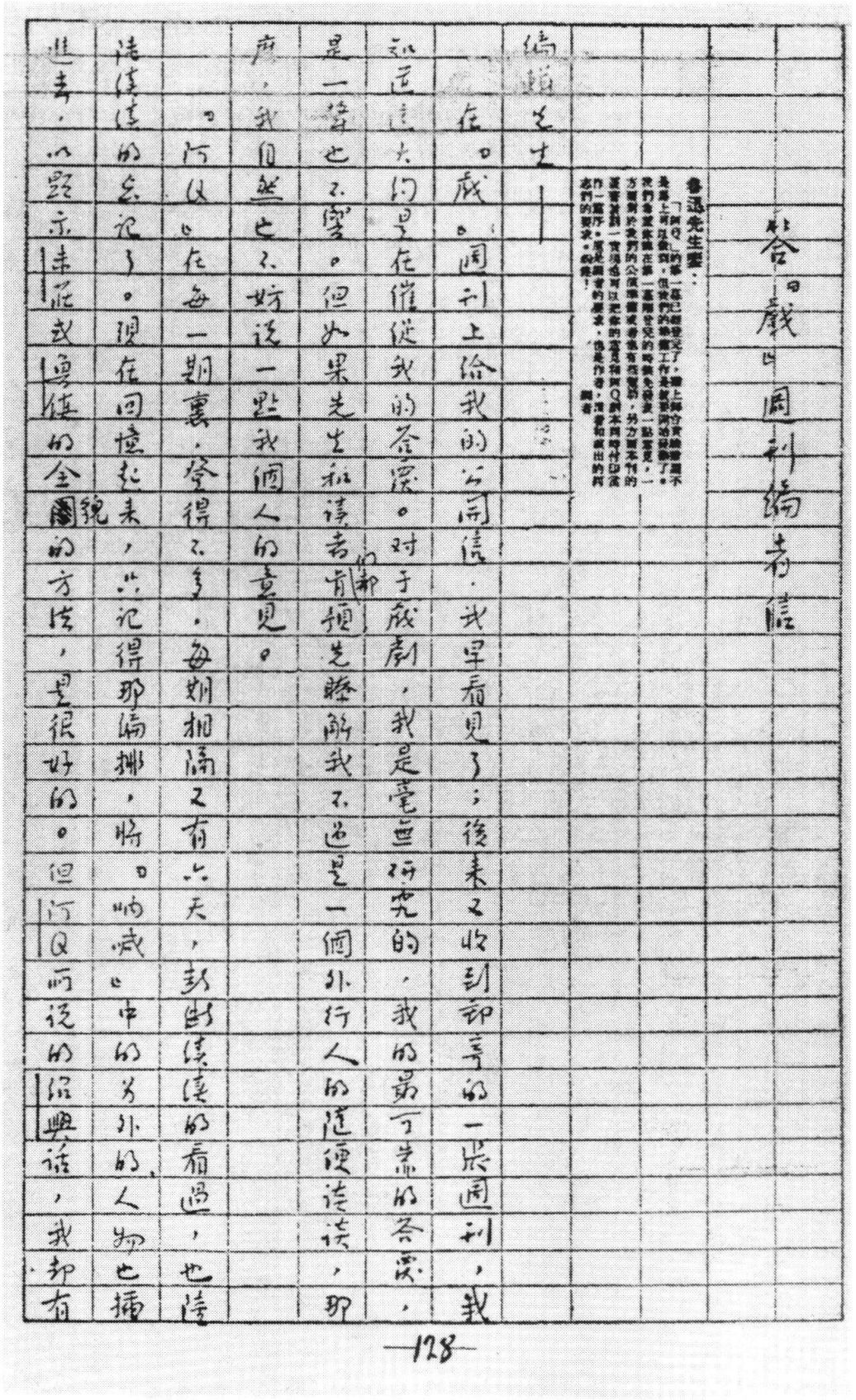

Figure 2: M2, p. 128. (*Lu Xun shougao xuanji sanbian*, no additional page numbering for the facsimile.)

Figure 3: "Xie zai 'Fen' houmian" 寫在《墳》後面 [Written for the End of "Grave"; Nov 11, 1926], MS f1, left half, in *Lu Xun shougao xuanji sanbian*. Note that the horizontal sheets are reproduced in right and left halves for each facsimile page, and that the right half of f9 has not been used for writing, i.e. the text runs from f8-left to f9-left (cf. *Lu Xun zhuyi xinian mulu*, 119).

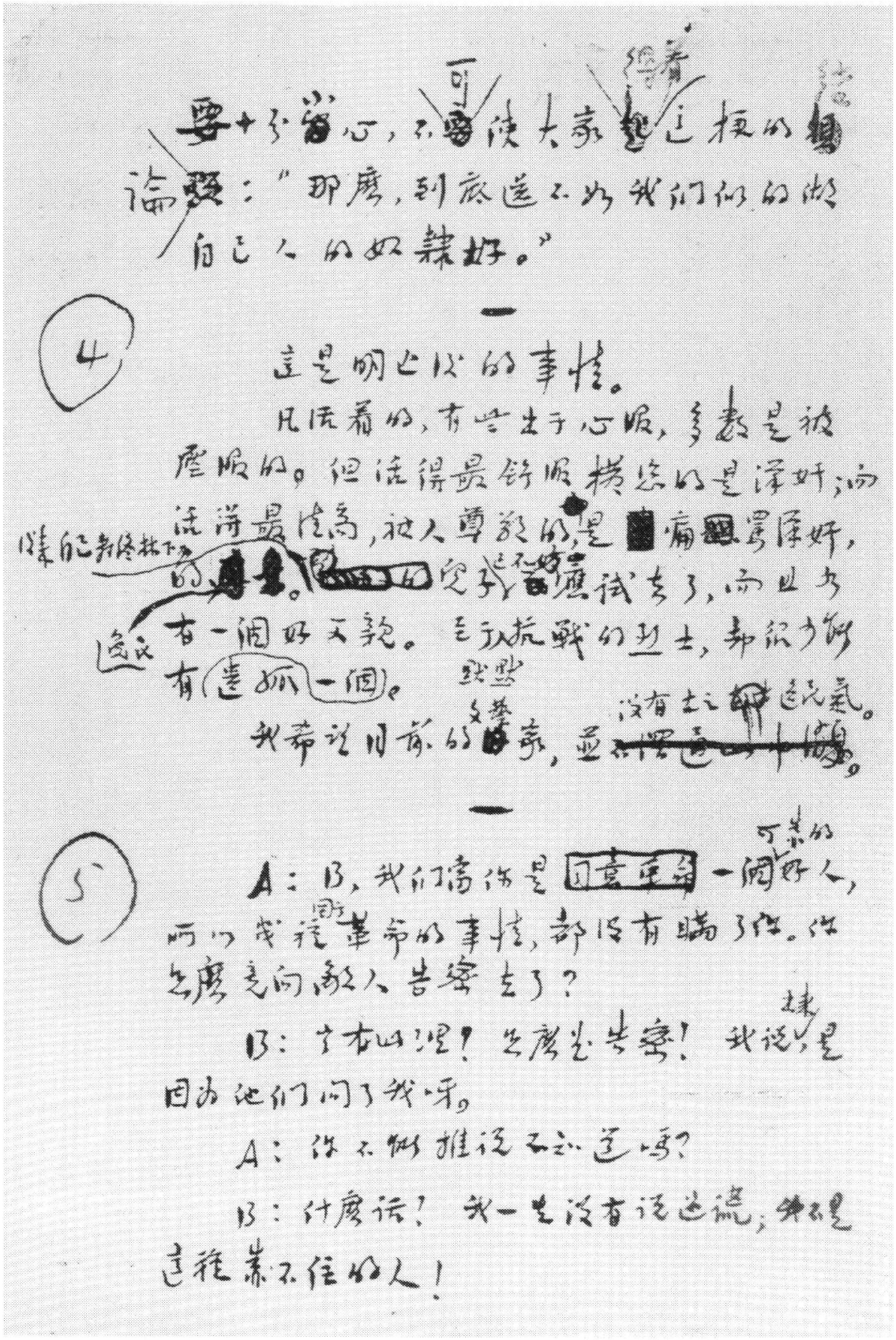

Figure 4: "Banxia xiaoji" 半夏小記, f1, first published in *Zuojia* 作家 2,1 (Oct 15, 1936); cf. *Lu Xun zhuyi xinian mulu*, 309.

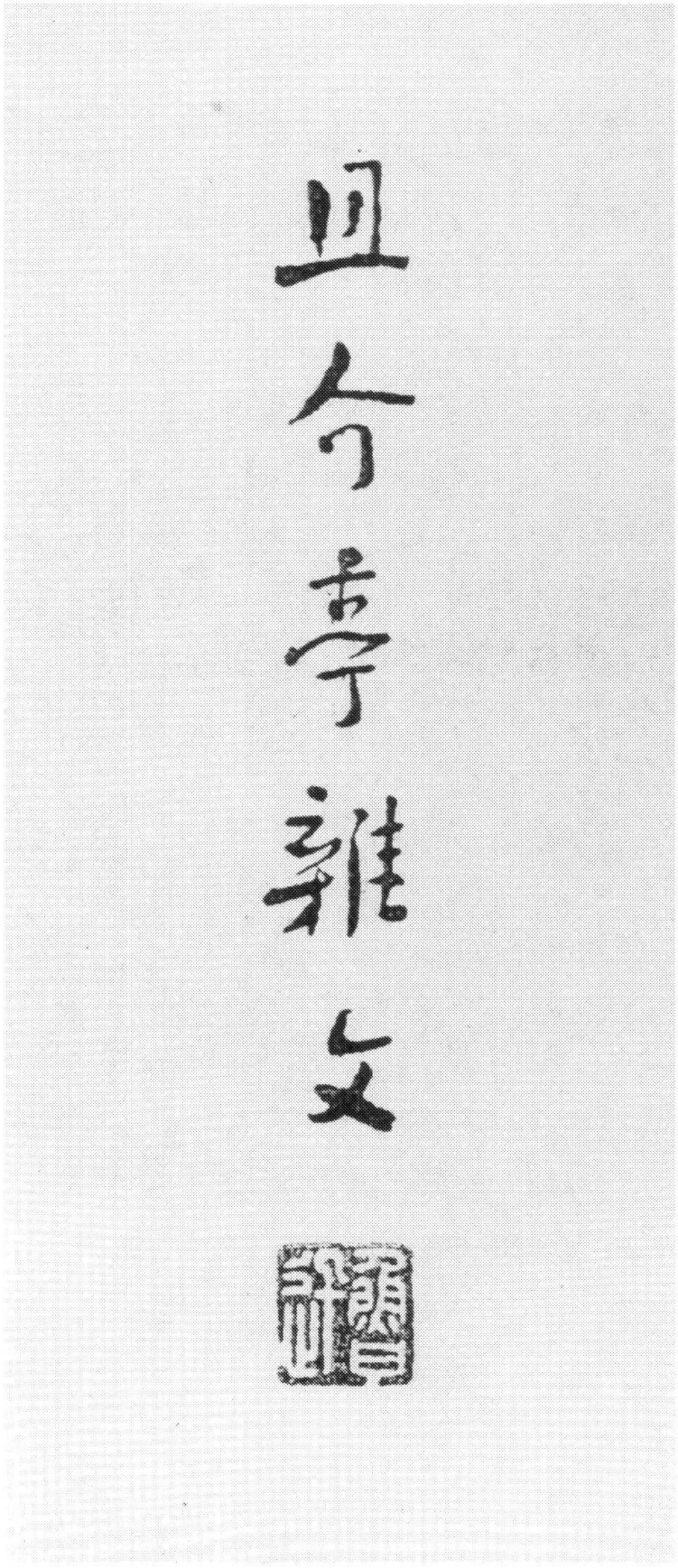

Figure 5: Cover of *Qiejieting zawen*, designed by Lu Xun.

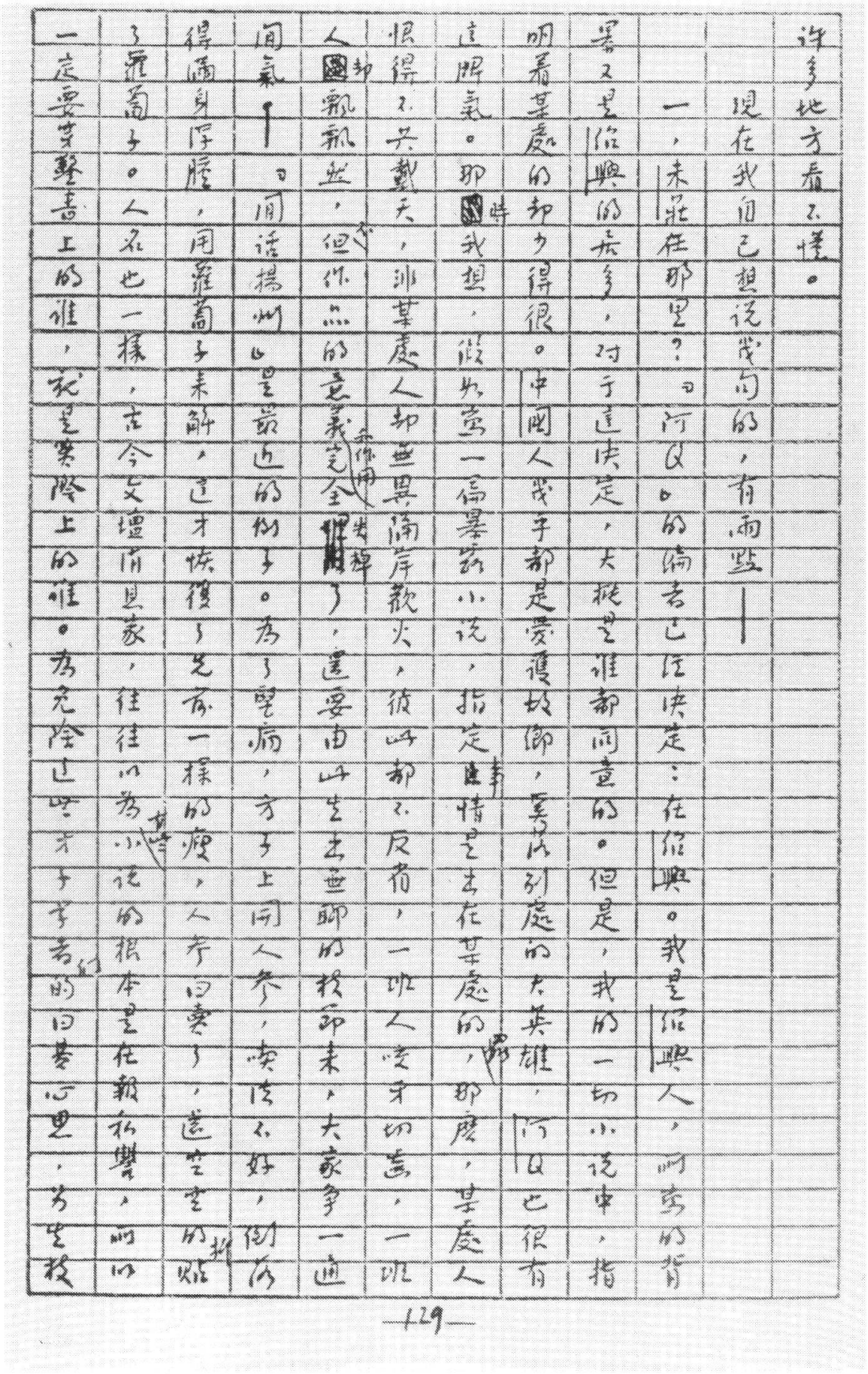

Figure 6: M2, p. 129.

Figure 7: M2, p. 130.

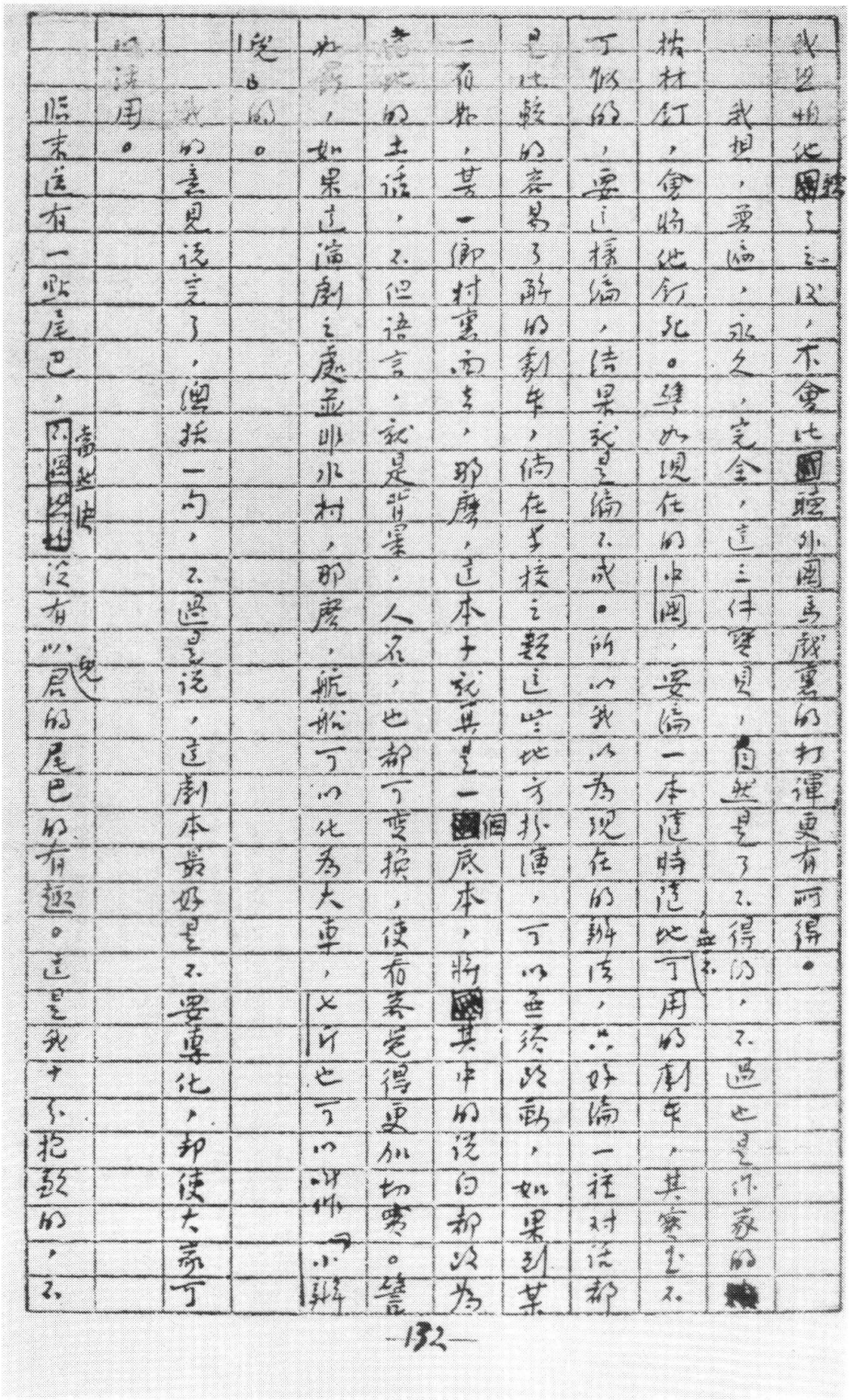

Figure 8: M2, p. 132.

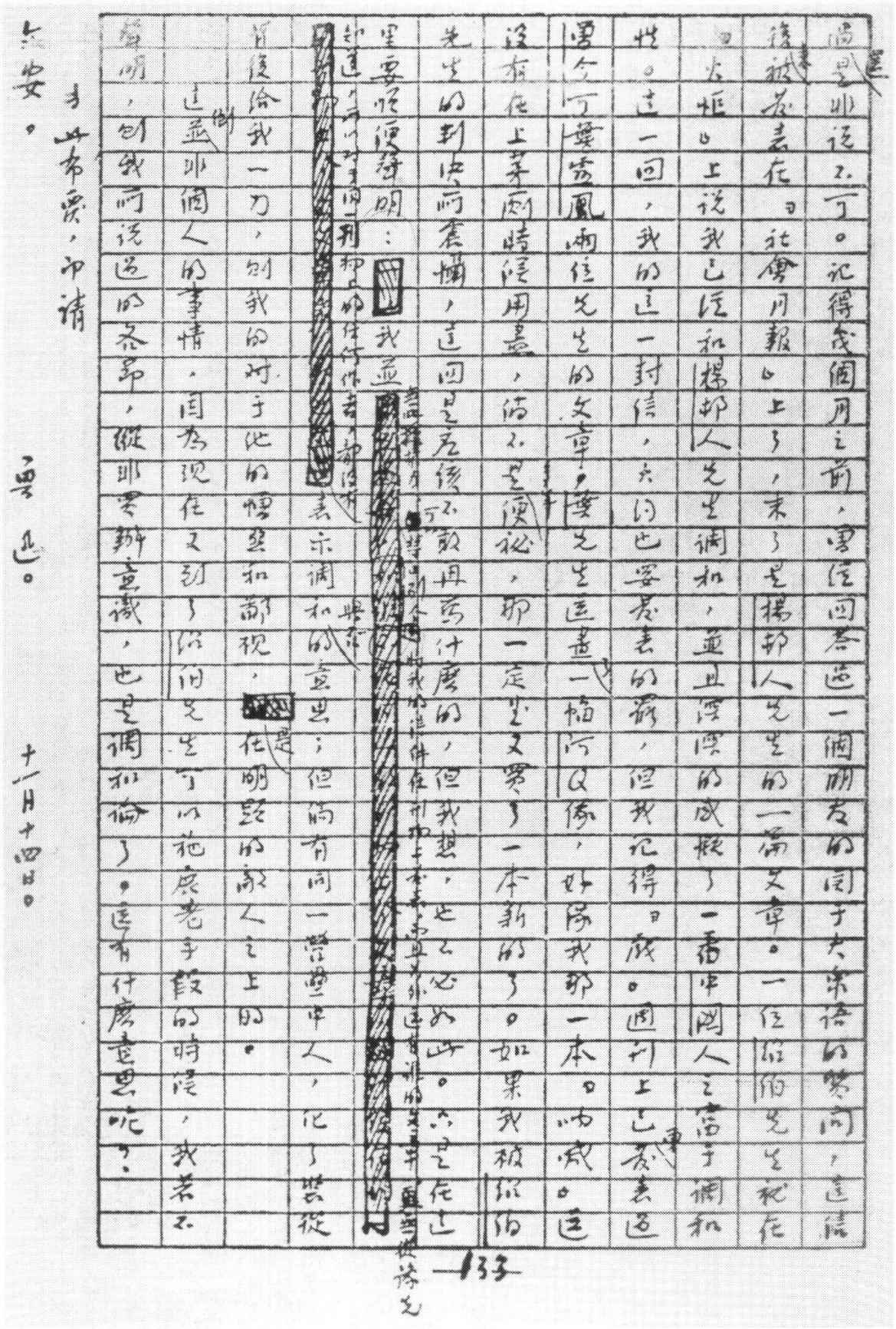

Figure 9: M2, p. 133.