Introduction

In 1950 a Ping opera (Pingju 评剧) play entitled *Liu Qiao'er* 刘巧儿 was presented on Beijing's stages to accompany the promulgation of the revolutionary new Chinese Marriage Law.[1] It tells the story of a young woman, Liu Qiao'er, who lives in the Chinese revolutionary base area in the 1940s and resists a marriage arranged by her father. As a child Qiao'er was engaged to the son of the Zhao family, but she refuses this engagement because it is not her will and she wants to find her own marriage mate. Liu Qiao'er falls in love with a handsome young man she encounters in a meeting. Later she learns that he is her former fiancé. During this time her father arranges another engagement with an old man, a rich landlord. Her former fiancé's family then comes to the Liu residence and kidnaps Qiao'er for marriage. The county judge punishes the Zhaos for the kidnapping and also annuls Qiao'er's marriage to her lover, her former fiancé. Qiao'er bravely appeals to a higher authority, Prefect Ma, who has a better understanding of the revolutionary principle of marriage and thus reverses the judgment. With the support of the revolutionary government, Qiao'er is able to marry the man of her choice, and the story concludes happily.

This opera was later performed on the national stage and then adapted into a 1956 musical film that was shown throughout China. It is no exaggeration to claim that *Liu Qiao'er* influenced generations of youth from the 1950s to the 1960s. The most famous arioso was on everyone's lips:

> In my childhood, it was arranged that I, Qiao'er,
> Would marry a son of the Zhao family.
> It was my parents' decision, but we two did not know each other.
> How could we be happy together?
> …
> In a meeting I met this man and liked him very much…
> This time I want to choose my own marriage mate.[2]

[1] A local opera performed in parts of Manchuria and northern China, including Tianjin, Beijing, and Hebei.

[2] *Liu Qiao'er*, directed by Yi Lin, Changchun dianying zhipianchang (Changchun Film Studio), 1956. The implication of this sentence is discussed in Chapter 7.

The arioso's melody and the story's image left a deep impression on my childhood memory because they were frequently presented at many celebratory occasions and workplace parties during the holidays.[3] These artistic works not only created an image of Liu Qiao'er that encouraged women to fight against old marriage practices, but also promoted a new concept of "self-determination" (*zizhu* 自主) that inspired women to choose their own mate in marriage.

The play/film was especially persuasive because it was not fictional but rather based on a 1943 legal case, *Feng v. Zhang*, which involved a dispute between two families over a traditional marriage contract. The case began when a local farmer, Feng Yangui 封彦贵, abandoned the engagement contract of his daughter Peng'er 捧儿 (1924–2015) to the son of another farmer, Zhang Jincai 张金才, and betrothed her to another suitor for a much higher betrothal gift (*caili* 彩礼). A week later, Peng'er ran into her former fiancé, Zhang Bo 张柏 (1922–91), and expressed her wish to be with him. The Zhangs immediately went to Feng's residence and captured Peng'er for marriage to prevent her father from marrying his daughter to the new suitor. Feng Yangui then brought Zhang Jincai to the county court, suing him for kidnapping his daughter.[4]

This dispute occurred in a small village under the jurisdiction of Huachi County. Huachi is located in Eastern Gansu Province, a region traditionally called Longdong (陇东), which became part of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region (SGNBR or Border Region, BR, see Map 1) under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the 1930s. Bordered with the Mongolian prairie, the local culture displayed a mixture of orthodox state ideology and a patriarchal tradition, blended with deeply rooted heterodox steppe customs absorbed from the nomadic people who lived on the vast Mongolian plain. In this region the traditional family, marriage practices, and sexual behavior took various forms, including child-brides-to-be, arranged marriages, marriages by capture, the kidnapping of brides, and marriages through buying and selling, as well as runaway wives, adultery, polygamy, and polyandry. It was a politically insulated area that was not significantly affected by the early twentieth-century events that rocked other parts of China, such as the Qing constitution movement and reform, the Republican Revolution

[3] Many people who lived through the 1950s and 1960s are familiar with this aria from the film and the opera.

[4] Shaanxi Provincial Archives file number 15–842, *Feng v. Zhang*. The collection of the High Court records, titled "The Documents of the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border High Court," is located in Shaanxi Provincial Archives in Xi'an. In the following chapters, all sources from Shaanxi Provincial Archives are abbreviated as SPA plus file number, followed by the document title under or in this file number.

in 1911, the antitraditional New Culture Movement in the 1910s, and anti-imperialism campaigns of the 1920s. The SGN region remained largely isolated from the political upheavals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries until communist forces arrived in the 1930s.

In 1939 the communist government issued a marriage regulation, launching a reform to change the local marriage practices that were considered "backward" by the revolutionary party-state (see Chapter 1). Based on this marriage regulation, the county court punished the Zhangs for kidnapping and invalidated the marriage between Peng'er and Zhang Bo. However, Peng'er refused to accept the result and appealed to the subregional leader, Prefect/Judge Ma Xiwu 马锡五 (1899–1962) (see administrative and legal systems in Chapter 3). After a series of investigations in the village, Prefect Ma overturned the county judgment and pronounced Peng'er's marriage valid. As the principle for judging the marriage case, Prefect Ma highlighted a term – *zizhu* (self-determination) – that had been developed in the legal practice of marriage reform in the SGNBR.

About a year after the legal case was settled, a series of publications, artistic presentations, and performances arose from its social and cultural context and gained political and cultural significance. First, a 1944 article that appeared on the front page of Yan'an's leading communist newspaper *Liberation Daily* 解放日报 (*Jiefang ribao*) presented the case as a model of communist governance and the appropriate judicial method in dealing with unrest in local communities. This article thus brought the story from a remote village on the revolutionary frontier to the political center of Yan'an.[5] Then in 1945 the communist newspaper *Xinhua Daily* 新华日报 (*Xinhua ribao*), located in the Nationalist wartime capital of Chongqing, twice reported the case as a showcase of the SGNBR government's democratic methods. It served as a vehicle for winning women's support in the CCP's competition with the Nationalist government.[6]

Between 1944 and 1956 a group of revolutionary artists and writers reshaped the case of *Feng v. Zhang* into a series of cultural products, taking it from the legal and political realms into the field of artistic and literary creation. In 1944 an artist, Gu Yuan 古元 (1919–96), published a woodcut in *Liberation Daily* to praise the revolutionary way of settling

[5] "Ma Xiwu tongzhi de shenpan fangshi" (Comrade Ma Xiwu's Way of Judging), *Jiefang ribao* (Liberation Daily), March 13, 1944.

[6] "Bianqu tiaojie hunyin de yige shili" (Marriage Mediation in the BR), *Xinhua ribao* (Xinhua Daily), October 22, 1944; Li Pu, "Yi jian qianghun an" (A Marriage by Kidnapping), *Xinhua ribao*, April 11, 1945 (cited in Liu Fengge *et al.*, *Shaan Gan Ning Bianqu Longdong de qunzhong yundong* (Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region: Longdong's Mass Campaign) (Qingyang: Zhonggong Qingyang diwei dangshi ziliao zhengji bangongshi, 1994), 90–3).

community disputes that the case exemplified. In 1945 a female amateur playwright, Yuan Jing 袁静 (1914–99), adapted it into a libretto, *Liu Qiao'er Goes to the Law* (*Liu Qiao'er gaozhuang* 刘巧儿告状), and staged it as a local opera in the Yan'an area. In this libretto Yuan not only created an image of a rebellious daughter who dared to resist her father's domination, but also invented the figure of a middle-aged woman who served as a social mother to guide and assist the rebellious daughter. These images of women went beyond the issues of the May Fourth discourse and expressed Yuan's perceptions of gender relations between women and the state during the twentieth-century social transformation and state-building. At the same time, a blind local troubadour, Han Qixiang 韩起祥 (1915–89), recast the story as a ballad, *Liu Qiao's Reunion* (*Liu Qiao tuanyuan* 刘巧团圆), to fit local tastes and gain a broader audience in the SGNBR. From 1946 to 1950 the libretto and the lyrics of the ballad story were published in Yan'an, Manchuria, Hong Kong, and Beijing, along with reports of CCP military and political victories.

The story based on this legal case continued to develop in the 1950s. In early 1950 a new version of the opera *Liu Qiao'er*, derived from Yuan's libretto and Han's ballad, opened in Beijing. It served the purpose of promoting the newly issued Marriage Law. A famous Ping opera actress, Xin Fengxia 新凤霞 (1927–98), played the heroine; her performance contributed to a positive popular reception of the new law and the concept of self-determination. In 1956, based on the well-received opera libretto, the Changchun Film Studio (Changchun dianying zhipianchang 长春电影制片厂) produced a film, *Liu Qiao'er*. Through this film an image of revolutionary womanhood, epitomized by the character Liu Qiao'er, was disseminated to the entire country. Audiences widely accepted this new image of womanhood for a New China.

In the process of these multiple transformations, the focus of the story derived from the 1943 legal case was constantly recast. It shifted from a young woman seeking a favorable ruling to protect her marriage, to the state-promoted way of governance, to showcasing democracy in the BR system, to a new view of marriage and family, and, finally, to new images of womanhood that represented the revolutionary ideal of marriage and gender relations. Since the 1980s the story has been carried on in political campaigns and in even a new wave of contemporary commercialization.

The legal case and the image of Liu Qiao'er derived from this case are critical not only for understanding historical, social, and gender practices in China from the 1940s up to today, but can also shed light on the importance of state-building through legal construction and practice in the Chinese revolution. In this book I first engage with the scholarship on marriage reform in the 1940s' revolutionary region and the study of

women's agency, and examine the interplay between the revolutionary state and women's agency in the legal process. I demonstrate how the term *zizhu*, which had its roots in local women's autonomy, was adopted by judicial workers to empower women. Next, from a cultural history perspective, I review the emergence of the term "*zizhu*" and its evolution in the historical and social context of twentieth-century China. By tracing the development of this term, I aim to answer the question of how local agents adopted imported concepts but eventually developed new principles and concepts that contained the social experience of the locality. In doing so, this study brings to the fore a critical difference from postcolonialist theorization of third-world transformation in the twentieth century. Finally, in the analysis of the cultural image of Liu Qiao'er, I decode the complicated process of how the revolutionary party-state, local communities, and the educated elites, in an entangled relationship, recast a local story for its national campaigns for social reform and new gender relations among women, the family, and the state. It also examines how this cultural image and these terms, as a revolutionary legacy, in turn recast the narrative of revolution and legitimated the revolution.

Women's liberation, marriage reform, and women's agency in the Chinese revolution

From the 1960s to the late 1970s, Western scholars had a basically positive assessment of the marriage reform in the revolutionary base area and in the People's Republic of China, but their work focused on the question of the degree to which the CCP and the revolution liberated women from the old patriarchal system.[7] This perspective also dominated the historical study of Chinese women in the 1980s; when scholars examined China's gradual opening since the late 1970s they observed that patriarchal power structures remained in rural society.[8] Through analysis of CCP political documents from the 1940s, these scholars thus concluded that the communist revolution had in fact delayed and even failed

[7] M. J. Meijer, *Marriage Law and Policy in the Chinese People's Republic* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1971); Marilyn B. Young (ed.), *Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1973); Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke (eds.), *Women in Chinese Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975); Delia Davin, *Woman-Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Patricia Stranahan, *Yan'an Women and the Communist Party* (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1984).

[8] See Margery Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985).

women's liberation because the CCP compromised with, and even protected, the rural patriarchy, at the price of women's rights, in order to win male peasants' support for wars against the Japanese and the Nationalists (Guomindang or GMD).[9] In the 1980s this assumption regarding marriage reform and the evaluation of its effect was criticized by some scholars for its Western feminist approach,[10] but is still dominant in current Anglophone scholarship on the history of the revolutionary base area.[11]

However, this assumption has difficulty when attempting to explain the case of *Feng v. Zhang* – why would the revolutionary power support Peng'er's appeal and her choice for marriage instead of aligning with the two patriarchs? Second, the liberation discourse makes absolute a progressive value and ignores the possibility that the state's modernization projects could be a double-edged sword that have granted rights and brought opportunities to women while restraining their other rights in other ways.[12] This study demonstrates that the state's policy offered women a chance to escape unhappy marriage through divorce, but also divested a certain autonomy they had previously enjoyed under the patriarchal system, such as running away, practicing polyandry, and marriage by capture. Third, the discourse of liberation sets the CCP as the liberator that views women as victims needing to be saved, thus effacing women's subjectivities. It tells us little about local women: what was their view

[9] See Kay Ann Johnson, *Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Judith Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Phyllis Andors, *The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women, 1949–1980* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983). Although some scholars are more positive than others in their evaluation of the marriage reform policy, they admit that the communist revolution did not do enough to change the position of Chinese women in family and in society; see Margery Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China.*

[10] Ann Anagnost, "Transformation of Gender in Modern China," in *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching*, Sandra Morgen (ed.) (Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, 1989), 313–29; Tani E. Barlow, "Asian Perspective," *Gender and History* 1(3) (Autumn 1989): 318–30; Rey Chow, "Violence in the Other Country: China as Crisis, Spectacle, and Women," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Laurdes Torres (eds.) (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 81–100.

[11] For instance, Pauline Keating, *Two Revolutions: Village Reconstruction and the Cooperative Movement in Northern Shaanxi, 1934–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 7; Tamara Jacka, *Women's Work in Rural China: Change and Continuity in an Era of Reform* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 30; Philip Huang, *Chinese Civil Justice, Past and Present* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 109–13.

[12] For example, Kathryn Bernhardt examines women's rights to family property in Republican China, arguing that the Republican law on widow's inheritance granted widows the right to split their husband's property with their children, but at the same time outlawed the traditional practice that a widowed mother had the right to supervise and manage the entire family property of her deceased husband. See her *Women and Property in China, 960–1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).

of marriage, how did they see the reform, and how did they deal with the law and legal system that wanted to change their way of life? Obviously, this top-down perspective based on policy analysis overlooks the actual practice of the reform. A policy-based study is also unable to differentiate the state policy and political campaigns from the actual implementation of the Marriage Law through the judicial system.[13]

Since the 1990s scholarly works have questioned the image of Chinese women in conventional China studies that often portray women as a stereotype of Confucian womanhood – helpless victims secluded in patriarchal families. The new scholars began to search history for the voice and subjectivity of Chinese women. They demonstrated that women were active agents who bravely carved out spaces through their activities and built cultural spheres within the traditional patriarchal system.[14] Although most of these studies focus on elite women who were literate and capable of having their voices be heard, the voices of women from the lower social strata remained silent. With this new direction, some scholars extended their studies on women's agency into the field of law, examining how states from the late imperial time to the twentieth century used law to regulate women and family. Philip Huang, Matthew Sommer, and Janet M. Theiss show that on the one hand the state tried to reinforce ideological control over women's sexual behavior, while on the other hand women were active agents in their marriages and sexuality.[15]

[13] Margaret Kuo's recent book on Republican legal practice in marriage argues that although social movements fell to a low tide in the 1930s, it was the Republican judicial system that concretized and cemented the idea of gender equality (see her *Intolerable Cruelty: Marriage, Law, and Society in Early Twentieth-Century China* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 3–17). In fact, this pattern of development not only existed in the 1940s' revolutionary region but also appeared in the 1950s (see following chapters).

[14] For example, Patricia Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994); Christina Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution: Radical Women, Communist Politics, and Mass Movements in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Susan Mann, *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Chinese History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Paul Ropp, Paola Zamperini, and Harriet Zurndorfer (eds.), *Passionate Women: Female Suicide in Late Imperial China* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Weijing Lu, *True to Her Word: The Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); Joan Judge, *The Precious Raft of History: The Past, The West, and The Women Question in China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 188–229; also see her "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century," *The American Historical Review* 106(3) (June 2001): 765–803.

[15] Philip Huang, "Women's Choices under the Law: Marriage, Divorce, and Illicit Sex in the Qing and the Republic," *Modern China* 27(1) (2001): 3–58; Matthew Sommer, *Sex,*

This new perspective led some scholars to redirect their approach to women's history and reevaluate the effectiveness of the 1950 Marriage Law through field study; their research contradicted conclusions from previous studies.[16]

Meanwhile, some new research has paid more attention to women in lower social groups and has made an effort to discover these women's voices and construct their subjectivities. For example, Hershatter's study of Shanghai prostitutes shows that even subalterns with such low social status could choose their clients carefully and strategically use their bodies to maximize their own interests.[17] In another excellent work, Hershatter addresses gender relations in the tension between state and society and between memories and the reality through interviews with rural women in Shaanxi and by collecting their memories of the political movements in the 1950s.[18] In her work Hershatter sees women as both agents and targets of state reform projects and accurately states that women's concerns centered on marriage and family, though these rural women still seemed to have been "formatted" by the revolutionary narrative in their presentations of their personal stories. A similar problem also existed in the interview with my protagonist, Feng Zhiqin (Peng'er) (see the following). While Hershatter's work made an important contribution in the field of social history, I take the approach of cultural history in the study of rural women to see how this revolutionary rhetoric penetrated into women's narration. On the other hand, through the study of the evolution of a legal case and its cultural presentation, this book also demonstrates the dynamics between rural women and the state, and how these women as active agents created a certain influence on state policy and political campaigns that resulted in the emergence of the term *zizhu*.

Law, and Society in Late Imperial China (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); Janet M. Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

[16] Ellen Judd, "Reconsidering China's Marriage Law Campaign: Toward a DeOrientalized Feminist Perspective," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 4(2) (1998): 8–26; Neil Diamant, "Re-examining the Impact of the 1950 Marriage Law: State Improvisation, Local Initiative, and Rural Family Change," *China Quarterly* 161 (2000): 171–98; Neil Diamant, *Revolutionizing the Family: Politics, Love, and Divorce in Urban and Rural China, 1949–1968* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[17] Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[18] Gail Hershatter, "The Gender of Memory: Rural Chinese Women and the 1950s," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(1) (2002): 43–70; Gail Hershatter, "Virtue at Work: Rural Shaanxi Women Remember the 1950s," in *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China*, Bryna Goodman and Wendy Larson (eds.) (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 309–28; and Gail Hershatter, *The Gender of Memory: Rural Women and China's Collective Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

From *ziyou* to *zizhu*: a cultural history perspective of neologisms in the 1940s' SGNBR marriage reform

This book builds on the existing scholarship on women's history and gender studies, but questions the prevailing view on the communist marriage reform in the revolutionary base areas through the use of newly available legal documents. Although this study utilizes a legal case and its evolution as the thread for the narrative, this book is an interdisciplinary study that offers multiple angles to the Chinese revolution in the 1940s. Its narration unfolds along with the key story while displaying a synchronic panorama of the revolution that extends to a much broader realm of social history, legal history, cultural history, and gender studies. Most importantly, in this book I seek to understand through a cultural history perspective how the Chinese revolution and its legal practices produced new discourses, neologisms, and cultural symbols that contain China's experience in twentieth-century social movements. Through examining them against historical and social backgrounds, this study presents the Chinese subject and its experience that cannot and should not be theorized in the framework of Western discourse. I also ask to what extent these new discourses and cultural images in turn constructed the revolutionary experience and the state's interpretation of history for the purpose of social mobilization.

According to Clifford Geertz, culture is more of "a semiotic" concept in the webs of significance that human beings have created.[19] Thus, as Lynn Hunt claims, "the accent in cultural history is on close examination – of texts, of pictures, and of actions – and on open-mindedness to what those examinations will reveal."[20] In twentieth-century China the emergence of a large number of neologisms reflected drastic social transformations under the influence of the West that were taking place in the littoral and urban environments. In constructing political discourses and social reform plans, reform-minded Chinese elites largely relied on borrowed neologisms from Western political and social theories, obtained primarily through translations via Japan. However, as Lydia Liu has warned, the translated terms may have simultaneously legitimated Western domination in China since the power relations between Western language and the indigenous language were imbalanced and unequal.[21] Examining

[19] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.
[20] Lynn Hunt, "Introduction," in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt (ed.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 22.
[21] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity, 1900–1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 26–9. Unfortunately, she does not discuss the term *zizhu*.

the translation of the traditional term *zi-you* 自由 into *ziyou*[22] not only demonstrates this power relation, but also displays the confusion, conflicts, and divisions in social practices caused by the translation. These translated terms and the social practices based on these translated terms also internalized the relation reflected in the imbalanced development between the littoral and inland areas, between the educated elites and the illiterate population, and between developing urban areas and the vast rural region that was falling behind.

The conventional studies on how the neologies reflect the changing views in twentieth-century China take for granted that in Chinese these translated terms fully signify the connotations of the imported Western terms, while ignoring the implicit meanings of Chinese terms that are deeply embedded in their own history, language, and social context. Chen Jianhua's study of the discourse of "revolution/*geming*" shows that this term has its root in traditional Chinese political discourse, but returned to China from Japan at the turn of the twentieth century with modern connotations of both peaceful reform and violent insurrection. With the radicalism prevalent in the twentieth century and the transformation of the urban communist movement to a rural revolution, it is the term's explicit connotation leaned more toward the traditional Chinese understanding of overturning an old political regime through violent actions.[23] This case points out that uncritically adopting these neologies without scrupulous analysis of their linguistic, etymological sources and social context can lead to cultural incompatibility in practice that would bring social conflict, as my study shows.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century "freedom of marriage" or "free marriage" (*hunyin ziyou* 婚姻自由) was an important agendum in the iconoclastic New Culture and May Fourth discourses that created many images of women in the social and literary fields for the purpose of opposing the Confucian family and patriarchy. This discourse arose at about the same time as the introduction of Marxism, socialism, and communism into China, which strongly influenced the formation of the May Fourth discourse on women and marriage. These doctrines favored liberating women from "feudal" patriarchal oppression

[22] The great majority of traditional Chinese words were individual character-based words, particularly in classical writings. In this book I hyphenate or separate the two characters when I discuss its classical connotation and put them together to indicate its modern connotation. This also applies to the use of *zi-zhu*/*zizhu*. However, since the connotation of *zi-zhu* has not changed from its classical connotation, the hyphenation for *zi-zhu* is not strictly made in some cases.

[23] Chen Jianhua, *"Geming" de xiandaixing: Zhongguo geming huayu kao lun* (The Modernity of Term "Revolution": An Examination of the Discourse of Chinese Revolution) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 1–22.