

**LOOKING AT HONG KONG –
JIN YONG'S *RETURN OF THE CONDOR HEROES* AND
CHANG CHEH'S *BRAVE ARCHER AND HIS MATE***

HUANG KAILIN
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And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.

-- Ecclesiastes 12:12, King James Version

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgments	ii
Abstract	v
Notes on Conventions	vii
Chapter One	Introduction 1
Chapter Two	Literature Review and Methodology 12
Chapter Three	<i>Return of the Condor Heroes</i> : Inverting Hierarchy, Subverting Gender and Father/Nationhood 59
Chapter Four	<i>Brave Archer and His Mate</i> : Averting Subversiveness 85
Chapter Five	Imagining China while Looking at Hong Kong: Fragmented Chineseness 105
Bibliography	113
Appendix A	Glossary of Terms 132
Appendix B	Known Adaptations of <i>Return of the Condor Heroes</i> 152
Appendix C	<i>Return of the Condor Heroes</i> Chapter Headings 155
Appendix D	Filmography of Fu Sheng 160

ABSTRACT

Often lauded as “the common language of Chinese around the world,” Jin Yong's martial arts novels are widely adapted and circulated. Yet a study of *Return of the Condor Heroes* and Chang Cheh's adaptation, *Brave Archer and His Mate* (1982), writes a different discourse of Hong Kong identity that instead fragments Chineseness.

At the core of *Return of the Condor Heroes* is the romance that develops between the rebellious orphan Yang Guo and his martial arts teacher Little Dragon Maiden, who unbeknown to herself becomes a rape victim. On an intra-diegetic level, both the original newspaper serialization and the revised edition of the novel posit the beholder of (often literal) power/knowledge as the object of the gaze. In place of the gendered gaze is one that reverses social hierarchies – master-disciple, parent-child, senior-junior, etc.

While Jin Yong's imagination of China is subversive, the film out of apathy towards identity politics instead averts the subversion. *Brave Archer and His Mate* (1982), which axes the romance plot of the novel, sets up an aversion to the gaze. Close-ups of the heads and shoulders of the characters, who never look directly at the audience, are employed. The inversion of hierarchy in the novel is here diluted through the undifferentiated gaze of the camera.

The absence of father and mother in the novel and film further exemplify how Jin Yong's great reversal proposes an imagined China that boasts equality rather than familial hierarchy. When situated in the context of debates over the placing of Jin

Yong within axes of source/adaptation, highbrow/lowbrow, tradition/modernity, China/Hong Kong and the like, the fragmentation embodied in the two texts becomes not merely of Chineseness, but also Hong Kong identity, and even the notion of the work itself.

NOTES ON CONVENTIONS

American spelling will be used throughout this text, except when quoting verbatim from references.

Chinese characters and *hanyu pinyin* transcriptions of the titles of Chinese articles and terms can be found in the Appendix.

**LOOKING AT HONG KONG –
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

An eternal martial arts fiction classic, the common language of Chinese around the world. [...] [Jin Yong's martial arts fiction] is not only a hit with the global Chinese community. It has been translated into many languages such as English and Japanese. At the same time, these novels have been adapted into films, television serials, plays and computer games.”²

Jin Yong is the pseudonym of Louis Cha (Cha Liangyong). Born in 1924 in Haining, Zhejiang, his life is closely tied up with the media industry, initially as a journalist with *Ta Kung Pao* of Shanghai and later Hong Kong. He had worked in the movie industry³ but his reputation as a martial arts fiction writer traces its origins to his first martial arts novel, *Romance of the Book and Sword*, serialized in *Xin Wanbao* from 8

1 An early draft of this paper was presented at the Performing Arts workshop of the Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations (HPAIR) 2006. I am grateful for the conference grant provided by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore.

2 Yuan-liou Publishing Co. Ltd., “A Collection of Jin Yong's Works: An eternal martial arts literary classic, and the common language of Chinese around the world,” *Ylib.com* [updated 2002, cited 4 November 2005], available from <<http://www.ylib.com/hotsale/jinspecial2002/inside1.htm>>.

3 Yang Xing'an , *Ten treatises on Jin Yong's novels* (Beijing: Zhishi Chubanshe, 2002), p. 186. Yang talks about the filmic language of Jin Yong's martial arts fiction. This is relevant to my later discussion on the gaze in *Return of the Condor Heroes* and its film adaptations. Also see Yan Xiaoxing, “Jin Yong's affinity with films,” *Jinling Wanbao*, 1998 · 2 · 28, pp. 32-33, referenced in my later discussion on Jin Yong's take on adaptations of his martial arts novels.

February 1955 to 5 September 1956.⁴ Later he founded in 1959 *Ming Pao*, a daily news press⁵ where the serialization of *Return of the Condor Heroes* encountered its first audience, which was to expand by leaps and bounds.⁶ *Return of the Condor Heroes* (henceforth *Return*) tells how an orphan Yang Guo trains under the older, aloof Little Dragon Maiden and falls in love with her, but they have to undergo trials, tribulation and separation before reuniting.⁷ Reputed as the greatest love story among Jin Yong's martial arts novels, *Return* has been transplanted from its newspaper-bound existence to various other media across various countries. The first newspaper serialization of *Return* appeared in *Ming Pao* from 20 May 1959 to 5 July 1961.⁸ Later

4 Chen Zhenhui, *Retracing the editions of Jin Yong's novels* (Hong Kong: Huizhi Chuban Youxiangongsi, 2003), p. 52.

5 Yuan-liou Publishing Co. Ltd., "A Collection of Jin Yong's Works: An eternal martial arts literary classic, and the common language of Chinese around the world." For biographies of Jin Yong, see Leng Xia, *A Biography of Jin Yong* (Hong Kong: Ming Pao Chubanshe, 1994); Zhang Guiyang, *Jin Yong and the Press* (Hong Kong: Ming Pao Chubanshe Youxiangongsi, 2000); Fu Guoyong, *A Biography of Jin Yong* (Beijing: Beijing Shiyue Wenyi Chubanshe, 2003); Sun Yixue, *Literary scene of a millenia, dream of a knight-errant: The Legend of Jin Yong* (Taipei: Fengyun Shidai Chubanshe, 2004). John Christopher Hamm, in "The Sword, the Book, and the Nation: Jin Yong's Martial Arts Fiction" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), discounts Leng Xia's biography, which he says has been "repudiated by Jin Yong as less than fully reliable" (pp. 1-2, footnote 1). Hamm also lists other biographies such as Fei Yong and Zhong Xiaoyi(eds.), *The Legend of Jin Yong* (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1995); Yang Lige, *The Legend of Jin Yong* (Hong Kong: Ciwenhua Tang, 1997) and Guiguan Gongzuoshi (ed.), *The Greatest of Heroes: A Critical Biography of Jin Yong* (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Chubanshe, 1994).

6 See footnote 4.

7 This is merely a generalized summary. As mentioned later, Jin Yong's martial arts novels have undergone at least one revision.

8 See Hamm, "The Sword, the Book, and the Nation: Jin Yong's Martial Arts Fiction," p. 411. Hamm's dissertation, which contains an appendix on "Materials for a Bibliographic History of Jin Yong's Fiction" (pp. 403-420), has been revised and published as *Paper Swordsmen: Jin Yong And The Modern Chinese Martial Arts Novel* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004). Chen Zhenhui names some issues worth noting when using the original newspaper serializations of Jin Yong's martial arts fiction. For instance, the newspaper serializations infrequently contain additional materials, such as occasional correspondence between Jin Yong and his readers (pp. 56-64; 83-91). Chen says the newspaper serialization of *Return* actually concluded on 8 July 1961 and not 5 July 1961, since the final installments were published together with the first instalments of *Heaven Sword and Dragon Sabre* (pp. 10-12). His book is the first that deals exclusively with issues of textual editions of Jin Yong's martial arts novels.

on, *Mingbao Wanbao* serialized the Revised Edition of *Return* from 15 August 1973 while the First Ming Ho edition (Revised edition)⁹ was published in 1976.¹⁰ More recently, the Century Revised Edition was first published by Yuan-liou in December 2003.¹¹ In addition to these more commonly seen editions, *Return* is also the only work in the Jin Yong canon available in the Generation-e Edition, published in conjunction with the similarly-titled computer game.¹² Besides various print editions, *Return* has been adapted¹³ into films, television serials, as well as single-player and massively multiplayer online computer games (MMOGs).¹⁴

Its plethora of 'clear-cut' adaptations (that is, those which at least adopt the *Return* title in some way) today trails in quantity only behind *Legend of the Condor Heroes*, to which *Return* is the sequel.¹⁵ Doubtlessly, what initially fed a recreational

9 Chen Zhenhui adopts the *jiuban*, *xinban*, *xinxinban* distinction when referring to the newspaper serializations, the Revised and the Century Revised Editions respectively. However, *xiudingban* and *shiji xinxiuban* are commonly used to refer to the Revised and Century Revised Editions. In particular, *shiji xinxiuban* is explicitly and officially used by Yuan-liou for the latest edition. *Xinxiuban* is often used as an abbreviation for *shiji xinxiuban*.

10 Hamm, p. 412.

11 Yuan-liou Publishing Co. Ltd., *Return of the Condor Heroes (1) Century Revised Edition*, Ylib.com [updated 2003, cited 4 November 2005], available from <http://www.ylib.com/search/ShowBook.asp?BookNo=D9009>. The complete Century Revised Edition of the entire Jin Yong corpus has yet been published.

12 Yuan-liou Publishing Co. Ltd., *Return of the Condor Heroes (1) Generation-e edition*, Ylib.com [updated 2003, cited 4 November 2005], available from <http://www.ylib.com/search/ShowBook.asp?BookNo=D6051>. The computer game referred to is *New Return of the Condor Heroes*.

13 See later discussion on the definition of "adaptation" used in this dissertation.

14 Song Weijie, *From acts of entertainment to utopian impulses – re-reading of Jin Yong's novels* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 41-45. Song Weijie lists a number of film and television adaptations, but his list is incomplete and far from exhaustive. Known screen, television and computer game adaptations are listed in Tables 1, 2 and 3. A relatively complete list of television adaptations to date can be found on Sina Entertainment, "A showdown between various adaptations of *Return of the Condor Heroes* – Which Little Dragon Maiden do you like best?", *Sina.com* [updated 15 July 2004, cited 4 November 2005], available from <http://ent.sina.com.cn/v/2004-07-15/1712444359.html>.

15 Beijing Youth Paper, "Martial arts drama serials playing key roles, Jin Yong's novels return yet again to television," *People.Com.cn* [updated 17 February 2003, cited 27 December 2006], available

pursuit for Hong Kong newspaper readers has extended its tentacles geographically, capturing audiences that may or may not have read the original serialization or other print editions of *Return*. In short, *Return* has gone international through its transmedia development,¹⁶ thereby emphasizing time and again how it is indeed the stock vocabulary of “the common language of Chinese around the world.”

The birthplace of *Return* has however an interesting history that has Chinese origins as well as non-Chinese intervention. Originally “part of Chinese territory,” the islands that are today collectively Hong Kong were successively ceded to the British after occupation on 25 January 1841 during the Opium War, the Sino-British Treaty of Nanking of August 1842, the Sino-British Convention of Peking in October 1860 following the Second Opium War, and finally the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory in June 1898¹⁷

As British territory, Hong Kong was a growing manufacturing hub, but the Japanese Occupation from 1941-1945 led to widespread factory closures while

from <<http://www.people.com.cn/GB/wenyu/64/130/20030217/924355.html>>. *Savior of the Soul I and II* (1992), both starring Andy Lau are set in the modern era. The cited article does not include in its list films like *One Armed Swordsman* (1967) which bear striking plot similarity to *Shendiao* but however have different characters and contexts altogether. Not taken into account too are game adaptations and possibly animation, as well as adaptations published after the date of the article. Based on my estimates, the inclusion of these omissions potentially raises *Shendiao* to the status of the most widely adapted Jin Yong martial arts novel.

Worth noting too is George Bluestone's remark that on the Hollywood film industry, “The industry's own appraisal of its work shows a strong and steady preference for films derived from novels, films which persistently rate among top quality productions.” See *Novels into Film* (1957; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 3. Adaptations of Jin Yong's novels do seem to reflect too that preference, although it is doubtful that they “persistently rate among top quality productions.”

16 For an example of a transmedia study, see Bounds, J. Dennis, *Perry Mason: The Authorship and Reproduction of a Popular Hero* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996).

17 Liu Shuyong, “Hong Kong: A Survey of Its Political and Economic Development over the Past 150 Years,” *The China Quarterly*, No. 151. (Sep., 1997), p. 583.

“external trade came to a standstill while gambling houses and opium dens mushroomed” post-war. Thankfully, with Britain resuming control and “recognizing the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949” Hong Kong resumed trade with inland China. Over a third of Hong Kong's total exports were directed to these provinces, until the British government embargoed these commercial links following the Korean War. “In 1952 Hong Kong's external trade dropped to HK\$6.6 billion [from HK\$9.3 billion in 1951] and exports to China's inland provinces [from HK1.6 billion] to HK \$500 million.” Hong Kong thus had to industrialize rather than rely on transit trade with China. Ironically, its successful blossoming was dependent on an influx from China. As Liu Shuyong summarizes:

On the eve of liberation of China's mainland, there had emerged a considerable exodus of capital, equipment, technicians and managerial personnel from China's inland provinces to Hong Kong through Shanghai and Guangzhou. The flow of commodities, negotiable securities, gold and foreign currencies between 1946 and 1950 has been estimated at over US\$500 million.

Enterprises which moved to Hong Kong included textiles, rubber, hardware, chemicals and matches, and they played a significant role in Hong Kong's industrialization during the 1950s and 1960s. In 1947 there were 961 factories in Hong Kong employing 47,000 people; in 1959 there were 4,541 factories employing over 170,000 people. Hong Kong-made goods comprised 69.6 per cent of its total export in 1959, higher than the percentage of transit goods.

After 1960 there was a rapid growth of industries like textiles, garments, plastics, electronics, watches and toys.¹⁸

More than skilled labour and capital made their way to Hong Kong in these post-war years though. In reality, there was an eclectic mix of migrants who came or came back for different reasons.

John P. Burns' article on immigration from China notes first of all that there were close to a million Chinese, expelled by the Japanese during the occupation, who returned to Hong Kong from 1945-1948. Second, there were those fleeing the civil war in China. Figures peaked

first in May and then in October 1949, [as] Shanghai and Guangzhou were captured by the People's Liberation Army. At one point in 1949, some 10,000 "refugees" were arriving in Hong Kong per week, many of them Kuomintang officials, or people with connections to the Nationalist government.

Burns quotes the Hong Kong government on the these two waves of immigration, "The first influx after World War II was due to the threat of famine and a shattered economy. The second influx voted with their feet against the new regime." Third, the Hundred Flowers Campaign of 1957 that "branded rightist" some, and fourth, Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the ensuing famine and hardship, both cast Hong Kong as an asylum from the perils in China.¹⁹

It is little surprise that the myriad reasons for migration brought a curious

18 Liu Shuyong, pp. 588-589.

19 John P. Burns, "Immigration from China and the Future of Hong Kong," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 27, No. 6. (Jun., 1987), pp. 662-663.

sample of different strata:

Of those postwar immigrants surveyed by the Hambro mission (N = 17,682), more than 16% were found to have been members of the Kuomintang army or police, 10% were white collar workers or professionals, and another 9% each were farmers or workers. Hidden among these figures undoubtedly were the "bad class elements" (urban bourgeoisie, rural landlords and rich peasants) and their offspring, identified by Chinese authorities during the early years of the revolution and placed under political supervision.²⁰

Conceivably these identifications suggest some suspicion and unease with which China must have viewed Hongkongers, as Harry Harding proposes in his exegesis on "Greater China":

The political division of China in 1949 profoundly disrupted the normal contacts within this global Chinese society, just as it prevented the exercise of normal commercial contacts. The People's Republic generally viewed overseas Chinese as being contaminated with bourgeois values.²¹

"Contamination" must have expressed itself in the serialized fiction of Jin Yong and the like that satiated the mixed brood of the masses. Following the accelerated growth of the Hong Kong economy and the popularity of the fantastical martial arts – consumed, not practiced – the "contamination" takes on the guise of a cinematic form peculiar to Hong Kong.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Harry Harding, "The Concept of "Greater China": Themes, Variations and Reservations," *The China Quarterly*, No. 136, Special Issue: Greater China (Dec., 1993), p. 672.

Indeed, the adaptation of *Return* for the big screen coincides with the advent of Hong Kong kungfu and martial arts cinema, also an internationally popular genre in its own right. Shaw Organization, founded in 1924, is a major chapter in Hong Kong film history, even though it traces its beginnings to Singapore, where its founder, “the late Tan Sri Runme Shaw (1901-1985) arrived in” “from Ningbo, Shanghai.”²² While the Shaw empire began in Singapore and Southeast Asia first with silent films and later other media like cabaret, its “heyday” came in Hong Kong. Hardly suppressing its pride, Shaw Organization reports that:

In 1957, Sir Run Run Shaw made the decision to go to Hongkong [sic] to produce quality Chinese movies. [...A]fter the listing of Shaw Brothers (HK) in 1971, Shaw Studios established itself as the best known and most successful movie producer in Hong Kong. As in Hollywood, the Shaw Brothers ran the studio on the *star system* and *mass production*.²³

On its own admittance, Shaw's success and proliferation, kickstarted by *The Kingdom and the Beauty* (1958) starring Lin Dai,²⁴ was dependent on “blockbusters” drenched with personality provided either by attractive celebrities or cookie-cutter outputs.

However, Kung fu and martial arts films became the break-out genre that nurtured a particular kind of taste for cinema and stars, in turn revolutionizing the star production mechanism, as “martial arts movies took hold [and] male actors came into their own” in the late 1960s, with playwright-directors Chang Cheh and Liu Kar

22 Shaw Organization, “The Shaw Story” [updated 2001, cited 30 August 2006], available from <<http://www.shaw.com.sg/shawstory/shawstory1.htm>>.

23 Ibid, emphasis mine.

24 Ibid.

Leung propelling David Chiang, Ti Lung, Lo Lieh, Wang Yu, Gordon Liu and [Alexander] Fu Sheng to A-list fame in this genre.²⁵ Unlike the Hollywood action films of today which are often fronted by male hero-figures of messianic proportions, then the “emphasis on using male leads [...] was a radical departure from the then actress dominated Hong Kong film industry” and an “innovation to the world of martial arts films.” Chang Cheh's hits included *The One Armed Swordsman* (1967 – reputed as the “[f]irst film to gross HK\$1 mil”) and *Brave Archer* (1977), movies which “created a global martial arts frenzy in the 1970s and 80s”²⁶ unbound by geography.²⁷ “[A]s television production began in earnest at TVB, Shaw's associate company” in 1983, movie output ceased.²⁸ The media crossover had quenched the film frenzy.

Even though the franchise of Jin Yong martial arts novels and kung-fu/martial arts cinema seems a bustling affair, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer offer bleak and piercing observations on the “culture industry,” their ideas resonant in the adaptation of Jin Yong's martial arts fiction. The maiming and reconfiguring of the *Return* story in a significant number of (sometimes quasi-) film adaptations – *Brave Archer and His Mate* (1982), *Little Dragon Maiden* (1983), *Savior of the Soul I & II* (1992) and *One Armed Swordsman* (1967) – imply unrest with, and consequently a renegotiation of the great reversal purported by the novel, arguably evading the

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 With *King Boxer* (a.k.a. *The Five Fingers of Death*, 1973), the wave hit the West as well. Shaw Organization, “The Shaw Story.”

28 Ibid.

subversiveness of the novel. Relentless in their criticism of the culture industry that homogenizes and dumbs things down, Adorno and Horkheimer have little sympathy for kitschy, profit-driven adaptations, which they identify as brutalizing the *tour de force* of the original. Specifically, Adorno and Horkheimer are skeptical of mass media, understandably so since their philosophy is very much a reflex response to the chilling sway Adolf Hitler's propaganda held over the masses during World War II:

Movies and radio need no longer pretend to be art. The truth that they are just business is made into an ideology in order to justify the rubbish they deliberately produce. They call themselves industries; and when their directors' incomes are published, any doubt about the social utility of the finished products is removed.²⁹

Besides depreciating media like “movies and radio” which they believe to be economically driven but not edifying modes of production, Adorno and Horkheimer also correlate economic viability with perceived (but not actual) “social utility,” thereby suggesting that blockbuster films appear to have greater social value.

Such popular media are thus not merely manipulative, since their proliferation and acceptability demonstrate their power, but also reflective because their manipulateness lead to increasing identification between what they project and society itself. As film theorist George Bluestone claims, “In the film, more than in any of the other arts, the signature of social forces is evident in the final work.”³⁰ The

29 Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1993). Originally published as *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1944).

30 Bluestone, p. 35.

following chapter will review literature relevant to the works *Return* and *Brave Archer*, while putting forth a methodology for my analysis of the texts.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

“Social forces” that Adorno and Horkheimer speak of are not merely reflected through the arts, but also in academic discourse. The literature on Jin Yong’s novels is concerned too with the imprint of society on these works and vice versa. Although today there exists a vast array of articles negotiating the Jin Yong phenomenon in the larger contexts of society and even nation, such as by assessing the place of Jin Yong’s novels in social and literary discourse, Jin Yong studies in China and beyond have remained very much uncharted territory before the 1980s, largely due to practical constraints: The Revised Jin Yong novels were not officially and fully launched in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong until the 1980s, though the first books in the series appeared in Hong Kong as early as 1976. Previously, only the original and revised newspaper serializations, as well as pirated collations of the original serializations, were in circulation. Deng Quanming outlines the major milestones in Jin Yong studies lucidly:

The notion of “Jin Yong studies” was raised as early as 1979 by Zheng

Chaozong of Xiamen University,³¹ but few responded. It wasn't until the late 1980s and early 1990s that studies on Jin Yong's novels flourished. The launch of a Jin Yong novels elective at Beijing University in 1994, the Jin Yong academic conference held in Hangzhou in 1997, and the International Conference on Jin Yong and Twentieth-Century Chinese Literature organized by the University of Colorado at Boulder, propelled Jin Yong studies to new heights. The wider-reaching debate ignited by Wang Shuo in 1999 heated the public Jin Yong controversy.³²

Despite the apparent blossoming of the field, a review shows that studies are very much limited to appraisals of the value of Jin Yong in critical and cultural discourse. Chan Shek gives a good survey in her Masters dissertation where she investigates the cultural politics of Jinyonology in Hong Kong, China and Taiwan, remarking that Hong Kong publications tend to be more casual since a vast majority is written by Jin Yong's friends, such as Ni Kuang.³³ The publication of Jinyonology studies in Taiwan was initially part of a clever marketing ploy to promote novel sales (even though pirated copies under various guises have been circulating for some time) when the ban

31 Chan Shek says however that the term was officially coined in 1984 when Yuanjing published the "Studies in Jinyonology Series" 金學研究叢書 (p.1), the first series of criticism on Jin Yong's novels (p. 17). See *Creating a Canon: The Cultural Politics of Jin Yong Studies*, M.A. diss., Lingnan University, 2003.

32 See Deng Quanming, "The road which leads to the masses – A commentary on the creation of Jin Yong's novels and Jin Yong studies," *Chinese Literature*, no. 6 (2003), p. 65. For good, concise introductions to the history of the field, see Ding Jin, "A brief history of studies on Jin Yong novels," *Social Science in Nanjing*, no. 4 (2003), pp. 69-74; Ji Hong-fang, "Studies of Jin Yong in Mainland China (1986-1999)," *Journal of Changshu College*, no. 5 (September 2000), pp. 83-88.

33 See for instance Ni Kuang, *My take on Jin Yong's Novels* (Taipei: Yuanjing Chuban Shiye Gongsi, 1980) which was succeeded by several more similar volumes.

on them was lifted in 1979.³⁴ Television serials, especially TVB productions in the early 1980s, reiterated in no uncertain terms the popularity of the novels.

2.1.1 OVERVIEW

Perhaps because Jin Yong novels and their surrounding paraphernalia are largely mired in issues of popularity and reception, Chinese scholars surveying the field with particular focus on the last two decades of the twentieth century have been especially fixated on issues of reception and appraisal. Deng Quanming for instance generalizes that studies on Jin Yong since the eighties either approve or reject the author's works,³⁵ albeit this being an obvious, unambiguous and, hence, redundant binary. Anti-Jin Yong critics he cites substantiate my suspicion that value judgment on, rather than analysis of Jin Yong's novels, is their chief aim. Wang Shuo, Yuan Liangjun, He Manzi and Wang Binbin virtually brand the novels as literary trash,³⁶ Wang Shuo in particular infamously sparking a web debate in 1999 with his article "My take on Jin Yong" (a title parodying Ni Kuang's series of light commentaries on Jin Yong's novels) which flakes Jin Yong for corny, repetitive and unpalatable novels.³⁷ Research that conclude positively on Jin Yong's novels, says Deng on the

34 Chan Shek, *Creating a Canon*.

35 Although I discredit this binary, what Deng Quanming perhaps is alluding to is the ambivalence towards the place of the novels in literary history. Chan Shek in *Creating a Canon* more accurately characterizes this ambivalence as proceeding from the debate between literature proper and popular literature, as well as the Hong Kong identity of the book. Made in Hong Kong, the novels have spurred Mainland attempts to assimilate them into Chinese literary discourse without the Hong Kong label, as well as earned ire from some Mainlanders who see Hong Kong as the motherland of all evils.

36 Deng Quanming, p. 65.

37 Wang Shuo, "My take on Jin Yong" [updated 1 November 1999], available from <<http://www.sina.com.cn>>.

other hand, focuses primarily on three aspects: cultural studies³⁸; the novels as a phenomenon of Literature in transition; and western approaches (by which he simply means allegorical interpretation).³⁹ The first approach is established by renowned literary historian Yan Jiayan in books such as *Jin Yong's Novels and Cultural Traditions*.⁴⁰ The second, to which Chen Mo, Yan Jiayan and Qian Liqun are major contributors, elevates the status of Jin Yong's novels by reappraising popular literature and even literature at large through the Jin Yong hype.⁴¹ Yan Weiyang, Wu Xiuming and Chen Mo have read Jin Yong's novels allegorically at some point in time.⁴²

Similar to Deng, Li Aihua suggests that the value of Jin Yong studies lies in how they are a lens offering a modern perspective on Chinese tradition, and a reference for the development of the modern Chinese novel and literary history. In addition she proposes research gaps, albeit too hastily. Without citing specific references, she first claims that the anti-*xia* bent of some studies is too shallow and quick in their conclusion, since Jin Yong affirms traditional culture and *wuxia* culture through and through – yet fails to note, for instance, how *Return* subverts so-called traditional hierarchies and their accompanying values, especially through the pairing of Yang Guo and Little Dragon Maiden. Second, Li feels that there is little analysis of these novels as masculine texts even though *all* Jin Yong protagonists are male – not true either, since *Sword of the Yue Maiden* is helmed by a female, and certainly female

38 Not in the sense of the academic discipline of “cultural studies” but literally, a study of the Chinese culture Jin Yong presents.

39 Deng Quanming, pp. 66-68.

40 Ibid., p. 66.

41 Ibid., pp. 66-67.

42 Ibid., p. 67.

protagonists like Huang Rong in *Legend of the Condor Heroes* and Little Dragon Maiden in *Return* exist. Also she claims that there are to date no attempts to relate this men's literature to women's literature. Li further lists as voids waiting to be filled: social-historical studies relating Jin Yong to his times; the perspective Jin Yong provides on the modern Chinese novel; a comparative understanding of the literary-historical value of Jin Yong's novels; Marxist studies on the influence of Jin Yong on world literature and his contribution to the unification of world culture. The last on this list seems an especially pompous and vague research topic to tackle, particularly when it assumes a unified (in what sense?) world culture.⁴³ Her most appalling premise states:

[Jin Yong studies in China has grown so much that in all aspects that] it has achieved more measurable success than Hong Kong and Taiwan. Most importantly of all, only research in China can give Jin Yong's unique creative achievement its deserved regard, thereby fundamentally returning Jin Yong to Jin Yong and to literary history, as well as endowing Jin Yong himself with the standing of *wuxia* master and grandmaster of modern literature; research in China ushers his works into the holy sanctuary of academia, and gives them their rightful position in modern Chinese literature. This is what research in Hong Kong, Taiwan and overseas can neither match nor achieve nor replace.⁴⁴

The bias that both underscores and undermines her view can be explained by her

43 Li Aihua, "Thoughts on Jin Yong Studies," *Journal of China Three Gorges University (Humanities & Social Sciences)*, Vol. 23 No. 2 (Mar. 2001), pp. 35-38.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

earlier article that surveys the state of the field for the past twenty years (up to 1999), citing 60 references (some repeated) published in China but not other countries, across categories such as the life and creative processes of Jin Yong; thought and culture with specific regard to Chinese tradition and romance; textual studies on plot, characterization and form; comparative studies, particularly comparisons with other martial arts fiction; and the post-Jin Yong martial arts fiction outlook.⁴⁵ But it should be said that this extreme stance epitomizes attempts to co-opt Jin Yong into the grander discourse of (China-)Chinese Literature rather than Hong Kong Literature, a nationalist strain of understanding the novelist and his works that Deng Quanming's list of pro-Jin Yong scholars nonetheless succumb to in their advocacy of how Jin Yong's imagination is part of Chinese culture.

2.1.2 CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIELD

Scholars such as Xie Likai, Zhu Shoutong, and Zang Weidong have expressed concern on the lacuna-punctuated diversity of Jin Yong studies that invigorates questions on how Jin Yong studies can and should be constructed. Their primary appeal for rigorous academic research rather than value judgments, as well as balanced perspectives on how Jin Yong can be situated in modern Chinese literature and on the axes of highbrow versus lowbrow/popular literature,⁴⁶ suitably counters the slant in

45 Li Aihua, "Twenty years of Jin Yong Studies in China," *Zhejiang Academic Journal*, no. 2 (1999), pp. 125-130.

46 Xie Likai, "My view on the construction of 'Jinyonology' – Some reflections on Jin Yong Studies," *Journal of Longyan Teachers College*, Vol. 22 no. 4 (August 2004), pp. 125-130; Zhu Shoutong, "The Academic Construction of Jin Yong Studies," *Journal of Jiaying College*, Vol. 15 no. 2 (2003), pp. 41-43; Zang Weidong, "Thoughts on miscellaneous issues in the criticism of Jin

essays by Wang Shuo, reviews by Li Aihua and the like.

Hitting at the core of an enterprise that is entertainment for the masses, Jia Liping says that the construct of a critical framework for the Jin Yong phenomenon is necessary. While Jin Yong's novels have become a major thrust in entertainment, she nonetheless sees these as masculine and formulaic texts that ought to be confined to the critical discourse of popular/mass culture. The popularity of Jin Yong, in her opinion, reflects aspects of the twisted psyche of the masses – bloodthirsty, wanting in legal outlook, unrealistically nostalgic, self-confined.⁴⁷ As much as she may be heralding a scholarly approach to the Jin Yong phenomenon, Jia assumes implicitly these labels on Jin Yong's works are givens.

2.1.3 OVERARCHING DEBATES

Two important conferences, which have produced the *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction* and *The Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels* reflect at least partly these overarching debates on Jin Yong's novels. The Beijing conference focuses on the cultural spirit of the books, their place in the Chinese literary landscape, and their relation to modernization, modernity and modernism, apart from reprising the debate on whether the Jin Yong canon belongs to highbrow or popular culture. Its last section, “General studies,” offers miscellaneous thoughts on the influence, standing, future directions for

Yong's novels,” *Journal of Changzhou Institute of Technology*, Vol. 14 no. 1 (March 2001), pp. 46-49.

47 Jia Liping, “Entertainment Culture and the Aesthetic Transformation,” *Chinese Literature*, 2001.4. (sum no. 47), pp. 52-58.

research, and readership of Jin Yong's novels.

By comparison, *The Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels* subsumes similar concerns of the greater debate over popular fiction and elitist literature, as well as corresponding reflections on the duality (high/low-brow) of society, under the concluding section, "Literature and Society,"⁴⁸ with Yan Jiayan again addressing the placement of Jin Yong in history.⁴⁹ Suggestive of these and other recurring concerns, the conference roundtable discussion dwells on the transformation and subversion of the *xia*.⁵⁰

2.1.4 TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Textual criticism, including comparisons and narratological approaches, form another dominant strand of inquiry in these conference proceedings.⁵¹ Chen Mo attempts a preliminary comparison between *The Deer and the Cauldron* and *Don Quixote*, while Feng Qiyong and Liao Chaoyang respectively take on an overview of *The Smiling, Proud Wanderer* and *Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils*. Zhang Dachun

48 Wang Qiugui (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Conferences on Jin Yong's novels* (Taipei: Yuan-liou, 1999).

49 See Yan Jiayan, "The Stand-off between High and Lowbrow Literature, and the Historical Place of Jin Yong"; Hu Xiaowei, "Obviousness and Obscurity: Dual Societies in Jin Yong's Novels"; Robert L. Chard, "Grass-Roots Militarism and its Portrayal in the Novels of Jin Yong"; Huang Jinshu, "Negating Jin Yong – High and Lowbrow, Time and Geography as represented through culture;" all of which are collated in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels*.

50 "Roundtable discussion – Transformation and Reversal of Xia," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels*.

51 For instance, comparative studies investigating the relationship between Jin Yong's works and other pugilistic novels, as well as *Dream of the Red Chamber* can be found in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*. On the other hand, the section "Criticism of the Novels" in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels* culls comparative, narratological and other textual approaches.

addresses the Chinese narrative tradition – which he sees defined by strange incidents and diverse threads – derived from martial arts fiction. However, as with the overarching debates on Jin Yong's novels, the almost idolatrous respect for tradition and the quest for orthodoxy rear their heads again in such criticism, as assertions of the Chinese identity of the novels.⁵²

Instead of alluding to tradition, Long Bide tries to pinpoint the narrative art of Jin Yong's martial arts novels. However, the brevity of the article highlights its generalizations, especially in reducing the narrative elements of 15 Jin Yong novels to formulas spread over 12 pages. Neither are the formulas – subplots, larger historical backdrop, innumerable catastrophes, as well as puzzles paved and solved – unique to Jin Yong.⁵³

Other typical textual approaches zoom in on characterization (especially of male characters),⁵⁴ genre, form, theme and narrative elements, such as exposition on objects and symbols in the novels. Other than several run-of-the-mill accounts of characterization, an article by Huang Zonghui integrates theoretical approaches by examining the gaze in *Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils* through Freudian and Lacanian

52 Chen Mo, “A Preliminary Comparison between *Don Quixote* and *The Deer and the Cauldron*”; Feng Qiyong, “A General Exposition of *The Proud, Smiling Wanderer*”; Zhang Dachun, “Unusual and disparate – the narrative tradition of Chinese novels that originates from wuxia fiction”; Liao Chaoyang, “The Chuanqi structure of *Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils*,” all collated in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels*.

53 Long Bide, “The Narrative Art of Jin Yong's Novels,” in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 506-517.

54 Chen Mo and Zhou Zhiqiang tackle the portrayal of Zhang Wuji and Xiao Feng respectively. See Chen Mo, “Not recognizing Zhang to be Zhang – A discussion of the image of Zhang Wuji,” in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 571-587; Zhou Zhiqiang, “Heroic Narrative and its End – The Characterization of Xiao Feng,” in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 588-601.

ideas of narcissism and fetishism.⁵⁵

The Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels also offers fresh perspectives through the section “Religion and Science,” where textual details and narrative elements spurs exploration of religion-affiliated sects in Jin Yong's novels, the science of martial arts practice, and even an application of cognitive psychology to the texts, as ventured by Zeng Zhilang and Zhuang Qiongru.⁵⁶

In “Translation and Editions,” the latter of which is a vital cornerstone on which rigorous studies on Jin Yong's novels must lean, John Minford – himself a translator of Jin Yong's and other works – examines “Louis Cha through the Translator's Eyes” while John Christopher Hamm discusses the “Revision of Jin Yong's *Sword of Loyalty*” through textual comparison.⁵⁷

55 Huang Zonghui, “Is she there when he isn't looking at her? A discussion of narcissism, fetishism and the propensity to violence with the women around Duan Zhengchun in *Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils* as examples”; Zhang Xiaohong, “I ask Jin Yong, what is love? A study of objects: Gifts, Tokens and Proofs”; Chen Yiyuan, “Incestuous relationships among characters in Jin Yong's novels”; Chen Fangying, “Unparalleled wit, unmatched foolishness: The artistry of and characterization in *The Proud, Smiling Wanderer*”; Lü Zongli, “Where on earth isn't there a Xiaobao? A discussion of expletives in *The Deer and the Cauldron* and the characterization of Wei Xiaobao”; Wei Lingdun, “Yang Guo and his problem;” all collated in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels*.

56 See Liu Cunren, “Tuopu Chiyan, Quanzhen Sect and *Legend of the Condor Heroes*”; Samuel N · C · Lieu, “Fact or Fiction : Ming-Chiao (Manichaeism) in Jin Yong's I-t'ien t'u-lung chi”; Hong Wansheng, “Quanzhen Sect and Jin-Yuan Dynasty Mathematics – A Case Study of Li Yan (1192-1279)”; Lin Fushi, “Physicians of the Martial Arts Universe” ; Meir Shahaar, “Martial-Arts Fiction and Martial-Arts Practice: The Concept of Qi in Jin Yong's Novels”; Zeng Zhilang and Zhuang Qiongru, “Cognitive energy, emotion indicators and doing two things at a time – A survey of Cognitive Psychology in Jinyonology.”

57 Liu Shaoming, “A look at English translations of *The Deer and the Cauldron*”; John Minford, “Louis Cha through the Translator's Eyes”; Sharon Lai, “Translating Jin Yong : A Review of Four English Translations”; Ma Youhuan, “The interests of Jin Yong, Liang Yusheng and Baijian Tangzhu in the mid 1950s as seen through *Sanjianlou Suibi*” ; Lin Baochun, “The Study of Editions of Jin Yong's Novels”; John Christopher Hamm, “Creating Classic Literature : On the Revision of Jin Yong's *Sword of Loyalty*;” all collated in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels*.

2.1.5 REGIONALISM, LOCALISM AND NATIONALISM

Regionalism, Localism and Nationalism are the key thrusts of a section in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*. Particularly salient is Shu-mei Shih's paper "Chinese Martial Arts on the Axes of Gender and Ethnicity: Jin Yong, Tsui Hark, Hong Kong," in which she reflects on the fluidity of identity constructed along gender and ethnic lines as seen through Jin Yong's *The Smiling, Proud Wanderer* and the Tsui Hark (whom Shih highlights to be ambiguous in identity since he is a Vietnamese Chinese who has come to be recognized as a Hong Kong filmmaker) trilogy of film adaptations.⁵⁸ Lin Baochun and Xiaofei Tian's articles respectively consider Jin Yong's martial arts novels in the Taiwan and Hong Kong/China contexts,⁵⁹ and form in this conference volume a diptych commenting on the rest of Greater China.

1.1.6 GENDER

As gathered, there is a prevalent sense that gender studies on Jin Yong's works are a gap waiting to be filled, though some characterization analyses tangentially

58 Shu-mei Shih, "Chinese Martial Arts on the Axes of Gender and Ethnicity: Jin Yong, Tsui Hark, Hong Kong," in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 372-385.

59 Lin Baochun, "Jin Yong's Novels in Taiwan," in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 386-408. Lin is also the author of *Deconstructing Jin Yong* (Taipei: Yuan-liou Chubanshe, 2000) which is known to contain the most extensive bibliography of publications relating to Jin Yong studies. Xiaofei Tian, "From Ethnic-ism to Nationalism – The Deer and the Cauldron, Hong Kong Culture and the (Post-)Modernity of China," in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 341-371.

scrape the issue by focusing along three lines of inquiry: patriarchy, masculinity and heroism; characterization of female characters; and romance. Shao Ming, exploring the modernism of Jin Yong's novels, notes that their routine “vengeance plot” and “escape from patriarchal rule” plot convey how freedom and equality cannot be realized sans interference in traditional culture.⁶⁰ Peng Hong-wei purports that Jin Yong and Gu Long (another well-known martial arts novelist and a contemporary of Jin Yong) create “female characters [that] are women desired by men instead of women in reality,” “due to their male perspective and unconscious longing for male superiority.” He claims that “[t]he decline and death of this literary mode is predictable when feminism is on the upsurge.” Specifically, though Jin Yong creates a bevy of intelligent female leads, Peng sees this as but superficial female worship, because these ladies seem dependent on their beloved regardless of the latter's virtue or vice, the objects of their affection typically adored by a bevy of beauties.⁶¹ Zhuang Ruo-jiang analyses the “hero myths” Jin Yong generates in the course of his 15 novels, where the affirmation of Confucian values in earlier novels is gradually replaced in subsequent additions to the canon by skepticism, subversion, and eventually parody, of the same.⁶² Another article on the heroic ethics of Jin Yong's protagonists by Wang Zhi expounds on the psychology of father absence, and the

60 Shao Ming, “Thoughts on culture proceeding from an examination of patriarchy – A brief discussion of the significance of Jin Yong's martial arts novels to modernity,” *Journal of Daxian Teachers College (Social Science Edition)*, Vol. 11 no. 1 (March 2001), pp. 68-69.

61 Peng Hong-wei, “Male Superiority's Thrive and Its Decline,” *Journal of China Three Gorges University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, Vol. 26 no. 4 (July 2004), pp. 35-38.

62 Zhuang Ruo-jiang, “Cultural Interpretation of Jin Yong's Hero Myths,” *Journal of Hainan Normal University (Humanities and Social Science)*, Vol. 14 no. 5 (2001) (sum no. 55), pp. 97-102.

substitution of the father by one's mentor. However, neither the connection he proposes between these and his notion of a trilateral relationship between ethics, power, and ideals; nor their derivation, is entirely clear.⁶³

Among several articles on female characters, Tang Junshan highlights how Azi in *Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils* is unique among Jin Yong's characters since she shuns becoming a trophy significant other.⁶⁴ Yu Zu-kun attempts to refute the perception that Jin Yong is backward in his gender outlook, an impression originating from scholars such as Yan Jiayan who note that the male protagonists are always surrounded by ladies. Instead Yu proposes that Jin Yong worships the female and advocates gender equity in his portrayals of romance.⁶⁵ Tao Muning, who is cited by Yu as well, names martial arts and romance as the primary thrusts of Jin Yong's works, and further sorts Jin Yong's female characters into six categories ranging from lovelorn to proud and intelligent. Both Tao and Zhang Qunfang argue that, though Jin Yong's female characters may appear liberated and independent, their female identity is dependent on male characters, as evidenced by imbalanced romantic relationships.⁶⁶ Ding Lili proposes that Jin Yong's pursuit of the modern female and rebellion from reality is at odds with his deeply traditional male psyche, a conundrum accentuated by his

63 Wang Zhi, "The Male World and the Theme of Hero in Jin Yong's Fictions [sic]," *Journal of Hangzhou Teachers College*, no. 5 (September 2000), pp. 29-31.

64 Tang Junshan, "Azi: a soul controlled by the Devil – A discussion of Jin Yong's female characters (1)," *Journal of Dandong Teachers College*, Vol. 21 no. 2 (May 1999, sum no. 76), pp. 53-54.

65 Yu Zu-kun, "Analysis of Jin Yong's female worship and the love mode [sic] embodied in his knight-errant novels," *Journal of Anhui University of Science and Technology (Social Science)*, Vol. 6 no. 4 (Dec. 2004), pp. 89-92.

66 Tao Muning, "A discussion of female characters in Jin Yong's Novels," *Nankai Journal*, no. 5 (2001), pp. 7-8; Zhang Qunfang, "Recognition and Identity of the Women's Role in the Novels of Jinyong [sic]," *Journal of Ankang Teachers College*, Vol. 16 (February 2004).

overarching ethical outlook.⁶⁷ Wang Weiyan attributes Jin Yong's utopia, filled with beautiful, kind and devoted female protagonists, to the novelist's longing for the ideal woman, and desire to compensate the recesses of modern romance; an affirmation of traditional notions of feminine beauty; and a modern reworking of tradition to accommodate a modern readership.⁶⁸

Clearly, these issues are focalized through romance. Liu Wei-ying and Zhang Ning derive four kinds of relationships between revenge and romance, claiming that Jin Yong revamps traditional motifs with a modern, humanitarian touch.⁶⁹ Wang Xue-fei asserts that the “one male multiple female [sic]” model of romance pervades Jin Yong's novels, whereas the reverse is true of Lin Yutang, owing to their different backgrounds and Jin Yong's entrenched, conservative patriarchal outlook – an unsubstantiated justification.⁷⁰

Pan Guosen and Yang Xing'an's articles from *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, dealing with romance and other forms of relationship within the novels, are relevant as well. Pan in particular explores the world of romance in *Return*, relating *qing* (relationship, love, romance) – in classical texts such as *Shuowen jiezi*, *Zhouyi*, and *Hanfeizi* – to multifarious levels of romantic

67 Ding Lili, “The Paradox of Jin Yong: Traditional Patriarchy vs. Modern Feminism,” *Zhejiang Journal Bimonthly*, no. 5 (1997, sum no. 106), pp. 86-90.

68 Wang Weiyan, “The Origin Cause of Woman Image Modes [sic] in Jin Yong's Novels,” *Journal of China Women's University*, Vol. 17 no. 1 (February 2005).

69 Liu Wei-ying and Zhang Ning, “The Revenge Motif and the Affection in Jinyong's Novels [sic],” *Journal of Shanxi University (Philosophy and Social Science)*, Vol. 27 no. 4 (July 2004), pp. 33-37.

70 Wang Xue-fei, “On the Reasons of Different Description Formula of Love [sic],” *Journal of Qinzhou Teachers College*, Vol. 18 no. 1 (March 2003).

relationships in the novel.⁷¹ Pointedly, he delineates the oxymoron of Jin Yong's *martial arts* novels and suggests why *Return* prompts an exploration of the nature of romantic *qing*:

Although Jin Yong's novels are categorized as martial arts novels, these books are actually founded on romance. Of his works, *Return of the Condor Heroes* is most popular with readers as well as the bestselling. It is further known as the number one Jin Yong romance. Particularly, Li Mochou's repeated recital of "I ask the world, what is love?" is well-known.⁷²

Implicit therefore is that any exploration of romance in Jin Yong's novels would effectively hit at the core of the novels. If indeed the greatest romance among Jin's works is *Return*, attempts to unravel the gist of the Jin Yong canon must, and logically should, begin here. Furthermore, as the work best received by a general audience, romance and its expressions – as do the subversion, inversion or negation of the same – are likely to hit at the heart of the prevalent social outlook. As illuminated by Adorno and Horkheimer's acute observations, *Return* and its somewhat contradictory film adaptation can offer us much fodder for examining the confounding popular attitudes towards the texts.

2.1.7 ADAPTATION STUDIES – OR ITS DEARTH

71 Pan Guosen, "'I ask the world, what is love?'," in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 518-527; Yang Xing'an, "Kinship amidst smoke and water – Father and son, brothers, and husband and wives in Jin Yong's works," in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 528-537.

72 Pan Guosen, "I ask the world, what is love?," p. 518, translation mine.

Adaptations of Jin Yong's novels however are rarely subjects of research interest. Harsh criticism of the entertainment value of the novels from critics disgruntled with Jin Yong, and the fixation with the male perspective and Chinese tradition from scholars who superficially mine newer areas such as gender studies but in a manner reflecting “conservatism” that plagues the field. Both volumes of conference proceedings cited earlier skirt adaptation of Jin Yong's novels for most part,⁷³ a projection of the dearth of articles on adaptations of Jin Yong's novels, much less *academic* studies that deal *exclusively* with these adaptations.

The closest approximation comes from Chen Mo who dedicates two chapters of his book *Visual Jin Yong* to addressing film and television adaptations of Jin Yong's fiction, but admits to being a less than loyal television fan, his brief reviews of film adaptations restricted to those he could readily access and found interest in – *Return* adaptations not among these. His take on how readily thematic concerns translate into cinema, besides random thoughts on box office concerns, is given a very personal slant, so Chen's treatment is hardly academic.⁷⁴

Chan Shek, whose appendix to her published Masters dissertation examines film adaptations of *Romance of the Book and Sword* and *The Deer and the Cauldron*, offers a more measured approach, contextualizing her discussion in the interrelation between martial arts films and novels. However she evokes fidelity when pointing out

73 See Wu Xiaodong, Ji Birui (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 2002); *Proceedings of the International Conferences on Jin Yong's novels* (Taipei: Yuan-liou, 1999). The contents of these two volumes are indicative of the breadth Jin Yong studies has achieved in recent years, despite the glaring absence of coverage on the growing corpus of adaptations.

74 Chen Mo, *Visual Jin Yong* (Taipei: Yuan-liou Chubanshe, 2001).

plot divergences and how Ann Hui's adaptation of *Romance of the Book and Sword* is at least faithful in spirit.⁷⁵ Neither Chen nor Chan adopts as their central concern a “dialogics of adaptation.”⁷⁶

On the other hand, Song Weijie, less than satisfied by film adaptations of *Return*, claims that television adaptations are superior to film because the former is a more suitable medium for fully conveying the complex characterizations and convoluted plot of Jin Yong's martial arts fiction. After all, there exist no hard and fast restrictions to the length and number of television episodes.⁷⁷ Although Song does not suggest that there is “fidelity” to be achieved but simply that some media facilitate closer adaptations, his underlying premise appears to be: the more complexity and complications an adaptation incorporates, the better. Upon closer examination, his criticism nonetheless demands an appeal to “fidelity,” in this instance defined by the extent to which characterization and plot are comprehensively rendered to meet the expectations of the pickiest novel fan. Even then, one remains skeptical of how a single interpretation of costumes, casting, set, swordplay choreography and the like – details seemingly secondary to characterization and plot which actually represent visibly and audibly on screen characters and even plot twists – might satisfy one member of the audience as well as the other. “Fidelity” in these terms is therefore a problematic construct at best.

75 Chan Shek, *Creating a Canon: The Cultural Politics of Jin Yong Studies*, (Guilin: Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 2004), pp. 147-161.

76 For the derivation of this term, see Robert Stam, “Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogics of Adaptation,” in *Film adaptation*, ed. James Naremore (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 54-78.

77 Song, 43-44.

Sidestepping film and television adaptations, Gong Pengcheng takes on representations of Jin Yong's martial arts novels in the “e-generation,” on the Internet, and in computer games, by outlining the advent of computer game adaptations as well as websites such as fansites and forums. The subversive trend is what he terms as an example of teen subculture that counters attempts to canonize Jin Yong.⁷⁸ Despite these pertinent observations, his article for most part is dedicated to descriptive accounts of these media, to the effect of emphasizing what a true blue fan of gaming and websurfing Gong is.

Several less scholarly articles similarly critique adaptations of Jin Yong according to personal taste, though not without some revelations on the tastes of readers, audiences, and even the novelist himself.⁷⁹ Wang Zhi argues that film and television adaptations of Jin Yong's novels appeal to the masses, just as Jin Yong's novels speak their language, though these adaptations are merely star-making vehicles that bear little semblance to the deified art of the novel.⁸⁰ In effect, he implies first of all that the novel is a more elite genre than film and television, and second, that adaptations and their source project the same discourse, claims which we shall return to later.

78 Gong Pengcheng, “Jin Yong in the e-Generation – the Representations of Jin Yong's Novels on the internet and in video games,” in *Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction*, pp. 188-211.

79 Examples include Jian Dan, Zhang Guojun, “I ask the world, who is a hero?” *Yishu Daokan*, October 2001, p. 35. The article speculates why Jin Yong appointed Li Yapeng as the leading man in the 2001 China television production of *The Proud, Smiling Wanderer*, citing Jin Yong's approval of the actor.

80 Wang Zhi, “Orgies on Earth and the Absence of the Gods,” *Jiefangjun Yishu Xueyuan Xuebao*, no. 2 (2001), pp. 18-20.

Jin Yong, by comparison, reportedly said that, while making his novels into movies and television serials is great, so doing has its shortcomings, because some productions significantly change or even distort the originals. Nonetheless, he notes that this is just as well, joking, “The audience, failing to get a kick [out of watching such productions], will look up the original novels for the sake of precision. This will help promote the works.”⁸¹

The contrasting welcome Jin Yong offers, despite a flurry of commentaries that appeal to either fidelity, sanctity or preference to devalue film and television adaptations, is probably underscored by his personal involvement with the movie industry. Before the launch of his first novel, he faced, as an editor of the *Xin Wanbao* supplement in the early 1950s, the challenge of gathering film reviews for a column. The apparent dearth of articles was satisfied eventually by numerous reviews he personally wrote under the pseudonym Lin Huan. Out of necessity, he perused heaps of books on film and art theory to brush up his intimate know-how, on top of watching one movie daily. It was also as “Lin Huan” that he wrote several movie scripts before his first novel debuted.

Not surprisingly, Jin Yong is understanding towards the likely shortcomings of film and television adaptations of his novels, having engaged himself in film-making. He takes a fairer view than most of his reviewers towards adaptations:

Nearly all my novels have been made into movies; there are quite a number of

⁸¹ See Fang Fei, “Jin Yong loves kungfu films,” *Yingshi Wuhang*, no. 1 (1998), p. 36, translation and paraphrase mine.

television series as well. In comparison, television [adaptation] is easier... film [adaptation] is very difficult... because you usually take several days' time to finish reading a novel. In a film, it is rather hard to completely render the novel in over an hour. One can only account for the general plot, but it is nearly impossible to expand on the details.

He even stresses that novels and films are two different artistic forms, without insinuating status differences between the two, and suggested selecting several segments of the novel for in-depth exploration and development when making a movie.⁸²

Even though Jin Yong personally names the autonomy of the novel and the film as an important consideration in adapting his works,⁸³ most critiques have not explored the relationship between narratology and filmic composition in the context of Jin Yong's martial arts fiction and their adaptations, nor the same in *Return* specifically. Yang Xing'an shows how Jin Yong transplants filmic narrative language into his novels⁸⁴ and even attributes the author's success and ingenuity to his use of tangible rather than abstract descriptions. Further, he goes on to emphasize how Jin Yong creates an atmospheric setting for his plot and sketches his characters in a way

82 See Yan Xiaoxing, "Jin Yong's affinity with films," *Jinling Wanbao*, 1998 · 2 · 28, pp. 32-33, translation mine. Apparently, Jin Yong counters Bluestone's perception that "More than anyone else, novelists with screen-writing experience have been responsible for scathing indictments of the film industry. The playwrights have been both less frequent and less severe in their attacks" (p. 34).

83 Likewise, George Bluestone makes a similar point in his book which precedes these remarks. See *Novels into Film*, especially "Chapter 1: The Limits of the Novel and the Limits of the Film," pp. 1-64.

84 Yang Xing'an, *Ten treatises on Jin Yong's Novels* (Beijing: Zhishi Chubanshe, 2002), pp. 185-205.

that affords readers the pleasure of imagination.⁸⁵

The appropriation of filmic devices in the novels as identified by Yang suggests that frameworks for analyzing film might lend themselves to the analysis of the novels, a vein tackled by Song Weijie who applies Laura Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema"⁸⁶ in his chapter on the theme of growth and gender politics in Jin Yong's novels.⁸⁷ Similarly, Huang Zonghui, in her study of narcissism, fetishism and aggression exhibited by the female characters around protagonist Duan Zhengchun in *Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils*, evokes the gaze under a Lacanian framework, but not in relation to Mulvey or film adaptations.⁸⁸ As a survey of these papers demonstrates, how the gaze and narratology intersect in Jin Yong's martial arts novels and their adaptations is an area waiting to be explored, although not in this dissertation.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.2.1 ADAPTATION STUDIES AND THE "FIDELITY MYTH"

Still, the question of fidelity and autonomy of genres raised, necessarily demanding a clarification of generic hierarchy, hark questions about the place of Jin

85 Yang, *Ten treatises on Jin Yong's Novels*, p. 187.

86 Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in *Contemporary Film Theory*, ed. Antony Easthope (London; New York: Longman, 1993), pp. 111-124. Mulvey later revised her ideas in "Visual and Other Pleasures," in *The Language, Discourse, Society Reader*, eds. Stephen Heath, Colin MacCabe and Denise Riley (Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Also see Mulvey, "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' inspired by King Vidor's *Duel in the Sun* (1946)," in *Contemporary Film Theory*, ed. Antony Easthope (London; New York: Longman, 1993), pp. 125-134.

87 Song, pp. 121-137, especially pp. 124-129.

88 Huang Zonghui, pp. 181-205.

Yong's popular fiction in literature as does culture. Fidelity criticism has been a vein which academics writing on adaptation studies, in contrast to critics who have lashed at adaptations of Jin Yong's novels, hesitate to advocate. As the excellent introduction by James Naremore to the anthology *Film Adaptation* indicates, "academic writing on adaptation" has tended to "waver back and forth between the two approaches exemplified by [George] Bluestone and the [French] auteurs."⁸⁹ Notably, Naremore excludes from such "academic writing" fidelity that demands faithfulness to the last letter, but prefers instead tropes like "translation" and "performance" represented by the two schools.

While Naremore simply drops fidelity from his scope of review, Brian McFarlane remarks bluntly in his study *Novel to Film: An Introduction to the Theory of Adaptation* that:

Discussion of adaptation has been bedevilled by the fidelity issue, no doubt ascribable in part to the novel's coming first, in part to the ingrained sense of literature's greater respectability in traditional critical circles.⁹⁰

McFarlane sharply pinpoints the higher esteem accorded to the novel as one definite reason for fidelity-fixated criticism. Even Adorno and Horkheimer whom I cited earlier disdain adaptations, believing that they violate the higher art of the originals.

Similarly, the ongoing debate on the place of Jin Yong in the literary hierarchy

⁸⁹ Naremore, pp. 7-8. He adds further that "The Bluestone approach relies on an implicit metaphor of translation, which governs all investigations of how codes move across sign systems. [...] By contrast, the auteurist approach relies on a metaphor of performance [...] [and are] more apt to consider such things as audiences, historical situations and cultural politics."

⁹⁰ Brian McFarlane, *Novel to Film*, p. 8.

lionizes the archetypal novel, to the disadvantage of popular and appealing forms of martial arts fiction. Scholars like Song Weijie, Chen Mo and Chan Shek, who view Jin Yong's works as canonized classics, too have qualms on the seeming inability of adaptations to capture the original, thereby attributing to the original's unreachable and unattainable heights of masterly achievement.

In place of such a prejudiced outlook, McFarlane outlines the intertextual approach to adaptations, before advocating the "centrality of narrative." As he observes,

Modern critical notions of intertextuality represent a more sophisticated approach, in relation to adaptation, to the idea of the original novel as a 'resource'. As Christopher Orr remarks: 'Within this critical context [i.e. of intertextuality], the issue is not whether the adapted film is faithful to its source, but rather how the choice of a specific source and how the approach to that source serve the film's ideology.'⁹¹

That is to say, the intertextual approach to some extent synthesizes the Bluestone and auteurist approaches Naremore cites. McFarlane further notes that, "some writers

[such as Geoffrey Wagner, Dudley Andrew⁹² and Michael Klein and Gillian Parker]

91 McFarlane, p. 10. Reference to Orr from "The Discourse on Adaptation," *Wide Angle*, 6/2 (1984).

92 Dudley Andrew, "Adaptation," in *Film Adaptation*, pp. 30-34. He talks of three modes of adaptation:

In the history of the arts, surely "borrowing" is the most frequently used mode of adaptation. Here the artist employs, more or less extensively, the material, idea or form of an earlier, generally successful text. [...] Here the main concern is [the] existence [of the original] as a continuing form or archetype in culture. [...] This vast and airy mode of borrowing finds its opposite in that attitude toward adaptation I choose to call intersecting. Here the uniqueness of the original text is preserved to such an extent that it is intentionally left unassimilated in adaptation. [...] All such works fear or refuse to adapt. Instead they present the otherness and distinctiveness of the original text, initiating a dialectical interplay [...] [S]uch intersecting insists that the analyst attend to the specificity of the original within the specificity of the cinema. [...] Here [in the case of fidelity and transformation] it is assumed that the task of adaptation is the reproduction in cinema of something essential

have proposed strategies which seek to categorize adaptations so that fidelity to the original loses some of its privileged position.”⁹³

Along these lines, McFarlane proposes the more objective approach of considering “the centrality of narrative,” to dethrone the original and treat both the source and its adaptation on more equitable grounds:

[N]arrative, at certain levels, is undeniably not only the chief factor novels and the films based on them have in common but is the chief transferable element. [...] Nevertheless, much of the dissatisfaction which accompanies the writing about films adapted from novels tends to spring from perceptions of 'tampering' with the original narrative. [...] Such dissatisfactions resonate with a complex set of misapprehensions about the workings of narrative in the two media, about the irreducible differences between the two, and from a failure to distinguish what can from what cannot be transferred. [...] '[T]ransfer' will be used to denote the process whereby certain narrative elements of novels are revealed as amenable to display in film, whereas the widely used term 'adaptation' will refer to the processes by which other novelistic elements must find quite different equivalences in the film medium.⁹⁴

Though McFarlane's distinction is illuminating, it remains questionable what necessitates the “adaptation” of an element but “transfer” of another, unless he is

about an original text. Here we have a clear-cut case of film's trying to measure up to a literary work or of an audience trying to make such a comparison. Fidelity of adaptation is conventionally treated in relation to the “letter” and to the “spirit” of a text.

93 McFarlane, pp. 10-11.

94 Ibid, pp. 11-13.

appealing to some Chomskyan deep structure (which he does implicitly)⁹⁵ of the novel that adapts it to one treatment or another. In other words, although he discards absolute fidelity, it returns to haunt us as fidelity to the *kind* of adaptation the novel opens itself up to. “Amenab[ility] to display” poses another pertinent question, of whether “amenability” hints at the possibility of being absolutely, if not reasonably, faithful to these elements, especially since he cites as transferable “‘ready-made knowledge’ such as the names, ages, and professions of characters, certain details of the physical setting.”⁹⁶

The transfer/adaptation dichotomy has to be answered with another from McFarlane, the “narrative”/ “enunciation” distinction he situates in the context of two different signifying or semiotic systems:

- i. those elements of the original novel which are transferable because not tied to one or other semiotic system--that is, essentially, narrative ; and
- ii. those which involve intricate processes of adaptation because their effects are closely tied to the semiotic system in which they are manifested-- that is, enunciation.⁹⁷

That should recall again the translation trope for novel-to-film adaptation which

95 Ibid, p. 25. Talking about “mythic and/or psychological patterns,” he refers to them as “elements which exist at ‘deep levels’ of the text.” See also Seymour Chatman, “What novels can do that films can’t (and vice versa),” in *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, 3rd ed., eds. Gerald Mast, Marshall Cohen and Leo Braudy (New York : Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 403-419. Chatman notes that “It’s not accidental that narratology has developed during a period in which linguistics and cinema theory have also flourished. Linguistics, of course, is the basis for the field now called semiotics. [...] One of the most important observations to come out of narratology is that narrative itself is a deep structure quite independent of its medium.”

96 Ibid, p. 14. As the discussion later on Robert Stam would show, even simple physical details can be subject to infinite interpretations.

97 Ibid, p. 20.

Naremore refers to, even though McFarlane does not invoke it. Certainly the questions underscoring McFarlane's inquiry reflect this metaphor, since he is concerned with “just what is it possible to transfer or adapt from novel to film [‘in the transposition process’]; and [...] what key factors other than the source novel have exercised an influence on the film version of the novel.”⁹⁸ The inclusiveness of the phrase “key factors” brings to mind not just social forces like those which Adorno and Horkheimer were concerned with, but also others like cinematic conventions.

The validity of the translation trope finds justification in George Bluestone's monumental study, *Novels into Film*. Published in 1957, this early study on the adaptation of novels into film intimates how unrealistic precise fidelity is when novel and film each have their “limits,”⁹⁹ an argument underscored by a translation-grounded logic, similar to McFarlane's, that novel and film are two different semiotic systems. Briefly, Bluestone states that “the filmed novel, in spite of certain resemblances, will inevitably become a different artistic entity from the novel on which it is based,”¹⁰⁰ primarily because “[o]ne may, on the other hand, see visually through the eye or imaginatively through the mind. And between the percept of the visual image and the concept of the mental image lies the root difference between the two media.”¹⁰¹

This difference seems both explained by and expressed through the respective ability of novel and film to portray abstract and concrete entities. As Bluestone claims,

98 Ibid, p. 22.

99 Bluestone, *Novels into Film* (1957; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 1-64.

100Ibid, p. 64. As he says on p. 6, “each is autonomous.”

101Ibid, p. 1.

[T]he film, being a presentational medium (except for its use of dialogue), cannot have direct access to the power of discursive forms. Where the novel discourses, the film must picture. [...]The rendition of mental states – memory, dream, imagination – cannot be as adequately represented by film as by language. [...] A film is not thought, it is perceived.¹⁰²

To adopt McFarlane's terminology, “mental states” and “internal thought” require “adaptation” rather than “enunciation.”¹⁰³

The translation tropes find another manifestation in French film theorist André Bazin's “Adaptation, or the Cinema as Digest,”¹⁰⁴ which James Naremore calls “poststructuralist or postmodernist”¹⁰⁵ in outlook. Its distinct translation trope for adaptation is reminiscent of Walter Benjamin's “The Task of a Translator.” Benjamin claims that “a translation issues from the original -- not so much for its life as from its afterlife [...]. For to some degree all great texts contain their potential translation between the lines,”¹⁰⁶ a metaphor echoed in Bazin's idea of the “incarnation[s]” of the

102Ibid, p. 46-48. In other words, there is a focus on what Bluestone mentions to be that which “[A. A.] Mendilow has called modern 'inwardness' and E. M. Forster the 'hidden life'.”

103I am aware however that McFarlane does discredit the Bluestone approach in his book, stating that, “George Bluestone's all-but-pioneering work in the film-literature field, *Novels into Film*” is one of many which place “stress on the physical surfaces and behaviours of objects and figures [...] to de-emphasize the author's personal narrating voice so that we learn to read the ostensibly unmediated visual language of the later nineteenth-century novel in a way that anticipates the viewer's experience of film which necessarily presents those physical surfaces” Bluestone and Keith Cohen “have tended to concentrate on the thematic interests and the large, formal narrative patterns and strategies [...] narrative-makers shared, rather than to address themselves, as a film-oriented writer might, to detailed questions of enunciation, of possible parallels and disparities between the two different signifying systems” (pp. 4-6). Clearly McFarlane does not see Bluestone as evoking any of these concerns though the latter does somehow.

104André Bazin, “Adaptation, or the Cinema as Digest” (1948), trans. Alain Piette and Bert Cardullo (1997), in *Film Adaptation*, pp. 19-27.

105James Naremore, “Introduction: Film and the Reign of Adaptation,” in *Film Adaptation*, p. 16.

106Walter Benjamin, “The Task of a Translator” (1923), trans. Harry Zohn (1968).

“artistic soul” in various forms: “The style is in the service of the narrative: it is a reflection of it, so to speak, the body but not the soul. And it is not impossible for the artistic soul to manifest itself through another incarnation.”¹⁰⁷

Likewise, Bazin advocates the recognizably Benjaminian notion of “formal equivalence:”

“Form” is at most a sign, a visible manifestation of style, which is absolutely inseparable from the narrative content, of which it is [...] the metaphysics.

Under these circumstances, faithfulness to a form, literary or otherwise, is illusory: what matters is the *equivalence in meaning of the forms*.¹⁰⁸

Moving away from the typical translation trope and instead stretching the metaphor of the “artistic soul,” Bazin dethrones the author using an alternative approach to McFarlane's “centrality of narrative.” By dismissing “chronological precedence” as a “criterion” for discussing adaptation, Bazin bypasses the deification of the novel vis-a-vis film, and silences discourses that speak of one adaptation surpassing either another or the original.

The equality Bazin attributes to adaptations and their source finds pragmatic critical expression in the “dialogics” of Robert Stam. Expounding on the “chimera of fidelity” in his seminal essay “Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogics of Adaptation,” Stam proposes tropes for adaptation that are founded on “dialogics,” thereby expanding the spectrum of tropes for the relationship between the original and the adaptation. To

¹⁰⁷Bazin, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸Ibid, p. 20, emphasis author's.

him, absolute fidelity is impossible. For one, the difference in medium between the original text and the adaptation would require choices, however slight, to be made in the adaptation process. Even the exact shade that would best visually represent a mentioned colour has to be decided when a book is adapted for the screen.¹⁰⁹ Hence, the sentiments Song Weijie bears towards adaptations of Jin Yong are, realistically speaking, impossible to placate. If “fidelity,” which appeals to critics and audiences alike more often than not, is less achievable an ideal than it seems, how then should we analyze adaptations?

Stam proceeds to develop several salient tropes for discussing adaptation, ranging from translation to “dialogics.” His brief exploration of the “complex question of point of view” offers one possible approach to studying the relationship between texts and their adaptations. With reference to Gérard Genette, Stam asks:

Does the film adaptation maintain the point of view and the focalization [Genette] of the novel? Who tells the story in the novel vis-à-vis the film? Who focalizes the story – that is, who sees within the story?¹¹⁰

Similarly, McFarlane demonstrates interest in analyzing the “varying amenability to cinematic practice of [...] literary narration” as exemplified by “narrative point of view.”¹¹¹ The massive number of characters in the universe of *Return* therefore can provide ample fodder for analyzing the question of “who sees.” Since the narrator is generally not overt in Jin Yong's novels, clarifying how the story is focalized is salient

109Stam, pp. 57-58.

110Ibid, p. 72.

111McFarlane, pp. 15-19.

to understanding how *Return* is told, and by implication, how its adaptations differ in their retelling.

G rard Genette also illuminates Stam's trope of "adaptation as intertextual dialogism," which draws upon the former's *Palimpsests*. Under the heading of "transtextuality" – "all that which puts one text in relation, whether manifest or secret, with other texts" – Genette posits five kinds of transtextual relationships, namely "intertextuality," "paratextuality," "metatextuality," "architextuality" and "hypertextuality."¹¹² In adaptation, then, the kinds of texts that can relate to one another, in the Genette sense, are not limited to the original and the adaptation, but may also include peripheral texts such as book blurbs and promotional materials.

2.2.2 POINT OF VIEW

The multiplicity of texts that go into one adaptation can be said to generate a cacophony of points of view, yet to do so would be to cloud the sharpness of "point of view" as a critical concept. To dispel the confusion surrounding its meaning, Seymour Chatman notes that "[a]t least three senses" of "point of view" "can be distinguished in ordinary use:"

(a) literal: through someone's eyes (perception);

(b) figurative: through someone's world view (ideology, conceptual system, *Weltanschauung*, etc.);

¹¹²Stam, pp. 64-68. See G rard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman & Claude Doubinsky, foreword by Gerald Prince (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 1-7.

(c) transferred: from someone's interest-vantage (characterizing his general interest, profit, welfare, well-being, etc.).¹¹³

He goes on to clarify that “point of view” and “narrative voice” “*need not be lodged in the same person,*” since “[p]oint of view only means the perspective in terms of which the expression [of events and existents] is made.”¹¹⁴ In other words, point of view can vary in a text. At the same time the literal point of view can shift, in a novel for instance, from character to character, while the narrative persona remains one and same.

In the case of films, Chatman notes that the presence of two tracks – “visual and auditory” – can be used to generate new ways of presenting point of view. Point of view analysis of films faces difficulty though, because “it is not always clear whether we have seen the object separately from the character, conjointly with him, or through him. We are sure only of a perceptual sympathy with him.”¹¹⁵ As Bluestone observes, “the camera approximates our ordinary perceptions”¹¹⁶ on the superficial level, a salient property that influences editing, the “cinematic trope” or the cinematic equivalent of literary tropes in Bluestone's words, adding that editing “affords the film-maker a new field for his powers of selection” as well as “[t]he extraordinary power of suggestion.”¹¹⁷

With regards to Chatman's remark on “perceptual sympathy” therefore, the

113Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 151-152.

114Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, p. 153, emphasis author's.

115Ibid, *Story and Discourse*, p. 159.

116Bluestone, p. 16.

117Ibid., p. 24.

“power of suggestion” editing offers is subject to how “[d]ifferent points of view must [...] be carefully blended to suggest a continuous action,”¹¹⁸ because of “the shot's obligation to representational fidelity.”¹¹⁹ The myth that the camera is capable of our literal perception is dispelled by Bluestone, who explains that “the film's angle of vision was non-naturalistic; that being non-naturalistic, yet bound by optical and mechanical laws, the film had found its formative power.”¹²⁰

Further confusing reality and reel, as well as point of view, however, is “the cinematic character” in film adaptations. Stam notes that “although novels have only character, film adaptations have both character (actantial function) and performer. [...] In the cinema the performer also brings along a kind of baggage, a thespian intertext formed by the totality of antecedent roles.”¹²¹ What this means then, in Chatman's terms, is that any point of view in a film adaptation simultaneously invokes the “literal,” “figurative,” as well as “transferred” points of view, which could be either of the character whose eyes through whom we look, “antecedent roles,” the director or otherwise, generating a complex transtextual fabric.

2.2.3 THE GAZE

Sympathy between different senses of “point of view” is elucidated by notions of the gaze which theorize ways of looking. Theories of the gaze that have been cited in recent studies of Jin Yong's martial arts novels include Laura Mulvey's and Jacques-

118Ibid., p. 25.

119Ibid., p. 20.

120Ibid., p. 17.

121Stam, p. 60.

Marie-Émile Lacan's.¹²² Although theoretical approaches scholars like Song Weijie and Huang Zonghui adopt often do not synthesize different theories, these theories draw from an assumed lineage of psychoanalysis. For instance, references to Jacques Lacan imply a debt to Freudian psychoanalysis, which Mulvey explicitly applies in “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.”¹²³

Mulvey is pertinent since her essay, which delineates a gendered way of seeing, is especially influential as a feminist critique of cinema. In “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” Laura Mulvey explores, using “psychoanalytic theory,” how “the unconscious of patriarchal society has structured film form.” She demonstrates:

where and how the fascination of film is reinforced by pre-existing patterns of fascination already at work within the individual subject and the social formations that have moulded him. It takes as its starting-point the way film reflects, reveals and even plays on the straight, socially established interpretation of sexual difference which controls images, *erotic ways of looking and spectacle*.¹²⁴

In other words, Mulvey believes that films project a way of looking that is stenciled by social norms of men on top and women below. Furthermore, since the gaze is defined

122Song Weijie cites Laura Mulvey's “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema” (Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” in *Contemporary Film Theory*, ed. Antony Easthope (London; New York: Longman, 1993), 111-124. Mulvey later revised her ideas in “Visual and Other Pleasures,” in *The Language, Discourse, Society Reader*, eds. Stephen Heath, Colin MacCabe and Denise Riley (Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Also see Mulvey, “Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' inspired by King Vidor's *Duel in the Sun* (1946),” in *Contemporary Film Theory*, pp. 125-134) in his chapter on the theme of growth and gender politics in Jin Yong's novels.

123Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” 111-112.

124Ibid, p. 111, emphasis mine.

by looking, it can be identified with Chatman's idea of the literal or perceptual point of view. Necessary to Mulvey's idea of the gendered gaze is the assumption that the act of gazing is a heterosexual, male act which then objectifies women, since the male possesses agency through looking. Her explanation of the “paradox of phallogentrism” indeed purports a pattern of male agency/female subjectivity:

the function of woman in forming the patriarchal unconscious is twofold: she firstly symbolises the castration threat by her real lack of a penis and secondly thereby raises her child into the symbolic. [...] Woman then stands in patriarchal culture as a signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his fantasies and obsessions through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of woman still tied to her place as bearer, not maker, of meaning.¹²⁵

By suggesting that the “image of woman” is “silent,” Mulvey's argument resonates deeply with the issue of point of view – “Who tells the story in the novel vis-à-vis the film? Who focalizes the story – that is, who sees within the story?”¹²⁶ – raised by Stam to demonstrate how a dialogical treatment of adaptation might unfold. Akin to Stam's equating the act of telling with seeing, Mulvey's woman, who is gazed upon by man, is “silent” and therefore stripped of the privilege of telling.

Pleasure is furthermore hinged upon the objectification of the “silent” passive woman, since as Mulvey describes it, “pleasure in looking has been split between

¹²⁵Ibid, p. 112, emphasis mine.

¹²⁶Stam, p. 72.

active/male and passive/female” with “woman as image, man as bearer of the look.”¹²⁷ She deems that the “voyeuristic-scopophilic look that is a crucial part of traditional filmic pleasure can be broken down”¹²⁸:

The scopophilic instinct (pleasure in looking at another person as an erotic object) and, in contradistinction, ego libido (forming identification processes) act as formations, mechanisms, which mould this cinema's formal attributes. The actual image of woman as (passive) raw material for the (active) gaze of man takes the argument a step further into the content and structure of representation, adding a further layer of ideological significance demanded by the patriarchal order in its favourite cinematic form – illusionistic narrative film.¹²⁹

Interestingly Mulvey sees male gaze dominated films as “illusionistic” and thus unrealistic, merely satisfying patriarchy but not necessarily representing reality. The existence of an “erotic” dimension to the male gaze in film – following Mulvey's construct – should lead us to consider if the novels from which films are adapted exhibit too an identical pattern of looking.

Such a line of inquiry is hardly new. Scholars have rationalized the applicability of Mulvey's framework or its antecedents to Jin Yong's martial arts novels. Song Weijie's application of Mulvey to a critical reading of *Romance of the*

127Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” p. 116. Also relevant here is John Berger et al., *Ways of seeing* (London, British Broadcasting Corporation; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).

Berger's central premise is “men act, women appear” (pp. 45-47).

128Ibid, p. 123.

129Ibid, p. 122.

Book and Sword reinforces the intersection between cinematic gaze and narratology in Jin Yong's martial arts fiction. Huang Zonghui's study implies also the applicability of Freudian and Lacanian ideas. While Mulvey's theory, originally developed for narrative cinema, can be applied to non-filmic texts like, in Stam's terms, "single-track, uniquely verbal medium[s] such as the novel,"¹³⁰ presuming that the male gaze can be applied universally to every Jin Yong novel and its adaptation is risky. While *Return* may be the Jin Yong novel most readily acknowledged as a romance, which admittedly conjures up some notion of the erotic, this is no evidence that the male gaze is an ideal trope for either the telling of the original *Return* story or its various spawn.

For a start, theories, given the helpful and explanatory generalizations they make, are bound to fail on some count. Despite the ready applicability of Mulvey's male gaze to novels and their film adaptation, this framework nonetheless dichotomizes the pattern of looking in cinema into male/female and active/passive, besides hardly considering other complicating factors. For instance, E. Ann Kaplan's *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze* introduces the issue of skin colour.¹³¹ In the case of *Return*, colour – which Kaplan codes along lines of

130Stam, pp. 55-56. The "single-track" medium is contrasted with "a multitrack medium such as film, which can play not only with words (written and spoken), but also with theatrical performance, music, sound effects, and moving photographic images." However, I am aware that Stam's notion of single-track narratives has its problems too. For example, novels may come with illustrations that would disqualify them from being "uniquely verbal." A relevant example would be the e-Generation edition of *Return of the Condor Heroes* which happens to be a computer game tie-in (see footnote 12). The Ming Ho Revised Edition of Jin Yong's novels also has an illustration for each chapter.

131E. Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze* (New York: Routledge, 1996). She looks particularly into the portrayal of Asians and African Americans. In "Travelling White Theorists," Kaplan suggests of Chinese films that that "Many late 1980s films contain a key scene in which the heroine's erotic gaze is finally met by the male's returned desire. In

Chinese/Asian American, black¹³² and so on – does not feature as much as does ethnicity, since the Yang Guo story is set against the poignant backdrop of an ailing Song empire defending its last strongholds against the organized Mongolian military. Even if colour is substituted with ethnicity and gender considered, the pattern of looking in *Return* remains confounding since a myriad of characters look, ranging from children who are virtually defenseless against martial arts experts, to young and accomplished yet despondent pugilists. Withholding for the moment discussion on whether a pattern can be derived from the novels, even the film adaptation *Brave Archer and His Mate* (1982, henceforth “*Brave Archer*”)¹³³ sets up instead an unusual aversion to the gaze by dominantly using head-and-shoulders close-ups for characters speaking or emoting at the moment,¹³⁴ presenting an unnatural cinematic grammar which undermines Bluestone's claim that the shot is governed by “representational

each, the desire cannot be expressed or consummated; the heroines are left yearning to meet this 'gaze' again – a gaze that is the sign for romantic love and sexual union” (p. 147). She goes on to hypothesize that “it would seem that the repressed sexual desire between the heroine and her soldier may be an allegory for the repressed *political desires* of the Chinese people” (p.147, emphasis author's). As we shall see however, the aversion to the gaze that we see in *Brave Archer*, albeit an early 1980s production, refutes this postulation. If nothing else, the film adaptation, with its aversion to the gaze and its deliberate axing of the key romance between Yang Guo and Little Dragon Maiden, should serve as an important counter example to Kaplan's analysis of Chinese films, especially when it is adapted from a novel in which one may find the kind of longing erotic gaze described by Kaplan.

132As a further clarification, the vagueness which surrounds the labels “Chinese” and “Asian American” should clearly indicate how Kaplan is nearly literal in her use of the term “colour.” “Ethnicity” would be a more definitive term for distinctions that originate at least in part from perceived lineage.

133Directed by Chang Cheh and starring Alexander Fu and Man Suet Yee, 1 hr. 41 min., Shaw Brothers, 1982. Fully restored from the original film and issued as a video cd in 2005 by Celestial Pictures.

134Intriguingly, Bluestone remarks that “So pervasive has been the power of the close-up to convey emotion” (p. 26) but, in the instance of *Brave Archer and His Mate*, the close-up instead avoids the gaze of the spectator, regardless of whether emotion or merely content (dialogue) is conveyed at the moment.

fidelity.”

The relationship of the gaze to power is explicated by Michel Foucault, who, writing on the clinical gaze and the panoptical gaze, establishes a link between knowledge and power, whereby the one looking possesses both.¹³⁵ But the gaze, Foucauldian or otherwise, need not be understood purely in literal terms, as it can also refer to analytical regard, such as how Allen Chun begins his excursion into the “ambiguities” of “Chineseness” as a discursive construct:

[T]here is much to suggest that the very idea of China is an unambiguous or unquestionable entity. But what is so unambiguous about China that makes it an unquestioned object of *gazing*? What is the nature of Chineseness, and who are the Chinese? Finally, who is really speaking here?¹³⁶

Quite unlike Francis Bacon's idea of “knowledge is power,” intra-diegetically, the one

135For surveillance and the panoptical gaze, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, Reprint Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). The first Vintage edition was published in 1979. Also see Clare O'Farrell, “Foucault: The Legacy. A Conference Report,” *Foucault Resources* (hosted by Queensland University of Technology), [updated 1994; cited 31 October 2005], available from <<http://www.foucault.qut.edu.au/report.html>>. The report gives an example of how Foucault's idea of surveillance can be applied: “Patricia Stamp from York University in Canada used Foucault’s ideas to argue that aid donors to the third world in fact exert a form of ‘pastoral power’ which undermines the recently won sovereignty of these nations and in fact submits them to a new but perhaps less visible colonial yoke.” A number of excellent resources on Foucault's ideas, such as “power/knowledge,” can also be located on the Internet by running a Google <<http://www.google.com>> search.

On “power/knowledge,” see Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), where Foucault argues on p.119 how power “produces discourse” to sustain obedience:

If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it ? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply that fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasures, forms, knowledge; it produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repressive.

136Allen Chun, “Fuck Chineseness: On the Ambiguities of Ethnicity as Culture as Identity,” *boundary 2*, Vol. 23, No. 2. (Summer, 1996), p.111, emphasis mine.

who looks in *Return* has to settle with the knowledge the act of looking grants, but not necessarily possess power through his or her gaze, thus rewriting the equation between the gaze, knowledge and power. Yet there is also the spectator's gaze of the imagined universe in the novel, placing the intra-diegetic gaze as well as the figurative point of view under scrutiny, thus posing questions of what the China envisioned by Jin Yong entails.

2.2.4 Identity Politics of Chineseness

The references to China and hence Chineseness demand an examination of what these terms mean, especially in “identity politics,” a “laden phrase” which *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* crisply defines as:

com[ing] to signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the *shared experiences of injustice* of members of certain social groups. Rather than organizing solely around belief systems, programmatic manifestoes, or party affiliation, identity political formations typically aim to secure the political freedom of a specific constituency *marginalized* within its larger context. Members of that constituency assert or reclaim ways of understanding their *distinctiveness* that challenge dominant oppressive characterizations, with the goal of greater *self*-determination.¹³⁷

Identity politics, then, is as much communal – in that it is “shared” – as it is personal

¹³⁷Cressida Heyes, "Identity Politics", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2007 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), forthcoming URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2007/entries/identity-politics/>, emphasis mine.

and unique, since “distinctiveness” and thus “self-determination” are ultimately its goals.

The “shared experiences of injustice” that is yet personal is reflected in Ien Ang's observations on the childhood identity crisis of William Yang, a “third-generation Australian Chinese,” which are strangely true of Yang Guo's coming-of-age grapples with his own ancestry, choice of life partner, physical impairment and heroic vagrancy:

This is a classic tale of revelation that can undoubtedly be told in countless variations and versions by many people throughout the world, articulating the all-too-familiar experience of a subject's harsh coming into awareness of his own, unchosen, minority status. "Chineseness" here is the marker of that status, imparting an externally imposed identity given meaning, literally, by a practice of discrimination. It is the dominant culture's classificatory practice, operating as a territorializing power highly effective in marginalizing the other, that shapes the meaning of Chineseness here as a curse, as something to "get used to."¹³⁸

In her ensuing treatise Ang notes how “booming interest in [...] the *Chinese diaspora*” has destabilized “China” as an “ontologically stable object of study”:

"China" can no longer be limited to the more or less fixed area of its official spatial and cultural boundaries nor can it be held up as providing the authentic,

138Ien Ang, “Can One Say No to Chineseness? Pushing the Limits of the Diasporic Paradigm,” *boundary 2*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Modern Chinese Literary and Cultural Studies in the Age of Theory: Reimagining a Field. (Autumn, 1998), p. 224.

authoritative, and uncontested standard for all things Chinese. Instead, how to determine what is and what is not Chinese has become the necessary preliminary question to ask[...]. Central to the diasporic paradigm is the theoretical axiom that Chineseness is not a category with a fixed content-be it racial, cultural, or geographical-but operates as an open and indeterminate signifier whose meanings are constantly renegotiated and rearticulated in different sections of the Chinese diaspora. [...] There are, in this paradigm, many different Chinese identities, not one. This proposition entails a criticism of Chinese essentialism, a departure from the mode of demarcating Chineseness through an absolutist oppositioning of authentic and inauthentic, pure and impure, real and fake.¹³⁹

Ang restates Chineseness as “an open and indeterminate signifier”¹⁴⁰ and as fragmentary and pluralistic in the light how Chinese diaspora reshapes our understanding of “China.”

Tu Wei-ming similarly discounts fixed categories as determinants of Chineseness. Written in the wake of the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, his article expounds the concept of “Cultural China” to arrive at an understanding of what it means to be not just Chinese, “but [...] thinking and reflective Chinese in an

139Ibid, pp. 224-225, emphasis author's. Ang's footnote makes reference to “Stuart Hall's similar critique of the notion of the essential black subject, for example, in his essays "New Ethnicities" and "What Is This 'Black' in Black Popular Culture?" reprinted in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1997), 441-49 and 465-75.” The “Yang” referred to is a modern-day case of a “Chinese outside China” cited in this essay, and does not refer to Yang Guo.

140Rey Chow cites this phrase in her introduction to this issue of *boundary 2*.

increasingly alienating and dehumanizing world.”¹⁴¹ His “Cultural China can be examined in terms of a continuous interaction among three symbolic universes,” namely “predominantly [...] cultural[ly] and ethnic[ally] Chinese” societies of “mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore;” “Chinese [minority] communities throughout the world [...] often referred to by the political authorities in Beijing and Taipei as *huaqiao* (overseas Chinese),” or self-defined more frequently as “the Chinese 'diaspora;” and “individuals, such as scholars, teachers, journalists, industrialists, traders, entrepreneurs, and writers , who try to understand China intellectually and bring their conceptions of China to their own linguistic communities.”¹⁴² The “periphery” comprising non-mainland countries in the first universe as well as the other two universes challenge China's position as the “center” or core in “economic and cultural” terms.¹⁴³

Tu culminates his argument in a series of questions and answers that counteract “alienating and dehumanizing” forces by detaching Chineseness from geopolitical or bloodline definitions:

Is it possible to live a meaningful life as a Chinese individual if the dignity of one's humanity is lost? Does citizenship of a Chinese national state guarantee

141Tu Wei-ming, “Cultural China: The Periphery as the Center,” *Daedalus*; Spring 1991; 120, 2;

ProQuest Direct Complete, pp. 1-32. Quote is taken from p. 2. He says more bluntly on p. 28 that:

The exodus of many of the most brilliant minds from the mainland, the emigration of Chinese professionals from Hong Kong, the remigration of middle-class Chinese from Southeast Asia to North America and Australia suggest that it is neither shameful nor regrettable to voluntarily alienate oneself from a political regime that has become culturally insensitive, publicly unaccountable, and oppressive to basic human rights. The meaning of being Chinese is basically not a political question; it is a human concern pregnant with ethical-religious implications.

142Ibid, pp. 12-13.

143Ibid, p. 12, 27-28.

one's Chineseness? As a precondition for maintaining one's Chineseness, is it necessary to become a full participating citizen of one's adopted country?

While the overseas Chinese (the second symbolic universe) may seem forever peripheral to the meaning of being Chinese, can they assume an effective role in creatively constructing a new version of Chineseness that is more in tune with Chinese history and in sympathetic resonance with Chinese culture? Is it possible and even desirable for someone in the third symbolic universe who is not proficient in the Chinese language and who has no Chinese family ties by birth or marriage to acquire an understanding of Chinese culture such that he or she can greatly shape the intellectual discourse on cultural China and significantly contribute to the definition of being Chinese? An obvious no to the first two and a resounding yes to each of the remaining questions will give rich texture to the provocative inquiry into the meaning of being Chinese.¹⁴⁴

In other words, one need not be “Chinese” to be “Chinese,” but to be idiomatically Chinese requires empathy, not apathy, with Chinese culture and one's very own nation that may be Chinese or otherwise.

This provocative and generous definition of Chineseness is picked up by Harry Harding who discusses the concept of “a global Chinese culture.”¹⁴⁵ Harding does point out though that Tu “articulate[s]” “the dominant tendency in the analysis [of global Chinese cultural interaction]” to emphasize “high culture,” that is, “the growing

¹⁴⁴Ibid, p. 28.

¹⁴⁵Harding, pp. 672-677.

interaction among Chinese intellectuals around the world, which they portray as the continuation and renewal of a 150-year search for a modern Chinese culture.”¹⁴⁶ In response, he draws the reader's attention to “transnational popular Chinese culture.” Given that the Chinese state authorities assert ethnic minorities as being “assimilated into a common Chinese culture,” while “many Chinese writers and artists see [...] national minorities as [...] enrich[ing] it,”

Relatedly, one can imagine controversy over the degree to which overseas Chinese are regarded as consumers of Chinese popular culture, or as creators of it. As a result, there will be intense rivalry to serve as the geographic centres of popular Chinese culture. [...] The content of popular Chinese culture is also a matter of dispute. Most observers agree that that produced outside the mainland is primarily individualistic, materialistic or even hedonistic in character. It is highly likely that the official overseers of culture in Beijing will therefore seek to encourage, as a counterweight, a more orthodox popular culture that embodies collective values, patriotism and asceticism. It is conceivable that the battle between these two versions of Chinese popular culture could be as intense as the struggle among Chinese elites between the proponents of democracy and the advocates of neo-authoritarianism.¹⁴⁷

“Transnational popular Chinese culture,” as do more scholarly excursions, is a ground for contestation in the identity politics of Chineseness. In the words of Ien Ang,

¹⁴⁶Ibid, p. 673.

¹⁴⁷Ibid, pp. 675-676.

How Chineseness is made to mean in different contexts, and who gets to decide what it means or should mean, is the object of intense contestation, a struggle over meaning with wide-ranging cultural and political implications.¹⁴⁸

The “global” and “transnational” popular Chinese culture can be best characterized by *Return* and the rest of the Jin Yong franchise that have crossed boundaries of media as well. Although it would not be possible to explore the contestation between different popular Chinese cultures in this dissertation, it suffices to say that this further breaks down the monolith of all things Chinese.

To consider identity as fragmentary essentially embodies the postmodern condition. Marshall Berman's modernism, which resembles the commonplace postmodernism, is hauntingly a schema of the throwback to the past in Jin Yong's martial arts novels, and of Yang Guo's coming of age fable:

To be modern, I said, is to experience personal and social life as a maelstrom, to find one's world and oneself in perpetual disintegration and renewal, trouble and anguish, ambiguity and contradiction: to be part of a universe in which all that is solid melts into air. To be a modernist is to make oneself somehow at home in the maelstrom, to make its rhythms one's own, to move within its currents in search of the forms of reality, of beauty, of freedom, of justice, that its fervid and perilous flow allows. [...] Modernists can never be done with the past: they must go on forever haunted by it, digging up its ghosts, recreating it

¹⁴⁸Ang, p. 226.

even as they remake their world and themselves.¹⁴⁹

For *Return* and for Yang Guo, the haunting of the past comes in its very embodiment – in the historical backdrop and for Yang Guo, his maiming. Insofar these are bodies on which struggles and negotiations with the past are inscribed, *Return* and *Brave Archer* are ideal texts for debating the identity politics of Chineseness.

2.3 RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

In a way that intersects tangentially with adaptation studies on Jin Yong's novels, this dissertation attempts to situate *Return of the Condor Heroes* in the fragmentation of notions of Chineseness and Hong Kong identity, just as the novel has evoked questions of autonomy of genres and more. How do *Return of the Condor Heroes* and *Brave Archer and His Mate* (1982) respectively fragment the representation of Chineseness, Hong Kong and its accompanying narratives? What are the means of fragmentation?

To address the “what” issue, I propose an approach that synthesizes Stam and Genette's transtextual dialogics. Point of view, crucial to McFarlane's narrative-centred inquiry and Stam's illustration of how a dialogical investigation might work, will be key in connecting my analysis of the *Return* texts and their film adaptation, where point of view in the latter is conveyed through the camera and editing. I define the gaze in literal and figurative terms.¹⁵⁰ On the literal level, I suggest discussing how

¹⁴⁹Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988), pp. 345-346.

¹⁵⁰In this instance I refer to the motif of *Return* across various media.

Return and its adaptation rewrite the male gaze, partly to disinfect the prejudiced, gendered criticism that has crept into Jin Yong studies, and to desalinize Mulvey's dichotomy. At the figurative level, the gaze will be used as a critical frame for analyzing how the literal gaze and its subversiveness are indicative of Jin Yong's rewriting of Chineseness in the context of postwar Hong Kong.

Chapter Three will delve into the point of view in both the original serialization and revised edition of *Return*. Narrative and plot changes, as well as how these revisions might have altered the point of view, will be discussed. As a martial arts novel, does *Return* really project a believable historical backdrop of China, or does it reconfigure China? If it does, what traditions are rewritten, and how?

How points of view are rewritten in the film adaptation *Brave Archer* will be one key focus of Chapter Four. Specifically, I will look into the use of cinematic devices in presenting points of view. How do point of view and hierarchy in *Brave Archer* depart from *Return*, and why? What differences are there in their politics of identity?

Chapter Five will conclude by examining the sociohistorical backdrop, against which the novel and film were produced. How is the identity of Hong Kong constructed vis-a-vis China? As one part of “the common language of Chinese around the world,” does *Return of the Condor Heroes* reinforce this discursive unity, or does it fragment it?

CHAPTER THREE

RETURN OF THE CONDOR HEROES:

INVERTING HIERARCHY, SUBVERTING GENDER AND FATHER/NATION-HOOD

Return of the Condor Heroes is the second novel in the Condor trilogy by Jin Yong. Characters from the first novel, *Legend of the Condor Heroes*, in the trilogy are now patriarchs and matriarchs, and the story focuses instead on the younger generation. *Legend of the Condor Heroes* protagonists Guo Jing and Huang Rong, already respected pugilists, are supporting characters. Their ward Yang Guo, the offspring of Guo Jing's treasonous deceased sworn brother Yang Kang, is the protagonist of *Return* who is orphaned since young. The impetuous Yang Guo has a rebellious streak which surfaces in his brushes with his peers the Wu brothers and Guo Fu, respectively wards and child of the Guos, and empathy with Ouyang Feng, a highly-skilled arch villain from the prequel now insane. Huang Rong is ambivalent towards Yang Guo as he reminds her of Yang Kang, whose heinous ways must not be reprised. Yang Guo's insatiable desire to uncover the identity of his absent but

(actually rightly) defamed father, as well as his intense, stubborn pride, eventually drive him away, first from Peach Blossom Island, and later Quanzhen Sect where Guo Jing had sent him to with high hopes. Eventually he enters the secretive Ancient Tomb Sect, managed by literally a handful of women living in isolation. Under the older Little Dragon Maiden, an aloof and ethereal beauty who in her conscious memory has lived in the confines of the tomb, Yang Guo trains himself in martial arts.

However, when Little Dragon Maiden is unbeknown to herself violated by Yin Zhiping, a Quanzhen disciple with amorous feelings for her, she mistakes that Yang Guo refuses to marry her despite consummating their relationship. Therein begins their trials and separation, in the course of which their relationship comes under fire from orthodox pugilists. Yang Guo, believing that Guo Jing murdered Yang Kang, falls into dilemmas where he struggles between killing Guo Jing in exchange for the antidote to passion flower poison which both he and Little Dragon Maiden suffer from, and restraining the desire for vengeance in view of Guo Jing's visible righteousness.

Guo Fu, reacting impulsively to a misunderstanding over Yang Guo's interference in her romantic tussel with both Wu brothers, slays Yang Guo's right arm. Handicapped, he trains as a recluse under the giant condor, mastering impressive swordplay. Unfortunately, the onset of passion flower poison finds only enough antidote for one, so Little Dragon Maiden plunges down Valley of Severed Love without the cure, leaving a message in which she lies to Yang Guo that they will be

reunited 16 years later. In the course of waiting, Yang Guo becomes a vagrant purveyor of justice and thus the mysterious heroic figure whom Guo Xiang, the youngest daughter of Guo Jing and Huang Rong, admires fiercely, much to Guo Fu's disgust.

After bouts of despair that Little Dragon Maiden will no longer return, Yang Guo eventually is reunited with her more than 16 years later. Both assist in the culminant battle against Mongolian invaders, also Guo Jing's defense of Xiangyang, on the verge of capture, and Guo Xiang, captured as a pawn.

3.1 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ORIGINAL SERIALIZATION AND THE REVISED EDITION

The story is largely preserved in the Revised Edition, with differences between it and the original serialization mostly limited to changes in chapter headings and publication format. For instance, the original newspaper serialization was collated as is into 110 chapters in 28 volumes, while the revised edition is published as four volumes containing ten chapters each. According to Lin Baochun, the most significant revisions to *Return* come from the reordering of chapters, and revision of headings, however with the four-character structure maintained.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹Lin Baochun, "Revision of Jin Yong's Novels." For a complete listing of chapter headings, see Appendix.

3.1.1 OMISSION OF QIN NANQIN

The most significant changes that affect the *Return* story, or our understanding of it thereof, proceed however from a major deletion made to *Legend of the Condor Heroes* – the omission of Qin Nanqin, originally the birth mother of Yang Guo. Lin Baochun estimates that no less than 15,000 Chinese characters were deleted from the novel to circumvent Qin Nanqin altogether.¹⁵² As one reader summarizes it, in the original serialization of *Legend of the Condor Heroes*, Yang Kang rapes and thus impregnates the Canton snake-catcher Qin Nanqin, who was kidnapped by Elder Peng, a detractor of the Beggars Clan. This ill-fated woman who adored Guo Jing and had bad brushes with Huang Rong died early, orphaning Yang Guo. Mu Nianci loved Yang Kang deeply, but drove a spear into Yang Kang's heart at Iron Spear Temple before committing suicide. Guo Jing thus buried the two together.¹⁵³

Given the resulting difference in family background, accounting for Yang Guo's (particularly teenage) angst in the revised edition becomes for some a problem. Pan Guosen cites Ni Kuang's criticism of “an inexplicable event,” where the latter states that, regardless of whether Yang Guo is mothered by Qin Nanqin or Mu Nianci, Guo Jing and Huang Rong should not have merely gifted them with some material possessions but not brought them along to Xiangyang. So doing might have been fairly acceptable in the case of Qin Nanqin, but not Mu Nianci, the adopted daughter of Yang Tiexin, sworn brother of Guo Jing's father. Ni concludes that Huang Rong

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³ “Rumour has it.”

must have objected to Yang Guo coming along.¹⁵⁴ With regards to this, Pan highlights how explanations of seeming discrepancies and lapses in the revised edition must consider the change of Yang Guo's mother from Qin Nanqin to Mu Nianci, which explains the rebellious streak of Yang Guo, originally a natural consequence of growing up under the impoverished care of Qin who has no one to turn to.¹⁵⁵

3.1.2 THE EDUCATION LEVEL OF JIN YONG'S MALE PROTAGONISTS

Another overarching revision by Jin Yong to the entire canon deserves mention here as it allows us to better understand Yang Guo's background. Chen Zhenhui, citing Yang Xing'an, comments that the male protagonists in later Jin Yong novels are far humbler in background. For instance, Chen Jialuo from Jin Yong's first novel *Romance of the Book and Sword*, is the brother of Emperor Qianlong, but the protagonist of his last novel *The Deer and the Cauldron* the crass offspring of a whore. Furthermore, Chen notes how, in subsequent revisions of all these novels, the male protagonists of these novels become less culturally refined in subsequent revisions (such as by making them recite less poetry). Chen conjures that first, Jin Yong might have made these revisions to distance himself from another martial arts fiction writer Liang Yusheng, reputed for his skillful portrayal of refined pugilists; second, the target audience of Jin Yong's novels were commoners probably not equipped to appreciate poetic expressions. Furthermore, starting with *Return*, Jin Yong

154Ni Kuang, *My fourth take on Jin Yong's Novels* (Taipei: Yuanjing Chuban Shiye Gongsi, 1984).

155Pan Guosen, "On the new and old opening chapters of Jin Yong's novels."

serialized a number of novels in his own daily, *Ming Pao*, so upping literary aesthetics at the expense of readership might not be such a good idea,¹⁵⁶ especially when the daily had a rocky start.

3.1.3 LITERARY CONSISTENCY

Other changes have to deal with the consistency of literary devices. For example, in the original serialization, Yang Guo's arm was amputated by the Ziwei Soft Sword and not Gentleman Sword.¹⁵⁷ Since Little Dragon Maiden and him respectively picked the Lady and Gentleman swords for the duel with Gongsun, the pair of swords symbolizes they are made for each other, though they cannot consummate their relationship because of passion flower poison which acts up whenever they swell with adoration for each other. Taken to the amputation of Yang Guo's arm, the object of their mutual attachment becomes in the hand of another a literally crippling device. In other words, the emotional bond between Little Dragon Maiden and Yang Guo both gets and destroys.

3.2 ENVISIONING EQUALITY

Although revisions to elevate the potency of literary devices suggests that Jin Yong exercises some literary quality control over his works, the deliberate debasement – in terms of lineage, literary refinement, and even physique – of male protagonists in

¹⁵⁶Chen Zhenhui, "Education level of male protagonists in revised Jin Yong novels not as high as that in originals?," *Ming Pao*, 17 March 2003.

¹⁵⁷ "Rumour has it."

Jin Yong novels spells a desire to establish an affinity with the masses by ironing out refinements that only distance the protagonists from the average man or woman.

3.2.1 MANDARIN DUCKS AND BUTTERFLY: “FEMINIZING” POPULAR SERIALIZED FICTION

Rey Chow's response to the early twentieth century form of serialization, Mandarin Ducks and Butterfly fiction finds resonance in Jin Yong's popular martial arts fiction in postwar Hong Kong, especially since Jin Yong had first worked in Shanghai before moving to Hong Kong, entailing some familiarity with that form of publishing. The “production” of what Chow calls “feminized' significations” “[i]n the increasingly commercialized atmosphere of treaty ports” “went hand in hand with unprecedented 'waves' of consumption:”

Emotions, proclaimed as the “truths” of human-kind, meanwhile turned into lucrative commodities which often came in serialized form in popular journals and newspaper columns and gave rise to unending desires in the booming book market.¹⁵⁸

“Feminization” in this sense refers to the “*feminization* of the predominant Confucian culture” which “refers not only to the questioning of female oppression [...] in traditional China,” but also the disruption of “the clearcut empiricist dichotomy

¹⁵⁸Rey Chow, “Rereading Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: A Response to the 'Postmodern' Condition,” *Cultural Critique*, No. 5, Modernity and Modernism, Postmodernity and Postmodernism, Winter (1986-1987), pp. 81-82, emphasis author's.

between oppression and emancipation, or between traditionalism and modernism.”¹⁵⁹

In simple terms, Chow recognizes the appearance of the genre and its accompanying literary manifestations as examples of modernization, where the stranglehold of tradition loses its grip on the masses. As can be inferred from her argument, even the masses can no longer be considered homogeneous, for this “feminization” “coincide[s] with the emergence of the modernized city masses: the 'personal,'” essentially fragmenting the population along individualistic lines:

The most unutterable, most “feminine” feelings were now endowed with a tremendous sense of aura and put on a par with the most heroic and patriotic, precisely because *all* sentiments were made lucidly “available” for the first time through the mass practices of reading and writing, activities which used to belong exclusively to the highbrow scholarly world. ¹⁶⁰

Serialized fiction, with its expressions of sentiments besides “the most heroic and patriotic” – in other words, nationalistic discourse and their accompanying surges of emotion – satisfied consumer demands in rapidly capitalizing societies. The availability of such fiction and emotions disrupt the lowbrow/highbrow and modern/traditional dichotomies by assimilating the activities of writing and reading that were previously the privilege of the elites. By replacing nationalistic chatter with sentimental waxing, identity also becomes defined by personal preferences rather than nationality, imagined or real.

¹⁵⁹Ibid, p. 76, emphasis author's. Also see Rey Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading Between West and East* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 36-39.

¹⁶⁰Ibid, pp. 81-82, emphasis author's.

Despite the fascinating consumer culture surrounding *Return* and *Ming Pao*, both Jin Yong and his news daily had extremely humble starts in the “treaty port” of Hong Kong, a land that simulated conditions like those surrounding the earlier surge of Mandarin Ducks and Butterfly fiction in Shanghai. While his father Zha Shuqing was branded as a landlord and suffered humiliation in the midst of social change in 1950 China, Jin Yong lived as a poor journalist in Hong Kong¹⁶¹ 1960s Hong Kong was swarmed with refugees, common folk, migrants and colonizers, which promoted a diverse popular culture that generated needs met by martial arts novels. When Jin Yong realized that his novels were so well received that, to use a cliched Chinese expression, “everyone had a copy in hand,” he and secondary schoolmate Shen Baoxin jointly founded *Ming Pao* daily news in 1959 with \$100,000 to cash in on the lucrative trend. The daily, which nicely filled the market gap between higher-end newspapers and tabloids, boasted a then unique mix of news of interest to the average Hongkonger and martial arts fiction.¹⁶² Still in its early days, sales languished at just over a thousand copies daily despite the serialization of *Return*, although the eventual success of the newspaper, in Ni Kuang's words, was entirely due to Jin Yong's martial arts fiction. Initially sales and reputes picked up as readers who ploughed *Hong Kong Commercial Daily* for Jin Yong novels such as *Bixuejian*, began serialization in 1956, gradually turned their attention to *Ming Pao*.¹⁶³

Ming Pao's daring reports on the 1962 “refugee tide” following the Great Leap

161People.com.cn, “Jin Yong and His *Ming Pao*,” 17 March 2003,
<<http://www.people.com.cn/GB/14677/22114/26470/26501/1751602.html>>.

162Ibid.

163Ibid.

Forward, and later the Cultural Revolution, further capitalized on Hongkongers' interest in China, while impressing intellectuals with piercing commentaries. Largely because other major papers shunned these politically sensitive events entirely, Ming Pao's coverage boosted its sales so much that by 1963, it was no longer in the red but saw an average of 50,000 copies fly off the shelves everyday. Not only did the daily find its niche as an authoritative and independent voice on China issues, Jin Yong became a hero figure for his editorials.¹⁶⁴ His maxims of the sixties were “Everyman for himself” 人不为己，天诛地灭 and “Work less, enjoy more” 少做工夫，多叹世界，¹⁶⁵ suggesting that his publishing empire was self-interested rather than public-interested, the “self” here referring to Jin Yong himself as well as readers who bought his daily to satisfy their personal craving for a dose of martial arts fiction.

3.2.2 SUBVERTING THE PATRILINEAL, PATRIARCHAL AND PATRILOCAL

The individualistic strand is in tandem with the “feminization” of *Return*, which posits several reversals that challenge seemingly unmovable and insurmountable social hierarchies based on gender, seniority and the like. Not only does the story subvert these hierarchies, the set-up of the gaze further reinforces it. Situated against the historical Song dynasty yet subverting its hierarchies, the novel presents to the reader a distanced, imagined China. Patricia Buckley Ebrey illustrates in *The inner quarters: marriage and the lives of Chinese women in the Sung period* how gender in

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

the Song dynasty were characterized by “patrilineal, patriarchal, and patrilocal principles of the dominant ethical and legal models” which were especially Confucian.¹⁶⁶ In other words, descent and inheritance rights were reckoned along direct male lines, with the father figure in a position of supremacy¹⁶⁷ and the family living near or with the male relations. Relationships in *Return*, especially those surrounding Yang Guo, certainly counter the “dominant ethical and legal models” by removing the father as a sign of authority and means of identification. To begin with, the travels and retreats of pugilists (in not just this but also other Jin Yong novels) disrupt patrilocal living, the move Yang Guo makes as an orphan from Peach Blossom Island to Quanzhen and then Ancient Tomb Sect all the more symbolic of the increasing departure from patrilocal family life oriented around Guo Jing, the surrogate father figure, to the fatherless domain of the Tomb of the Living Dead. Functioning by matrilineal principles, the Ancient Tomb sect rebuffs the patrilineal governance of most other sects. The sequel to *Return* takes the disruption a step further by seeing Guo Xiang, the impish youngest daughter of orthodox master Guo Jing, pioneer the all-female E-mei sect. More ironically, her fragmentary learning from *Jiuyang Zhenjing*; which counters the fundamentals of *Jiuyin Zhenjing* and other teachings upon which Guo Jing, Yang Guo and other martial arts greats' prowess are founded; qualifies her to found the new school.

The deliberate confounding of the associations of *yin* and *yang* in the

166Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The inner quarters: marriage and the lives of Chinese women in the Sung period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 268.

167Merriam-Webster Online, s.v. “patriarchy” [cited 2 March 2007], available from <<http://www.m-w.com>>.

characters associated with the *Jiuyin Zhenjing* and *Jiuyang Zhenjing* ruptures the male/yang-female/yin dichotomy, thereby upsetting the cosmological significance attached to the traditional distribution, where as Ebrey highlights, men and women were respectively associated with “yang (bright, assertive, male)” and “yin (dark, passive, female).”¹⁶⁸

Furthermore, the visible presence (versus hiding in one's “inner quarters”) of the women in the novel,¹⁶⁹ which opens them to the spectator's gaze even as they gaze upon male characters intra-diegetically, upsets Song dynasty ideas and ideals of class hierarchy. Unlike Guo Jing and Huang Rong's relationship, which falls in line with the dichotomy Ebrey identifies, the model in *Return* is much more subversive. Although Huang Rong in *Legend of the Condor Heroes* often appears to be the more active party in her relationship with Guo Jing, largely for her unflinching supply of witty tricks in aid of whatever their circumstances, Pan Guosen notes that Guo Jing has the say on important matters though he listens to Huang Rong on trivial ones.¹⁷⁰ Conversely, in *Return* the yin/yang conceptualization of men and women is challenged first in the early chapters by assertive or, less euphemistically, potentially threatening women such as Li Mochou, Huang Rong, Granny Sun and Little Dragon Maiden, and later dispelled by the “bright” – in many senses, including her sunny, extrovert personality as well as her intellect – Guo Xiang. Even though Little Dragon Maiden seems to fit

¹⁶⁸Ebrey, p. 27.

¹⁶⁹Even Little Dragon Maiden, who since her infancy had lived in the confines of the Tomb away from prying sight of the world, slowly transforms from a figure of mystery into a public figure who even assists in the final battle at Xiangyang, before withdrawing with Yang Guo from the pugilistic universe.

¹⁷⁰Pan, “On the new and old opening chapters of Jin Yong's novels.”

the traditional yin mode, especially since she yields to Yang Guo in marriage and other matters, the object of her submission – Yang Guo – is the dark, brooding “yin” male surrounded by admirers, in stark contrast to the archetypal yang pugilist Guo Jing.

Class stratification is subverted by the “visibility” of women, and the kind of women in *Return*. Ebrey notes, her title premise being women in the Song dynasty belonged to the “inner quarters” and men the outer, that

Gender distinctions were intimately connected to class distinctions; or, to put it another way, one way the upper class made its distinctiveness visible was by making its women invisible. [...] [A]ge, and thus implicitly sexuality, were also involved [in assessing whether a woman should be visible or not]¹⁷¹

“Visibility” of women in *Return*, considered in these terms, is in line with how Jin Yong has made his male protagonists in subsequent novels increasingly less cultured and base, to the effect of dethroning the privileged position of the elite.

3.2.3 THE INVERTED GAZE

The subversiveness of Jin Yong's *Return* is vividly conveyed through the opening scenes in the Revised Edition, which undermine suggestions of a gendered gaze. In a plot *Brave Archer* omits, Lu manor is sent into pandemonium by the threats and later, attacks, by the first “villain” we encounter – the vengeful Li Mochou, not a brute or conniving wolf in sheep's skin, but a ravishing beauty cast out by her sect.

¹⁷¹Ebrey, *The inner quarters*, pp. 25-26.

Cousins Lu Wushuang and Cheng Ying, two other supporting female characters still children at this juncture, are separated by the end of the massacre. Through the eyes of victims Lu Wushuang, Lu Liding and Cheng Ying, the tragedy is told, establishing a pattern where the weaker looks.

How do we determine who looks in the novel? Manfred Jahn offers a simple test:

The technique of presenting something from the point of view of a story-internal character is called **internal focalization**. The character through whose eyes the action is presented is called an **internal focalizer** [...] [W]e can now use the question *Who sees?* as a formula to alert us to the possible presence of an internal focalizer.¹⁷²

More precisely, the one seeing is also the one experiencing. *Return* is amenable to this method of analysis since Jin Yong uses the Chinese equivalent of “seeing” to alert us to instances of internal focalization. For instance,

Cheng Ying turns and sees a puppy, with its tails between its legs, skipping hurriedly over from the bridge. Behind it are several kids, shouting and chasing after the dog with bamboo sticks and brick shards in their hands. The puppy was ugly to begin with, with its skin and fur peeling. After the beating by the kids, it is a bloody sight. Cheng Ying had always pitied the puppy, often feeding it leftovers. The puppy, seeing Cheng Ying, ran hurriedly towards her

¹⁷²Manfred Jahn, *Narratology: A Guide to the Theory of Narrative* (English Department, University of Cologne, 2005).

for its life, and scrambled behind her.¹⁷³

In the above passage taken from the first chapter of the original edition of *Return*, Cheng Ying's point of view is adopted, as the word “sees” (jian, 見) indicates. The description of the children chasing after the puppy suggests a directed look, which justifies the passage as proceeding from Cheng Ying's point of view. Furthermore, the identification of the puppy draws upon Cheng's memory of it as an ugly dog which she had encountered before, clearly demanding an appeal to not just Cheng's current but also past experiences.

3.2.3.1 THE MAN WHO LOOKS IN FEAR

The extract, typical of the first chapters of *Return*, departs too from Mulvey's model. It is through Cheng Ying, a sympathetic little girl who has barely hit puberty, that foreboding of the plight of Lu manor is first conveyed. In the same chapter Lu Liding, guardian of Cheng Ying and father of Lu Wushuang, also focalizes the narrative. However, it is how he is subjected to the whims of Li Mochou – a woman more senior (in the original serialization Li Mochou is placed in the same generation as Lu Liding's father, and in the revised edition his elder brother), better skilled, and far more venomous than him, the family man of sorts – that strikes us:

Lu Liding waves to signal Gensheng to stop. He bows down to look at his

¹⁷³Jin Yong, *Return of the Condor Heroes*, Volume 1, Chapter 1 “The Stranger in the Dark,” translation and emphasis mine. The edition referred to here is the 28-volume compilation of the original newspaper serialization by Kuangsheji Baoju. Because this edition is out of print, I have relied on the OCR scans available on “Old School Jin Yong Novels” [cited 28 June 2006], available from <<http://hk.geocities.com/jinyongbook/index.htm>>.

beloved pooch Ah Hua, only to find its skull smashed – this can't possibly be a case of rabbies, can it? It's just that its skull was shattered into extremely fine fragments that seem neither the work of a palm strike nor that of hard objects like a club. Rather, it appears to be pounded slowly into smithereens by a fine stick – but how could it be possible? Lu Liding spent some time in contemplation and suddenly recalls that, as Long Biaotou had mentioned, that priestess held a whisk. These chickens and dogs and pigs and cats must have died from her blows. But the whisk is a soft object, yet one whip from her instantly kills these domesticated animals, their skulls broken into such miniscule fragments. Her internal strength is truly unfathomable.¹⁷⁴

Doubtless, as this extract and the rest of the same chapter show, Lu is overwhelmed by the likelihood of an impending massacre on his household by a woman whom he had not seen nor whose power he could comprehend. To add to the portrayal of Lu's weakness, while inspecting the brutally killed animals he borders on putting himself in the shoes of the dead domestic furry creatures, one of which he even addresses endearingly as “Ah Hua.” Unlike Cheng Ying, whose sympathy and familiarity with the neighborhood dog have not led her to christen the pup, Lu is decidedly more emotional and namby pamby. He even cowers even before meeting Li, recycling thoughts on the deadliness of Li Mochou's strikes. Neither eroticism nor patriarchy motivates the pattern of the gaze presented in these examples. Rather, the gaze instead

¹⁷⁴Jin Yong, *Return of the Condor Heroes*, Volume 1, Chapter 2 “Chilian Divine Palm,” translation mine.

inverts patterns of patriarchy by having the male look – but in fear. Lu's tendency to exaggerate Li's power highlights that he both possesses less knowledge of and finesse than his foe. On the other hand, the female such as Cheng Ying looks, even though she has no grasp over the situation. The one looking does not necessarily possess both power and knowledge.

3.2.3.2 THE POWERFUL MAN WHO LOOKS POWERLESSLY

Where structures of power/knowledge are seemingly not inversed in the gaze, they bite back at the supposedly more powerful. In Books 2 to 3 of the 28-book edition of the original *Return* and Chapter 3 of the Revised Edition, Guo Jing, by now a master pugilist in his own right, looks, but only to find himself mistaken as one of those lusting after Little Dragon Maiden and constantly cornered by Quanzhen disciples who perceive his earnest explanations as sarcastic ways of declaring war. Haplessly subjected to verbal abuse from the Quanzhen disciples who brand him a sex maniac, Guo's honest responses, unembellished by the gift of the gab so evident in Huang Rong, ironically earn him greater suspicion. Meanwhile, *Chongyanggong* is about to, and in fact later does, go up in flames:

Guo Jing simply can't understand why these two priests, clearly from Quanzhen, are treating him like an enemy. [...] He has been lashed at many times in his life, either branded “silly lad” or “stupid,” or sometimes “thief” and “you bird.” But no one has ever labeled him a “lecher.” [...] Guo Jing was

stunned for a while, thinking, “Me lust after marrying that bitch from the Long family? Who is that girl surnamed Long? Why would I want to marry her?”¹⁷⁵

Despite being one of the most highly skilled living pugilists, the husband of the sterlingly resourceful, astute and well-informed Huang Rong, as well as a well-loved disciple and acquaintance of several leading Quanzhen figures, Guo Jing is caught off-guard on this trip to the mainland by lowly priests and an unheard-of bit of tabloid material. His powerlessness to comprehend the situation or defend himself, despite his (martial arts) prowess, impresses upon us how Jin Yong, indeed, reverses the gaze just as he inverts hierarchy in *Return*.

3.2.3.3 A CACOPHONY OF VOICES

The hypothesis that the gaze is inverted just as hierarchy is confirmed by the web of relationships drawn up in the novel. Besides the teacher/older woman-disciple/younger man romance between Yang Guo and Little Dragon Maiden, Yang becomes sworn brothers first with Huang Yaoshi and then Zhou Botong, both accomplished and respected martial arts legends who scorn the very hierarchies in which they are highly esteemed. Guo Xiang, one part of the twins borne later to Huang Rong, becomes fast friends with Yang Guo, whom she regards as a brotherly figure yet not without mildly amorous feelings.

In Chapters 91 to 93 (found in Books 23 to 24 of the book edition) of the original novel, which correlates with Chapter 33 of the Revised Edition, Yang Guo is

¹⁷⁵See Books 2 to 3 of the 28-book edition of the original *Return* and Chapter 3 of the Revised Edition.

first viewed through a cacophony of voices, then through the eyes of Guo Xiang, who upon hearing his heroic deeds develops admiration for and a desire to meet the man himself. This relationship of Guo Xiang gazing at Yang Guo pervades the rest of the novel. Her sister Guo Fu in contrast views Yang Guo with unusual distaste, only to recognize in the conclusion to the novel that her disgust is actually a warped expression of her admiration for him.

The commentary made through Guo Xiang is distinctly authorial for its tone is way beyond her years. Her series of questions, which culminate in a scathing remark on the mixed audience she expected at the coming pugilist meet on the 15th day of the third month, accentuates the tension between Yang Guo and the Guos.

Her face lit with joy, Guo Xiang mumbled to herself softly, “He had carried me when I was barely a day old.” Turning to Guo Fu, she said, “Elder sister, did that Legendary Condor Hero really live on our Peach Blossom Island when he was young? Why have I never heard our parents mention it?” [...] Guo Xiang said, “That means he and our family go a long way back, why then have they not kept in touch all this while? Well, this Legendary Condor Hero is bound to attend the Hero's Meet in Xiangyang City on the 15th of the third month.” Guo Xiang was disappointed. Since hearing everyone speak of how Yang Guo saved the descendants of Wang Weizhong, struck down Chen Dafang, placed Ding Daquan on trial, redeemed Song Wu and killed fathers and saved mothers and performed all kinds of heroic deeds, she desperately wanted to meet Yang

Guo. When she heard that Yang Guo would not be attending the Hero's Meet, she could not help but sighed, saying, “The people you meet at the Hero's Meet are not necessarily heroes. Genuine heroes and valiants however might not wish to attend.”¹⁷⁶

Despite being the youngest (apart from her earnest twin brother Polu who for most time has little say) of those spending the chilly night at the inn, Guo Xiang passes a searing and somewhat authorial remark on the state of pugilists expected at what should be a conference of renowned and esteemed heroes in a key city. Her questions and reflections, largely directed at herself too, summarize Yang Guo's life thus far, progressing from his childhood to that confounding mix of gratitude, mistaken vengeance and generous mercy towards the Guos, and then to his recent trail of valiant and laudatory acts. One significant perpetrator of Yang Guo's misery is Guo Fu, who ironically has to listen to the unadulterated admiration her sister bears towards the man. The irony takes place on another level: the watersheds in Yang Guo's life, which Guo Xiang's comments longingly and tangentially allude to would likelier be to him reminders of the trials and tribulations he had undergone – first as a misfit on Peach Blossom Island, then having to lose an arm at the hands of Guo Fu, all this while troubled by whether his father was indeed killed by Guo Jing, and what kind of a person Yang Kang was. Then, the time he spent on purveying justice was actually his constructive toiling to ease the pain of awaiting reunion with Little Dragon Maiden whom he believes will indeed return 16 years later (a white lie by Little Dragon

¹⁷⁶*Return*, original serialization, Vol. 23, Ch. 92; Revised Edition, Ch. 33.

Maiden that is further embellished by Huang Rong).

3.2.4 SUBVERTING PATRIARCHY

The gaze in *Return* is akin to what Allen Chun describes as “multivocality” or the multiplicity of voices:

Multivocality brought about by empowering the marginal, the silent others, and the dispossessed represents one obvious avenue for directly challenging the traditional authoritarianism of cultural discourse.¹⁷⁷

Patriarchy is one representation of “traditional authoritarianism” as well “traditional” “cultural discourse,” so father absence in the novel has identical subversiveness to the cacophony, especially in its suggestion of postwar colonial Hong Kong that is separated from China. Fatherless, orphaned protagonists headline the Condor trilogy. Guo Jing, the earnest lad of *Legend of the Condor Heroes*, is the child of the patriotic Guo Xiaotian, who is killed by the Jin prince Wanyan Honglie. Raised singlehandedly by his mother, Guo Jing is also cared for by a number of guardian figures such as the Mongolian Khan; his seven masters, the Seven Freaks of Jiangnan; as well as several teachers like Ma Yu from Quanzhen who disciple him in martial arts. By *Return*, Yang Guo is the child of the treasonous Yang Kang. He does not sit comfortably in the patriarchy of Guo Jing, which ensues an ambivalent and tentative father/son relationship that vacillates between respect for Guo and suspicion that he killed Yang Kang. His martial arts education comes first from his surrogate father, the depraved

¹⁷⁷Chun, p. 127.

Ouyang Feng whose son Ouyang Ke had died in *Legend of the Condor Heroes*, and from figures like Huang Yaoshi and Zhou Botong who would rather befriend him than father or disciple him. His discomfort with patrilineal relationships is evidenced too by his early brushes with peers, the Wu brothers, who should have been brothers if not friends to him. How friendships characterize Yang Guo's relational outlook is further mirrored in the friends he makes at the height of his repute – Guo Xiang and the host of bizarre, unorthodox pugilists Yang Guo sent as guests to a private birthday celebration for her. So doing, he carves an identity separate and contrary to Guo Jing's although they both purvey justice.

Then there is Wu Santong the mad father who is derailed in his earlier years by his obsession with He Yuanjun. Of the four disciples of Venerable Yideng, there is the fisherman, woodcutter, farmer and scholar. Wu Santong is the third disciple nicknamed the farmer, reminiscent of the Great Leap Forward in China, preceded between 1949-1958 by the reorganization of agricultural workforce into mutual aid teams and later co-operatives unfortunately with little success. His departure from sanity inadvertently cost his wife's life, when she sucked out the venomous blood from a wound Li Mochou dealt him; and indirectly led to a clash between his two sons over Guo Fu, since in their father's absence they lived with the Guos and grew attracted to her.

In the last novel of the trilogy, *Heaven Sword and Dragon Sabre*, Zhang Wuji was orphaned because of the forbidden marital union between his father Zhang

Cuishan of Wudang Sect, and Yin Susu, termed a demoness for her sectarian allegiance, which led them both to perish under so-called orthodox pugilists who pressed them for the whereabouts of the Golden Haired Lion King Xie Xun. Superficially everyone's enemy, Xie Xun's smeared reputation is actually a result of the manipulations of his master Cheng Kun. At the same time, the much despised Ming Sect which Zhang Wuji comes to head, though so-called evil and unorthodox, turns out to be a foil for the hypocrisy of the orthodox sects.

3.2.4.1 FATHER ABSENCE IN THE CONDOR TRILOGY

As the trilogy progresses, the surrogation of fatherhood as does the absence of the father becomes more and more “outsourced,” such that the father can no longer be bound within the narrow confines of lineage. The alienation from the father begins in *Legend of the Condor Heroes* merely with orphaning and adoption, but by *Heaven Sword and Dragon Sabre*, even Xie Xun, surrogate father to Zhang Wuji, is a sad story of betrayal by his own surrogate father, and nothing is what it seems. *Return* is at the center of the trilogy's increasing negation of and alienation from the father and the Central Plains, the change from longing for the Central Plains to a rejection of the rigidity and even hypocrisy the land embodies insipidly seeping in as the trilogy moves on. Father absence and the consequent ironicizing of the orthodox paradigm are reflective of the sensitive relations between China and colonized Hong Kong. The gendering of discourses of the nation is not a new approach,¹⁷⁸ Although

¹⁷⁸For a good discussion, see Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd.,

anthropologist John Borneman's anthology discusses how "[t]he death of authority figures like fathers or leaders can be experienced as either liberation or loss" in the regimes of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Imperial Japan, and East European Communism, he makes a pertinent observation on how the father/son relationship between authority figures and the object of the rule comes to be recharacterized as co-dependence in capitalist societies.¹⁷⁹ Symbolic of Hong Kong's evolution into a recognizably Chinese yet capitalist society, Guo Jing and Yang Guo eventually bypass their ambiguous vicarious father/son relationship as they become partners in the final defence of Xiangyang. The gaze in *Return* is ironic, in that it mock hierarchy and scorns reality.

The absence of and consequent desire for the father in *Return* and the *Condor* trilogy can be viewed through Leo Ou-fan Lee's article which discusses the *xungen* ("searching for roots") literary movement, launched by "urban" writers with a penchant for the rural, of the mid-1980s as a response to the cultural alienation of the Cultural Revolution.¹⁸⁰ As he observes of these works, "The process of searching for roots, as enacted in fictional terms, also becomes a quest for identities."¹⁸¹ Yet the search for roots may not necessarily yield belonging for these writers mostly "from urban centers" writing on:

1997).

179 John Borneman (ed.), *Death of the Father: An Anthropology of the End in Political Authority* (Berghahn Books, 2004). Also see the author's website, <<http://cidc.library.cornell.edu/dof/>>.

180 Leo Ou-fan Lee, "On the Margins of the Chinese Discourse: Some Personal Thoughts on the Cultural Meaning of the Periphery," *Daedalus*; Spring 1991; 120, 2; ProQuest Direct Complete, pp. 207-226.

181 *Ibid*, p. 209.

peripheral regions which they wish to uncover as authentic “centers” of Chinese civilization; the Other as the primordial source of their culture thus seems unfamiliar and even exotically “foreign.” Herein lies their paradox: like exiles returning home after a long absence, they find the homeland of their own culture foreign, and the journey to their roots becomes one of increasing “defamiliarization.”¹⁸²

It is in this state of rootlessness and even homelessness that the protagonists grapple with identity, connoted by ancestry that is no longer decisive and determinate, because the patriarch himself cannot be identified with certainty, and so even locales lose their mooring as a fixed signifier of belonging.

3.2.5 CONCLUSION

To put it simply, father absence jeopardizes the “patrilineal, patriarchal, and patrilocal” model of Song dynasty relations. The rupture with the past in a novel that set against the historical Song dynasty intimates postwar Hong Kong's grappling for an identity, in a way that undermines conceptualizations of “nation” and “culture” vis-a-vis China. Allen Chun astutely discerns that the cold war led the British colonial government in Hong Kong to transform Hong Kong into a “free market port,” thereby heralding “the evolution of a class-based society, which had a profound impact on the rise of popular culture,” “media-oriented” and

financed by large capitalist interests, not unlike Max Horkheimer and Theodor

¹⁸²Ibid, pp. 210-211.

Adorno's culture industry, which neatly reproduced the utilitarian values of a free-market society. The emergence of artistic genres such as kung fu movies and absurdist comedies all had roots in this self-propelled culture industry, which was insulated from, and indifferent to, the politics of identity.¹⁸³

While the destabilizing of tradition for Rey Chow comes from “feminization” in print serializations, Chun sees this as coming from apathy in visual media, specifically film. The emergent “kung fu movies and absurdist comedies” were genres that developed indigenously in Hong Kong postwar,¹⁸⁴ distinct from antecedent genres that were already produced in China prior to 1949. By manufacturing recognizably Hong Kong cinematic forms, the identity politics revolving around ties with China are thus effectively dismembered.

Even though both Chow and Chun take as their starting points the emergence of consumer culture, for Chow “feminization” of popular print literature ushered in a new politics of self rather than national identification, while Chun finds the visual medium of cinema immune to identity politics entirely. How does Jin Yong's reversal of hierarchies play itself in the signification system of cinema? Does *Brave Archer and His Mate*, the adaptation of *Return*, then reject in farcical ways the identity discourse of *Return* projects, in adherence to Chun's observations? Does it avert the gaze instead of inverting it? These are questions that will underline my next chapter.

¹⁸³Chun, p. 119-122.

¹⁸⁴*Cinema Hong Kong: Kung Fu*, dir. Ian Taylor (2003) profiles how Hong Kong kungfu cinema began with the Huang Feihong films in the 1950s.

CHAPTER FOUR

BRAVE ARCHER AND HIS MATE: AVERTING SUBVERSIVENESS

Return of the Condor Heroes has been adapted for other media in variety of ways. As early as 1960, the first of the *Return* tetralogy starring Patrick Tse Yin, Nam Hong, Kong Shuet, and directed by Li Hua appeared.¹⁸⁵ *Brave Archer and His Mate* (1982), *Little Dragon Maiden* (1983), *Saviour of the Soul* (1992) and its sequel *Saviour of the Soul II* (1992) followed. Even the Stephen Chow hit *Kungfu Hustle* (2004), though not telling the story of the Jin Yong novel, makes overt references by having the main characters of the Landlord and Landlady reveal themselves as the legendary *Return* couple.¹⁸⁶ Then there is director Chang Cheh's *One Armed Swordsman* trilogy, comprising *One Armed Swordsman* (1967), *Return of the One Armed Swordsman* (1969), and *New One Armed Swordsman* (also known as *Triple Irons*) (1971). While not identifiable with certainty as adaptations of *Return*, its striking employment of the orphaned swordsman-protagonist who loses his arm yet

¹⁸⁵I understand from personal correspondence with Chan Shek that this film series is not available even in the Hong Kong Film Archives.

¹⁸⁶The film also makes references to the martial arts of old-time martial arts flicks and novels.

masters remarkable skills to save his adoptive family bears such remarkable similarity to the *Return* story¹⁸⁷ that it warrants mention. Add to that seven television adaptations produced by Hong Kong, China, Taiwan and Singapore; one animation series; an 18-volume comic series (1996-1999) by Singapore artist Wee Tian Beng; as well as computer games – clearly, *Return* is a well-loved Jin Yong conception.

Possibly the earliest film adaptation of *Return* still readily available,¹⁸⁸ and the first known film adaptation produced after the serializations of both the original and Revised *Return* had ended their runs, *Brave Archer* features none of the definitive elements of the *Return* story – the long-drawn and heartache-and-separation-punctuated romance that develops between the rebellious orphan Yang Guo and his martial arts teacher Little Dragon Maiden, who unbeknown to herself becomes a rape victim; Yang Guo's preoccupation with uncovering the truth about and avenging his father Yang Kang, who turns out to be a treacherous character who meets his doom before the junior Yang is born; Yang's loss of his right arm because of a misunderstanding on the part of the rash and impetuous Guo Fu; and Yang's

187Brian McFarlane has the following distinction to make with regards to story/plot:

Terence Hawkes, drawing on Viktor Shklovsky's work on the nature of narrative, makes the following distinction: "'Story' is simply the basic succession of events, the raw material which confronts the artist. Plot represents the distinctive way in which the 'story' is made strange, creatively deformed and defamiliarized.' (*Structuralism and Semiotics* (Methuen: London, 1977), 65-66.) Novel and film can share the same story, the same 'raw materials', but are distinguished by means of different plot strategies which alter sequence, highlight different emphases, which--in a word-defamiliarize the story.

See Brian McFarlane, *Novel to Film: An Introduction to the Theory of Adaptation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 23. Also see Victor Shklovsky, *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, trans. Lee Lemon and Marion Reis (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1965). My thanks to an examiner for providing the latter reference.

188The earliest film adaptation of *Return* is *Return of the Condor Heroes* (4 instalments), dir. Li Hua, 1960-1961. It stars Patrick Tse Yin, Nam Hong and Kong Shuet. I was informed that this black and white film is not even available in the Hong Kong Film Archives, so at present it is virtually impossible for me to access the series.

emergence as a fiercely righteous heroic figure despite the odds. The unusual nature of the adaptation is compounded by how it was preceded by a three-part film adaptation of *Legend of the Condor Heroes*, the prequel to *Return*, which should suggest intentional simulation of the continuity between the narratives of the *Legend of the Condor Heroes* and *Return* novels, and the narratives themselves. Ironically, the continuity is nonetheless emphasized in *Brave Archer* through cuts of segments from its predecessor filling in as the characters' recollections, despite the plot departures made in *Brave Archer*.

On a speculative note, we could say that *Brave Archer* is an attempt to make a typical martial arts film out of a novel that violates not just its predecessors' but also historical hierarchies. George Bluestone's observations on commercial film production shed light on why adaptations might mutate their source novels dramatically – to appeal to audiences. In his words, “The product of a commercial society, the Hollywood commodity must make a profit; to make a profit, it must please consumers.”¹⁸⁹ Conversely, “Hollywood” responds to “the charge of mediocrity” by “plead[ing] the heterogeneous nature of its customers, pointing to differences in taste”¹⁹⁰ Hollywood's excuse for films that fall short of expectations is the audience, implying that so-called “differences in taste” must refer to varied preferences that fall within the boundaries of a crass appetite for filmviewing. They aim to please therefore not high brow film-goers but rather the masses. While Chen Zhenhui cites readership

189Bluestone, p. 34.

190Ibid, p. 38.

numbers and competition from Liang Yusheng as possible explanations to why Jin Yong's male protagonists in subsequent novels are increasingly debased in status, literacy and refinement, it hardly addresses why Jin Yong's reversal, such as demonstrated in *Return*, upsets prevailing mindsets rather than panders to them.¹⁹¹ Although both the novel and *Brave Archer* largely attempt to please their audiences, their divergent approaches warrant attention.

4.1 DEPARTURES OF THE FILM

Brave Archer departs from *Return* in both anticipated and unanticipated ways. As in Hollywood conventions, the Hong Kong adaptation of *Return* ends on a happy note (albeit a questionable one, as we shall see) and abandons tributaries – “a novel can afford diffuseness where the film must economize”¹⁹² – in *Return* such as the massacre of Lu manor, and more surprisingly, even the encounter with Little Dragon Maiden. But its adherence to the Hollywood model ends here. Bluestone, citing Lester Asheim, says:

Hardly any subject matter submitted to the film has been able to avoid the twin conventions of theme and medium. Lester Asheim, in his sample of twenty-four film adaptations, found that seventeen increased the love emphasis; that sixty-three per cent of all the films in the sample had a romantic happy ending, but forty per cent (one-fourth the entire sample) required an alteration of the

¹⁹¹See footnote 156.

¹⁹²Ibid, p. 50.

story to accomplish it; and that in no case was a “negative” ending retained.¹⁹³ The film has no romance to speak of, much less a “romantic happy ending.” If there are any conventions the film appeals to, they are likelier to be those of the kung-fu and martial arts genre.

Notwithstanding that, first impressions of *Brave Archer* show it to be a faithful retelling of the *Return* story. The synopsis on the digitally restored reissue of the film reads:

This movie is adapted from famous novelist Jin Yong's novel. It narrates the life of Yang Kuo before he meets Little Dragon Maiden and his feud with Kuo Tsing's (Kuo Chue) family. Mu entrusts her baby boy to Huang Yung (Huang Shu-yi) at her deathbed. Huang Yung and Kuo Tsing bring the baby back to Peach Blossom Island and name him Yang Kuo (Alexander Fu Sheng¹⁹⁴). Huang refuses to teach Yang kungfu as she is afraid that he will use it against them to revenge his father. However, fate brings Yang and the crazy Auyang together. Auyang acknowledges Yang as his god-son and teaches him the invincible Toad Skill.

“Yang Kuo” and “Little Dragon Maiden,” the titular couple, as well as “Kuo Tsing”

193Ibid, p. 42. See also Lester Asheim, “From Book to Film: A Comparative Analysis of the Content of Selected Novels and the Motion Pictures Based Upon Them” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1949). Charles Bane in his doctoral dissertation “Viewing Novels, Reading Films: Stanley Kubrick and the Art of Adaptation as Interpretation” (Louisiana State University, 2006) refers to Asheim's work as “the first scholarly work on adaptation” (p. 30), a claim which should be revised when we consider André Bazin, “Adaptation, or the Cinema as Digest” (1948), trans. Alain Piette and Bert Cardullo (1997), in *Film Adaptation*.

194With reference to the issue of “antecedent roles” which Stam raised, Alexander Fu Sheng (1954-1983) had played a number of roles in his career, listed in Appendix D. See <<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0297143/>> (accessed 19 January 2007).

and “Huang Yung,” the protagonists of *Legend of the Condor Heroes* and major characters in *Return* nonetheless, are doubtlessly central characters that anchor the story of *Return*. Not only so, the appeal to “famous novelist Jin Yong” assumes that the anticipated audience is largely familiar with the Jin Yong franchise, if not the novel itself. The first sentence of the synopsis deftly conveys the central plot developments that distinguish the *Return* story, although the disclaimer “It narrates the life of Yang Kuo *before* he meets Little Dragon Maiden and his feud with Kuo Tsing's family” should alert us to two possibilities: either subsequent film sequels that will deal with the rest of the story, or a glaring omission of the pulp of the novel.¹⁹⁵ As it is, there are no sequels, while viewing the film unfortunately confirms that the afore named elements are what *Return*-serialization-bred reader would expect but not find in the adaption.

4.1.1 PLOT DEPARTURES

Despite the synopsis appearing at least to adhere to what the novel says about Yang Guo's early years, the film itself confirms otherwise. The first half of the film dwells lengthily instead on a major episode preceding Yang Guo's birth in *Legend of the Condor Heroes*, the prequel to *Return*, to account for the circumstances that determined the environment in which Yang was raised. It opens with the arrival of Guo Jing and Huang Rong, both in their youth, on Peach Blossom Island. Much to their surprise, four of Guo's masters are found murdered in cold blood, with clues

¹⁹⁵Emphasis mine.

pointing to Huang Rong's father Yaoshi as the perpetrator. Nan Xiren, another of Guo's masters, tries with his final breath to scribble the name of the guilty, but dies before writing it out in full. Ke Zhen'e, the only other survivor, is unfortunately blind to begin with and thus did not witness things as they actually happened. Nonetheless he vouches that Huang Yaoshi killed the rest. Guo's stubborn refusal to buy Huang Rong's interpretation of the clues, and Huang Yaoshi's nonchalance towards explaining himself, compound the grievous misunderstanding. The build-up climaxes at Iron Spear Temple where Huang Rong uncovers for Ke Zhen'e, through clever trickery, that Ouyang Feng and Yang Kang are the ones who shed the blood of Ke's fellow comrades and smeared Huang Yaoshi with the crime. In the ensuing showdown, Yang Kang dies from the poison tainted on Huang's vest when he attacks her.

Fast forward: Yang Guo, the son of Yang Kang and Mu Nianci, is cared for by Guo Jing and Huang Rong, now married with a daughter named Guo Fu, on Peach Blossom Island. However, Yang, precocious and impetuous, earns Huang's understated repulsion, akin to that which she bore and still bears towards Yang Kang. As expected, Yang has problem fitting in, eventually leading to confrontations with the two Wu brothers whom Guo Jing had taken in and Guo Fu. Guo Jing thus resolves to bring Yang to *Chongyanggong*, hoping *Quanzhen* masters can disciple the kid successfully. What ensues on the journey that culminates in the finale is a series of fights between Guo Jing and *Quanzhen* disciples who mistake him for yet another

lecher after Little Dragon Maiden; and later, between Guo and Huo Du, the real McCoy who, picking up on a rumour spread by Li Mochou about Little Dragon Maiden's hunt for a suitor, is here to court the mysterious maiden, heard and spoken of, but not seen in the film.

The opening of both the original and Revised novels is abandoned for a concise reworking of why Yang Guo was orphaned and how he spent his childhood (the irony here being of course that he is played by an adult).¹⁹⁶ In contrast, the novel actually begins on an idyllic note with characters not found in *Legend of the Condor Heroes*: Several boats drift by on a river. Soon, we are introduced to Wu Santong (father of the Wu brothers) and Li Mochou, respectively spurned by He Yuanjun and Lu Zhanyuan, the deceased husband and wife who are unseen characters in the novel.

None of these relationships, characterizing love unrequited or spurned, that define at the onset the alternative outlook of *Return* are depicted in *Brave Archer*. Along with the disappearance Lu Wushuang and Cheng Ying, through whom the reversal of the gaze in *Return* first take place, Yang Guo and Little Dragon Maiden are also displaced from their titular roles as Huang Rong and Guo Jing take much of the centerstage. Without romance, the web of relationships in the film is kept pretty much within familial constraints of kinship or pugilistic alliances. The antitheses of traditional values because of their relationship that oversteps the boundaries of unspoken pugilistic rules on discipleship and marriage, Yang Guo and Little Dragon

¹⁹⁶Strangely, this does appear to the norm with many adaptations of *Shendiao*. Younger substitutes are often abandoned, and the male lead set to play the adult Yang Guo often doubles as the teen or even child Yang Guo.

Maiden are relegated to secondary status in *Brave Archer*, hence furthering the departure of the film from the reversal drummed out in the novel.

4.1.2 THE DIVERGENT GAZE

As it turns out, the film remoulds not only the plot but the gaze. For analyzing how the gaze works in *Brave Archer*, we turn again to Jahn, who outlines the relationship between focalization and point-of-view succinctly in the following definition of “focalization” as used in films:

The ways and means of presenting information from somebody's point of view. Focalization can be determined by answering the question *Whose point of view orients the current segment (track, channel) of filmic information?* Or: *Whose perception serves as the current source of information?* Perception is here used as quite a general term which includes actual as well as imaginary perception (such as visions, dreams, memories) and other states of consciousness.¹⁹⁷

While Jahn's definition is intended for studying film, non-filmic information, such as film posters and packaging that surround *Brave Archer*, offer alternative “channels” of information that prepare our expectations on the point of view orientating filmic information, though these derived expectations may be proven wrong.

4.1.2.1 PARATEXTS

¹⁹⁷Jahn, “A Guide to Narratological Film Analysis,” *Poems, Plays, and Prose: A Guide to the Theory of Literary Genres* (English Department, University of Cologne, 2003).

Perceivably, the orientation of information on the original poster and the cover – that is, the *paratext*¹⁹⁸ – of the digitally restored edition of *Brave Archer* speak volumes about the kind of gaze to expect from the film but not without precipitating some false expectations.¹⁹⁹ On the original movie poster for *Brave Archer*, we find in central location a cut-out of a close up of Yang Guo played by Alexander Fu. Superimposed on the image are a giant fist holding a staff, and a bell from under which Ouyang Feng peeks. To his left are Huang Rong (Huang Shu-yi), Guo Jing and Yang Kang, as well as tiny cut-outs of the Quanzhen masters, while Guo Fu and the Wu brothers stand on his right. Predominantly cast in what is akin to the medium shot, there is hardly a tint of eroticism about the characters on the poster, especially when the supporting characters like Guo Fu and the Wus look directly at the supposed audience. The main characters Yang Guo and Huang Rong are juxtaposed against each other, perhaps to suggest the antagonism that underscores their relationship. Overtones of angst and confrontation are projected by the combat-ready stances of the characters in view – the Wu brothers with their clenched fists; Yang Guo, Ouyang Feng, Huang Rong and Yang Kang armed with weapons.

This pattern of gazing where the key characters on the poster look obliquely but sidekicks directly, however, reinforces the gaze reversal in the novels, since it is the sidekicks who return the look of the audience. Because the posters for the preceding installments of *Legend of the Condor Heroes* are drenched in the motif of

198See Genette, *Palimpsests*, pp. 3-4.

199The miniature of one original poster is printed on the back cover of the digitally remastered VCD.

the eagle shooting hero, with the focus either resting entirely on Guo Jing in the bow-drawing shooting stance, or on the drawn bow and the eagle, the diverse array of characters that find themselves in the center of attention on the *Return* poster certainly diffuses the masculine aesthetics of *Legend of the Condor Heroes*.

Even then there are overwhelming suggestions of patriarchal order. Yang Guo's outfit is stamped in a superimposed shade of yellow continuous with the poster background. An earthy neutral tone, it emphasizes the confrontational and masculine aspects of the film and possibly its Chineseness – the non-Chinese pugilists or those from peripheral regions in the Condor trilogy are invariably described as clothed in other hues,²⁰⁰ since Chinese are described as “yellow skinned” and call themselves *Yanhuang zisun*. Furthermore the imprint of the Tao symbol – also the Quanzhen emblem – over Yang Guo's sleeve, lures the viewer into associating the protagonist with the male Quanzhen orthodoxy, and orthodoxy at large. A discerning fan of the book would probably find this link disconcerting and ironic, given that the only vaguely Quanzhen figure Yang Guo honours in the novel is Zhou Botong, a martial arts freak who behaves like a child, has little stately stature, and denies his Quanzhen ties despite his high seniority in the ranks of the sect.

In contrast to the echoes of the inverted gaze and the appeal to patriarchy found on the original movie poster, the digitally remastered reissue of *Brave Archer* presents

²⁰⁰For example, Volume 11 of the original edition and Chapter 16 of the Revised Edition speak of Kublai Khan dressed like a Chinese scholar at his first meeting with Yang Guo. Yin Kexi the Persian, though dressed resplendently like a Chinese, is so overshadowed by his luminous pearl necklace and jade bangle that he appears “neither male nor female.” Despite both wearing Chinese attire, they project neither the air of a commander nor Chinese knight errant.

an aversion to the gaze. On its VCD cover, a cutout of a close up of Yang Guo dominates nearly three-quarters of the layout, against which are a medium shot of Yang Kang in a fight-ready stance; and a smaller area featuring a grey-blue tinted collage of scenes where Yang Guo battles a Wu brother, sets up a trap to protect the recuperating Ouyang Feng and so on. The lineage of Yangs seems the focus here, with the father and son looking intently in sidelong stares. Although hotblooded males appear to dominate the cover, no appeal is made to their bodies since the close ups sell little except their mug. On the other hand, the absence of the female suggests there is no contrived attempt to sell eroticism – even if there were, the modest costumes the female leads adorn in the film provide little eye candy.

Plot-wise, the film adaptation makes several changes to achieve a self-contained story despite the absence of the Little Dragon Maiden romance and Yang Guo's tentative desire for vengeance against Guo Jing for misunderstandings over the death of Yang Kang. First of all, Mu Nianci dies hugging the newborn Yang Guo in *Iron Spear Temple* from the Jiuyin Baiguzhao dealt by a crazed-because-of-poison Yang Kang, whereas in *Return*, Yang Guo spends some teenage years with his mother (Qin Nanqin in the original serialization and Mu Nianci in the revised edition) before he comes to be cared for by Guo Jing.

Second, it is the now loony Ouyang Feng, not Silly Maiden, who breathes snippets about the truth behind Yang Kang's death to Yang Guo. Most bizarrely of all, perhaps in an attempt to close the story once and for all, Huo Du and Da'erba die by

the end of the battle on Mount Zhongnan. More intriguingly, Wu Xiuwen tags along with Yang Guo and Guo Jing to Mount Zhongnan. Unbeknown to Guo Jing who actually is just close by, Wu is misfired by Yang Guo with a toad strike into the heated battle, and dies from an accidental stab from Huo Du. Seeing Wu breathe his last unnoticed by everyone else, Yang Guo gets gleeful revenge for the childish bullying he endured from Wu on Peach Blossom Island (even though Yang himself actually played a number of literally more injurious and deadly tricks on the brothers).

4.1.2.2 VISUAL CODES

The visual code employed in *Brave Archer* can be said to be formulaic. A horizontal panning fisheye shot is used to indicate a change in set, such as Peach Blossom Island which Huang Rong and Guo Jing arrive at by boat in the opening sequence. Despite the apparent artificiality of the sets in this production, a width of set is suggested by the panning technique that emphasizes the “river” stretch the couple cruises on. Even though the characters are seen in full view against the backdrop, the emphatic depth of backdrop suggested by panning stresses the smallness of the characters in relation to their current locale. Furthermore, the fisheye view conveys a sense that the audience is watching events unfold through the looking glass. While the audience are designated as lookers, the characters themselves neither return the look nor look at each other in the way Mulvey defines the male gaze, as if purporting that it is what happens and not who are involved that is important, especially since minimal

empathy is created between the characters and the audience.

Such an aversion to the gaze is reiterated by the use of close ups to capture the current speaker in a conversation. More often than not, he or she is featured in a close-up that extends at most to his or her shoulders, while positioned fairly centrally, avoiding any correspondence with the point of view of the other party in the conversation. Since the speaker tilts his/her body slightly, shunning eye contact with the audience, he/she evades the gaze of the audience as well as the other party in the conversation. Rather than emphasize the passivity of these characters, this filmic device heightens the clinical outlook iterated by the fisheye pan that opens the film.

In some alternation to the staid pace set by the conversation scenes, variations of the medium, American and full shot are used for the depiction of martial arts scenes. The final duels outside Tomb of the Living Dead between Guo Jing and Huo Du, and between Da'erba and the Quanzhen disciples, are classic examples. Alternating degrees of close up heightens the intensity of the battle; while cut scenes juxtaposing the progress in both duels quickens the pacing and builds up some suspense to the outcome of the duels. Even then, who the eventual victors will be is virtually a foregone conclusion, given a somewhat informed audience's understanding of the novel and the stars in title roles. Handling the scenes this way at best creates a sense of spectatorship that arises from the how the shots are tailored to the swordplay action instead of the characters' point of view.

4.1.2.2.1 PRESENTING MENTAL ACTIVITY

More interestingly though, another use of the cut in the film generates the closest approximation to a point-of-view orientated sequence, though only to emphasize the difficulty with which this film appropriates consciousness in its depiction. In pink frame. Guo Jing's recollections of the Big Dipper Formation when he sees it performed by the younger generation of Quanzhen disciples, is one salient example. Even then, the closest attempts at focalization dominantly channel the point of view of Yang Guo. One of the more memorable sequences takes place in Iron Spear Temple. Yang Guo delivers food to the depraved Ouyang Feng, who sprouts random, hazy and fragmentary recollections of what took place at Iron Spear Temple years ago. Consequently, Yang Guo, perhaps counter-reacting to the earlier insults Guo Fu and the Wu brothers hurled on Yang Kang, imagines Yang Kang in three sequences, which the film cuts to, each framed literally in in gaudy pink. The first shows a suave, awe-inspiring Yang Kang; the second, Yang Kang killing Mongolian soldiers, now enemies of the Song dynasty; and the third, Yang Kang stabbed simultaneously by Guo Jing and Huang Rong, in the presence of Ke Zhen'e. Each is the exact opposite of what transpired in the temple on the day of Yang Kang's demise. Using a striking pink border to indicate these notions as purely the imagination of Yang Guo heightens the literal surrealism as does the camp factor. In a martial arts film dominated mostly by characters clothed in muted hues (Huang Rong is dressed in white, the male characters mostly in earthy tones, Huo Du in white, Da'erba in red, the Quanzhen masters in

yellow), this is the only instance where the color pink springs its trap. It is at once a rebuttal of any trace of manly righteousness in Yang Kang, as well as a slap on the frivolous day dream of Yang Guo. But the object of Yang Guo's daydream is not the object of the gaze – if anything, it is just us, the audience, looking at the commentary made by the filmic composition.

George Bluestone asserts that “[t]he rendition of mental states – memory, dream, imagination – cannot be as adequately represented by film as by language.”²⁰¹ While the universal validity of this claim remains to be qualified, it suffices to note that in the instance of *Brave Fencer and His Mate*, the introduction of the dream sequences requires a detachment from what Bluestone terms “representational fidelity,”²⁰² with its fantastic highlights.

4.1.2.2.2 CLOSE-UPS

To put it more succinctly, the relatively rare instances of focalization in the film nonetheless do not engage the gaze. Furthermore, the close ups frequently employed in the film do little on the erotic front with their subjects fully clothed, and extreme detail only given to objects like clues to the Jiangnan Freaks' deaths, the stone carving that indicates herein resides Little Dragon Maiden, and the like. Neither is it convincing to construe the film as masculine, because so doing ignores the absence of focus on the body, either female or male. The close ups of characters who possess for

²⁰¹Bluestone, p. 47.

²⁰²Ibid, p. 20. Says the full quote, “Any discussion of editing, then, must remain at least peripherally aware of the shot's obligation to representational fidelity.”

the moment discursive room practically cut off any view of the erogenous zones. Furthermore, the few female characters in the film, albeit occupying less screen time than the male leads, are not pushovers who qualify as passive women. Huang Rong is the most quick-witted of the characters, as can be seen from how she disarms the convoluted ploy of Yang Kang. She is also the most cautious, nursing within her doubts about the character of Yang Guo when she notices his striking resemblance of flippancy to Yang Kang. Consequently she even develops a little scheme where she offers to tutor Yang Kang in the martial arts, but really teaches him nothing except the Confucian classics, in a bid to arrest his maturity into another Yang Kang-figure.

4.1.3 MOTHER ABSENCE

Following father absence in the novel, this portrayal of Huang Rong as does female absence from the cover highlights too the issue of mother absence. In the Condor trilogy, while Guo Jing was raised by his mother Bao Xiruo to adulthood, Yang Guo and Zhang Wuji had not the privilege. Furthermore, Huang Rong, who should have been a mother figure to Yang Guo like Guo Jing was a father figure of sorts, instead swings between suspicion, skepticism, care and gratitude towards Yang. Her cautious take on Yang Guo in the novel and film distances her from the nurturing role of the mother. Metaphorically, her attempts to drum traditional Confucian values into Yang Guo instead of teaching him the skills for self-defense remind us of how the label of Chineseness, associated with China, has become more of a bane than wistful

reminisce to Hong Kong. For Yang Guo, his education in Confucian ethics is completely useless against the taunts and abuse of the Wu brothers and Guo Fu, so much so that he has to rely on street smart and random successes at executing the Toad Skill for self-defense. For Hong Kong, Chineseness deepens their acute sense of segregation from China. In this British colony, free market forces generate their livelihood, while tradition is replaced by modern economics.

Ancillary characters while not as starkly representative exercise some power too. Guo Fu, the whiny and bratty daughter of Guo and Huang, exercises some measure of power on the Wu brothers, who behave like her attached sidekicks on Peach Blossom Island. Little Dragon Maiden and Li Mochou are unseen characters and passing mentions in the film, but the rumour spread by Li about Little Dragon Maiden and the scuffle that ensues on Mount Zhongnan go to show the sway these women, shrouded in mystery nonetheless, hold. Mu Nianci, possibly the frailest of the pack, is seen teary-eyed and carrying the baby Yang Guo close to her bosom for the entire duration of her screen time. She comes across as a mother figure who also has an unshakable love for Yang Kang – before breathing her last she manages to both request that the Guos take care of Yang Guo, and that she be buried with Yang Kang. Although her desperate desire for Yang Kang fits her in the passive woman mold, the tenacity she demonstrates in surviving Yang Kang's hit long enough to dictate her last wishes earns admiration. In short, to claim the film as masculine while disparaging the fact that the women in the film are far from passive, would be a narrow and unjustified

view.

4.2 CONCLUSION

Father absence and mother absence, already present in the novel, take on added relevance in the film. By ironing both hierarchies and anti-hierarchical elements and adopting the clinical gaze of aversion, the film objectifies its subjects, thereby intensifying, though perhaps not consciously, the identity crisis of Hong Kong, which the *Condor* trilogy subtly hints at. The last chapter discussed father absence in the novels as characterizing alienation from one's roots, lineage and homeland, reflective of sentiments towards the signifier "Chinese" in the light of 1949 and later, the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution. As an adaptation of *Return*, a novel which alludes to instances of displacement at its time of writing and even hauntingly foreshadows the irrevocable rupture of latter days, *Brave Archer* is almost apathetic, trivializing Yang Guo's orphanage and longing for a father in campy sequences, castrating affecting romance, and reducing to foul play Yang Guo's reactions against unsettledness in a tentative household of foster parents and rival peers who can hardly be called siblings. If so, *Brave Archer* draws from a deeper sense of identity crisis, as even the response to one's state of dispersion is robbed of its poignancy.

The objectifying gaze in *Brave Archer* resembles what Michel Foucault describes as the "medical gaze" that places its patient in a "paradoxical position:" "If one wishes to know the illness from which he is suffering, one must subtract the

individual, with his particular qualities.”²⁰³ The distinction between the body and mind of the individual objectifies then the medical gaze's subject of diagnosis, which is merely the body. Returning to *Brave Archer*, the gaze and its execution “subtract” not only the distinguishing qualities of *Return*. If *Return* is an epic allegory of what it means to be Chinese outside China, then *Brave Archer* suggests in its gaze that the meaning of Chineseness is objectified and commodified in the peculiarities of martial arts cinema, itself a product for consumption.

Recalling Allen Chun's comment that the free market economy of Hong Kong has generated instead apathy to politics as well as the politics of identity,²⁰⁴ the erasure of identification processes, of the camera gaze and parental presence, in *Brave Archer* are symptomatic of how aversion might be the only channel by which the allusion-charged rewriting of the nation in *Return* can be negotiated in a depoliticized environment.

²⁰³Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Routledge Classics, 2003), p. 9.

²⁰⁴See footnote 183.

CHAPTER FIVE
IMAGINING CHINA WHILE LOOKING AT HONG KONG:
FRAGMENTED CHINESENESS

The divergent gazes of the novel and its adaptation coalesce in repudiating the sinocentric prejudice permeating major controversies over the adherence to tradition and Chineseness of Jin Yong's works. For Chineseness is necessarily a construction,²⁰⁵ which “cultural uniformity” the proliferation of media “ero[des]” and resists, by posing “a direct threat to the ability of monolithic regimes to maintain totalizing, homogeneous societies.”²⁰⁶ Departures of the film from the novel destabilizes the gaze of the latter, while the the novel itself challenges tradition and history.

Its imagination of China ruptures the notion of a unified China which underscores the sinocentric debates reviewed in my Introduction. The literature I have reviewed in Chapter Two hardly recognize this, only going to emphasize how studies of Jin Yong in Greater China desperately wish to ascribe to the novels a unifying theme of Chineseness, in line with so-called literary, historical and social tradition.

²⁰⁵See Chun, especially pp. 111-119 on how Chineseness has been constructed. Also refer to Chow, “Introduction: On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem,” *boundary 2*, Vol. 25, No. 3, *Modern Chinese Literary and Cultural Studies in the Age of Theory: Reimagining a Field*. (Autumn, 1998), pp. 1-24, for the issues posed by constructions of Chineseness in academia.

²⁰⁶*Ibid*, pp. 127-128.

Yet Rey Chow sees “Chineseness as a theoretical problem” in her examination of Chinese literature:

Like the Chinese political state [which “coerces” “a kind of collective linguistic/stylistic mandate under which writing has to be reflectionist, has to be an authentic copy of the nation's reality”], the sinology that specializes in Chinese poetics/narratology, insofar as it attempts to ground Chineseness in specific ways of writing, can also be seen as a kind of ethnicity-management apparatus. Once this becomes clear—that is, once the attempt to ground Chineseness is understood to be, in fact, a managerial operation dictated by extraliterary circumstances—the idealistic assertion of a nonmimetic, nonallegorical tradition that distinguishes Chinese writing, that makes Chinese literature Chinese literature, can only crumble in its own theoretical foundations. For isn't equating a definitive classification (the nonmimetic) with what is Chinese precisely a mimeticist act, an act that, even as it claims to resist mimesis, in fact reinscribes literary writing squarely within the confines of a special kind of reflection—the reflection of a reality/myth called Chineseness?²⁰⁷

As a martial arts fiction writer, Jin Yong himself is one text that fragments the “monolith” of Chineseness. Attempts to co-opt Jin Yong as an advocate of Chinese culture, or situate his novels in dichotomies of high/low-brow literature and so on, are inevitably denied by the subversiveness of *Return of the Condor Heroes*.

²⁰⁷Chow, “On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem,” pp. 19-20.

Certainly as the above suggests, abstract imagination and recognition, rather than givens like geographical and historical lineages or origins, are what define nation and nationality, and therefore “Chineseness.” Benedict Anderson defines the “nation” as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”²⁰⁸ Ernest Gellner defines the nation with two conditions: “Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture” and “if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation.”²⁰⁹ Circa 1949, Hong Kong lost access to China. The British colony now lost its vicarious allegiance to China with the “same culture” they once shared later divided by their differences in economic models. Jin Yong's imagination of a China where traditional hierarchies are inversed and where the father is absent undermines the feasibility of lineages as deterministic formulations of nationality and nation, especially when the writer himself was separated from his real-life father.

Writing in the Cold War era in the British colony of Hong Kong might have induced in Jin Yong a profound sense of displacement from motherland China, his profit-driven *Ming Pao* start-up a reminder of the insurmountable imagined distance. Tai-lok Lui's scrutiny of the merchandizing of Hong Kong souvenirs in “urban tourist districts” to tourists who wanted “[t]o get a touch of being close to China,” during the Cold War when China was still closed, examines how the stress on “the 'Chineseness' of Hong Kong” was confounding because

208Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition (London and New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 5-7.

209Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 6-7.

the elements of 'Chineseness' found in this tourist merchandise became a source of alienation – reminding the locals, particularly the local young people, of their rootlessness of being Chinese but growing up in a British colony.²¹⁰

Not only was “Chineseness” in consumer culture consumed by outsiders but not Hongkongers, it further excruciated their sense of displacement. The acceptance and circulation of Jin Yong's martial arts fiction in Hong Kong as well as beyond must therefore be explained by how Jin Yong imagines a different China from that which he and his compatriots were unwittingly estranged.

Tim Oakes' study on “cultural regionalism” demonstrates how attempts by peripheral regions in China to promote their local culture for economic development result in “a variety of discourses of Chineseness:”²¹¹

But the growing presence of mobile capital has the potential to disrupt the local state's spatial strategies by *commodifying* the residuals of place-based culture, introducing "*translocal*" commercial networks that render the territorial basis of provincial identity increasingly meaningless.²¹²

What this means is that, as elements of local culture are marketed to draw capital to localities, whatever remains of culture becomes commodities. Meanwhile capital flows across localities make it harder to sustain the uniqueness of the place in question. If *Return* is the first step in merchandizing a re-envisioned cultural China,

210 Tai-lok Lui, “The Malling of Hong Kong,” in Gordon Matthews and Tai-lok Lui eds., *Consuming Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2001), pp. 29-30.

211 Tim Oakes, “China's Provincial Identities: Reviving Regionalism and Reinventing “Chineseness,”” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 3. (Aug., 2000), p. 669.

212 *Ibid*, p. 687, emphasis mine.

then *Brave Archer*, a Hong Kong martial arts film and also a commercial adaptation of a commodified work, necessarily displaces “place” from being meaningful in the construction of identity.

Although place has lost its vitality in the equation, travels over literal and figurative expanses are still salient in the consideration of Jin Yong, *Return* and *Brave Archer*. John Christopher Hamm sees the “historical and cultural distance” set up in the imagined China of Jin Yong's early novels, and the “cultural and geopolitical distance inherent in Hong Kong's status as a foreign-ruled colony” as projecting a “nostalgic distance” that enables allows the novels to “travel” across media and geography.²¹³ Yet these travels do not always retain the discursive construct of the novels, whether considered in the sense of (the dubious notion of) fidelity, or its dialog with its source(s).

In fact, the failed travel of the gaze in *Return* to *Brave Archer* iterates again how the postmodern is marked by plurality rather than conformity, just as one definition of Chineseness cannot co-opt the imagined universe in *Return* into a homogenizing discourse of China. “The common language of Chinese around the world” ironically rejects common-izing. While Jin Yong's novels project an imagined Chineseness among different Chinese speaking communities outside Hong Kong, my exposition of *Return of the Condor Heroes* and *Brave Archer and His Mate* have demonstrated, ironically, that Chineseness and Hong Kong identity are fragmentary in

²¹³John Christopher Hamm, “The Marshes of Mount Liang Beyond the Sea: Jin Yong's Early Martial Arts Fiction and Postwar Hong Kong,” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 93-124.

Hong Kong itself.

Rey Chow's comment on Chineseness are particularly relevant to the primary and secondary texts selected for this dissertation, because she characterizes the fluidity of Chineseness as a theoretical boundary by highlighting the increasing presence of “non-literary” and “non-China-related” texts in sinological studies:

Although the abstract notion of the field of modern Chinese literary studies has hitherto been harnessed to the fantasy of an essentialized ethnicity, a standardized language, and a coercive equivalence between literary writing and Chineseness per se, [...]more and more scholars are turning to texts and media that are, strictly speaking, nonliterary (including movies, television dramas, radio programs, art exhibits, and pop music), while non-China-related publications dealing with modernism, modernity, feminism, gay and lesbian studies, postcoloniality, philosophy, history, and so forth regularly fill China scholars' bibliographical lists. [...] With the invasion of these foreign elements, how can the legitimating disciplinary boundary of Chinese versus non-Chinese be maintained?²¹⁴

In the light of her comments, this dissertation, in its choice of a “nonliterary” primary text – *Brave Archer* – and “non-China-related” secondary texts, is itself reflexive in its attempt to argue for destabilized and fragmented Chineseness, Hong Kong identity and the notion of the work.

²¹⁴Chow, “Introduction: On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem,” *boundary 2*, Vol. 25, No. 3, *Modern Chinese Literary and Cultural Studies in the Age of Theory: Reimagining a Field*. (Autumn, 1998), pp. 22-23.

Bazin has long envisioned how the narrative becomes fragmented through adaptation:

[I]t is possible to imagine that we are moving toward a reign of the adaptation in which the notion of the unity of the work of art, if not the very notion of the author himself, will be destroyed.

Where so-called adaptations and originals are actually how:

a single work [is] reflected through [multiple] art forms, an artistic pyramid with only an ideal point at the top of this figure, which itself is an ideal construct. The chronological precedence of one part over another would not be aesthetic criterion any more than the chronological precedence of one twin over the other is a genealogical one.²¹⁵

The prismatic arrangement of the so-called original and its adaptations enforces Jin Yong's vision of the autonomy of genres. In an age where his novels have been and are adapted increasingly in various media, the fragmentation of “his” works and the postmodern outlook they emanate are one and the same in their repudiation of orthodoxy.

In the limited scope of this dissertation I have attempted a preliminary survey of how the adaptation of *Return* into *Brave Archer* fragments Chineseness and identity. Using Laura Mulvey's framework of the male gaze as a launchpad, I debunked its applicability in *Return*. Even when other considerations such as skin colour, which Kaplan addresses in a separate study in feminist film criticism, are

²¹⁵Bazin, p. 26.

introduced, it does not explain the pattern of the gaze in *Return*. In place of this, I propose that the gaze in *Return* is one that deliberately refutes existing patterns of power, such as that marked by patriarchy and age, by allowing those who are disadvantaged to look instead.

Perhaps as a counter-reaction to the reversal in *Return*, and to isolate itself from politics, the film adaptation *Brave Archer* establishes instead an aversion to the gaze. Even when the gaze is perpetuated through the imagination of the characters, it is not akin to the characters gazing but is rather a way in which the filmic composition comments.

Furthermore the absence of father and mother in the novel and film disengage them from familial hierarchy as does lineally or locally determined identity. If Jin Yong's great reversal proposes an imagined China that boasts equality rather than familial hierarchy, its film adaptation negotiates this unconventional stance through apathy, which makes for a bland film that has neither the sass of the novels nor interest for those into faithful adaptations. Both the novel and its adaptation essentially regard Chineseness and Hong Kong identity as fragmentary.

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APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Table 1: Terms

English/ Statutory Name	Pinyin	Chinese
	Zhouyi	周易
	Zhou Botong	周伯通
	Zhang Wuji	张无忌
	Zhang Cuishan	张翠山
	Zha Shuqing	查枢卿
Sword of the Yue Maiden	Yuenüjian	越女劍
	Yuan Liangjun	袁良駿
	Yin Zhiping	尹志平
	Yin Susu	殷素素
	Yin	阴
	Yanhuang zisun	炎黄子孙
	Yang Tiexin	杨铁心
	Yang Kang	杨康
	Yang Guo	杨过
	Yang	阳
	Xiudingban	修訂版
	Xinxinban	新新版
	xinban	新版
	Xin Wanbao	新晚報
	Xie Xun	谢逊
	Xiangyang	襄阳
	Xia	俠
	Wuxia	武俠
	Wudang	武当

English/ Statutory Name	Pinyin	Chinese
	Wu Xiuwen	武修文
	Wu Santong	武三通
	Wu Dunru	武敦儒
	Wanyan Honglie	完顏洪烈
	Wang Shuo	王朔
	Shuowen jiezi	说文解字
	shiji xinxiuban	世紀新修版
	Shen Baoxin	沈宝新
	Qin Nanqin	秦南琴
	Qianlong	乾隆
	Ouyang Ke	欧阳克
	Ouyang Feng	欧阳峰
	Ni Kuang	倪匡
	Nan Xiren	南希仁
	Mu Nianci	穆念慈
	Ma Yu	马钰
	Lu Zhanyuan	陸展元
	Lu Wushuang	陆无双
	Lu Liding	陆立鼎
	Liu Kar Leung	刘家良
	Lin Huan	林歡
	Lin Dai	林黛
	Liang Yusheng	梁羽生
	Li Mochou	李莫愁
	Kuangsheji Baoju	擴拾記報局
	Ke Zhen'e	柯鎮惡
	Jiuyin Zhenjing	九阴真经

English/ Statutory Name	Pinyin	Chinese
	Jiuyin Baiguzhao	九阴白骨爪
	Jiuyang Zhenjing	九阳真经
	jiuban	舊版
	Jin Yong	金庸
	Huo Du	霍都
	Huang Yaoshi	黄药师
	Huang Rong	黄蓉
	He Yuanjun	何沅君
	Hanfeizi	韩非子
	Guo Xiaotian	郭嘯天
	Guo Xiang	郭襄
	Guo Jing	郭靖
	Guo Fu	郭芙
	Gongsun	公孙
	Duan Zhengchun	段正淳
	Da'erba	達爾巴
	Chongyanggong	重阳宫
	Cheng Ying	程英
	Cheng Kun	成昆
	Chen Jialuo	陈家洛
	Bixuejian	碧血劍
	Azi	阿紫
[Alexander] Fu Sheng	Fu sheng	傅声

English/ Statutory Name	Pinyin	Chinese
Ancient Tomb	gumu	古墓
Andy Lau	Liu dehua	劉德華
Beggars Clan	gaibang	丐幫
Big Dipper Formation	Beidou Qixingzhen	北斗七星陣
<i>Brave Archer and His Mate</i>	Shendiao xialü	神雕俠侶
Central Plains	zhongyuan	中原
Century Revised Edition	Xinxinban, shiji xinxiuban	新新版、世紀新修版
Cha, Louis	Cha Liangyong	查良鏞
Chang Cheh	Zhang che	張徹
Condor trilogy	Shediao sanbuqu	射雕三部曲
David Chiang	Jiang dawei	姜大衛
<i>Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils</i>	Tianlong Babu	天龍八部
E-mei	emei	峨眉
Elder Peng	Peng zhanglao	彭長老
Generation-e Edition	Yi shidai ban	e—世代版
Gentleman Sword	Junzjian	君子劍
Golden Haired Lion King	Jinmao shiwang	金毛獅王
Gordon Liu	Liu jiahui	劉家輝
Granny Sun	Sun popo	孫婆婆
Great Leap Forward	dayuejin	大躍進
<i>Heaven Sword and Dragon Sabre</i>	Yitian Tulong Ji	倚天屠龍記
<i>Hong Kong Commerical Daily</i>	Xianggang shangbao	香港商報

English/ Statutory Name	Pinyin	Chinese
Huang Shu-yi	Huang Shuyi	黃淑儀
I ask the world, what is love?	Wen shijian qing shi hewu	問世間，情是何物
Iron Spear Temple	Tieqiangmiao	鐵槍廟
Jinyonology	jinxue	金學
Kong Shuet	Jiang xue	
<i>Kungfu Hustle</i>	gongfu	功夫
Kuo Chue	Guo Zhui	郭追
Lady Sword	Shunüjian	淑女劍
Landlady	baozupo	包租婆
Landlord	baozugong	包租公
<i>Legend of the Condor Heroes</i>	Shediao Yingxiong Zhuan	射雕英雄傳
Li Hua	Li hua	李化
Little Dragon Maiden	Xiaolongnü	小龍女
<i>Little Dragon Maiden</i>	Yang guo yu xiaolongnü	楊過與小龍女
Lo Lieh	Luo lie	羅列
Lu manor	Lujiazhuang	陸家庄
Mandarin Ducks and Butterfly	Yuanyang hudie	鴛鴦蝴蝶
Ming Ho	Mingheshe	明河社
<i>Ming Pao</i>	Ming Bao	明報
Ming Sect	mingjiao	明教
Mount Zhongnan	Zhongnanshan	終南山
Nam Hong	Nan hong	南紅
<i>New One Armed</i>	Xin dubidao	新獨臂刀

English/ Statutory Name	Pinyin	Chinese
<i>Swordsman</i> (also known as <i>Triple Irons</i>)		
<i>New Return of the Condor Heroes</i>	Xin shendiao xialü	新神鵰俠侶
<i>One Armed Swordsman</i>	dubidao	獨臂刀
Passion flower	Qinghua	情花
Patrick Tse Yin	Xie xian	谢贤
Peach Blossom Island	Taohuadao	桃花島
Quanzhen	Quanzhen	全真
relationship, love, romance	qing	情
<i>Return of the Condor Heroes</i>	Shendiao Xialü	神雕俠侶
<i>Return of the One Armed Swordsman</i>	Dubi daowang	獨臂刀王
Revised edition	Xinban, xiudingban	新版、修訂版
<i>Romance of the Book and Sword</i>	Shujian Enchoulu	書劍恩仇錄
<i>Savior of the Soul</i>	Jiuyi shendiao xialü	九一神雕俠侶
<i>Savior of the Soul II</i>	Jiuer shendiao xialü	九二神雕俠侶
Seven Freaks of Jiangnan	Jiangnan qiguai	江南七怪
Shaw Organization	Shaoshi jigou	邵氏机构
Silly Maiden	Shagu	傻姑
Stephen Chow	Zhou xingchi	周星馳
Tan Sri Runme Shaw	Shao renmu	邵仁枚
<i>The Deer and the</i>	Ludingji	鹿鼎记

English/ Statutory Name	Pinyin	Chinese
<i>Cauldron</i>		
<i>The Kingdom and the Beauty</i>	Jiangshan meiren	江山美人
<i>The Smiling, Proud Wanderer</i>	Xiaobao Jianghu	笑傲江湖
Ti Lung	Di long	狄龙
Toad Skill	Hamagong	蛤蟆功
TVB	Wuxian dianshitai	无线电视台
Valley of Severed Love	Jueqinggu	绝情谷
Venerable Yideng	Yideng dashi	一灯大师
Wang Yu	Wang yu	王羽
Wee Tian Beng	Huang zhanming	黄展鸣
Yuan-liou	Yuanliu	远流出版社
Ziwei Soft Sword	Ziwei Ruanjian	紫薇软剑

Table 2: Cited authors

Author	Pinyin	Chinese
	Zhu Shoutong	朱寿桐
Beijing Youth Paper	Beijing qingnian bao	北京青年报
	Chen Fangying	陳芳英
	Chen Mo	陈墨
Chan Shek	Chen Shuo	陳碩
	Chen Yiyuan	陳益源
	Chen Zhenhui	陳鎮輝
	Deng Quanming	邓全明
	Ding Jin	丁進
	Ding Lili	丁莉麗
	Fang Fei	芳菲
	Fei Yong	費勇
	Feng Qiyong	馮其庸
	Fu Guoyong	傅國湧
	Gong Pengcheng	龔鵬程
	Gu Long	古龍
	Guiguan Gongzuoshi	桂冠工作室
	He Manzi	何滿子
	Hong Wansheng	洪萬生
	Hu Xiaowei	胡小偉
	Huang Jinshu	黃錦樹
	Huang Zonghui	黃宗慧
	Ji Hong-fang	計紅芳
	Jia Liping	賈麗萍
	Jian Dan, Zhang Guojun	簡單、張國軍

Author	Pinyin	Chinese
	Leng Xia	冷夏
	Li Aihua	李爱华
	Liao Chaoyang	廖朝陽
	Lin Baochun	林保淳
	Lin Fushi	林富士
	Lin Yutang	
	Liu Cunren	柳存仁
	Liu Shaoming	劉紹銘
	Liu Wei-ying	
	Liu Wei-ying and Zhang Ning	劉衛英、張寧
	Long Bide	龍彼得
	Lü Zongli	呂宗力
	Ma Youhuan	馬幼垣
	Pan Guosen	潘國森
	Peng Hong-wei	彭紅卫
	Qian Liqun	钱理群
	Samuel N · C · Lieu	劉南強
	Shao Ming	邵明
	Sharon Lai	賴慈芸
	Shu-mei Shih	史書美
	Song Weijie	宋偉傑
	Sun Yixue	孫宜學
	Tang Junshan	唐峻山
	Tao Muning	陶慕寧
	Wang Binbin	王彬彬
	Wang Qiugui	王秋桂

Author	Pinyin	Chinese
	Wang Shuo	王朔
	Wang Weiyan	王維燕
	Wang Xue-fei	王雪菲
	Wang Zhi	汪志
	Wei Lingdun	危令敦
	Wu Xiaodong, Ji Birui	吳曉東、計璧瑞
	Wu Xiuming	吳秀明
	Wu Xiuming	吳秀明
	Xie Likai	謝理開
	Xie Likai	謝理開
Sina Entertainment	Xinlang yule	新浪娛樂
Sina.com	xinlangwang	新浪網
	Yan Jiayan	嚴家炎
	Yan Weiyong	嚴偉英
	Yan Weiyong	嚴偉英
	Yan Xiaoxing	嚴曉星
	Yang Lige	楊莉歌
	Yang Xing'an	楊興安
	Yu Zu-kun	余祖坤
	Yuan Liangjun	袁良駿
	Yuanjing	遠景
	Zang Weidong	臧卫东
	Zeng Zhilang and Zhuang Qiongru	曾志朗、莊瓊如
	Zhang Dachun	張大春
	Zhang Guiyang	張圭陽
	Zhang Qunfang	張群芳

Author	Pinyin	Chinese
	Zhang Xiaohong	張小虹
	Zhong Xiaoyi	鍾曉義
	Zhou Zhiqiang	周志強
	Zhu Shoutong	朱壽桐
	Zhuang Ruo-jiang	庄若江

Table 3: Cited books and articles

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
	Yingshi Wuhang	影視武行
	Sanxia daxue xuebao renwen shehui kexue ban	三峡大学学报(人文社会科学版)
	Jinyong xiaoshuo shitan	金庸小說十談
	Jinling Wanbao	金陵晚报
“Jin Yong and His Ming Pao,”	Jinyong he ta de mingbao	金庸和他的《明報》
A Biography of Jin Yong	Jinyong zhuan	金庸傳
A brief history of studies on Jin Yong novels	Jinyong xiaoshuo yanjiu shilue	金庸小說研究史略
A Collection of Jin Yong's Works: An eternal martial arts literary classic, and the common language of Chinese around the world	Yongyuan de wuxia wenxue jingdian, quanqiu huaren de gongtong yuyan: jinyong zuopin ji	永遠的武俠文學經典，全球華人的共同語言：金庸作品集
A discussion of female characters in Jin Yong's Novels	Tan jinyong xiaoshuo de nüxing xingxiang	談金庸小說的女性形象
A General Exposition of <i>The Proud, Smiling Wanderer</i>	Xiaobao jianghu zonglun	《笑傲江湖》總論
A look at English translations of <i>The Deer and the Cauldron</i>	Ludingji yingyi mantan	《鹿鼎記》英譯漫談
A Preliminary Comparison between <i>Don Quixote</i> and <i>The Deer and the Cauldron</i>	Tangjikede yu ludingji bijiao chulun	《唐吉訶德》與《鹿鼎記》比較初論
A showdown between various adaptations of <i>Return of the Condor Heroes</i> – Which Little Dragon Maiden do you like	Shendiao xialü ge ban bipin – ni zui xihuan nage xiaolongnü	《神雕俠侶》各版比拼—你最喜歡哪個小龍女

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
best?		
Analysis of Jin Yong's female worship and the love mode [sic] embodied in his knight-errant novels	Lun jinyong de nüxing chongbai ji qi xiaoshuo zhong de aiqing moshi	論金庸的女性崇拜及其小說中的愛情模式
Azi: a soul controlled by the Devil – A discussion of Jin Yong's female characters (1)”	Azi bei mogui caozong de linghun – jinyong bixia nüxing xingxiang mantan zhi yi	阿紫：被魔鬼操縱的靈魂——金庸筆下女性形象漫談之一
China Youth Daily	Zhongguo qingnian bao	中国青年报
Chinese Literature	Huawen wenxue	华文文学
Chinese Martial Arts on the Axes of Gender and Ethnicity: Jin Yong, Tsui Hark, Hong Kong	Xingbie yu zhongzu zuobiao shang de huaxia xingsi: jinyong, xuke, xianggang	性別與種族座標上的華俠省思：金庸、徐克、香港
Chinese Narratology	Zhongguo xushixue	中国叙事学
Cognitive energy, emotion indicators and doing two things at a time – A survey of Cognitive Psychology in Jinyonology	Renzhi nengliang, qingxu zhibiao yu yixinliangyong – jinxue zhong de renzhi xinli mianmianguan	認知能量，情緒指標與一心兩用——金學中的認知心理面面觀
Creating a Canon: The Cultural Politics of Jin Yong Studies	Jingdian zhizao – jinyong yanjiu de wenhua zhengzhi	經典製造——金庸研究的文化政治
Cultural Interpretation of Jin Yong's Hero Myths	Wenhua yilian wenhua zhiyi dao wenhua pipan – jinyong yingxiong shenhua de wenhua chanshi	文化依戀、文化質疑到文化批判——金庸英雄神話的文化闡釋
Deconstructing Jin Yong	Jiegou jinyong	《解構金庸》
Dream of the Red Chamber	hongloumeng	紅樓夢
Education level of male protagonists in revised Jin Yong novels not as high as that in originals?	Xinban jinyong xiaoshuo nanzhujue wenhua chengdu daburuqian?	新版金庸小說男主角文化程度大不如前？
Entertainment Culture and	Yule wenhua yu meixue	娛樂文化與美學轉型

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
the Aesthetic Transformation	zhuanxing	
From acts of entertainment to utopian impulses – a re-reading of Jin Yong's novels	Cong yule xingwei dao wutuobang chongdong – jinyong xiaoshuo zai jiedu	從娛樂行為到烏托邦衝動——金庸小說再解讀
From Ethnic-ism to Nationalism – <i>The Deer and the Cauldron</i> , Hong Kong Culture and the (Post-)Modernity of China	Cong minzu zhuyi dao guojia zhuyi – ludingji xianggang wenhua zhongguo de houxiandaixing	從民族主義到國家主義——《鹿鼎記》，香港文化，中國的（後）現代性
Heroic Narrative and its End – The Characterization of Xiao Feng”	Yingxiong xushi ji qi zhongjie – lun xiao feng xingxiang	英雄敘事及其終結——論蕭峰形象
I ask Jin Yong, what is love? A study of objects: Gifts, Tokens and Proofs	Wen jinyong qing shi hewu – liwu, xinwu, zhengwu	問金庸情是何物——禮物、信物、證物
I ask the world, what is love?	Wen shijian qing shi hewu	問世間情是何物
I ask the world, who is a hero?	Wen tianxia shei shi yingxiong	問天下誰是英雄
Incestuous relationships among characters in Jin Yong's novels	Jinyong xiaoshuo renwu de bulun zhi lian	金庸小說人物的「不倫之戀」
Is she there when he isn't looking at her? A discussion of narcissism, fetishism and the propensity to violence with the women around Duan Zhengchun in <i>Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils</i> as examples	Ta bu kan ta shi ta zai ma? - yi tianlong babu zhong duan zhengchun shenbian de nüxing weili tan zilian lianwu gongjiyu	他不看她時她在嗎？——以《天龍八部》中段正淳身邊的女性為例談自戀、戀物、攻擊慾
	Jiefangjun yishu xueyuan xuebao	解放軍藝術學院學報
Jin Yong and the Press	Jinyong yu baoye	金庸與報業

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
Jin Yong in the e-Generation – the Representations of Jin Yong's Novels on the internet and in video games	Yishidai de jinyong – jinyong xiaoshuo zai wanglu he dianzi youxi shang de biao xian	E 世代的金庸——金庸小說在網絡和電子遊戲上的表現
Jin Yong loves kungfu films	Jinyong zhongqing gongfupian	金庸鍾情功夫片
Jin Yong's affinity with films	Jinyong de dianying yuan	金庸的電影緣
Jin Yong's Novels and Cultural Traditions	Jinyong xiaoshuo yu wenhua chuantong	金庸小说与文化传统
Jin Yong's Novels in Taiwan	Jinyong xiaoshuo zai taiwan	金庸小說在台灣
Jinling Wanbao	Jinling wanbao	金陵晚报
Journal of Anhui University of Science and Technology (Social Science)	Anhui ligong daxue xuebao shehui kexue ban	安徽理工大學學報（社會科學版）
Journal of Ankang Teachers College	Ankang shizhuan xuebao	安康師專學報
Journal of Changshu College	Changshu gaozhuan xuebao	常熟高專學報
Journal of Changzhou Institute of Technology	Changzhou gongxueyuan xuebao	常州工學院學報
Journal of China Three Gorges University (Humanities and Social Sciences)	Sanxia daxue xuebao renwen shehui kexue ban	三峽大學學報（人文社會科學版）
Journal of China Women's University	Zhonghua nüzi xueyuan xuebao	中華女子學院學報
Journal of Dandong Teachers College	Dandong shizhuan xuebao	丹東師專學報
Journal of Daxian Teachers College (Social Science Edition)	Daxian shifan gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao shehui kexue ban	达县师范高等专科学校学报(社会科学版)

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
Journal of Hainan Normal University (Humanities and Social Science)	Hainan shifan xueyuan xuebao renwen shehui kexue ban	海南师范学院学报（人文社会科学版）
Journal of Hangzhou Teachers College	Hangzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao	杭州師範學院學報
Journal of Jiaxing College	Jiaxing xueyuan xuebao	嘉兴学院学报
Journal of Longyan Teachers College	Longyan shizhuan xuebao	龙岩师专学报
Journal of Qinzhou Teachers College	Qinzhou shifan gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao	欽州師範高等專科學校學報
Journal of Shanxi University (Philosophy and Social Science)	Shanxi daxue xuebao zhexue shehui kexue ban	山西大學學報（哲學社會科學版）
Kinship amidst smoke and water – Father and son, brothers, and husband and wives in Jin Yong's works	Qinqing yanshui li – lun jinzhu zhong fuzi xiongdi fuqi guanxi	親情煙水里——論金著中父子、兄弟、夫妻關係
Literary scene of a millenia, dream of a knight-errant: The Legend of Jin Yong	Qianggu wentan xiasheng meng: jinyong zhuan	千古文壇俠聖夢：金庸傳
Male Superiority's Thrive and Its Decline	Nanquan de kuangxiang yu moluo – lun jinyong gulong xiaoshuo zhong de nanquan yishi	男權的狂想与沒落——論金庸、古龍小說中的男權意識
Martial arts drama serials playing key roles, Jin Yong's novels return yet again to television	Wuxiaju da chang zhujiao jinyong zuopin chun qu chun you hui	武俠劇大唱主角 金庸作品春去春又回
My fourth take on Jin Yong's Novels	Si kan jinyong xiaoshuo	四看金庸小說
My take on Jin Yong	Wo kan jinyong	我看金庸
My take on Jin Yong's Novels	Wo kan jinyong xiaoshuo	我看金庸小說
My view on the	Jinxue goujian zhi wo jian	“金學”构建之我見——

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
construction of 'Jinyonology' – Some reflections on Jin Yong Studies	– guanyu jinyong yanjiu de yidian sikao	—关于金庸研究的一点思考
Nankai Journal	Nankai xuebao	南開學報
Negating Jin Yong – High and Lowbrow, Time and Geography as represented through culture	Fouxian jinyong – wenhui daixian de yasu shijian yu dili	否想金庸——文化代現的雅俗、時間與地理
Not recognizing Zhang to be Zhang – A discussion of the image of Zhang Wuji	Bushi zhanglang shi zhanglang – zhang wuji xingxiang sanlun	不識張郎是張郎——張無忌形象散論
Obviousness and Obscurity: Dual Societies in Jin Yong's Novels	Xianxing yu yinxing – jinyong bixia de liangchong shehui	顯性與隱性——金庸筆下的兩重社會
Old School Jin Yong Novels”	Jiupai jinyong xiaoshuo	舊「派」金庸小說
On the new and old opening chapters of Jin Yong's novels	Huashuo jinyong de kaichangbai: jiuban xinpian	話說金庸的開場白：舊版新篇
On the Reasons of Different Description Formula of Love [sic]	Shilun jinyong he lin yutang de qing'ai miaoxie moshi	試論金庸和林語堂的情愛描寫模式
Orgies on Earth and the Absence of the Gods	Minjian kuanghuan yu zhongshen quexi	民間狂歡與眾神缺席
Physicians of the Martial Arts Universe	Wuxia shijie zhong de yizhe	武俠世界中的醫者
Proceedings of the 2000 Beijing International Conference on Jin Yong's Fiction	Liangqian nian beijing jinyong xiaoshuo guoji yantaohui lunwenji	2000' 北京金庸小說國際研討會論文集
Quanzhen Sect and Jin-Yuan Dynasty Mathematics – A Case Study of Li Yan (1192-1279)	Quanzhen jiao yu jinyuan shuxue – yi li zhi yiyijiuer – yierqijiu weili	全真教與金元數學——以李冶（1192-1279）為例

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
Recognition and Identity of the Women's Role in the Novels of Jinyong [sic]	Jinyong xiaoshuo nüxing juese de shenfen rentong	金庸小說女性角色的身分認同
Retracing the editions of Jin Yong's novels	Jinyong xiaoshuo banben zhuixi	金庸小說版本追昔
Revision of Jin Yong's Novels	Jinyong banbenxue	金庸版本學
Roundtable discussion – Transformation and Reversal of Xia	Yuanzhuo zuotan – xia zhi bian xia zhi fan	圓桌座談——俠之變、俠之反
Rumour has it	Jianghu chuanwen	江湖傳聞
Social Science in Nanjing	Nanjing shehui kexue	南京社會科學
Studies in Jinyonology Series	Jinxue yanjiu chongshu	金學研究叢書
Studies of Jin Yong in Mainland China (1986-1999)	Dalu jinyong yanjiu zongshu yijiubajiu - yijiujiujiu	大陸金庸研究綜述 (1986-1999)
Ten treatises on Jin Yong's Novels	Jinyong xiaoshuo shitan	金庸小說十談
The Academic Construction of Jin Yong Studies	Tan jinyong yanjiu de xueshu goujian	談金庸研究的學術建構
The Chuanqi structure of <i>Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils</i>	Tianlong babu de chuanqi jiegou	《天龍八部》的傳奇結構
The Greatest of Heroes: A Critical Biography of Jin Yong	Xia zhi dazhe – jinyong pingzhuan	俠之大者—金庸評傳
The interests of Jin Yong, Liang Yusheng and Baijian Tangzhu in the mid 1950s as seen through <i>Sanjianlou Suibi</i>	Cong sanjianlou suibi kan jinyong, liangyusheng, baijiantangzhu zai wushi niandai zhongqi de zhiqu	從《三劍樓隨筆》看金庸、梁羽生、百劍堂主在五十年代中期的旨趣
The Legend of Jin Yong	Jinyong chuanshuo	金庸傳說

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
The Legend of Jin Yong	Jinyong chuanqi	金庸傳奇
The Male World and the Theme of Hero in Jin Yong's Fictions [sic]	Jinyong xiaoshuo de nanxing kongjian yu yingxiong zhuti	金庸小說的男性空間与英雄主題
The Narrative Art of Jin Yong's Novels	Jinyong xiaoshuo de xushi yishu	金庸小說的敘事藝術
The Origin Cause of Woman Image Modes [sic] in Jin Yong's Novels	Lun jinyong xiaoshuo zhong nüxing xingxiang moshi de chengyin	論金庸小說中女性形象模式的成因
The Paradox of Jin Yong: Traditional Patriarchy vs. Modern Feminism	Jinyong de beilun: chuantong nanquan chidu yu xiandai nüxing guan	<金庸的悖論：傳統男權尺度与現代女性觀
The Proceedings of the International Conference on Jin Yong's Novels	Jinyong xiaoshuo guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji	金庸小說國際學術研討會論文集
The Revenge Motif and the Affection in Jinyong's Novels [sic]	Jinyong xiaoshuo zhong de fuchou muti yu aiqing	金庸小說中的復仇母題与愛情
The road which leads to the masses – A commentary on the creation of Jin Yong's novels and Jin Yong studies	Tong xiang minjian de lu – lun jinyong xiaoshuo chuanguo he jinyong yanjiu	通向民间的路——论金庸小说创作和金庸研究
The Stand-off between High and Lowbrow Literature, and the Historical Place of Jin Yong	Wenxue de yasu duizhi yu jinyong de lishi diwei	文學的雅俗對峙與金庸的歷史地位
The Study of Editions of Jin Yong's Novels	Jinyong xiaoshuo banben xue	金庸小說版本學
Thoughts on culture proceeding from an examination of patriarchy – A brief discussion of the significance of Jin Yong's martial arts novels to	Ji yu fuquan shenshi de wenhua sikao – qiantan jinyong wuxia xiaoshuo de xiandaixing yiyi	基于父权审视的文化思考——浅谈金庸武侠小说的现代性意义

Translated title	Pinyin title	Chinese title
modernity		
Thoughts on Jin Yong Studies	Guanyu jinyong yanjiu de sikao	关于金庸研究的思考
Thoughts on miscellaneous issues in the criticism of Jin Yong's novels	Guanyu dui jinyong xiaoshuo piping de ruogan wenti de sikao	關於對金庸小說批評的若干問題的思考
Tuopu Chiyan, Quanzhen Sect and Legend of the Condor Heroes	Tuopu chiyan quanzhenjiao yu shediao yingxiongzhuan	《脫卜赤顏》. 全真教與《射鵰英雄傳》
Twenty years of Jin Yong Studies in China	Dalu jinyong yanjiu ershinian	大陸金庸研究二十年
Unparalleled wit, unmatched foolishness: The artistry of and characterization in <i>The Proud, Smiling Wanderer</i>	Jueshi congming jueshi chi – xiaobao jianghu zhong de yishu yu renwu	絕世聰明絕世癡——《笑傲江湖》中的藝術與人物
Unusual and disparate – the narrative tradition of Chinese novels that originates from wuxia fiction	Liqi yu songsan – cong wuxia yan chu de zhongguo xiaoshuo xushi chuantong	離奇與鬆散——從武俠衍出的中國小說敘事傳統
Visual Jin Yong	<i>Shijue Jinyong</i>	視覺金庸
Where on earth isn't there a Xiaobao? A discussion of expletives in <i>The Deer and the Cauldron</i> and the characterization of Wei Xiaobao	Renjian hechu wu xiaobao – shitan ludingji zhong de cukou yu wei xiaobao de xingxiang suzao	人間何處無小寶？——試談《鹿鼎記》中的粗口與韋小寶的形象塑造
Yang Guo and his problem	Yang guo he ta de wenti	楊過和他的問題
Yishu Daokan	Yishu daokan	藝術導刊
Ylib.com	Yuanliu boshi wang	遠流博識網
Zhejiang Academic Journal	Zhejiang xuekan	浙江學刊
Zhejiang Journal Bimonthly	Zhejiang xuekan shuangyuekan	浙江學刊雙月刊

APPENDIX B: KNOWN ADAPTATIONS OF *RETURN OF THE CONDOR HEROES*

Table 1: Film adaptations

Title (English)	Title (Chinese)	Year	Director	Cast
	神雕俠侶	1960-1961 (4 instalments)	Li Hua 李化	Patrick Tse Yin, Nam Hong, Kong Shuet
Brave Archer and His Mate	神雕俠侶	1982	Chang Cheh	Alexander Fu, Man Suet Yee
Little Dragon Maiden	楊過與小龍女	1983	Hua Shan	Leslie Cheung, Chan Koon Tai, Tien Ni
Saviour of the Soul	九一神雕俠侶	1992	David Lai, Corey Yuen	Aaron Kwok, Andy Lau, Anita Mui
Saviour of the Soul II	九二神雕俠侶	1992	David Lai, Corey Yuen	Andy Lau, Rosamund Kwan
Kungfu Hustle	功夫	2004	Stephen Chow	Stephen Chow, Yuen Wah, Yuen Qiu, Huang Shengyi
One Armed Swordsman	獨臂刀	1967	Chang Cheh	Wang Yu, Chiao Chiao
<i>Return of the One Armed Swordsman</i>	獨臂刀王	1969	Chang Cheh	Wang Yu, Chiao Chiao
New One Armed Swordsman/ Triple Irons	新獨臂刀	1971	Chang Cheh	David Chiang, Ti Lung

Table 2: Television adaptations

<i>Title (English)</i>	<i>Title (Chinese)</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Television station</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Producer</i>	<i>Cast</i>
	神雕俠侶	1975-1976	佳視	Hong Kong		Michelle Yim, 羅樂林、李通明
<i>Return of the Condor Heroes</i>	神雕俠侶	1983	TVB	Hong Kong		Andy Lau, Idy Chan, Alex Man, Leung Ka Yan
	神雕俠侶	1984	中視	Taiwan	周游	孟飛、潘迎紫
The Condor Heroes '95	神雕俠侶	1995	TVB	Hong Kong		Louis Koo, Carman Lee
<i>Return of the Condor Heroes</i>	神雕俠侶	1998	Television Corporation of Singapore (renamed MediaCorp)	Singapore		Christopher Lee, Fann Wong
	神雕俠侶	1998	台視	Taiwan		Richie Ren
The Legend of Condor Hero	神雕俠侶	2001-2002	Jade Animation (TVB), Nippon Animation	Japan		
<i>Return of the Condor Heroes</i>	神雕俠侶	2006	CCTV	China	Ma Zhongjun	Liu Yifei (Crystal Liu)

Table 3: Computer game adaptations

Title (English)	Title (Chinese)	Developer	Distributor	Genre
	新神雕俠侶	昱泉國際		Role-Playing Game (RPG)
	新神雕俠侶 2	昱泉國際		RPG
JY Online	金庸群俠傳—神鵬大俠	中華遊戲網	智冠科技股份有限公司	Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game (MMORPG)

APPENDIX C: RETURN OF THE CONDOR HEROES CHAPTER HEADINGS

Original		Revised Edition	
Chapter	Heading	Chapter	Heading
第一回	深宵怪客	第一回	風月無情
第二回	赤練神掌	第二回	故人之子
第三回	白袍道姑	第三回	求師終南
第四回	桃花島上	第四回	全真門下
第五回	故人之子	第五回	活死人墓
第六回		第六回	玉女心經
第七回		第七回	重陽遺刻
第八回	全真門人	第八回	白衣少女
第九回	天罡北斗	第九回	百計避敵
第十回	終南舊侶	第十回	少年英俠
第十一回	玄門習藝	第十一回	百計避敵
第十二回		第十二回	英雄大宴
第十三回	活死人墓	第十三回	武林盟主
第十四回	五具棺材	第十四回	禮教大防
第十五回	天羅地網	第十五回	東邪門人
第十六回	玉女心經	第十六回	殺父深仇
第十七回	萬斤巨石	第十七回	絕情幽谷
第十八回	宮砂猶在	第十八回	公孫谷主
第十九回	重陽遺篇	第十九回	地底老婦
第二十回	浪跡天涯	第二十回	俠之大者
第二十一回	白衣少女	第二十一回	襄陽鏖兵
第二十二回	浪跡江湖	第二十二回	圍城女嬰
第二十三回	回到江南	第二十三回	手足情仇
第二十四回	假扮新郎	第二十四回	意亂情迷

Original		Revised Edition	
Chapter	Heading	Chapter	Heading
第二十五回	重陽劍法	第二十五回	內憂外患
第二十六回	丐幫大會	第二十六回	神鵬重劍
第二十七回	三招絕技	第二十七回	鬥智鬥力
第二十八回	紅衣少女	第二十八回	洞房花燭
第二十九回	九指神丐	第二十九回	劫難重重
第三十回	兩敗俱傷	第三十回	離合無常
第三十一回	落英掌法	第三十一回	半枚靈丹
第三十二回	打狗棒法	第三十二回	情是何物
第三十三回	群英盛宴	第三十三回	風陵夜話
第三十四回	一陽書指	第三十四回	排難解紛
第三十五回	武林盟主	第三十五回	三枚金針
第三十六回	玉蜂神針	第三十六回	獻禮祝壽
第三十七回	氣走法王	第三十七回	三世恩怨
第三十八回	恩仇波瀾	第三十八回	生死茫茫
第三十九回	玉女素心	第三十九回	大戰襄陽
第四十回	青衣女郎	第四十回	華山之巔
第四十一回	衝入土陣		
第四十二回	桃花島主		
第四十三回	五毒神掌		
第四十四回	水仙幽谷		
第四十五回	白髮老人		
第四十六回	綠衣少女		
第四十七回	天翻地覆		
第四十八回	洞房花燭		
第四十九回	一往情深		

Original		Revised Edition	
Chapter	Heading	Chapter	Heading
第五十回	君子淑女		
第五十一回	鱷魚潭中		
第五十二回	一條通道		
第五十三回	驚險萬分		
第五十四回	半枚丹藥		
第五十五回	忽施襲擊		
第五十六回	攻打襄陽		
第五十七回	國難家仇		
第五十八回	單刀赴會		
第五十九回	欲施暗算		
第六十回	國事爲重		
第六十一回	大俠之女		
第六十二回	煙薰山洞		
第六十三回	紫薇寶劍		
第六十四回	兄弟鬩牆		
第六十五回	天竺神僧		
第六十六回	終南尋仇		
第六十七回	白髮老人		
第六十八回	入洞中伏		
第六十九回	日夜跟蹤		
第七十回	接任掌教		
第七十一回	獨闖全真		
第七十二回	神鷗魔劍		
第七十三回	荒谷劍塚		
第七十四回	又有奇遇		

Original		Revised Edition	
Chapter	Heading	Chapter	Heading
第七十五回	空袖施威		
第七十六回	玄鐵寶劍		
第七十七回	今夕何夕		
第七十八回	終成眷屬		
第七十九回	眾人圍攻		
第八十回	被閉石室		
第八十一回	古墓石棺		
第八十二回	生死茫茫		
第八十三回	雪地激戰		
第八十四回	眾女聚會		
第八十五回	以身試毒		
第八十六回	慈恩和尚		
第八十七回	真藥假藥		
第八十八回	七女奪丹		
第八十九回	情是何物		
第九十回	十六年後		
第九十一回	風陵渡頭		
第九十二回	神鷗大俠		
第九十三回	萬獸山莊		
第九十四回	震倒群獸		
第九十五回	黑龍潭畔		
第九十六回	返老還童		
第九十七回	恩恩怨怨		
第九十八回	襄陽城中		
第九十九回	英雄大宴		

Original		Revised Edition	
Chapter	Heading	Chapter	Heading
第一〇〇回	丐幫大會		
第一〇一回	群豪獻壽		
第一〇二回	三件禮物		
第一〇三回	三世恩怨		
第一〇四回	跛腿奇人		
第一〇五回	萬花谷中		
第一〇六回	高手雲集		
第一〇七回	襄陽鏖兵		
第一〇八回	久別重逢		
第一〇九回	廿八宿陣		
第一一〇回	尾聲		

APPENDIX D: FILMOGRAPHY OF FU SHENG

Source: <<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0297143/>>

Entries below listed as “Film”.... “Role played.”

Pinyin Title	Year	Title in Chinese Characters	English Title	Role Played
Hua xin da shao	1983	花心大少	Hong Kong Playboys	Romantic Sheng
Wu lang ba gua gun	1983	五郎八卦棍	Eight Diagram Pole Fighter Invincible Pole Fighter Magnificent Pole Fighters	Yang No. 6
Shen diao xia lu	1982	神雕俠侶	Brave Archer 4 Brave Archer and His Mate Kung Fu Warlords IV	Yang Guo
Long hu shao ye	1982	龍虎少爺	Master of Disaster Treasure Hunters	Chut Do-bo
Shi ba ban wu yi	1982	十八般武藝	18 Legendary Weapons of China Legendary Weapons of China Legendary Weapons of Kung Fu	Wu
Xiao zi you zhong	1982	小子有種	My Rebellious Son	
Yu mao san xi jin mao shu	1982	御猫三戏锦毛鼠	Cat Versus Rat Cat vs. Rat	Pai Yu-Tang/Rat
Mo jian xia qing	1981	魔劍俠情	Return of the Sentimental Swordsman	
She diao ying xiong zhuan san	1981	射鵰英雄傳三	Blast of the Iron Palm	

Pinyin Title	Year	Title in Chinese Characters	English Title	Role Played
			Brave Archer 3 Kung Fu Warlords III	
Di san lei da dou	1980	第三类打斗	Heaven and Hell Shaolin Hellgate	Chen Ding
Jue dai shuang jiao	1979	绝代双骄	The Proud Twins	Chiang Hsiao Yu
Sheng si dou	1979	生死鬥	Life Combat Life Gamble	
Feng liu duan jian xiao xiao dao	1979	风流断剑小小刀	Breaking Deadly Sword Breaking Sword of Death The Deadly Breaking Sword	Xiao Dao, the Little Dagger
Guangdong shi hu yu hou wu hu	1979	广东十虎与后五虎	Ten Tigers of Kwangtung Ten Tigers from Kuangtung	Tan Min
She diao ying xiong chuan xu ji	1978	射鵰英雄傳續集	Brave Archer 2 Kung Fu Warlords II	
Leng xie shi san ying	1978	冷血十三鷹	Cold Blooded Eagles The Avenging Eagle	Cheuk Yi- fan
Ying xiong wei lei	1978	英雄无泪	Heroes Shed No Tears	
Tang ren jie xiao zi Tang ren jie gung fu xiao zi	1977	唐人街小子 唐人街功夫小子	Chinatown Kid	Tan Tung
She diao ying xiong chuan	1977	射鵰英雄傳	Brave Archer Kung Fu Warlords Shaolin Archers	Kuo Ching

Pinyin Title	Year	Title in Chinese Characters	English Title	Role Played
Jiang hu han zi	1977	江湖漢子	Magnificent Wanderers Magnificent Kung Fu Warriors	Lin Sai-Yu
Hai jun tu ji dui	1977	海军突击队	The Naval Commandos	
Shao Lin Si	1976	少林寺	Death Chamber Shaolin Temple	
Cai li fo xiao zi	1976	蔡李佛小子	Demon Fists of Kung Fu Grand Master Grand Master of Death Grand Master of Kung Fu New Shaolin Boxers	
Fang Shih Yu yu Hu Hui Chien	1976	方世玉与胡惠乾	The Shaolin Avengers Invincible Kung Fu Brothers	Fang Shih Yu
Ba Guo Lian Jun	1976	八国联军	Bloody Avengers	
Ba dao lou zi	1976	八道楼子	Seven Man Army 7 Man Army	
Ma Ke Bo Luo	1975	马可波罗	Marco Polo The Four Assassins	
Hong quan xiao zi	1975	洪拳小子	Disciples of Shaolin Invincible One Royal Monks	
Shao Lin wu zu	1974	少林五祖	5 Masters of Death Five Shaolin Masters	Ma Chao-Hsing
Ne Zha	1974	哪吒	Na Cha Na Cha the Great	Ne Cha

Pinyin Title	Year	Title in Chinese Characters	English Title	Role Played
Hong quan yu yong chun	1974	洪拳与咏春	Martial Arts of Shao Lin Shaolin Martial Arts	
Peng you	1974	朋友	Friends	
Shao Lin zi di	1974	少林子弟	Disciples of Death Dragon's Teeth Men from the Monastery	
Fang Shiyu yu Hong Xiguan	1974	方世玉与洪熙官	Bloody Fists Heroes 2 Heroes Two Kung Fu Invaders Temple of the Dragon	Fang Shih-yu
Jing cha	1973	警察	Police Force	
Pan ni	1973		Generation Gap	Ah Chiang
Ma yong zhen	1972	马永贞	Boxer from Shantung Killer from Shantung Ma wing ching The Shantung Boxer	Champion #3

