Lu Xun on Display:
Memory, Space and Media in the Making of World Literary Heritage

or

The Materiality of World Literary Heritage:
Memory, Space and Media in the Making of Lu Xun

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vorgelegt von Emily Graf

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The images cited in the thesis are organized in image clusters (IC). I have included a selected number of image clusters in this version. When the image cluster is included, its title is marked in bold print in the text. I have made the complete set of image clusters (IC 1 to IC 195) available here: **https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN**.
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For Charlyne

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Summary

Lu Xun on Display: Memory, Space and Media in the Making of World Literary Heritage
or
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Emily Graf examines social practices of commemorating writers as cultural heroes in memorial museums from a global perspective, placing the institutionalization of the Chinese writer Lu Xun (1881-1936) at the center of her investigation. She asks how writers are remembered and forgotten in and by space. If they are remembered, how does their display in memorial museums produce the image of the writer as hero?

Author museums have been treated with much skepticism in literary studies, as they encourage an author-focused reading rejected by scholars of New Criticism and reader-reception theorists alike. The concept of the "author-as-hero" immediately triggers a scholar's hermeneutics of suspicion, rejecting such institutions for their instrumentalization of the author (most visibly by the nation- or more intensely the so-called "propaganda-state") and for seducing the naïve reader to become a literary tourist or unwitting worshiper. Thus author museums still form an under-researched field in (world/ comparative) literary studies and within museology go unnoticed due to their marginality as a museum genre. Thus the cultural-moral proscription that the author *ought not* be treated as hero continues to exist largely detached from a world-wide *social practice* of commemorating writers as heroes by societies around the globe.

What agency do objects, human actors and institutional structures gain in the process of making a literary hero? And since a hero's charisma is by definition volatile, how does this production change over time? Taking into account the interdependencies and inequalities within world literature, Graf also investigates how the display of one writer is connected to other writers in memorial museums across the globe. What kinds of material links can be found to other literary or political heroes in their living spaces, their collections of objects and books or their visual representations in photographs, paintings or sculptures? How can these connections within a larger hero genealogy hinder or facilitate the writer being remembered or forgotten?

Graf's thesis approaches the existence of literary heroes as a social reality, arguing that the author-as-hero as he is mediated and commemorated in museum space forms a Second Body of the writer beyond his mortal physical one. This Second Body has proven resilient to critical approaches, which is why this thesis goes *beyond* such a critical approach, not unmasking the differences

between the writer's representation and the writer as a historical figure, but inquiring why these differences occur and how they affect a society's memory of a particular writer. Three representatives of left-wing literature, Lu Xun, Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) and Lai He (1894-1943), are the object of this research, precisely *because* processes of their valorization in the aesthetic and political realm are strongly entangled and are thus prone to be dismantled by critical approaches as mere ideologically motivated instrumentalizations of writers. Lu Xun was institutionalized in museum space in the PRC in the 1950s under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party, Bertolt Brecht in the GDR in the 1970s under the Socialist Unity Party and Lai He in Taiwan in the 1990s under the increasing influence of the Democratic Progressive Party. During their lifetime in the first-half of the twentieth century, these three figures had aesthetically been connected in their roles as left-wing writers, remote from the literary and political center of left-wing literature localized in Moscow but stretched across national borders into China, Germany and Taiwan. Their institutionalization, however, took place each in a different temporal and socio-historical setting, revealing differing processes of valorization of the heroic.

As sources, Graf's study draws on written and oral histories of author museums. Interviews with current and retired museum directors, museum staff and literary scholars provide insights into the production of Lu Xun, Bertolt Brecht and Lai He. On-site interviews with visitors along with their guest-book entries from recent and past visits help understand their museums' reception. Archival material, such as photographs of past exhibitions, further enable her to reconstruct former representations of the writers for a diachronical reading of their display and recent reports to superior institutions (such as the State Administration of Cultural Heritage or the Akademie der Künste (Ost)) reveal where museums are localized in their national network of cultural institutions.

The transcultural research perspective taken in this project is mirrored in the overall structure of the thesis. It takes scale as its defining criterion and structuring element. The focus on scale avoids the pitfalls of case studies, as these would either remain within the boundaries of national literatures or allow only for comparative readings, which help to highlight similarities and differences, but can fail to explain where these derive from. Instead of the common linear book structure featuring chapters that build on one another, Graf's ambition is to analyze Lu Xun, Bertolt Brecht and Lai He by approaching them from two directions. The reader can either start from a specific "piece" of material literary heritage (e.g. Lu Xun's death mask) and *zoom out* to the field of world literary heritage (including the accessibility of Brecht's *Sterbezimmer* in the GDR or Lai He's entry into a literary martyr shrine in Taiwan ruled by martial law). Alternatively, the reader

can start from the field of world literary heritage and *zoom in* to Lu Xun's museum – into the museum's attic – where discarded busts of Maxim Gorky and Mao Zedong, covered in dust, are slipping from the collective memory of Lu Xun. Accordingly, this thesis can be read from *two* directions. The reader can either choose to start with the macro or micro level, can choose to take a step closer or a step back. As a result, the thesis has two official titles:

◄ Lu Xun on Display: Memory, Space and Media in the Making of World Literary Heritage

►The Materiality of World Literary Heritage: Memory, Space and Media in the Making of Lu Xun.

The motivation to approach the material display of Lu Xun, Bertolt Brecht and Lai He in this manner is methodological. It has two main objectives. Firstly, it aims to tackle one of the fundamental challenges of interdisciplinarity in today's academic order, which recurrently confronts us with the crucial question: What readership do we address? By offering two starting points, the aim of this project is to address two different readerships in particular: Sinologists trained in Chinese history, literature and culture are very familiar with Lu Xun and can start from a specific object on display, well aware of the degree to which Lu Xun as writer and historic figure has been valorized in Chinese literary criticism and historiography. Readers who are not familiar with Chinese literature but have a background in (trans-) cultural studies, (comparative) literature or material heritage studies can start from the global perspective on what this thesis defines as "world literary heritage" and slowly, step by step, approach the Chinese writer Lu Xun from a global perspective to learn more about his specific case. Secondly, the two directions aim to question a unilateral process of valorization in society, addressing the question: Who attributes value to whom? Read back to back, this thesis reveals that the process of attributing value to the writer Lu Xun is circular, not unilateral. It is not Lu Xun's inherent value as a writer that inevitably leads him to be displayed in a museum (the author makes the museum), nor can his institutionalization in museum space guarantee his value in society (the museum makes the author). Especially in a globally interconnected museum landscape, in which literary tourists and pilgrims travel to sites of memories outside of their own linguistic and cultural sphere, both directions of valorization must be taken into consideration when trying to make sense of the making of the author-as-hero. This lesson from twentieth-century authors holds true in the context of the increased mobility of literary pilgrims and circulation of material heritage in the twenty-first century, in which their memories are being kept alive. But a return to the author as a "national hero" also shows indications of continued attempts to localize writers firmly within national borders,

attempts which reveal the importance of taking author museums seriously as sites of collective memory.

Acknowledgements

Writing a PhD thesis is like running a marathon. Like climbing a mountain. Like swimming across the open sea. Personally, I found much comfort in such comparisons, because unlike in running sprints, the person you are fighting in long-distance endeavors really is yourself. And yet – it is only with the support of many that one can rise to this challenge.

During my PhD research, I have received support from numerous individuals and institutions, to whom I am greatly indebted. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors, my coaches, who have been of incredible support to me over the last years. Prof. Barbara Mittler was tireless in her enthusiasm for my project. I learned so much from her teaching already during my studies and continued to do so in her colloquia, seminars and many lectures over the last years and even more from the invaluable feedback I received from her on my research and writing, as well as by simply observing how she practices what she preaches as an academic. Meetings during her office hours were always highlights for me, as they were not only incredibly helpful in the process of writing, but never failed to rekindle my enthusiasm for my work as she was a careful, critical and immensely curious and interested reader and observer of my research. My thesis was especially enriched by her strong emphasis on a solid foundation of primary research materials. Her fascination for the field (both the discipline of Sinology and the place, the people and the stories we encounter in China) greatly inspired me in my research endeavor. Her professionalism, enthusiasm and kindness are what I can only – and will never tire to – strive for.

Prof. Günter Leypoldt also offered me much guidance over the years and especially encouraged me to engage creatively with literary and cultural theory. I learned much from his colloquia and workshops and I greatly enjoyed our conversations in which we would immerse ourselves in a number of theoretical concepts, many of which have found their way into this analysis on author museums. It was his seminar on literary and museum spaces which I attended as a student that first taught me to reflect on museums as normative social spaces of valorization. Discussing my work with both Prof. Mittler and Prof. Leypoldt at times felt like negotiating my research along inductive and deductive forms of reasoning, a dialogue which I felt was extremely productive.

Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Sun Yu 孙郁, who acted as my supervisor during my year of studies and field work in 2013/14. As the former director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, I was especially lucky to have this opportunity, as it was thanks to his supervision and support that I

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Thanks also goes to my students. I was lucky to have the opportunity to teach classes closely related to my research project. Discussing many of the readings and materials presented in my thesis with my students, I learned much from their individual perspectives. I would also like to thank the participants of the international conferences "Forging Literary Memory in Taiwan: The Commemoration of Writers in Museum Space" (2015) and "The Intermateriality of World Literature: Author Museums as Sites of Hero Worship" (2018) for joining me in Heidelberg and sharing valuable insight into their research and museum work with me.

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Last but not least, I am ever grateful to my friends from around the world who supported me in this marathon that is a PhD and I am thankful for their company that I enjoyed on the way – both on the rougher and smoother patches. I would like to thank Liao Chia-jung, who kindly supported me in transcribing some of the key interviews, as well as Megan Copeland, Hoa Chu-Thi, Michael Drescher, Chen Guangchen, Lavinia Kádas, Samira Kipperwasser, Nikolaus Rentrop, Christoph Mauntel, Matthias Schumann and Xu Chun for always being there for me – regardless of whether I was skipping or tripping. I would furthermore like to especially thank Matthias Schumann, Ms. Wood and Xu Chun for proofreading and commenting on my final writing.

Swimming has always been my own personal favorite. When it came to the highs and lows of writing, I experienced many similarities here too. On bad days, you are swimming against a turbulent current or feel like being pulled into a vortex of doubt. On good days, you feel like a fish in water or like flying across the water in butterfly stroke. On most days, however, you simply need to keep a good posture and stay afloat, then steady progress will come almost effortlessly. Those to thank for reminding me to keep a straight posture and when necessary keeping me afloat with their invisible hands are my family. I would like to thank Denis and Luka, who are at my side. I would like to thank my parents, Charlyne and Wolfgang, who will not likely be ‘proud’ of me, but all the more happy for and with me to see the completion of this thesis, as well as Jenny and Fabi, who are everything one can hope for in a big sister and big brother. Thanks for keeping my head above water all this time.

Notes

- All Chinese texts and terms, as well as personal and place names, are given in traditional Chinese characters, unless they are direct quotations from texts published in simplified characters. Having learned to read and write traditional characters at Heidelberg University and the National Taiwan University, this choice reflects a biographically motivated preference of the author. Interview materials are also provided in traditional Chinese characters.
- All place and personal names in the text are given in Hanyu Pinyin, while the Romanization in the bibliography adheres to the respective publication. For the Japanese Romanization the family name follows the given name, in Kanji the family name is given first. Example: Hiroshi Okumura 奥村博史.
- Personal names referenced in the main text are followed not only by dates of birth and death, but also by place of birth, because it often is an important information in understanding the background of personal relationships, e.g. Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang) and his good friend Xu Shoushang 許壽裳 (1883–1948 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang). This information is not added for personal names given only in footnotes. The Chinese characters of names and institutions are given at first and last mentioning (to allow for a two-directional reading). Afterwards they are only given when I considered it necessary for the reader's convenience.
- The titles of publications in Chinese are provided in translation and Chinese characters in the main text (e.g. *Threads of Conversation* 語絲) and are provided in Romanization, Chinese characters and translation in brackets in the bibliography (e.g. *Lu Xun yanjiu yuekan* 魯迅研究月刊 (*Lu Xun Research Monthly*)). Key terms are provided in the text incl. their Romanization and their Chinese characters, e.g. mourning hall (*lingtang* 靈堂).
- The bibliography adheres to the Chicago Manual of Style (16th ed.), with the amendment of adding the Chinese characters of Chinese authors to their names given in Hanyu Pinyin in the in-text citation. This should inform the reader of whether the text referenced is a source published in English or Chinese, e.g. (Zhong Xueping 2010); (Zhu Jianguo 朱建國 2006); (Zhou Lingfei 周令飞 2011).
- Translations are drawn from the indicated sources (e.g. Xinyi and Gladys Yang's translations of Lu Xun). If no source is referenced, translations are my own.
- A list of all interview partners with additional information is provided in the appendices of this thesis. The interviews which are quoted in the thesis are furthermore included in the bibliography.
- Male pronouns are applied to refer to general roles such as "the author" to improve readability, since the three main writers discussed in this thesis are men. The role of the "the author" or "the reader" etc. can equally be referred to as "she" or the gender-neutral "they".

Abbreviations

ACH 文物局 – Administration [Bureau] of Cultural Heritage (on provincial, municipal and township level)
AdK (Ost) – Akademie der Künste (Ost) (-1992)
BStU (Stasi Records Agency) – Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (Der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdinestes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik BStU)
BMI – Ministry of the Interior (Bundesministerium des Inneren)
CPC 中共 – Communist Part of China 中國共產黨
CCYL 共青團 – Communist Yourth League of China 共產主義青年團
CCPPD 中宣部 – Chinese Communist Party (Central Committee) Publicity Department 中共中央宣传部
CPSU – Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSU – Christian Social Union in Bavaria (Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern)
CNTA – Chinese National Tourism Administration 國家旅遊局
CMA 中國博協 – Chinese Museum Association 中國博物館協會
CPAFFC 全國友協 – Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries 中國對外友好協會
CAS – Chinese Academy of Sciences 中國科學院
CASS 社科院 – Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 中國社會科學院
CFLAC 文聯 – Chinese Federation of Literature and Art Circles 中國文學藝術聯盟 (1953/1979-)
CRCoLAW 文代會 – All-China Representative Congress of Literature and Art Workers 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會 (1949-53/79)
CWA 作協 – Chinese Writer Association 中國作家協會
CAFA – China Central Academy of Fine Arts 中央美術學院
DSV – East German Writers' Association (Deutscher Schriftstellerverband) (1950-78)
DAdK – Deutsche Akademie der Künste (1950-)
DPP 民進黨 – Democratic Progressive Party 民主進步黨
GMD/ Guomindang 國民黨 – Nationalist Party of China 國家民主黨
GDR – German Democratic Republic (Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR))
ICOM – International Council of Museums
MfS, "Stasi" – Ministry of State Security (Ministerium für Staatssicherheit)
MfK – Ministry of Culture (Ministerium für Kultur)
MoE – Ministry of Education 教育部
MoC – Ministry of Culture 文化部
MCA 民政部 – Ministry of Civil Affairs 國民政部
MfDG – Museum für Deutsche Geschichte (1952-1990); today: Deutsches Historisches Museum (1990-)
NPC 全國人大 – National People's Congress 全國人民代表大會
NHFPC 國家衛計委 – National Health and Family Planning Commission of the People's Republic of China 中華人民共和國國家衛生和計劃生育委員會
People's PCC 全國政協 – Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference 中国人民政治协商会议
SED – Socialist Unity Party (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland)
SACH 文物局 – State Administration of Cultural Heritage 國家文物局
SAPPRFT – State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film, and Television 國家新聞出版廣電總局
SV DDR – Schriftstellerverband der DDR (1973-1990)
VS – West German Writers' Association (Verband deutscher Schriftsteller (1968-))

Note to the Reader

> [A]n immortal pen has always been required to record the deeds of an immortal man, the man becoming known to posterity through the writing and the writing known to posterity through the man – until finally it is not clear who is making whom known.
> Lu Xun 1921 The True Story of AQ

> 不朽之笔，须传不朽之人，于是人以文传， 文以人传 —— 究竟谁靠谁传，渐渐的不甚了然起来。
> 鲁迅 1921 阿 Q 正传[1]

This thesis tries to understand the Chinese writer Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang) in the context of world literary heritage and – at the same time – to better understand world literary heritage through the case of Lu Xun. The term literary heritage in this thesis primarily addresses the material heritage of literature. This might seem like an inherent contradiction at first glance, since literature is often understood as something immaterial, something that goes beyond the material (the text, the pen and paper, or the writer's study), something that only comes to life and takes shape in the mind of the reader.[2] But this study will focus precisely on the materiality of literature and especially on that of "the author". On the pen he wrote with, the spaces in which he wrote and the author museums[3] where both are put on display.

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[1] (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005a, 512). For the English translation, see: (Lu Xun [1956d] 1980, 102). Lu Xun raises the question of interdependency in the genre of biography, with immortality only to be achieved through "great writers" who pass on one's life story to posterity. In my thesis this interdependency is expanded to include the dependency of "great writers" on their texts in order to become known to posterity themselves. The "great writer", like the "great man" relies heavily on text, for example in form of hagiographies, to achieve immortality. Yet only the writer encompasses the power to achieve his own.

[2] For representative voices from the field of reader-response criticism, see for example (Fish 1982) and Barthes' concept of the "birth of the reader" (Barthes 1977, 148). At the outset of her chapter on whether one ought to display literature in museums, Heike Gfrereis, director of the Museum of Modern Literature (LiMo) in Marbach, Germany acknowledges: "Of course we cannot display literature. [Literature] comes to exist in the mind of the reader. (Natürlich kann man Literatur nicht ausstellen. Sie realisiert sich erst im Kopf des Lesers)" (Gfrereis 2007, 81).

[3] This thesis choses the term "author museum" instead of "a writer's house", "literary museum", "former residence", "person museum" or "memorial museum" etc. for two main reasons. Firstly, it is not the historical architecture that is meant to be emphasized (as in the house or residence). At times the author museum is the former residence (Brecht's apartment in Berlin), at times it encompasses a former residence (Lu Xun's former residence at Xisantiao hutong located within the larger premises of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum), and at times the former residence no longer exists and is thus recreated within a memorial museum or literary museum (as in Lai He's museum). Secondly, the above terms are often used interchangeably. This is why in museum management, for example in the International Council of Museums (ICOM), museums dedicated to authors often struggle with the decision to which committee they should best be affiliated with, as there are special committees for historic houses (DEMHIST), literary museums (ICLM) and memorial museums (ICMEMO). This ambiguity was, for example, addressed by Fu Guangming 傅光明, head of the Chinese Committee of Literary Museums (CCLM) (Fu Guangming 傅光明 05.08.2014, 00:03:43). Thus instead of attempting to define a specific museum genre with the term, this thesis highlights the implications of the museum's social practices when they put writers on display: The museum does not (re)trieve a historical person who is defined by his profession of writing. The museum creates an author, the

Three representatives of left-wing literature, Lu Xun in China, Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956 from Augsburg) in Germany, and Lai He 賴和 (1894-1943 from Zhanghua) in Taiwan, are the objects of this research. During their lifetime in the first-half of the twentieth century, these three figures had aesthetically been connected in their roles as left-wing writers, remote from the literary and political center of left-wing literature localized in Moscow but stretched across national borders into China, Germany and Taiwan. In the processes of their institutionalization the aesthetic and political realm are strongly entangled and their museums are thus prone to be dismantled by critical approaches as mere ideologically motivated instrumentalizations of writers. Lu Xun was institutionalized in museum space in the PRC in the 1950s, Bertolt Brecht in the GDR in the 1970s and Lai He in Taiwan in the 1990s. Their institutionalization, however, took place each in a different temporal and socio-historical setting, revealing differing processes of valorization of the heroic. Before diving into the subject matter of the writers' institutionalization in the form of author museums, this note to the reader provides a short introduction to the overall structure of the thesis, its primary sources and its main research questions.

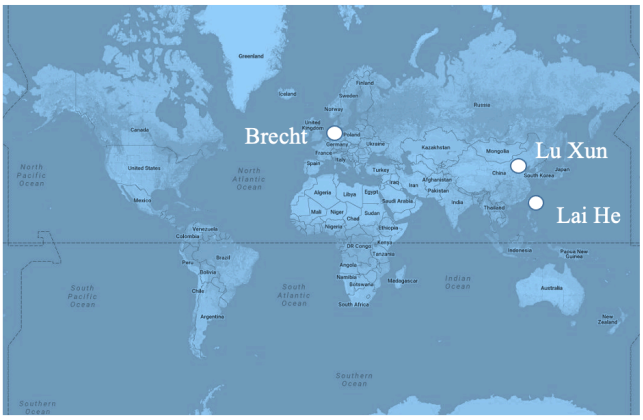
Concerning the structure, I do not provide a look down "onto" the larger field of world literary heritage by describing the single case of Lu Xun, or even describing multiple individual cases. That is to say, I do not look down "onto" a two-dimensional field, which one could imagine as a map of the world, literally speaking [**IC 1 Methodological Approach 1**]. Instead, my ambition is to analyze Lu Xun, as well as Bertolt Brecht and Lai He as additional cases, by approaching them from one of two directions. Either to start from the specific "piece" of literary heritage (for example Lu Xun's pen) and *zoom out* to the field of world literary heritage. Or to start from the field of world literary heritage and *zoom in* to Lu Xun's study – to his table – on which his pen is lying [**IC 1 Methodological Approach 2**]. Accordingly, this thesis can be read from two directions. The reader can either choose to start with the macro or micro level, can choose to take a step closer or a step back. The reader will thus find this "note to the reader" in identical wording at the beginning and at the end of this thesis and will also find that the thesis has two official titles:

- Lu Xun on Display: Memory, Space and Media in the Making of World Literary Heritage
- The Materiality of World Literary Heritage: Memory, Space and Media in the Making of Lu Xun

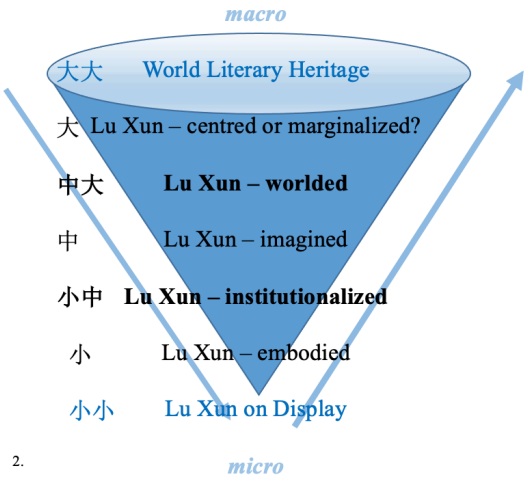
authoritative second body, not the historical first body of the writer. For more information, see "Lu Xun's Two Bodies" in "Zooming Out: Lu Xun on Display" of this thesis.

Since the individual parts and interludes of this thesis do not follow a prescribed sequence, I have refrained from arranging them according to numbering (1-7) or the Latin alphabet (A-G). For reading the thesis from macro to micro level is equally correct and the reader should not feel that he or she is reading the thesis in the wrong order. The parts and interludes are therefore arranged by the degree to which the reader has zoomed in or zoomed out. Unlike the linear Latin alphabet, the Chinese writing system does not imply a linear direction in the arrangement of characters. With this in mind, the parts and interludes are ordered according to three characters: 小 (*xiao* small), 中 (*zhong* medium), 大 (*da* large). The seven individual parts of this thesis are thus ordered as following: 小小 small-small < 小 small < 小中 small-medium < 中 medium < 中大 medium-large < 大 large < 大大 large-large. The reader can choose large-large or small-small as his or her starting point.

IC 1 Methodological Approach:
Lu Xun and World Literary Heritage – Zooming in and Zooming out



1. World map; source: Maps.google.com.



2.

My motivation to order the thesis in this manner is methodological. It has two main objectives. Firstly, it aims to tackle one of the fundamental challenges of interdisciplinarity in today's academic order, which recurringly confronts us with the crucial question: What readership do I address? By offering two starting points, my aim is to address two different readerships in particular. Sinologists trained in Chinese history, literature and culture are very familiar with Lu Xun and can start from a specific object on display, well aware of the degree to which Lu Xun as writer and historic figure has been valorized in Chinese literary criticism and historiography more generally. Readers who are not familiar with Chinese literature but have a background in (trans-) cultural

studies, (comparative) literature or material heritage studies can start from the global perspective on what I term "world literary heritage" and slowly, step by step, approach the Chinese writer Lu Xun to learn more about his specific institutionalization in museum space. Secondly, the two directions aim to question a unilateral process of valorization in society, addressing the question: Who attributes value to whom? Read back to back, the two titles of this thesis reveal that the process of attributing value to the writer Lu Xun is circular, not unilateral. It is not Lu Xun's inherent value as a writer that inevitably leads him to be displayed in a museum (the author makes the museum), nor can his institutionalization in museum space guarantee his value in society (the museum makes the author). Especially in a globally interconnected museum landscape, in which literary tourists travel to pilgrimage sites outside of their own linguistic and cultural sphere, both directions of valorization take place.

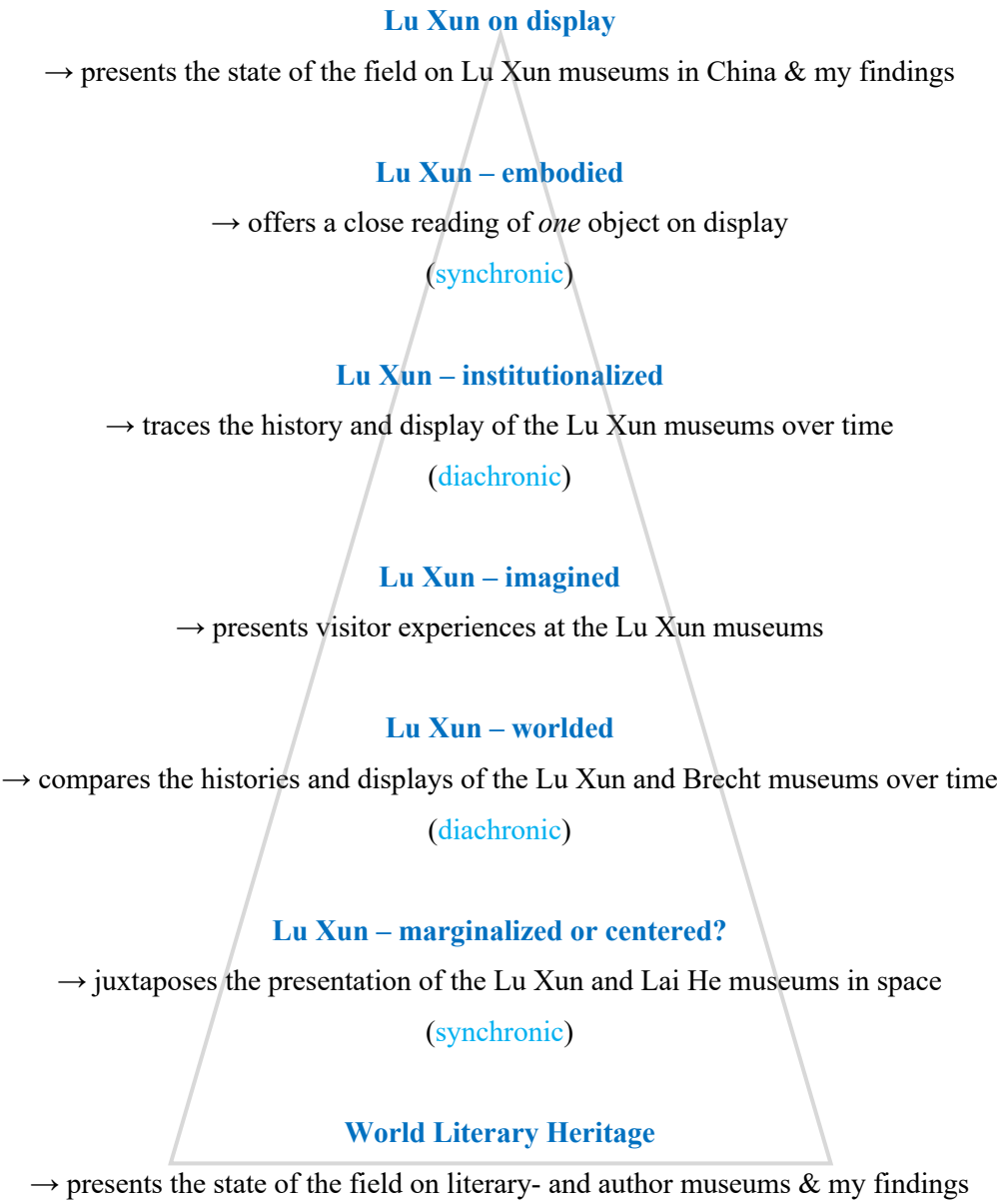
Finally, the thesis does not, in the traditional sense, offer a conclusion at the end. Instead, one reader's introduction will serve as another reader's conclusion. One leads the reader to Lu Xun's situatedness in Chinese literary studies, or so-called "Lu-Xun-ology" and explains the contribution this study has made to the field. The other leads the reader to what I define as the intermateriality of world literary heritage, highlighting in which way author museums provide possible answers to the questions addressed in the transdisciplinary and transcultural field which has in recent years come to be defined as World Literature.

The primary source materials which provide the foundation of this analysis range from written and oral histories of the museums (published and unpublished chronicles or yearbooks and interviews recording the memory of museum staff), over visual representations of the authors (photographs, drawings, woodblock prints – turned into posters, busts, statues or comic books), to past and present visual records of the material displays (either historic renderings and recordings of the display, for example as photographs, or my own). Expert interviews with the museum directors and museum staff members greatly enrich the textual materials and visual representations of the dispay at times support, at times challenge, in short – further enrich – these written and oral narratives. Visitor interviews give an important voice to the reception side, which in other materials can often only be heard indirectly (e.g. the recollection of the museum staff of how they perceived visitors to have perceived what they saw). Guest book entries allow for another form of accessing visitor's voices, even while certainly being diluted to varying degrees or at the very least mediated through the medium of the guest book itself. Personal observations on-site, personal encounters

with producers and recipients, and on-site access to the respective collections and archives of the museums which opened a door to past displays,[4] were thus crucial to this investigation.

As this thesis offers a reading of museum displays not only across national borders (reading Lu Xun alongside Lai He and Bertolt Brecht), it also offers readings of the museums both across time (diachronic readings of the institutional histories) and across space at one specific moment in time (synchronic readings of the display in its spatial arrangement). Both the diachronic and synchronic readings are necessary to understand the power Lu Xun museums developed. They not only have contributed to the making of Lu Xun as a literary hero for as long as the People's Republic has existed and arguably longer, they have had an impact well beyond their own cultural context (reaching Moscow, Berlin or Tainan) and thereby setting up an institutional power center in the global literary field. The two main parts are arranged diachronically while the interludes are largely arranged synchronically.

[4] Among them are the photo archive and general archive of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, materials provided to me directly by the Lu Xun museums in Shanghai, Shaoxing and Xiamen and the Lai He Museum in Zhanghua, Taiwan, as well as the photo archive of the Akademie der Künste and the Betolt-Brecht-Archiv.



The sinologist W.J.F. Jenner commented in an article titled "Lu Xun's Disturbing Greatness" that one should return to Lu Xun's writing instead of analyzing the hagiographies that claim him to be a "great writer".

> Chinese and foreign commentary on Lu Xun tends – with honourable exceptions – to do everything except to look at him as a writer who put words on paper. We have had to endure decades of stuff about him as a Great Writer that sets the work into this or that construct of May Fourth history [a cultural movement associated with the demonstrations against imperialism in China on May 4th 1919 in reaction to the Treaty of Versailles] but does not really read what he wrote. The aim of this essay is not to chisel a new statue of a dead Great Writer to replace old ones but to urge everyone to find their own Lu Xun and make him dance (Jenner 2000, 4).

In a way, this thesis looks in the opposite direction to which Jenner points. Instead of focusing my attention on Lu Xun's writing, which some of the recent research on Lu Xun has done,[5] this thesis turns to the many statues presenting Lu Xun as a "great writer". Taking Jenner's metaphor far more literally, this thesis takes a close look at how Lu Xun's image was indeed chiseled into stone, who held the chisel at what time, and how the many statues differ in their style and implications. For even though it seems true that many of Lu Xun's hagiographies are difficult to "endure" for Sinologists such as Jenner, the material hagiographies that have been written through material display in museums are more than deserving of attention. By closely examining how these spaces have produced Lu Xun as a "great writer" this thesis offers an alternative approach from returning to the text: To face directly the chiseled image and to look behind the scene at the actors involved in the statue's making.

Regarding this study as a whole, the three key research questions in which all inquiries converge are:

- How was Lu Xun produced as cultural hero in Chinese society (→ the making of Lu Xun)?
- How is literary heritage produced when regarded from a global perspective (→ the making of world literary heritage)?
- How are these two productions intertwined?

As the two titles of this thesis reveal, the relationship between the two productions is that of a reciprocal process of valorization: It is the author as a hero who makes his pen valuable for display, but it is also the singularization, display and worship of the pen as an object of value, that makes the author a hero.

When inquiring further, more specific questions are addressed from different levels of scale. From the *macro (World Literary Heritage)* perspective the following questions arise. Synchronic: When looking at Taiwan Literature as a periphery in World Literature, how is this periphery put on display? What spatial dialogues between displays can be detected across the Taiwan Strait? How do the writers Lu Xun and Lai He valorize each other? Diachronic: From a historical

[5] See, for example, Gloria Davies' *Lu Xun's Revolution: Writing in a Time of Violence* (Davies 2013). Recent scholarship on the role which memory plays in Lu Xun's literary works includes works by E. Shan Chou's *Memory, Violence, Queues: Lu Xun Interprets China* from 2012 (Chou 2012), Wenjin Cui's "The 'Symbol of Angst' and the Poetics of Remembrance: Lu Xun and Chinese Literary Modernity" from 2016 (Cui 2016) and Shakhar Rahav's "Blade of Remembrance: Memory, Objects, and Redemption in Lu Xun" from 2015 (Rahav 2015). In these studies, the literary works and not the author are central to their investigations. This thesis, however, does not focus on Lu Xun's literary works alone, but instead on how the writer is remembered and commemorated in society.

perspective, which actors are involved in these processes of making an author in museums space? How have museums adapted to major political changes? Which similarities and differences can be detected in author museums in the PRC, in the GDR or in unified Germany? How have socialist states shaped the museums of their left-wing writers? How has Taiwan coped with its major left-wing writer when taking an anti-communist stand politically? To answer these questions I trace human actors such as heirs, museum directors, and visitors, as well as non-human actors such as objects on display or institutional structures in form of affiliations (either granted or rejected) or of titles and awards (either awarded or rejected) along with the institutional hierarchies these entail.

The questions which might instinctively arise are: Was the display censored or manipulated? How did states instrumentalize their writers for political purposes? What was the writer really like? What form of presentation would be historically correct and appropriate to represent the author and his literary oeuvre? To avoid the numerous pitfalls these questions pose (discussed in detail in "Lu Xun – institutionalized"), I instead ask a question which has proven a more fruitful approach: Which restricting and deregulating forces can be traced in the displays over time?[6] By tracing these forces, I provide components to a diagram of their valorization, a diagram which visualizes the intangible social forces at work when a writer's heritage comes to be considered valuable in society [**IC 2 Beyond Critical Approaches**].

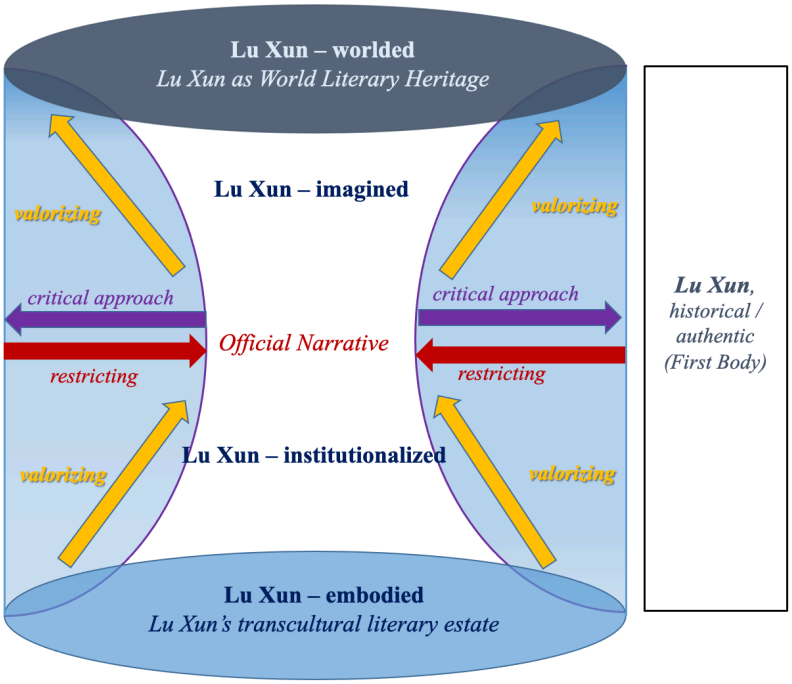
From the *micro (Lu Xun on Display)*-perspective, other questions arise. Synchronic: Starting from Lu Xun on display, I inquire: How can an object gain agency when it is placed in a glass showcase? In the course of zooming out, this question will further evolve to: Can an object transform itself into an artifact on its own accord? Can an object mislead a visitor? Can a visitor overpower the object? Diachronic: When taking a historical perspective, how have Lu Xun's museums changed over time? Which Lu Xun is put on display when? Which Lu Xun is pushed into the background or stored in the museum attic? How relevant is it that a museum belongs to one specific government institution and not another? How can we go beyond looking at Lu Xun's museums as a political instrumentalization of the author and understand the power of the author museum instead of rejecting it by labeling it as propaganda or personality cult? Depending on one's preference, the reader can follow the question of his or her choice and now move to the *macro* or *micro* starting-point of this thesis to continue.

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[6] For more information on the separation between restricting and deregulating forces on the display of Lu Xun, see: "Institutionalized – A Conclusion" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis. For means of emphasis and argumentative clarity, the terms restrictive and deregulating are highlighted in red and purple throughout this thesis when references to this conclusion are made.

IC 2 Beyond Critical Approaches

Highlighting Restricting / Deregulating / Valorizing Elements in Institutionalizing the Author



This thesis cannot answer Lu Xun's implied question whether the literary work makes the man or the man makes the literary work. Who makes whom and what makes what will remain hard to fathom. Yet this thesis provides insights into how they make each other and into one of the key institutional mechanisms that greatly amplified the man: the author museum.

小小 ZOOMING OUT: Lu Xun on display

Lu Xun: Three Assumptions Made Undone

This thesis on the making of Lu Xun into a literary "hero" and the making of world literary heritage from his literary and personal estate analyzes Lu Xun museums using a sociological approach. I have chosen the term "hero" over other alternatives (icon, great writer, saint etc.) not despite but because it is perceived as highly normative and located outside a specific discipline or field, which would justify its use as a purely technical term, with the "icon" commonly used in art history, the "great writer" in literature studies and the "saint" in religious contexts. Its normative implications derive from thinkers such as Thomas Carlyle and Mao Zedong who localized that which is "heroic" *within* the writer. This thesis appropriates this term to deconstruct its implied normativity by localizing its valorizing mechanism *outside* of the writer, thus opposite to the manner in which it was used in these cases, yet also acknowledging the power these writers developed also as a result of being called "heroes".

Thomas Carlyle wrote his lectures on *Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History* in 1840, only a few years before the first public museum dedicated to his literary hero Shakespeare opened to the public in 1847 (Emery 2012, 9). It is safe to assume that he would have regarded these newly provided sites of hero worship favorably and it is not far-fetched to believe that the popularity of his writings might have hastened the establishment of these museums. Exactly a century after Carlyle's lectures on heroes, Mao Zedong held a speech naming his personal hero Lu Xun, calling him China's "national hero" (*minzu yingxiong* 民族英雄) in 1940 (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1970, 192). If one regards the history of the Lu Xun museums with Carlyle's eyes, then it might be a brief story to tell. Lu Xun, a "great man of letters", made history.

So far even few contemporary historians would disagree, as Lu Xun appears prominently in the history books on twentieth century China, which not only call him "China's most important twentieth century writer" (Schoppa 2002, 154), but also describe major historical events through his written accounts (Spence 1981, 224–26).[7] As a "great man" who has shaped history, an adequate place for his worship would seem reasonable. After the establishment of the PRC under the rule of CPC, the national hero was provided with a memorial museum, to which the visitors (hero worshipers) flocked. This thesis, however, does not see Lu Xun as a writer or as a historic

[7] Spence describes the May 30th demonstrations against the British in Shanghai in 1925 mainly through Lu Xun's essays, for example.

figure, nor does it view his ability to draw literary pilgrims to his sites of worship as a natural phenomenon. Rather, I understand them as the result of a highly complex process in which Lu Xun was *turned into* a literary hero. As Sinologist Daniel Leese acknowledges with regard to personality cult in communism, it is difficult to define the political (and I argue the cultural) "cult of personality" in the twentieth century and differentiate it from other forms in the past.[8] Therefore, this thesis does not try to emphasize how the cult of personality surrounding Lu Xun *differs* from that of earlier times or how it differs from that practiced in other cultural spheres or other political systems, but instead aims to reveal the similarity of their mechanism and the momentum this cult can gain – a momentum that cannot alone be explained though the intentionality and self-interest of a propaganda state.[9]

As means of an introduction to this thesis, three assumptions about Lu Xun and literary heritage in general are challenged in order to build a basis from which this investigation can depart. Firstly, I introduce the theoretical concept of Lu Xun's Two Bodies, challenging the assumption that a "true" historical Lu Xun is retrievable, disputing that a separation of the "man" from the "hero" is possible. Secondly, I introduce the author museum of Cao Xueqin, an eleventh-century writer. By showing the strong degree to which this historical figure is constructed into becoming an "author", this part serves to remind the reader that ultimately a similar form of construction also takes place for Lu Xun, even though the temporal proximity of the twentieth century writer and the perceived "authenticity" of his personal and literary estate as "tangible heritage" lure us to believe otherwise, implying that his First Body is closer within our grasp than that of Cao Xueqin. Furthermore, the line separating tangible and intangible heritage, too, is man-made and as the thesis as a whole will show the "authentic Lu Xun" is often no more easily grasped than the "authentic Cao Xueqin". And thirdly, returning to the power of the "national hero", this thesis – by design – sees this hero's construction as a global phenomenon that in its implications cannot be fully grasped when remaining exclusively within the boundaries of a nation. Instead, national rituals surrounding

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[8] In his contribution to "The Cult of Personality and Symbolical Politics" in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* published in 2014, Leese locates the legitimization of the cult of the individual in Communist ideology in Georgi Plekhanov's (1856-1918) essay "On the Role of the Individual in History" from 1889, which built on Thomas Carlyle's concept of the hero who synthesizes the current needs of the times and guides the masses towards a solution which is historically predetermined (Leese 2014, 343). After being faced with worldwide criticism of personality cult after the Destalinization in the Soviet Union, Mao Zedong himself finally justified the existence of personality cult in socialist states by differentiating between "correct (*zhengque* 正確)" and "incorrect (*bu zhengque* 不正確)" forms of personality cult in March 1958 (Leese 2014, 346–47).

[9] The "propaganda state" was defined by Peter Kenez for the Soviet Union, but unfortunately did not include the museum as one of its main mechanisms into its analysis (Kenez 1985).

the Hungarian writer Sándor Petőfi reveal not only the current relevance of writers as national heroes, but also the spatial entanglements of these national heroes across national borders.

1. Lu Xun's Two Bodies

In 2011 director and playwright Liu Jian 劉建 (1969- from Jiangsu) was invited by the Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美術館 to contribute an art work to an exhibition titled "The Face of Lu Xun 鲁迅的面容", which was held in cooperation with the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物館 to celebrate the 130th Anniversary of Lu Xun's birth. Liu Jian had first studied Chinese painting at the Nanjing University of the Arts 南京藝術學院 before turning his attention to animation film, gaining national and international prestige.[10] For the exhibition commemorating Lu Xun in 2011, Liu Jian created a short film of 7:22 minutes, titled "Lu Xun Lu Xun 鲁迅鲁迅", which showed 100 drawings of Lu Xun's portrait in quick succession [IC 3 Liu Jian 1].[11] The text that opens the film reads in Chinese and English: "Lu Xun Lu Xu 鲁迅鲁迅 / Look at this man", followed by "Master Lu Xun's portrait depicted over and over 100 times 鲁迅先生的肖像被反复描摹 100 遍 / after 100 times imitation". Directed at a Chinese audience that has a basic knowledge of the English language, the English titles are unidiomatic, but simple enough so that they are likely to compliment the Chinese titles and not necessarily translate them for a foreign audience. The first image that follows shows a linear drawing of Lu Xun. The lines provide only a simple outline. However, the minimalist approach suffices to make the portrait recognizable as representing Lu Xun due to his moustache, thick eyebrows and groomed hair, as well as a gown buttoned to the side (*changpao* 長袍), which are widely associated with Lu Xun's image.[12] The drawings

[10] His animation film "Have a Nice Day 好極了" competed as the first Chinese animation film at the 67th Berlinale film festival in Germany in 2017 (Berlinale 67 2017). In June 2017, the film had to be drawn from another international film festival in France devoted to animated films, as the producers were informed that they lacked official clearance from Chinese officials to present the film on an international stage. This pullback due to government pressure could result in the film gaining more media coverage abroad, as coverage by the BBC China blog exemplifies (McDonell 2017). Seen in the context of the Lu Xun short film, it shows that Liu Jian as a cultural producer takes on projects that gain support but also are subject to restrictions by national institutions.

[11] The drawings were not created by Liu Jian, but by his ten-year-old son, as Liu describes on the official website of the animation studio le-joy Animation 樂無動畫工作室, which he founded for his film projects (Liu Jian 刘建 2011). To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 003.

[12] In school textbooks since the 1950s in China, drawings of Lu Xun were included along with his texts, see for example [IC 3 Liu Jian 2] from the *Primary Textbook for Language and Literature* by the People's Education Press from 1958 (People's Education Press 人民教育出版社 1958, 56). I would like to thank Prof. Gotelind Müller-Saini for providing me with these materials from her research project on schoolbooks titled "Cultural Flows in History Education: Shifting Re-creations of European and Asian 'Others' in East Asian Schoolbooks". Today, one of the

following hereafter are drawings that show less and less resemblance with the first, until the lines are no longer recognizable as Lu Xun's portrait or even a portrait at all. Towards the end, the lines again return to resemble the first portrait that was presented at the beginning. However, they remain ever so slightly distorted, leaving a slightly awkward, not fully restored portrait of Lu Xun at the end (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 373).

This work captures the essence of the dilemma of a historical rectification of Lu Xun's image, which I will come to term the "critical approach" to Lu Xun in this work. This critical approach views the presentation of Lu Xun as having become increasingly distorted by readings and research endeavors which were ideologically motivated, especially in the years during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 無產階級文化大革命 (1966-76), a time in which according to this view his presentation had been highly distorted, up to the point of making him unrecognizable. The critical approaches pursued by foreign literature scholars (especially from the US and Europe) attacked this distortion of Lu Xun taking place in China.[13] But especially in the early and mid-1980s, this critical approach gained much currency in China as well, when the so-called Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun 反對神化魯迅運動 led to more and more Chinese scholars joining the ranks of this critical debate, aiming to return to a "truthful 真正的", historical Lu Xun. In other words, the critical approach aimed to rectify the formerly "distorted 歪曲", "sacralized 神化" image of Lu Xun through "scientific 科學" means.[14] While this critical approach was by no means advanced by a homogenous group of scholars, Liu Jian's film helps to highlight that which connected many of them, for they aimed at retrieving the first portrait of Lu Xun, what I will call Lu Xun's First Body – that which comes closest to resemble the "real" historical Lu Xun.

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most well-known images of Lu Xun is a portrait photograph of Lu Xun from 1930, which is included in the current teacher's material of the People's Education Press as "Lu Xun's Portrait 鲁迅像" (People's Education Press 人民教育出版社 2006b) [IC 3 Liu Jian 3]. From the direction of Lu Xun's gaze, it appears that this photograph was the basis of the drawing used for Liu Jian's film.

[13] The most representative and most frequently referenced publication applying such a "critical approach" is Leo Ou-fan Lee's edited volume *Lu Xun and his Legacy*, published in 1985 (Lee 1985a).

[14] The call to "analyze Lu Xun scientifically 科学地研究鲁迅" was the means by which a "sacralization" of Lu Xun was to be avoided in the future, see (Liu Fuqin 刘福勤 2002);(Chen Gensheng 陳根生 and Wenda 文達 2002). Lu Xun's contemporary and writer Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981) became the most representative figure of this movement, calling such a scientific method as "seeking the truth from facts 实事求是地" (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 94). For more on the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun, see: "Desacralizing Lu Xun: The 'Historical' Lu Xun (1980s)" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

This critical approach was immensely important to build the foundation for a more complex reading of Lu Xun in the 1980s. However, Liu Jian's film serves as the opening of this thesis because for me it highlights the dilemma or even *cul-de-sac* of such a critical approach. For in the end, a full restoration of the first portrait is not achieved. The awkwardness of the lines which remain ever so slightly misplaced in the last image serve as a reminder that this first portrait of Lu Xun remains irretrievable. While Liu Jian could have intended it as a call for *more* critical voices, appealing to the viewer to demand the full restoration of the portrait as it has not yet been achieved, I read it as capturing the one major weakness of the approach. For the first drawing was indeed already but a representation of Lu Xun. The lure of the First Body thus motivates the literary historian to strive for as accurate a drawing of Lu Xun as possible, but the lure of the First Body comes to haunt the literary scholar since this "true" historic Lu Xun remains out of reach, separated by the invisible force of time, forever entangled, even trapped, in the various biographical and historiographic texts and media.

Even the literary museum and the archive, those institutions in our society which claim to safeguard and provide access to an author's First Body through historical records, authentic manuscripts and the writer's personal estate, (unwittingly) grapple with this irretrievability of the First Body, as they are inescapably involved in the process of mediating the author (through text, images, objects and space) and institutionalizing the author as belonging to the past, thereby consolidating the temporal distance between the visitor and the author. This thesis therefore does not argue *against* a critical approach to Lu Xun, nor does it aim to outperform prior research by presenting my own "drawings" of his portrait as surpassing theirs in accuracy or resemblance. Instead, I hope to go *beyond* a critical approach to Lu Xun in the sense that I withdraw from this competition of retrieving Lu Xun's First Body and instead take a close look at the various drawings that have been sketched of Lu Xun in museum space in China. My aim hereby is not to decry the degree of distortion, but instead to better understand their role in how Lu Xun has been remembered in Chinese society up to the present day.

The theory underlying this thesis explains the social process of the making of Lu Xun into a literary hero by suggesting a separation between Lu Xun's first (historical) body and his second (heroized) body. I argue that conceptually separating Lu Xun's "Two Bodies" is a helpful measure to better understand this process and indeed highlight that it is an *ongoing* process, recurring at numerous periods of time and in different local variations for numerous other writers around the globe. Referring to "two bodies", a First and Second, necessarily evokes Kantorowicz' widely cited

work *The King's Two Bodies* (Kantorowicz 1990), which in this thesis is neither accidental nor in the stricter sense intentional. My use of the terms features some parallels with Kantorowicz' work, but also clear differences which need to be addressed from the outset. One difference lies in the fact that in this thesis the Two Bodies are a metaphorical explanatory tool, which I have developed *aposteriori* from the materials I have encountered during my research (*inductive*), while Kantorowicz did not develop but encountered this law of the King's Two Bodies conceptualized by 15th century English jurists of the Tudor period, a law existing *a priori* to his analysis of it.[15] I thus belong to the large group of scholars who have found inspiration in Kantorowicz' work, as medieval historian Jussen has pointed out, and do not hold his shortcomings as an explanatory method in political theory or medieval history against him, yet neither argue for its analytical value in those disciplines (Jussen 2009, 104).

What value has Kantorowicz' work then brought to my analysis of author museums, if not as a fixed analytical framework?[16] Going beyond the differences, it can be insightful to reflect about the commonalities the Two Bodies occupy in our work. The first is rather straightforward: The First Body of the author and king are alike, for it is the mortal, natural, corporal body, which ceases to exist when the individual person dies. In a broader sense, our understanding of the second also features similarities in that it is a "super-body distinct from his natural body", the immortal body (Kantorowicz 1990, 272), whereby the king's second body, of course, stands for the political body, the crown, the "office", not the person. However, the second and greater commonality lies in his approach towards the Two Bodies as a social and legal phenomenon in contrast to other scholars, both historical and contemporary. For scholars of the 18th, 19th and up to the 20th century have tended to ridicule this law, a tendency which Kantorowicz shows understanding for but distances himself from (Kantorowicz 1990, 4). "[These] caustic criticisms are understandable and appear fully justified. However, the seemingly ludicrous, and in many respects awkward, concept of the King's Two Bodies has not only those physiologically amusing traits." Kantorowicz was not

[15] Another difference lies in what we hope to explain with the terms: Kantorowicz was not focusing on understanding the making of the king in the way in which I am analyzing the making of the author, but instead hoped to understand the origins of the state, the moment when the autonomous institutional subject termed "the State" became disentangled out of the all-embracing political concept of "the Church" (Jussen 2009, 102), tracing the prehistory of the metaphor of the King's Two Bodies all the way back to the Ottonians in the 10th and Carolingians in the 8th century. In short, for Kantorowicz the Two Bodies were a legal fact and one object of research in his analysis of the intangible concept of the State (which he hoped to grasp through this linguistic formation), while in this thesis they provide a theory to better understand my objects of research, the very tangible institutions of author museums.

[16] Lively discussions with early modern historian Thomas Maissen, for which I am very grateful, made me further ponder over this question.

satisfied in his curiosity for the linguistic, discursive and conceptual consequences the law entailed. My engagement with the critical approaches in Lu Xun scholarship towards Lu Xun's immortal "super-body" is similar, as it regards them as justified and greatly important. Yet the ridicule of Lu Xun's heroic Second Body and its effect on its readers/ visitors has not satisfied my curiosity to better understand it as a social fact instead of a societal illusion.

Kantorowicz was fascinated with the symbolic power of the Two Bodies as merging *legal* and *literary* concepts. Literary historian Victoria Kahn, who historicized Kantorowicz' motivation in the academic context of his times, the mid-20th century, sees his fascination as a strength in Kantorowicz, since for him political theology was "inseparable from the work of legal and literary fiction" (Kahn 2009, 77). For Kahn, the understanding of myth was crucial to the work of Kantorowicz and his contemporaries. In his previous publication, a two-volume biography on the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250) published in 1927 and 1931, Kantorowicz is held to have reproduced or even advocated political myths. But in his work on the Two Bodies he attempted to analyze *how they worked* [my emphasis] (Kahn 2009, 80). Kantorowicz was fascinated by the political dimension of symbolic formations and the contribution of myth to political power, especially since he witnessed the harmful effect of myth on politics and personality cults during the Second World War (Kahn 2009, 91). In this regard, Kahn sees Kantorowicz as "redeeming myth – including artificial and manufactured myth – for modernity" (Kahn 2009, 81). Here finally, one finds yet another parallel of this thesis to Kantorowicz' work, explaining this short excursion on his work, which now already draws to an end. The Second Body of Lu Xun is something which this thesis does not aim to deconstruct, even though its constructedness cannot be questioned. Instead, it is important to understand or even – to a degree – redeem this Second Body of Lu Xun and its importance in Chinese society in order to think beyond memorial museums as mere producers of harmful (instrumental) myths.

In the field of biography, the attempt of separating Lu Xun's Two Bodies has often been undertaken in the opposite direction. In order to communicate to the reader that the biographer is aware of the difference between the historical person and the posthumously elevated and strongly propagated heroic image of that same person, the biography, fashioning itself in opposition to the hagiography, argues to provide access to the "true" historic person. It is not surprising that the "true story/ biography of 正傳" has been used in biographies on Lu Xun, most recently by David Pollard in his *The True Story of Lu Xun* (Pollard 2002), echoing Lu Xun's "True Story of Ah Q" yet stripping it of the strategical use as an unorthodox term for biography in Lu Xun's times, which Lu

Xun's narrator added to the story to strategically place himself and arguably Lu Xun into a longer tradition of unorthodox vernacular writing (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005a).[17] For Pollard the "true story" declares his biography to be different from the "laudatory accounts" of Lu Xun, which present him in a "flattering view" (Pollard 2002, xiv). Some literary historians and biographers who aim to present a critical biography choose to separate the Two Bodies of Lu Xun by referring to the historic person not by his pen name Lu Xun 魯迅, but by his given name Zhou Shuren 周樹人 prior to 1919 when he began using this pseudonym (Kowallis 2007). While critical biographies (cl)aim to present the historical Zhou Shuren, Lu Xun's First Body, I intentionally addresses his Second Body and how it is produced in museum space.

Memorial museums function *both* as spatial and material biographies and as ritual sites of hero worship. I do not regard the material heritage collected and displayed in the museums as "evidence" to reconstruct Lu Xun's First Body or prove its existence, a source of materials as it were (even though the collections can and often have served this function for biographers and literary historians). Instead I see both the spatial and material aspect (medium) and the ritual aspect (performance) as contributing to the making of Lu Xun's Second Body, a complex process which has long gone unquestioned and even disregarded in Lu Xun studies. Recent studies on Lu Xun's literary work have used sociological approaches, building on the theory of Bourdieu's literary field to explain Lu Xun's unusual success story, which also resulted in others of his contemporary writers to have been overlooked in literary history. My study uses a sociological approach as well,

[17] Lu Xun's "The True Story of Ah Q" was first published in *Morning News Supplement* 晨報副刊 from April 12, 1921 to February 12, 1922 under Lu Xun's other pseudonym Ba Ren 巴人 (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005a, 553). In the first chapter of "The True Story of Ah Q", the narrator reflects on the various Chinese terms and concepts of biography, including "official biography" (*liezhuan* 列傳), autobiography (*zizhuan* 自傳), "unaurthorized biographies (*neizhuan* 內傳), "legends" (*waizhuan* 外傳), "supplementery biographies" (*biezhuan* 別傳), "family histories" (*jiazhuan* 家專), "sketches" (*xiaozhuan* 小傳) etc., to provide the English translations by Gladys and Xianyi Yang (Lu Xun [1956d] 1980, 102) for the various terms ending on *–zhuan* 傳 (biography). The narrator discards them all, mostly because they define themselves through other forms of canonical biographical or historical writing, for example discarding the sketches 小傳 (literally: small biographies) since no "complete account (*dazhuan* 大專) (literally: large biography) of Ah Q exist against which his small biography could position itself, etc. The narrator finally chooses "the true story/ biography" (*zhengzhuan* 正傳) as it was used in writings by "novelists / fiction writers" (*xiaoshuo jia* 小說家) writing in the vernacular, whose writing in Chinese historiography or literary history was not included or recognized as belonging to the main schools of philosophical and religious thought (the so-called Three Cults and Nine Schools 三教九流), thus intentionally using a term coming from outside of orthodox genres of biography and historiography. Lu Xun hereby lets the narrator position himself and thereby Lu Xun as the author of the text into the tradition of Chinese "unorthodox" fiction writing or the Chinese novel (*xiaoshuo* 小說) which Lu Xun held to be the Chinese equivalent of the Western novel, an argument which he makes in his study on *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* 中国小说史略 (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005af); (Lu Xun [1959] 1976), but which has been deconstructed in literary scholarship (Mittler 2002).

yet without questioning Lu Xun's canonization as unjustified.[18] I do not apply a sociological reading to Lu Xun's literary work nor to his life, but to the construction of a collective memory of Lu Xun through the museum as a site of commemoration.

The difference between Lu Xun's First and Second Body can also be described in Pierre Nora's understanding of a "history" and "memory" of Lu Xun. Nora argues that "history is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it" (Nora 1989, 9). A historical approach to Lu Xun would be self-conscious, critical, indeed would not only be suspicious of a memory of Lu Xun, but precisely its opposite. A critical historical approach to Lu Xun's museums would use the museums as institutions providing source materials. It would (as history does) "preserve some museums, some medallions and monuments – that is to say the materials necessary for its work – but empty them of what, to us, would make them *lieux de mémoire*" (Nora 1989, 9). As a historian, one no longer can be a producer of a history-memory, a unification whose last incarnation Nora sees as having been the memory of the nation. With the French historian's admittance of the nation as a memory, not as a historical given since the 1930s, memory and history no longer went hand in hand, but have come to be opposites in "modern times". The historian's approach to Lu Xun museums would thus be doubly suspicious of the (national) memory which the Lu Xun museums construct and would try to rid them of this function instead of acknowledging it and inquiring about them as *lieux de mémoire*. To gain access to Lu Xun's First Body, he would first have to be stripped of his Second. It is, however, his Second which is alive in a way that memory is described to be alive: "Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived" (Nora 1989, 8). It is this memory of Lu Xun which this thesis investigates.

Of course, it is understandable that the skepticism around an instrumentalization of Lu Xun prevails, not least because his image continues to be used as a valorizing element in the display of political authority even today. Thus the political instrumentalization of writers continues to be something scholars feel required to criticize and attack. Few changes seem to have occurred, when reading in the news that journalists scrutinized over the collection of books which were presented

[18] Sun Saiyin's work takes this approach arguing that Lu Xun's contemporary writers, such as Gao Changhong 高長虹 (1898-1954) are deserving of attention as they were pushed into oblivion by Lu Xun's canonization and deification (Sun 2014, 238).

in President Xi Jinping's office at his televised New Year's Address in 2016 (Xi Jinping 习近平 2016) [IC 4 The Study of Political Leaders 1, 1a].[19] In the background of an official photograph showing Xi Jinping during a 2015 visit meeting with rice paddy farmers in a village in Jilin, Lu Xun's *Collected Works* 鲁迅全集 were visible, which led journalists to reiterate Xi Jinping's references to Lu Xun in past speeches (Jing Shi 荆石 2015). This certainly is a remarkable parallel in political staging to Mao Zedong's photograph in Yan'an for which Lu Xun's *Collected Works* 魯迅全集 lay visibly on his desk [IC 4 The Study of Political Leaders 2], a photograph which until today is included in the Shanghai and Shaoxing Lu Xun museums. The entanglement between various forms of personality cults in the political and cultural realm therefore call for further investigation into how Second Bodies, and Lu Xun's in particular, are made.

2. Lu Xun and Cao Xueqin: From Author-focused Reading to Author Museums

Before approaching the so-defined *tangible* heritage surrounding the literary hero Lu Xun, it is helpful to first visit the case of the Chinese writer Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (~1710s/20s-1760s from Nanjing), known as the author of the Qing-Dynasty novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢 often rendered in its Romanization as *Honglou meng*. In Cao Xueqin's case a fundamental need for the justification of a museum's existence with regard to "authenticity" and even more fundamentally to Cao Xueqin's role in the work's authorship come to light, which challenge assumptions one far more readily makes for Lu Xun's case.

Cao Xueqin's former residence lies idyllically on the mountain side on Fragrant Mountain 香山 near Beijing. It was here that a major finding of Cao Xueqin's "heritage" was discovered in the 1970s, among the findings a poem drawn onto a wall discovered in 1971 in what today is presented as the former residence of Cao Xueqin [**IC 5 Cao Xueqin 1, 2**].[20] Indeed, the question of whether

[19] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 004.

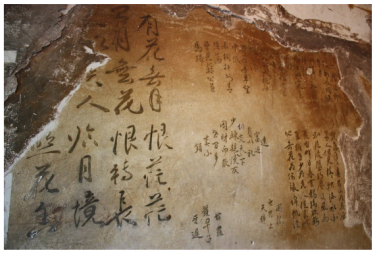
[20] Today the scenic area belongs to the Beijing Botanical Garden 北京市植物園 and thus the Cao Xueqin Museum was managed by the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Landscape and Forestry 北京市園林綠化局. The museum was formally established in 1984, after the establishment of the Chinese Cao Xueqin Research Society 中國曹雪芹研究會, which was founded in December 1983. The research society consisted of about 300 members, among them Zhou Yang 周揚(1908-1989) and Ai Qing 艾青 (1910-1996), for example. The costs of the renovations of the residence were covered by the botanical garden (Li Mingxin 李明新 2011, 198). Only in 2004 was the application to be moved to the Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage (ACH) 北京市文物局 as a "museum of a historic cultural person 历史文化名人博物馆" granted – according to the museum director "a step into the regular path of museum development 走上了向正规博物馆转向的发展道路" (Li Mingxin 李明新 2011, 202).

or not the architecture that is located at Zhengbaiqi Courtyard No. 39 正白旗 39 號院 was the former residence of Cao Xueqin remains highly controversial, a debate which the museum's director Li Mingxin 李明新 and director of the Cao Xueqin Foundation[21] Hu Deping 胡德平[22] believe needs to be addressed openly both in academic circles and for museum guests (Li Mingxin 李明新 2011, 200–202). Hu Deping explained that "some experts believe not a single artifact (*wenwu*) of Cao Xueqin's to be an original (*zhenpin*) 有的专家认为有关曹雪芹的文物无一件是真品" (Hu Deping 胡德平 2014, 4–5). Instead of insisting on the authenticity of the architecture, the "Cao Xueqin Fragrant Mountain Myth 曹雪芹（香山）传说" was designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage of National Importance 國家級非物質文化遺產 in 2011 [**IC 5 Cao Xueqin 3**] (Li Mingxin 李明新 2011, 202). In a way, the walls of the architecture at Zhengbaiqi Courtyard No. 39 give a material presence to the intangible cultural heritage of Cao Xueqin's literary production in the form of *chuanqi* 傳奇 and *xiaoshuo* 小說 possibly inspired by Fragrant Mountain.

IC 5 Cao Xueqin as Intangible Cultural Heritage



1.



2.



3.

1. Entrance to the Cao Xueqin Museum; source: Photographed March 15, 2014.
2. Sign designating site as Immaterial Cultural Heritage of National Importance: Cao Xueqin *chuanshuo*; source: Photographed August 9, 2014.
3. Reproduction of the wall scripture discovered at this site and displayed at the Cao Xueqin Museum; source: Photographed August 9, 2014. Courtesy of the Cao Xueqin Museum.

[21] Neither the Cao Xueqin Research Society nor the Cao Xueqin Foundation are registered NGOs in form of "social organizations" (*shehui zuzhi* 社會組織), as the Lu Xun Culture Foundation under Lu Xun's grandson Zhou Lingfei 周令飛 is, for example. Instead the Research Society is directly subordinate to the CFLAC with Hu Deping as its Head 會長 (Wei Lingzhi 位灵芝 2014, 170).

[22] The fact that Hu Deping (1942-), the eldest son of Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦 (1915-1989), General Secretary of the CPC from 1982-87, is active in the research society is also worth mentioning. Well-connected through his various political offices and a recognized historian having studied history at Beijing University and having held leading positions at the National History Museum 中國歷史博物館 in the 1970s, the influence of his support for the institutionalization of Cao Xueqin is not to be underestimated.

It furthermore offers an institutional basis for "Hong Xue 紅學", the study of the novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*, and "Cao Xue 曹雪", the study of Cao Xueqin, which in China form their own sub-disciplines in literature studies.

The question of whether Cao Xueqin ever lived in this particular building is not the only controversial aspect of this particular literary site of memory. For Cao Xueqin's authorship of the novel also remains debated. Cao Xueqin was famously "identified" as "the author" of *Dream of the Red Chamber* by Lu Xun's contemporary and literature scholar Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962 from Shanghai) in his famous essay on "A text-critical study of *Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢考證" in 1922. From a theoretical perspective, it was through this article by Hu Shi that Cao Xueqin was assigned a new "author-function", as Haun Saussy from the field of comparative literature explains in his "The Age of Attribution: Or, How the *Honglou meng* Finally Acquired an Author" (Saussy 2003). Borrowing Foucault's term, Saussy defines the author-function as the context and the practices whereby interpretations are justified, thus using it more broadly than Foucault in his 1969 publication on "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?". Saussy highlights the different readings of *Dream of the Red Chamber* into pre- and post-1922/ Hu Shi, criticizing the limiting author-centered readings which required and still require a grounding of the text in the personality and motives of Cao Xueqin, a definite historical individual with a life outside the novel. In the scholarly field, the discovery of Cao Xueqin caused "Honglou meng studies to be buried under Cao studies" (Saussy 2003, 125), which has led to historical-biographical readings of the novel (which Saussy defines as the *kaozheng*-reading / Hu Shi-Style) to gradually eliminate alternative readings which Hu Shi regarded unfavorably as being "unscientific".[23] Saussy however aims to defend an impersonal reading. One of the alternatives is an audience-centered hermeneutics, which does not regard the novel as the product of a historical individual or the product of a historical period, but instead as an outcome of a "collective process of reading and rewriting", emphasizing the importance of "added commentaries" to the text in pre-1922 forms of reading the novel (Saussy 2003, 130). When

[23] In addition to Hu Shi's *kaozheng* 考證-reading, Saussy also introduces the *suoyin* 索引-reading, whereby this reading ultimately is also a historical reading. The *suoyin* -reading/ or Wang Mengruan 王夢阮-style sees the work's meaning in a specific moment of dynastic history. The naming of this form of reading rests on Wang Mengruan's essay "Uncovering the Secrets of *Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢索引", published in Shanghai in 1919. Saussy identifies one reading that differs strongly from these two historical readings as the *pingdian* 評點-reading / or Wang Xilian 王希廉-style. This *pingdian* reading assimilates the work in the context of timeless Classics with regard to their philosophical and religious message. This form of impersonal and audience-centered reading has, however, been pushed into the margins by Hu Shi's historical *kaozheng*-reading (Saussy 2003).

returning to the Cao Xueqin Museum it becomes clear that Saussy wants to distance himself from a kind of reading of *Dream of the Red Chamber* which brought about the "birth" not only of the Cao Xueqin Studies as a field of research or the Cao Xueqin Museum holding allegedly authentic artifacts connected to Cao Xueqin, but also that of Cao Xueqin as an author as such. The attribution of authorship which entails the institutional construction of authors is, as he explains, firmly woven into the cultural policies of the 20th century, an orientation which he sees the leaders of May Fourth scholarship (among them Hu Shi, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang) and others) as responsible for.

Saussy sees this reading of "authors as heroes" as highly restrictive as it excludes many more fruitful forms of reading a text (Saussy 2003, 131). "The hermeneutics and value determination of authorship follow from these basic functions: to claim that a work is great is to attribute to it powers of diagnosis and prophecy, which emanate from the hero-figure that originated it. Through naming and consecrating authors, we insert ourselves into a teleological history that they had the genius to plot out" (Saussy 2003, 131–32). Saussy warns against this form of reading, which does not necessarily have to be "old-school Marxian determinists" but could stand for many "Chinas", for every possible "us" (Saussy 2003, 131–32). But he also acknowledges that this kind of reading was promoted by a readership of a certain time that required it: "Cao Xueqin took flesh and bone when, and because, twentieth-century readers needed him to do so" (Saussy 2003, 132). The author-focused reading of the novel, has indeed come to a climax with the establishment of the Cao Xueqin Museum in 1984. For Cao Xueqin has not only taken flesh, but he has obtained a house of his own.

According to literary scholars such as Saussy, author-centered studies ought not be so important, because they limit the ways in which we read the texts. But (and Saussy acknowledges this) they *are* this important, especially in China, which means that "author museums" deserve special attention, not least because they provide insights into this wide-spread practice of author-centrism in literature studies in China. This thesis shows how author museums both further encourage author-centered readings and – at the same time – reveal their limits. For what this short introduction aims to highlight is the constructedness of authors – both in their authoring of text and in the process of being put on display. One has to remain aware that not everything that claims to be an "author" leads to a historical figure or that claims to be a "residence" is necessarily linked to such a figure. This seems far more obvious when looking at the (explicitly denoted) *in*tangible heritage of Cao Xueqin, but is arguably even more important to keep in mind when approaching the *tangible* heritage of Lu Xun. Thus this short introduction to an eleventh century writer serves

as a reminder that ultimately a similar form of construction also takes place for Lu Xun, even though the temporal proximity of the twentieth century writer and the perceived "authenticity" of his personal and literary estate as "tangible heritage" lures one into believing otherwise, implying that his First Body is within our grasp more so than that of Cao Xueqin.

3. Petőfi in Beijing: Performing the Hungarian Nation at the Lu Xun Museum

Understanding Lu Xun as a *national* literary hero at times requires to view his making in a global context, to look beyond national borders to see how literary heroes around the world are materially entangled. When entering the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, the visitor finds a bronze bust of the Hungarian poet Sándor Petőfi placed on the side of the large square on the museum's premise. This in itself is not extraordinary. Other busts, such as that of the American journalist Agnes Smedley (1892-1950 from Osgood/ Missouri) or Lu Xun's Japanese medicine teacher Mr. Fujino (1874-1945 from Fukui Prefecture) are also placed on the square. The connection between Petőfi and Lu Xun is one of admiration on a personal level and one of intertextuality and straightforward citation on a literary one. Lu Xun read Petőfi's poems in German, as he could not read Hungarian. Petőfi's poems in German translation are also among the books displayed in the Lu Xun Museum today. Many of Petőfi's poems are patriotic, singing the praise of the Hungarian Kingdom and filled with pathos.[24] His poems were doubly political at the time when he was writing in the years leading up to 1849. His literature is understood as attacking the Hungarian gentry (class criticism) and as a call to arms to fight for the independence from the Austrian Empire (with a strong element of nationalism prevalent in most of his writing).[25] Lu Xun was fascinated by Petőfi for obvious reasons. Not only was he reading Petőfi's poetry against the backdrop of the 1911 Revolution, in

[24] One of Petőfi's poems on display at the Lu Xun museum reads in German translation: "Das Leben ist mir wert, / Die Liebe noch viel mehr, / Doch für die Freiheit geb'/ Ich beide gerne her!". While valuing both life and love, the poetic persona declares that he would willingly give up both for freedom.

[25] Not all of Petőfi's poetry is this straightforward. In one of Lu Xun's poems he contemplates Petőfi's more sinister poems as well. In Lu Xun's prose poem "Hope 希望" from 1925, which would be published in his collection *Wild Grass* 野草, Lu Xun cites Petőfi's "Song of Hope": "I have to grapple alone with the dark night in the emptiness. I put down the shield of hope, hearing the *Song of Hope* by Sándor Petöfi (1823-49): *What is hope? A prostitute! Alluring to all, she gives herself to all,/ Until you have sacrificed a priceless treasure –/ Your youth – then she forsakes you.* 我只得由我来肉薄这空虚中的暗夜了。我放下了希望之盾，我听到 Petőfi Sándor (1823-49) 的"希望"之歌：望是甚么？是娼妓：/ 她对谁都蛊惑，将一切都献给；/ 待你牺牲了极多的宝贝一一/ 你的青春一一她就弃掉你" (Lu Xun [1956b] 1980, 327); (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005y, 182). Despite this pessimistic tone, Lu Xun ends the poem quoting Petőfi that "despair, like hope, is but vanity. 绝望之为虚妄，正与希望相同!" (Lu Xun [1956b] 1980, 327); (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005y, 182), which can be understood that while hope is often hard to hold on to, despair also is no solution.

which the Chinese dynastic rule was broken and the Republic of China was established, but also during a time in which both the old and new political regimes were threatened by foreign powers (especially after multi-national allies, led by Britain, had defeated China and marched into Beijing in 1900). Thus Lu Xun admired the liberal revolutionary Petőfi from Hungary, listing him as one of his heroes in his 1909 essay in which he contemplates the great poets of world literature after he too had read Thomas Carlyle's work on the poet as hero.[26]

What sets Petőfi's bust apart from similar busts on the museum square is a social practice which has developed around it in recent years.[27] Once a year, the square in front of the Lu Xun Museum is turned into a space in which the Hungarian nation is performed by placing flowers and a large flower wreath infront of Petőfi's bust [IC 6 Petőfi 1, 2].[28] The importance of Petőfi as a national poet for Hungary can hardly be overstated. The presumed day of Petőfi's death, the 15th of March, is celebrated as a national day in Hungary. This celebration is usually marked by national rituals, such as flying the national flag and decorating the cities with flowers and wreaths in red, white and green, the colors of the national flag. What sets the Petőfi bust apart from other busts on the museum square is that on this day the Hungarian expatriate community in China assembles at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum [IC 6 Petőfi 3, 4].

Organized by the Hungarian embassy, the Hungarian community living in Beijing and throughout China is invited to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. This community is not very large – it usually does not amount to more than 30 participants. According to one participant,[29] flowers are provided for all the participants to place in front of the Petőfi statue, the national anthem is sung, and a special tour of the Lu Xun Museum is offered by the museum in English. Local news reports featured photographs of her approaching the statue placing her rose beside the bust [IC 6 Petőfi 3]. Overall she described this ritual in a positive light. But working for the EU, she was also critical of the current political developments she witnessed in her home country, in the light of which she viewed this ceremony and believed this strong emphasis on the linkage between Sándor Petőfi and Lu Xun to have resurfaced in recent years. Under the current rule of the national conservative party

[26] Lu Xun calls these great poets "Mara Poets", referring to Byron's use of Mara as a celestial demon. For his reference to Petőfi, see: (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005o, 99). Lu Xun argued that China and also India failed to produce great poets in modern times, while other nations such as Hungary had their Petőfi, which Lu Xun greatly missed in China and, with all likelihood, hoped to become for China.

[27] The bust was set up on the museum square in 2003 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2008).

[28] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 006.

[29] Ms. Nagu (age 28, from Kalocsa/ Hungary with an MA in Global Governance) worked in Beijing as a Project Manager at the European Union Chamber of Commerce.

(FIDEZ) with Prime Minister Victor Orban (1968- from Alcsútdoboz; in office 1998-2002; 2010-), Hungary has come under intense criticism by the USA and the EU and is increasingly turning its attention to the East (to China and Russia), as this participant perceived. Furthermore Orban had much to gain from the Hungarian overseas community, encouraging them to partake in the national elections, which explained his emphasis on building a national identity among the Hungarian oversea community.[30] However, despite her critical opinion on a new rise of nationalism in Hungary today, she nevertheless enjoyed participating in this particular ceremony.

When reflecting on this visiting experience, many facets of producing a national hero come to light. The sense of belonging to a community can be especially valued by those who live and work abroad. When attending this ritual, the size of the Beijing Hungarian community who attend the ceremony ranged from about 20 to 30 participants, which indeed makes it possible to see, know and fully comprehend the community to which one belongs. The group is linked to the Hungarian nation as a whole which remains an *imagined* community (Anderson [1983] 1991), melting them into a whole through the shared ritual taking place almost simultaneously in China and Hungary. The enacting of rituals in front of the Petőfi bust as a social phenomenon shows how within the public space of the Lu Xun Museum, a "cultural" site is used as a platform on which nationalism, and Hungarian nationalism at that, is performed. Thus the intertextual links between writers have come to offer a platform for real-life, political enactments of nationalism.

The power which visual representations of writers in the form of statues and busts can have does not only become visible in this contemporary example. The history of Petőfi's busts in Hungary shows how much controversy this practice once sparked in the past. A first large scale Petőfi bust was inaugurated in Pest in 1882 when Lu Xun was but a one-year-old in Shaoxing. With revolutions sweeping European countries in 1848, the Austrian authorities had issued an arrest for Petőfi in 1949 (Neubauer 2014, 254). The warrant for his arrest[31] remains on display in

[30] Especially the Hungarian community living in neighboring countries of Romania are addressed in this effort. The offering of Hungarian citizenship to those who neither live nor were born in Hungary but have grandparents with Hungarian citizenship can also to be understood in this context (Peter 2011).

[31] Today, the "Personen-Beschreibung des Alexander Petőfi" is on display at the Petőfi exhibition in Budapest. The description includes an excerpt of his handwriting and his signature. Interestingly, Petőfi's profession and character are described as "a former poet". "Alter 36, Geburtsort Siebenbürgen, Stand vereheligt, Religion reformiert, Sprache deutsch, ungarisch und walachisch, Beschäftigung und Charakter früher Dichter, Körperbau klein mager, Gesicht mager, Gesichtsfarbe brünett, Stirn hohe, Haare schwarz emporstehend, Augen schwarz, Augenbrauen schwarz, Nase breit, Mund proportioniert, Zähne gut, Kinn etwas spitz, Bart Schnurbart. Besondere Kennzeichen: pflegt mit entblößten Hals zu gehen. Bekleidung: nach der deutschen Mode".

the Petőfi Museum today.[32] It was not for fighting in the battle of Segesvár in July 1849 on the side of the revolutionaries against the Imperial Russian Army, which was supported by the Austrian Army, that the Austrian Empire wanted his arrest. It was because of the publication of his poetry that the Austrian authorities believed him to be a threat to the empire.

In the following decade, the Austrian empire did what it could to erase Petőfi from collective memory by prohibiting any form of commemorating Petőfi. When newspapers started publishing the images of Hungarian poets in 1859, Petőfi's image was not included (Neubauer 2014). It was not until the mid-1860s that his poetry gradually became publishable again. The main actor in creating a space for the commemoration of Petőfi in the public sphere in the Hungarian Kingdom was a violinist named Ede Reményi (1828-1898 from Miskolc/ Hungary), who not only chose to play concerts in Petőfi's home town, but used its revenues to set up memorial tablets and later also supported the making of a statue to be set up in Pest, although with little support from the city.[33] Only after the Compromise of 1867, in which the Hungarian Kingdom gained power and turned into a nominal partner in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, did the political climate allow for an official erection of a Petőfi statue in Pest and after further debates his statue was finally inaugurated in 1882. In addition to this first official statue, the Petőfi bust on the premise of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum was set up in the early 2000s, with Petőfi having by now become *the* national symbol of his country.[34]

This thesis again and again will return to the power of the "national hero" and how his definition changes in the course of history when that which comes to define the nation also

[32] I visited the Petőfi Museum on February 14, 2016. Like the major Lu Xun museums, the Petőfi Museum was established in the 1950s. From 1909 until 1945, the Petőfi House served as an exhibition and research society. The museum started to collect materials of other Hungarian writers besides Petőfi, outgrowing the Petőfi House according to its own description. The Petőfi Museum, committed to collect Hungarian literature beyond that of Petőfi's, is nevertheless called "The Sándor Petőfi Museum", a choice which came "naturally" as the museum explains since the poet "symbolizes Hungarian poetry to the general reader both within and beyond the borders of the country" (Petőfi Literary Museum).

[33] Ede Reményi had been exiled after his participation in the War of Independence in 1948/49, but after having made a name for himself abroad, he was allowed to return to Hungary in the mid-1850s. At his first concert in Pest in January 1860, he played the Rákósczi March upon a visitor's request, which almost lead to all of his concerts being cancelled, but in the end, the Austrian authorities simply forbade him from playing the March again. In November that year, Remény played in Kiskúnfélegyháza, one of the towns that claim to be the hometown of Petőfi. After the concert he gave money to set up a memorial tablet on the wall of the house, but it took six years before the tablet could be unveiled in 1867. Remény also fought for a statue of Petőfi to be set up in Pest. In 1860 a committee was formed to achieve this, but the legal application to have a statue set up was rejected by the city of Pest. In the following 5 years, Remény collected money from his concert revenues to promote the establishment of such statues. Within this time, in 1862, the "other hometown" of Petőfi set up a Petőfi bust, but no records remain of this event, the reason likely being that authorities restricted public participation, as Neubauer assumes (Neubauer 2014, 256).

[34] The statue committee finally negotiated a sculptor, but due to further debates on the location of the statue within Pest, it took until 1975 to solve these issues and until 1882 for the bust to be officially inaugurated.

changes.[35] The construction of a national hero is shown to be – by design – a global phenomenon that in its implications cannot be fully grasped when remaining exclusively within the boundaries of a nation. Instead, national rituals surrounding the Hungarian writer Petőfi reveal not only the current relevance of writers as national heroes, but also spatial entanglements of these heroes *across* national borders. By investigating Lu Xun as a national hero, this thesis not only raises the question of what shape this national hero takes when he is communicated through busts and statues, but also who this community is that gathers around such an image to enact national rituals (including actual visitors and the indended or imagined visitor). As for the material entanglements across national borders, it will become necessary to trace some of Lu Xun's imagery which circulated beyond China (e.g. Lu Xun exhibitions travelling to Moscow in 1956 or Berlin in 1980), as well as see Lu Xun's imagery being displayed simultaneously both in Beijing and Tainan, crossing the Taiwan Strait. Lu Xun's image is shown to have, at numerous times, crossed national borders. As for the case of Lu Xun and Petőfi, it certainly is not natural, but to a degree logical, that when visiting Petőfi's hometown of Kiskőrös, one also encounter a bronze bust of Lu Xun on display (Sára 2013) [IC 6 Petőfi 5].

State of the Field: The Historiography of Lu Xun museums

The above introductions have challenged three assumptions one might initially have about Lu Xun as a literary hero. Firstly, that there is the possibility of retrieving Lu Xun the man from underneath the lionized image of Lu Xun the hero. Secondly, that Lu Xun as a literary hero is less constructed than literary heroes preceding him, such as Cao Xueqin, as his authorship over most of his texts is less disputed and the documentation of his life is expansive. And thirdly, that heroes of national literatures are venerated and produced only within their own national borders. This thesis on Lu Xun's making in museum space provides ample evidence that none of these assumptions can hold their ground when closely observing the process of Lu Xun's institutionalization in museum space.

While Lu Xun's political instrumentalization has been the focus of much critical research on Lu Xun in English scholarship,[36] only very limited research has been conducted on the institutionalization of Lu Xun in museums – or on any museums dedicated to a Chinese writer for that matter. No book-length study has been published on Lu Xun's material heritage and its display

[35] See: "Nationalizing Lu Xun: The 'Chinese' National Lu Xun (1990s/2000s)" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

[36] For more information see "Critical Approaches to Lu Xun Museums as Official Narratives" in "Lu Xun – instrumentalized" of this thesis.

in museums so far. Two studies, however, include Lu Xun museums as objects of research, one study on Chinese museums more generally and one particularly dealing with Lu Xun. In his 2014 publication *Exhibiting the Past*, Sinologist Kirk Denton gives an introduction to the Lu Xun museums in Beijing, Shanghai and Shaoxing in his chapter "Literary Politics and Cultural Heritage: Modern Literature Museums". Here he focuses on the post-Mao era and highlights the commercialism of the Lu Xun Museum in his hometown Shaoxing. The commercial character becomes especially visible in Lu Xun's Native Home District 鲁迅故里, which surrounds the memorial museum, and the nearby literary theme park, called Lu Xun Village 魯鎮. Denton regards all three as – more successfully than skillfully – having profited off a feeling of nostalgia, a feeling which has given rise to the Red Tourism industry as a whole (Denton 2014, 191). He regards the fact that the museum is now situated in Lu Xun's Native Home District as a sign that the "distance between theme park and museum is narrowing in the market economy of contemporary China" (Denton 2014, 191). Indeed, this feeling of nostalgia for Red China and its commercial success and marketability in post-socialist China is the main motif which carries through the entire publication.[37] The chapters are structured roughly according to different museum genres, ranging from ethnographic, literary and military museums to museums dedicated to political leaders, "dead heroes", but also to the revolution or Japanese imperialism more generally. When keeping with the concept of nostalgia and commercialism, his insights in the Shaoxing museum are helpful and support his argument that in the contemporary museum landscape old narratives of the Chinese revolution have been remolded to adapt to new ideological concerns including neoliberalism and a market-oriented economy (Denton 2014, 267). Some questions, however, remain unanswered. The paradoxes Denton reveals seem to be consequences of a change in economy and ideology of the PRC state alone, as his study implies that the remaining divergences in the museums are largely due to inertia which remains traceable in museums founded prior to these changes, thus presenting the museums as almost passive sites in which these paradoxes occur or surface. The questions which remain are: Do museums have any agency in coping with these changes? Who was and is responsible for their exhibitions? Who drove forward change and its realization?

While Denton's publication makes one in-depth point about the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum and its success in contemporary China, Thomas Täubner's 2004 German publication *China's New*

[37] Most clearly the motif surfaces, for example, in his chapters on "Commodification and Nostalgia: Revolutionary History in the Era of the Market Economy" and "Revolutionary Memory and National Landscape: Red Tourism".

Saint (*Chinas neuer Heiliger)* gives only a short introduction to the main Lu Xun museums in Shaoxing, Beijing and Shanghai. Sources about the museums were arguably fewer a decade earlier, especially in German. But their descriptions only loosely connect to the argument of Täubner's thesis, which contends that Lu Xun is propagated by the Party in a manner that enables it to "lead" society (suggesting a concept termed "Soziagogie", teachings on how society is led). The introduction to the museums mainly serves the function of supporting the publication's comprehensiveness, which from a museological perspective results in a loss in analytic depth.[38]

Even in the Chinese language, no major scholarly work has been published on the history and function of the Lu Xun museums in China, as the field of museum studies is a quickly growing but nevertheless "young" discipline in China.[39] But in line with the growth of both the discipline and the sheer numbers of museums, the "self-awareness" of the museums has increased, which can be seen in the recent publications of museum histories published by the three major Lu Xun museums on their 50th and 60th anniversaries. In 2003, the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum published its *Chronicle of Main Events* 大事记 (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003) and ten years later in 2013 a further edited volume in celebration of its 60th anniversary. The Beijing Lu Xun Museum published its museum history in 2006 celebrating its 50th anniversary (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006) and so did the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum in 2011 celebrating its 60th (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010). However, no official museum histories of the

[38] Täubner introduces the museums and some of their entanglements with the political leadership (Täubner 2004, 126–30). In the case of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum he presents it as an example of "pure profiteering (pure Geschäftemacherei)" (Täubner 2004, 127). The Beijing Lu Xun Museum is merely described, with no clear argumentative relevance, and in the case of the Shanghai museum Täubner describes a group of wax figures, called "Lu Xun and the Youth", which are on display in the museum. To read these figures, Täubner applies his concept of Lu Xun as being presented as a "leader", drawing on his concept of "Soziagogie". Unfortunately, he provides the reader with little evidence to make his reading of the figures persuasive. All in all, Täubner's description of the museums first and foremost serves to emphasize an institutional omnipresence of Lu Xun in China, but does not reveal *in what way* these institutions highlight Lu Xun's function as a "leading social example". Due to their entanglement with the political sphere, he implies that the museums are the institutional framework in which Lu Xun's political "instrumentalization" in the 1990s took place, thus serving as yet another exemplary study which focuses on Lu Xun's political instrumentalization.

[39] Among the most well-known scholarship on museology in China are the publications by Su Donghai 蘇東海, former Head of the Exhibition Department of the Museum of the Chinese Revolution 中國革命博物館陳列部主任, see: (Su Donghai 苏东海 1998); (Su Donghai 苏东海 2006); (Su Donghai 苏东海 2010). Museums in China have gained increasing attention in the English speaking academe in recent years, as seen in the publications by (Denton 2014); (Lu 2014); (Varutti 2014); (Barnes 2014) and (J. Li 2016), as well the attention paid to forms of managing and valorizing heritage in China, see (Chen Shen and Hong Chen 2010); (Fiskesjö 2010) and (Blumenfield and Silverman 2013).

Nanjing[40], Xiamen and Guangzhou Lu Xun museums have been published and the above mentioned museum histories are rarely available at research libraries.[41]

The strength of the museum history published by the Beijing Museum lies in the fact that it contains many photographs, including some documents issued or collected by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage. In some cases, the quality is high enough to enable the reader to decipher the handwritten documents, even though the publication does not give any extensive descriptions of them, but uses them mainly for purposes of illustration. However, its chronicle of events is not as detailed as in the Shanghai publication published in 2010. Furthermore, the reader is faced with a very dominant narrator in this institutional publication of the Beijing Lu Xun museum, whereas the Shanghai Museum attempts to only list events chronologically, resulting in a less prominent narrator. Between the chapters of the Beijing publication, the reader is addressed and included in the first person plural. An example of this is the introduction to the chapter dealing with individuals who "courageously and secretly protected 勇敢地，默默地守卫" Lu Xun's heritage sites and passed on his "precious heritage 宝贵的遗产" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 1). It further reads "[l]et us forever remember them! 让我们永远记住他们!" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 1), turning the publication into a eulogy to the museum founders and less a mere documentation of its history. On a related note, the "development chapter 发展篇", starts with the "new life 新生" of the museum after the Cultural Revolution, with a new territory for "freer 宽松" and more "dynamic 活跃" research on Lu Xun (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 31), beginning with a new museum director, Director Li Helin 李和林 (1904-1988 from Houqiu/ Anhui) and a number of consultants who were called to the museum to give it a new direction.

In a sense, these publications are better understood as "institutional autobiographies", in which museums narrate their life (Hill 2012a, 5), less as "histories" or "chronicles", terms which after Hayden White's publication on metahistory have by now been, if not questioned, then at the

[40] The edited volume by Xu Zhaowu 徐昭武 on *Searching Lu Xun in Nanjing* 追寻鲁迅在南京 from 2007 also gives some information about the establishment of the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum in 2006, however not linking its institutional history to the Lu Xun Memorial Room 魯迅紀念室 established for Lu Xun in 1976 (Xu Zhaowu 徐昭武 2007).

[41] The Shanghai publication is available at four libraries in the US and is an official publication of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. The Beijing and Shaoxing publications are registered in WorldCat, but not available at any library within the system nor do they have an ISBN number or publishers, but are largely intended to be internal publications.

very least demystified as part of historiography's claim to objectivity and absoluteness. What White believes true for the "scientization" of history, also holds true for its "museumification". As he has explained, there is no such thing as "proper history" that is more objective than a "philosophy of history", and that among the different modes of historical accounts there is not one that is more objective (i.e. more "realistic") than another (White 1973, xi–xii). Instead the grounds for choosing one mode or one perspective on history over another are "ultimately aesthetic and moral rather than epistemological" (White 1973, xii). Accordingly, the histories and accounts published by the museums must not only be read critically, but also with an eye for the choice of their perspective.

In addition to the official museum histories, one of the few publications addressing Lu Xun's material estate was published by former Beijing Lu Xun Museum researcher Ye Shusui 葉淑穗 together with Yang Yanli 楊燕麗 and is titled *Getting to Know Lu Xun Through His Relics* 从鲁迅遗物认识鲁迅 (1999) (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999). It does not fall into the category of the museum catalogue or history, which remain largely descriptive, but consists of individual close readings and interpretations of objects in Lu Xun's estate. However, most other publications dealing with Lu Xun's estate and former residences are a form of biography or biographical study, introducing Lu Xun in the context of a specific city.[42] Recently a more extensive spatial biography of Lu Xun has been published, in which the biographer guides the reader through the various houses in which Lu Xun lived chronologically.[43] Most of these works, however, provide little evidence or means of confirmability, which is why they often are not in the stricter sense analytical endeavors, but biographical approaches.

While current academic research on Lu Xun museums is scarce, this is likely to change in the near future. In 2011, Miao Junqi 繆君奇, a researcher at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, contributed to the edited volume on *A Survey on the Social Influence of Lu Xun* 鲁迅社会影响调

[42] There are publications which introduce Lu Xun's relations to the cities in which he lived. Especially in the late 1970s a number of such works were published, such as Lu Xun in Beijing 鲁迅在北京 (1978), see (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 1978); *Lu Xun in Guangzhou* 鲁迅在广州 (1977), see (Library of the Chinese Department of the Liaocheng Branch of Shandong Normal University 山东师院聊城分院中文系图书馆 1977); *Lu Xun in Xiamen* 鲁迅在厦门 (1976), see (Chinese Department Xiamen University 厦门大学中文系 1976); *Lu Xun in Nanjing* 鲁迅在南京 (1979), see (Library of the Chinese Department of the Liaocheng Branch of Shandong Normal University 山东师院聊城分院中文系图书馆 1979). For more recent examples, see the publication by Beijing Lu Xun Museum researcher Liu Lihua 劉麗華 *Searching for the Traces of a Great Man: Lu Xun in Beijing* 寻找伟人的足迹：鲁迅在北京 (1996) or the publication by Miao Junqi 繆君奇, researcher of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, titled *Old Shadows – Searching for Traces: Lu Xun in Shanghai* 旧影寻踪: 鲁迅在上海 (2010), which provides a large quantity of historic photographs of Lu Xun in Shanghai (Miao Junqi 繆君奇 2010).

[43] (Chen Guangzhong 晨光中 2012). Unfortunately this publication provides no sources for the reader.

查报告, edited by Zhou Lingfei 周令飛, Lu Xun's grandson, with an article on "Lu Xun-Themed Exhibitions 鲁迅题材展览" (Miao Junqi 缪君奇 2011), providing a brief history of the Lu Xun museums. In a recent application at the Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing Lu Xun Museum researcher Ge Tao 葛濤 received a research grant to publish a comprehensive survey on the six Lu Xun museums and their collections (Shaoxing, Nanjing, Beijing, Guangzhou, Xiamen, Shanghai), also including an overview of their research reaching from 1951-2016.[44] Former director and current professor of Chinese literature at the literature department at Renmin University Sun Yu 孫郁 furthermore encourages his graduate students to work with materials from the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and this is likely to be similar in the case of Prof. Wang Xirong 王錫榮, former Deputy Director at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, who is currently teaching at Shanghai Jiaotong University. Due to the administrative system of universities and cultural institutions in the PRC, which is discussed at length in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" in this thesis, museum professionals can be transferred (*diao* 調) to university positions and vice versa, allowing for an exchange between the academic and museum field. In the case of the PRC, where access to archives and collections can be very difficult without having a personal or professional connection to leading staff within the institutions, graduate students gain some access to the museums' collections (in addition to the museums' publications) through their supervisors at universities. While this allows for an access to the museum's collection, there is still little attention paid to the role and the function of Lu Xun museums as *actors* in cultural production. As far as I could experience during my research at Renmin University under the supervision of Prof. Sun Yu, among fellow graduate students museums were regarded mainly as rich but nevertheless merely as *sources* of archival material on the writer.

First attempts to theorize the memorial spaces dedicated to Lu Xun were done among others by Qian Xuchu 錢旭初, who published an article in the *Lu Xun Research Monthly* 鲁迅研究月刊 in 2013 (Qian Xuchu 钱旭初 2013). Qian reads the numerous Lu Xun museums as "ambiguous cultural spaces 多义性文化空间", whereby the ambiguity lies in its diverse political, historical/academic and market-oriented/commercial values and orientations. Qian Xuchun's understanding of the term "ambiguity" thus differs strongly from my use of the term in the reading

[44] I would like to thank Ge Tao for sharing some of his research findings with me during this last half year, including the transcript of his interview with Prof. Zhuang Zhongqing 莊鐘慶 and his photographs from the Xiamen University archive.

of Lu Xun's death mask in the Interlude "Lu Xun – embodied" in this thesis, for example, and refers more to a multifacetedness of the museum's functions, not to multiple meanings that can potentially be mutually contradicting. Yet Qian's essay acknowledges the gradual depoliticization of Lu Xun's spaces and its critical approach clearly points out that Lu Xun's museums were politically instrumentalized. Qian argues, however, that Lu Xun's museums have transformed from "political spaces 政治空间" to a "cultural industry 文化产业" (Qian Xuchu 钱旭初 2013, 71), highlighting the attempts of politicians but also special exhibitions to link Lu Xun to the CPC in the 1950s, 60s and 70s, and up to the critique of the so-called "Gang of Four" into the early 1980s. The change came in the 1990s with the "culture industry" understood as a commercialization of culture in the development of a domestic tourism market, thus similar to the conclusions Denton draws in his understanding Lu Xun as a newly discovered "Lu Xun capital 鲁迅资本" (Qian Xuchu 钱旭初 2013, 72).

Looking back, the documentation of the histories and activities of Lu Xun museums are scarce and research on their historiographies is even more limited, all the more with regard to English publications. Despite this, or possibly because of this fact, a strong opinion is expressed by those scholars who approach these institutions critically in their studies, be it by revealing their commercial character (see Denton) or their role in an ideological instrumentalization (see Täubner). Both of these arguments are based on – or shaped by – the fact that all main six Lu Xun museums are state-owned (*guoyou* 國有) museums, which has led them to be viewed as the long arm of the Party-State, acting according to its ideological inclination – no matter if this inclination is oriented towards socialist or market-oriented goals. This thesis goes beyond this method of demasking the museums' instrumentalization of Lu Xun by examining how and why museums were a driving force in the making of Lu Xun in Chinese society and why decrying his political instrumentalization in these spaces fuels restrictive readings of Lu Xun in the museums instead of deregulating them.

Findings from a Lu Xun Studies Perspective: A Conclusion

When zooming out from Lu Xun on display, I first offer a close reading of a specific object on display in the Lu Xun museum (*small* 小). I take a look at an object which best captures the strengths and the weaknesses of author museums: the writer's death mask. Having come into close physical contact with the writer's deceased body, it conjures up connotations of the historically

"authentic" over which the museum defines its authority and those that go beyond the historical in its role as a relic triggering social practices of ritual worship. I then zoom out further to the institutional history of Lu Xun's museums over time (*small-medium* 小中), investigating how Lu Xun's Second Body was and is produced though the institution of the author museum. I hereby avoid the pitfall of attempting to retrieve his First Body in form of a purely historical approach. I make no claims to retrieve the "real", "truthful", "authentic" Lu Xun – but acknowledge that these attempts remain an important field of Lu Xun-onology, especially when his material estate is consulted (manuscripts, personal objects, past residences etc.), as seen in the publications of Ni Moyan 倪墨炎[45] or also in Ge Tao 葛濤's dealing with the missing photograph of the writer Andreyev in Lu Xun's study.[46]

More importantly, however, this thesis provides new insights into Lu Xun's Second Body, that is to say into the collective memory of "Lu Xun". My findings of this inquiry are the numerous mechanisms through which Lu Xun is valorized in museum space: Among them are constantly changing genealogies of cultural and political heroes into which he is placed on display. This genealogy has changed over time, with Lu Xun being displayed in a joint effort of China and the Soviet Union as a Chinese Gorky in the 1950s, while in the 1960s and 1970s, and again in the 1990s, increasingly being displayed as a national hero in Mao Zedong's image. Another mechanism is the attribution of authenticity to that which is put on display. This occurs at times with individual objects, such as the claimed authenticity of Lu Xun's study, widely known as the iconic space named the "Tiger's Tail 老虎尾巴". At other times this occurs by displaying the replica or copy, for example, Lu Xun's death mask. The placing of the replicas into the glass showcases in Beijing and Shaoxing can be read as misleading (as one visitor's response has shown). However, by placing the "original" into a glass showcase in Shanghai with further emphasis of its authenticity, this display further adds to the aura of the original through the existence of its replicas.

However, these mechanisms are not always applied, they can also result from different forms of agency. This is shown by the agency objects have gained in the display, as well as the agency structures develop when human actors are deeply embedded within them (e.g. Lu Xun's wooden bust turning into a *wenwu* from Su Yongyan's perspective, for example).[47] But also when inquiring

[45] See "*Display*: Questioning Sacralizing Ties? – The Telegram to Mao Zedong" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

[46] See "*A Residence Remembered Anew*: Rectifying Xisantiao" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

[47] See: "*Structure*: Beyond a Critical Approach: Understanding the SACH and *guan* as invisible actors" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

into the roles of individual human actors, this thesis challenges simplifying methods of seeing "cultural politicians" merely as political actors (or writers turned politicians), showing Guo Moruo's, Wang Yeqiu's and Tang Tao's connections to Lu Xun, in which they – if at all – not merely instrumentalized Lu Xun for a specific political gain or self-benefit, but arguably in a form of gaining cultural and political capital, a form of capital which they equally attempted to gain *already prior to* gaining public offices in the government. I furthermore question the idea of museums having been established and run in a purely top-down direction, a belief which suggests that Lu Xun museums only display the "official/ orthodox" Lu Xun (see Leo Ou-fan Lee's comments in "Critical Approaches to Lu Xun Museums as Official Narratives" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized").[48] Instead this thesis shows the Lu Xun museums to be spaces of complex negotiations between various human actors. Former museum director Sun Yu (Beijing) challenging state authorities with his display by removing Mao Zedong to the required minimum is one example. Museum director Su Yongyan (Xiamen) circumventing state authority in adding the above mentioned wooden Lu Xun bust which has been deemed inappropriate by authorities is another. While human agency is not to be denied, it is also important to see it in the context of the agency that lies in their respective offices and structures (designated through the system of administrative ranking), which results in them acquiring the power to act either on eye-level with the authorities (Sun Yu's position of a Director of a Bureau) or below the radar of the authorities in the above levels (in Su Yongyan's case).[49] This can be difficult to trace not only because the structural affiliations often remain invisible while working in the background, but also since these affiliations can change and are thus not fixed or stable indicators of power either. This is, for example, shown in the up-grade or down-grade of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum throughout its museum history[50] or the transformation of the Akademie der Künste (Ost) into the Akademie der Künste (Berlin) now representing Germany as a whole, changing its structural set-up by discarding "Gedenkstätte" as an independent department.[51]

Altogether this thesis looks straight in the face of the often discussed "instrumentalization" of Lu Xun by the state and the Communist Party authorities, be it in the museum's attempt to use

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48 See: "Critical Approaches to Lu Xun Museums as Official Narratives" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

49 See: "*Structure*: Beyond a Critical Approach: Understanding the SACH and *guan* as invisible actors" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

50 See: "Hibernating Museums? (1966-1974): Of Crowds and Desolate Spaces" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

51 See: "*Brecht re-institutionalized*: The Second Birth of the Gedenkstätte" in "Lu Xun – worlded" of this thesis.

Lu Xun's *wenwu* in political campaigns, transforming them into "revolutionary relics" (*geming wenwu*)[52], or in far more subtle forms such as avoiding politically sensitive issues which the material estate of Lu Xun carries within it (e.g. his relationship to his brother Zhou Zuoren 周作人, who was ostracized as a traitor to the nation after his collaboration with the Japanese during the Second World War or other contemporary writers such as Lin Yutang 林語堂, who moved to the US and Taiwan after 1949)[53]. By no means are these debates fully de-regulated in China today. Restrictive forces still bear on many of these topics (be it by not valuing the "authentic" historical building at Badaowan hutong, where Zhou Zuoren lived with Lu Xun, and choosing to tear it down and rebuild it anew[54] or by not going into details in the complex histories of individuals which are to be found in the display of the Lu Xun museums, such as Chen Duxiu's 陳獨秀 past engagement with Trotskyism). [55] This thesis has shown the misapprehension that results from an emphasis on the great change in Lu Xun studies since the "Reform and Opening" Period[56], which did bring a degree of deregulation of Lu Xun studies in the Chinese academic world, but in the production of collective memory in museum space amounted to changes that at first glance seem to have been deregulating (the return of Chen Duxiu, Lin Yutang, Zhu An or Zhou Zuoren) but have – at a closer look – been continuing other past restrictions. It is thus time in Lu Xun studies to avoid the pitfalls which come about when both restrictive and de-regulative forces claim to retrieve the First Body of Lu Xun. For this leads to hardened fronts in which both cling tightly to their authority to define which presentation of Lu Xun this First Body is.

Instead this thesis encourages a debate about each of the disciplines' and professions' own roles in the production of Lu Xun's Second Body, be they active in China, in Europe or in supra-national networks. A self-reflection on the side of the producers will open up new possibilities to know and learn about Lu Xun in the future. On the one hand, this thesis calls scholars especially from the US and European academe to forsake viewing museums in China with a hermeneutics of suspicion in which research findings are measured in their impact by how great a discrepancy can be revealed between Lu Xun's First Body (the first drawing in the above mentioned short film) to those of the misleading grimace or illegible scribbling against which one can juxtapose his first

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[52] See: "*Circulation*: Lu Xun's *wenwu* in Political Campaigns 1976-77" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.
[53] See: "*Display*: Reintroducing Lin Yutang into the Display" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.
[54] See: "*A Residence Forgotten*: Zhou Zuoren's Badaowan hutong" in "Lu Xun – institutionalzed" of this thesis.
[55] See: "*Display*: Reintroducing Lin Yutang into the Display" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.
[56] See: "New Approaches? (1980-2000s) History's Cul-de-Sac and the Rejection of Sagehood" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis, which intentionally poses the question of whether these approaches are indeed new.

portrait. On the other hand, this thesis also calls on museums not to insist on their power over the truth which they yield not only by owning Lu Xun's estate but even more so by making it difficult for researchers to gain access to it. This can occur through denying access to internal archives, but also in the more subtle form of mediating Lu Xun's material heritage to an extent that its historical trajectory can no longer be traced, for example by publishing photographic imagery with no information on its present location, state or information as to where this imagery came from. Often, an indication to missing information or a reference to *alleged* photographers or even the hands through which the photograph moved before arriving in the museum's archive, would be preferable to a simplification of its derivation. Only when researchers and museum professionals make an effort to approach each other will a more fruitful dialogue become possible. This thesis thus offers a first – if small – step into this direction.

The findings of this research of course open up new questions in Lu Xun Studies and Museology in China that will require addressing in the future. What, for example, will this profound reform in the administrative system through which the hierarchies between museums and state institutions have been fixated for more than a century bring? Will it entail a deregulation as it proclaims or will it give rise to further restrictions (an empowerment of private museums and foundations on the surface, but an increased blurring of lines between government and non-government structures, as this thesis has suggested in its beginning)[57]? Will strong Lu Xun scholars choose to shoulder the work of museum director or will the profession of Lu Xun scholarship and the museum work dedicated to his material estate branch out? How have counter-narratives found their way into museum displays of other writers in China? If so, how did they enter into these museum spaces? Through visitors (as they asked about Zhu An's whereabouts in Xisantiao hutong No. 21[58] or climbed over its walls during the Cultural Revolution described in this thesis[59])? Or through the ambiguity of texts (when Lu Xun's poem is recognized to be restricted to one reading alone in his presentation in the museum[60]) or possibly though intense encounters with museum guides (be it Wang Dehou explaining to visitors Zhu An's whereabouts or Elke Pfeil engaging in a lengthy discussion with official delegations criticizing Brecht as "systemtreu"[61])? This thesis is

[57] See: "*Structure*: Beyond a Critical Approach: Understanding the SACH and *guan* as invisible actors" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.
[58] See: "*A Residence Remembered Anew*: Rectifying Xisantiao hutong" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.
[59] See: "*Actors*: Ye Shusui, the "Gang of Four", the Red Guards and an Unknown Visitor" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.
[60] See: "*A Residence Remembered Anew*: Rectifying Xisantiao hutong" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.
[61] See: "*Actors*: Forging a Collective: The Power of the Narrator" in "Lu Xun – worlded" of this thesis.

thus a call for scholars to leave their studies and enter museums spaces, look closely at that which is being put on display, and ask both new and unresolved questions about precisely those mechanisms in the production of literature and authors which they themselves are part of.

小 INTERLUDE : Lu Xun – embodied

The 'First Body' as Relic: Lu Xun's Death Mask

Can Lu Xun's death be faced directly? This might seem, at first glance, an unusual question to raise in an academic analysis of Lu Xun's death, but it will serve a purpose in capturing the core issue which a representation and visualization of Lu Xun's death in museum space entails. The fact that, in the past, the depiction of Lu Xun's death was by no means an impartial undertaking can be seen in the realm of print media. It is telling that in the high-quality illustrated biography of Lu Xun published in 1976, the last year of the Cultural Revolution, Lu Xun's life story ends with a photograph of Lu Xun laughing heartily on a photograph taken on September 8, 1936, eleven days before he passed away (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1976, 114). The editors from the Beijing Lu Xun Museum had decided to discard a number of photographs of his deceased body and his funeral, which they had included in the previous version of the same illustrated biography published in 1957 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 et. al. 1957, 55). Lu Xun's death was no longer to be visually represented in the story of his life. While the museum's collection preserved the photographs, the museum's publications only featured a selection, a selection which varies in the various editions over time. The comparison of such print media foreshadows that the depiction of Lu Xun's death and thus also its display in museum space was fraught with problems at certain periods of time. While in the 21st century the depiction of Lu Xun's death is no longer left out of a reader's visual memory, the question arises *how* Lu Xun's death is displayed in museum space today and what traces we can find of how it was displayed in the past. Or to rephrase this question in a manner which circumvents evoking a largely descriptive response, one might reflect the following question including its reception, both with reference to the visitor and the quality of reception: Can Lu Xun's death be "faced directly" in museum space?

The term "to face directly" (*zhimian* 直面) has been used by Lu Xun and by his biographers mostly speaking about life, not death. It echoes one of Lu Xun's most well-known essays titled "In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen 纪念刘和珍君" which he wrote on April 1, 1926 when he lived at Xisantiao hutong No. 21 in Beijing.[62] It appears in his powerful and dramatic statement: "True

[62] The essay was published in the 74th issue of *Threads of Conversation* 語絲 on April 12, 1926 and commemorated two young female students of Lu Xun's from the National Beijing Women's Normal College 國立北京女子師範大學, Liu Hezhen and Yang Dequn 楊德群 (1902-1926) who were shot on March 18 in front of Duan Qirui's Government Building (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005h, 294).

fighters dare face [this] bleak life directly and look unflinchingly at bloodshed. 真的猛士，敢于直面惨淡的人生，敢于正视淋漓的鲜血" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005h, 290). Here, that which is faced directly is life, in all its bleakness and hopelessness, which Lu Xun felt overcome by when learning of his student Liu Hezhen 劉和珍 (1904-1926 from Nanchang/ Jiangxi) having been killed in the student protests of March 18, 1926. For Lu Xun, Liu Hezhen hereby was turned into a martyr (*xianlie* 先烈),[63] who was to inspire others to become fighters (*mengshi*) who would themselves be able to face life directly (*zhimian*). Shanghai-University-based cultural and literary critic Wang Xiaoming 王曉明 (1955- from Shanghai) later chose the same expression as the title for his biography of Lu Xun which he published in 1993, titled *A Life That Cannot Be Faced Directly: The Biography of Lu Xun* 无法直面的人生：鲁迅转 (Wang Xiaoming 王晓明 [1993] 2001)[64]. This biography is considered one of the earliest biographies published on the mainland which is not a hagiography but a critical biography "working against the Lu Xun myth" as Denton argues (Denton 2002), one which acknowledges Lu Xun's more pessimistic, depressive or even nihilistic character traits. Wang's explanation for choosing this title is that Lu Xun's life can indeed not be "faced directly", as it was a life Lu Xun himself even failed to face up to and by the same token was a life that the reader could not "face directly" if he or she hoped to really understand Lu Xun.[65] Facing Lu Xun directly thus can be understood metaphorically as accepting him with all his inherent contradictions (e.g. nihilist/ fighter) and not being tempted to let one's gaze stray to behold him in profile only, a one-sided portrait.

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[63] See (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005u, 283).

[64] The biography was first published one year earlier with Taibei Yeqiang Publishing 台北業強出版社 (Wang Xiaoming 王晓明 2009).

[65] Wang Xiaoming explains the choice of the title in his biography which is written in a first-person-narrative, clearly including himself as the biographer in the process of narration: "If someone wants to face a life directly, it needs to be a life that can indeed be faced directly; if this facing directly is equal to admitting defeat, admitting that life has no meaning, admitting that you are a tragic figure, you inevitably will fall into an abyss of despair, you will wait for an extermination that cannot be prolonged – can you still face this directly? Unfortunately, Lu Xun came about this life coincidentally. I even think, if you can understand how difficult it is to face this life directly, you probably will be able really understand Lu Xun. I do not worship him the way I used to, but with a greater emotional and psychological distance, it seems like I have actually come closer to him; I no longer regard him as a role model (*ouxiang*) high above, he is for me located at the very middle of my inner world, like us strenuously struggling in a grave crisis. 一个人要直面人生，也须那人生是可以直面的，倘若这直面竟等同于承认失败，承认人生没有意义，承认自己是个悲剧人物，必然要沉入绝望的深渊，等待无可延宕的毁灭--你还能够直面吗?不幸的是，鲁迅恰恰遇上了这样的人生。我甚至想，能够懂得这人生的难以直面，大概也就能真正懂得鲁迅了吧。我不再像先前那样崇拜他了，但我自觉在深层的心理和情感距离上，似乎是离他越来越近;我也不再将他视作一个崇高的偶像，他分明就在我们中间，和我们一样在深重的危机中苦苦挣扎" (Wang Xiaoming 王晓明 [1993] 2001, 3).

Thus while the question concerning Lu Xun's life had been whether or not it could be faced directly *including its bleakness* (both life in general and Lu Xun's in particular), the question concerning this interlude addressing Lu Xun's death and how it is presented in his memorial museums is whether it can be "faced directly" *including its banality*. Lu Xun's death, as he died quietly in his bed on October 19, 1936, was not a glorious death in the sense of dying for a cause or at the hands of any one enemy. His death was a natural death and did not turn him into a martyr, as had his student Liu Hezhen's. And yet, his death is put on display in the museum represented through various media, most prominently his death mask. After giving a short introduction in the extraordinary role this mask plays in the display, this part scrutinizes how this mask is contextualized in the various Lu Xun museums today and argues that this one object can indeed be read in numerous conflicting ways. Its agency[66] hereby rests in its ambiguity, for it can be read with and against the grain of Lu Xun as a (literary) hero. Ultimately, I will A) propose three different readings, or better experiences, of one mask by asking: Is it heroic? – morbid? – or ironic? Reading one mask in three different ways will highlight the inherent ambiguity objects carry in themselves. Finally, the deconstruction of a single meaning behind the object will further lead us to B) questions of authenticity, deconstructing the uniqueness of the object but also showing how the "authentic" mask leads to a belief in a retrievability of the First Body (which this thesis as a whole challenges), and C) questions of power, regarding the death mask as the very moment in which competing actors begin to claim the author's image and the bodily autonomy of the author ends.

When visiting the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, Lu Xun's death mask is presented in a glass showcase [**IC 7 Death Mask, Beijing 1, 2**]. It occupies a prominent position at the end of the exhibition hall and its showcase is further elevated on a platform. The way in which his death mask is singularized in the display and presented within the overall space of the museum, one of the few objects which can be approached from all four sides, communicates to the visitor that something valuable (or maybe even unique) is being displayed.

[66] I have drawn much inspiration from the attention cultural studies have given to objects (Appadurai 2011), regarding objects as acquiring biographies of their own and passing through various states of value, acquiring numerous lives amongst processes such as Kopytoff's concept of singularization in his "Cultural Biography of Things" (Kopytoff 2011), or Patrick Geary's analysis of how value is socially attributed to relics in his "Sacred Commodities" (Patrick Geary 2011). These approaches have opened my eyes to seeing the significance of Lu Xun's death mask as a relic in the process of making Lu Xun's Second Body.

IC 7 Death Mask, Beijing Lu Xun Museum



1./ 2. Lu Xun's death mask in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed February 19, 2013. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Death masks are by no means extraordinary objects in China. For in their very basic function as cult objects, death masks are indeed a transcultural phenomenon, as they have appeared in many cultures around the globe. Since the Stone Age and long before the development of the written word, masks have served as means to embody spirits and the dead, in other words, those who had lost their bodies or had no bodies. They were essential in cult practices, with the cult of the dead arguably preceding all other forms of religious practices, the core of human society (Belting 2013, 44–46). Such practices, however, strongly differ in the degree to which likeness and the connection to a specific person was relevant for the production of such death masks and it is precisely this difference that has received much attention in the field of (global) art history. In one example from Jericho from around 7,000 BCE, today displayed in the Archeological Museum in Damascus, a mask made of burned lime and clay was spread directly over a skull, in this case not forming a mask, but indeed the (artificial) face of the skull (Belting 2013, 48). Adhering to the shape of the skull, a minimal degree of likeness might have been achieved hereby and in its practice resonates with the "modern" death masks also with regard to its material [IC 8 History of Death Masks1].[67] Little emphasis on likeness is found in early Chinese art. In the Bronze Age in China, bronze heads from the grave in Sanxingdui 三星堆 in today's Sichuan Province from 13,000-12,000 BCE during the Shang Dynasty feature gold foil masks [IC 8 History of Death Masks 2] (Wu Hung 1997, 65), but while the face and mask are anthropomorphic, they do not resemble a human face or that of

[67] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 008.

one particular human being. These earlier gold masks were highly stylized, featuring no individualized expression. Ancient societies in China did "not appear to be motivated by a need to represent the face of a specific human individual or a supernatural entity," art historian Kesner argues (Kesner 2007, 38).[68] In other words, a link between individuality and the identity of a specific being (either human or supernatural) realized through likeness was not key in early Chinese representations of the face. Iconic and abstract means were used instead, whereby one can only speculate over the reasons for this. One argument is that ancestors were too important to permit representation, which "diminished the aura of a person" (Kesner 2007, 41).[69] Thus in early Chinese art, faces did not refer to a particular person in the sense of pointing to a particular individual – even though artisans would have had the technological means to do so.[70] But this was not practiced, as "faces were exempt from the business of indexical reference to personal identity", Kesner explains (Kesner 2007, 45). It was not until the middle of the Ming Dynasty (late 1400s-early 1500s) that depictions of the face would become more realistic in Chinese art, with complex developments between genres (masks, tomb figures and portrait painting), for example with portrait paintings of ancestors (*zuxian hua* 祖先畫)[71] being depicted more "realistically" in the sense of being free from idealization and claiming a person's identity [IC 8 History of Death Masks 3].[72]

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[68] Similarly, jade masks made of individual pieces of jade also did not depart from a real face of an individual, did not intend likeness.

[69] Another aspect that was voiced in the debate on employing ancestor likeness in the production of ritual portraits was an anxiety over the ability of any painter to capture the ancestor's appearance faithfully, which led Confucian scholars to fear that if the portrait had any deviation from the ancestor, and be it but one hair that was incorrectly rendered, the sacrifices provided for the ancestors would be misdirected to someone else (Stuart 2005, 200), arguing for the use of spirit tablets instead of portraits.

[70] This can be proven by the degree of differentiation necessary to create a large amount of individual different figures, for example in the Terracotta Army 兵馬俑 of the first emperor of Qin, Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (259-210 BCE) in today's Xi'an 西安, an ability which they did not apply to achieve likeness, not even in the case of the high-ranking officers, which could have been indicated by adding names and an individualized expression. Instead, with the help of a modular system (Ledderose 2000) (e.g. mold made components of the Terracotta Army), faces were "edited" (Kesner 2007, 43). They were thus unique, individualized, but not personalized.

[71] Other terms for such paintings include *zuxian xiang* 祖先像, *zuzong hua* 祖宗畫 (or *xiang*), or the "left-behind portrait" or "posthumous portrait" (*yixiang* 遺像), the "calling back the shadow image" (*zhuiying* 追影) or "lifting the shroud to see the face" (*jiebo* 揭帛) are also used to described visual portraits of ancestors. For more information, see: (Stuart 2005, 213).

[72] The beginnings of links to the individuality of concrete persons are mostly dated around the 130s BCE in tomb figures (which also included the famous Marquise of Dai 軑 (~213-163 BCE) in Mawangdui 馬王堆 tomb, with her among the best preserved human remains of their time, globally speaking), but again, not the face, but context (behavior, biographical context) would be defining in making the person recognizable. Also in later portrait painting during the North Song (1127-1279), the face was decidedly secondary and did not claim likeness but portrayed the ideal inner spirit of a person (Kesner 2007, 46). Only in commemorative ancestral portraits of the middle Ming Dynasty (late 1400s-early 1500s) did the face become a sign of the person's identity and individuality, devoid of idealization. Unlike emperor portraits in which faces were reduced to a flat surface, inexpressive and idealized, these ancestral paintings are held to be more realistic in their depiction. But even so, they too showed no

However, even ancestral portraits from later examples in the Qing-Dynasty (1644-1912) did not necessarily aim for, or better prioritize, likeness, as they were mostly painted after the subjects' deaths by artists who had never seen them. When Lu Xun's youngest brother Zhou Chunshou 周椿壽 (1893-1898) died at the age of six when Lu Xun was 17 years old, a painting was created to commemorate him and bring comfort to Lu Xun's mother (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 374–76). She kept this painting in her living room for the next 45 years and the painting was later also hung on the wall in the dining room at Xisantiaohutong No. 21 in Beijing, where Lu Xun lived with his mother and his wife Zhu An. A replica of the painting can still be found hanging there today [IC 8 History of Death Masks 5, 6]. This painting, however, did not aim to realistically resemble his brother and no photos exist of him, thus little information can be drawn from the painting about his individual outer appearance. It is important to acknowledge that Kesner argues against a linear development in the sense of a gradual strive (or progress) towards individualization, continuing on to a personalization, and finally arriving at a humanization of facial representation in Chinese art, as was still held by earlier art historians of East Asian Art such as Dietrich Seckel (Kesner 2007, 50). By the same token, it is crucial to see that likeness was neither irrelevant in Chinese art (including the depiction of ancestors)[73] nor was it always relevant in European art, as the absence of likeness in portraits during the Early and High Middle Ages clearly disputes.[74] But the role of the death mask in ancient Rome and especially since the Renaissance in Europe introduced a new importance of likeness and immediacy of the portrait of the deceased into the Chinese cultural context of ancestral worship.

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expression of emotion and it is not clear whether realistic depiction and likeness were critical for the value of such an image (Kesner 2007, 48). Ultimately, Chinese physiognomy would influence how the face would be depicted, not likeness (Kesner 2007, 49). Chinese physiognomy possibly leads back to the Han Dynasty, but first written manuals as proof are from the late Tang Dynasty (618-907). The increasing sensitivity towards human likeness in portrait painting only begins from the Ming Dynasty, and even then only to a degree. Kesner points out that the earliest were "faces of no one", detached from the task of individualization. Later examples either had identity, but no expression (ancestral paintings, from the early 1500s) [IC 8 History of Death Masks 3], or had expression, but no identity (religious figures such as the old monk Luohan, from the late 1000s) [IC 8 History of Death Masks 4].

73 De Groot included the custom of creating portraits of the deceased in his lengthy study on *The Religious System of China* from 1892, referring to well-to-do citizens of Amoy who would have full length polychromic paintings created of the deceased. It was to serve the same purpose as the soul-tablet made of wood, namely as a "seat for the spirit of the dead. De Groot explains that "With a view to this object, the family are always very anxious to obtain a good portrait. Hence the painter is in many instances compelled to do the face over and over again, until he succeeds in convincing them that the likeness is perfect" (Groot 1892, 113–14).

74 With the end of the Roman Empire, the practice of creating death masks fell into oblivion until its reintroduction during the Renaissance (Hertl 2002, 22). Yet again there are exceptions to this rule, as traces of likeness have been claimed to exist in some late 13th century burial figures (*gisant*, or recumbent effigies), for example in that of Rudolf of Habsburg in Speyer. I would like to thank Christoph Mauntel for making me aware of this question during one of many helpful discussions.

How does Lu Xun's death mask differ from Chinese ancestral portraits and what role does the museum play in its display? In European art, especially in the field of portraiture, likeness played a much more crucial role in the representation of outstanding historical figures in art works than it did in China. In the first century, it was mainly the political and religious elite[75] who would be portrayed for commemoration and plaster, lime stone, wax or terracotta masks served as a means to "capture" the individual's likeness and with its help create artworks, such as busts and statues that resembled their appearance. The function these masks served would increasingly distance them from objects of death cult since they were produced as a means to an end. Lu Xun was not a political or religious leader in the stricter sense, but belonged to the intellectual elite of his times in China. In the mid-15th century, the practice of creating death masks was "popularized" in Europe in the sense that masks were not only produced for the political and religious elite, but a larger group in society (including merchants, scholars, artists and others) also gained the financial means and social influence to have such masks made. Especially since the 1430s did the production of death masks increase rapidly as the development was connected to a new understanding of the self after the Renaissance, when the belief of man as the measure of all things spread across Europe (Hertl 2002, 28).[76] The production of death masks was no longer restricted to the nobility, but was extended to artists, scholars and politicians and other prominent and wealthy members of society (Hertl 2002, 45). While the clientele of those who could afford death masks with regard to both financial and cultural capital broadened, its function largely remained limited to serving as a technical aid in the creation of other artistic representations with a likeness of specific historically outstanding or wealthy individuals in society.

In Europe of the 18th century, the death mask came to develop a new function in society, even though this function was strictly expedient as well. The mask, and later more prominently the skull, were at the core of the development of the sciences of physiognomy, most prominently propagated by Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801 from Zürich/ Switzerland), who developed a "pseudo-scientific belief in the readability of the face" (Belting 2013, 89), which already during his lifetime

[75] In the case of political leaders such as Gaius Iulius Caesar (100-44 BCE), his dead body was reproduced according to his likeness from wax, which was then used in order to create busts and statues, but often plaster masks were also used for this purpose of serving as a model representations made of more valuable materials, such as marble (Hertl 2002, 21–27).

[76] The production of death masks increased across Europe, but practices associated with them were, of course, different in Italy, France or England, for example. In Florence, for example, it was common to keep death masks of family members on display one's house.

faced strong opposition by his contemporaries.[77] Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828 from Tiefenbronn/ Baden) would later on change the focus from the face to the skull, with his work on phrenology well-known in Vienna, Paris and throughout Europe (Hertl 2002, 54)[78]. This new interest in the skull was based on the belief that the shape of the skull revealed information about the brain and ultimately the character, mind and genius of a person, transferring Romantic concepts of the writer as genius into the physical bodily realm. In the times when one had no instruments to measure synapses in the neural system, it was the size, mass and surface of the brain from which one hoped to gain knowledge about the human mind (Belting 2013, 94). Thus the intellectual, especially the writer, became a major subject in the production of death masks, as one hoped to learn more about the constitution of the mind of the (literary/ artistic) genius, with Goethe reluctantly answering Gall's requests by providing him with masks during his life time (Lebensmasken) (Hertl 2002, 54). By the 19th century, Charles Darwin, however, changed the focus from the face and skull to questions of mimic, which had developed over the process of evolution through adaption and assimilation to survive, discarding Lavater's ideas and focusing on the muscles to read the human face in comparison with other living creatures, most famously in his *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* in 1872 (Darwin [1872] 2014). Thus the death mask lost its leading function as a tool for a science of the human mind and brain.

This process of devalorization in the scientific field coincided with a rediscovery of the death mask as a ritual object of commemoration. It was in particular among the wider wealthy society that the death mask experienced this revival after it had lost its standing in science. The earliest such example in which the ritual value again outweighed its use value in the arts and sciences is held to be the mask of the German writer Gotthold Ephraim Lessing [IC 9 Death Masks of Writers I 1][79] created in 1781, only a few years after Lavater had published his book on physiognomy. Friends of the writer had a death mask made in order keep their friend in memory and it is understood to be one of the first "modern death masks" in the sense that it no longer served as a means to an end, but gained in inherent value. The face portrayed by the mask was not understood to be "dead/ lifeless", but the "true" face of the man was to be depicted in it (Belting 2013, 100).

[77] For example by Wilhelm Humboldt (1767-1835) or Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-1799).

[78] Indeed it had been the artistic skills of his drawings for his book (he was also a painter by training), that helped his ideas to proliferate and gain influence. One of his drawings was a profile of Schiller's skull from 1843 which he had drawn from a plaster copy which he had made from Schiller's skull when he was reburied in Weimar (Hertl 2002, 54).

[79] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 009.

The portrait became timeless as it was no longer subject to alterations, no longer contained mimic.[80] What made this and similar masks of these times different and arguably "modern", was that they were no longer connected to a tomb (thus in the immediate context of the burial) and no longer a means to an end artistically or scientifically, but instead these death masks were from their beginning connected to private collections and museum spaces (Belting 2013, 101). Around these objects, societies returned to cult practices which had been pushed into the background in the endeavors of the proponents of physiognomy and phrenology (Belting 2013, 103) and thereby gave birth to a new function of death masks at the end of the 1700s. It would be this function which would be in the foreground in the creation of many death masks in the centuries to follow, for example Bertolt Brecht's death mask created in the mid-20th century [IC 9 Death Masks of Writers I 3].

The introduction of the death mask in Asia, for example Lu Xun's death mask in 1936, ran counter to its gradual devalorization in Europe. The reason for this gradual loss in interest in the broader society in Europe were the First and Second World War, in which deaths skyrocketed, leaving little space for collective commemoration of the individual through personal bodily encounters (Hertl 2002, 53). However, death masks of "outstanding" individuals continued to be produced in Europe, as Bertolt Brecht's example shows. In Russia and later in the Soviet Union, death masks were created of political leaders such as Lenin, but also created of canonical writers, such as Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky (Hertl 2002, 182–83) [IC 10 Death Masks of Writers II 1, 2][81]. In Asia, the practice did not become as widespread as it had been in Europe, but in the context of commemorating particular "outstanding" individuals it was introduced to Japan and China as well. It is not clear where exactly the inspiration to create Lu Xun's death mask derived from, yet the fact that Lu Xun's Japanese friend with a medical background made Lu Xun's mask suggests that it had been from Lu Xun's close connection to Japan that his last portrait was captured through this medium.

[80] Some death masks were altered retrospectively, however, as Nietzsche's death mask shows. This was either due to flaws in the mold (e.g. due to difficulties in removing the mask) or, as in Nietzsche's case, as aesthetic improvements to the appearance.

[81] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 010.

Display: One Death Mask, Three Readings

The presentation of Lu Xun's death mask in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum is very simple [return to **IC 7 Death Mask, Beijing**]. On each of the four sides, Lu Xun's seal[82] is printed in light grey, not in the usual cinnabar red resembling seal paste, keeping with the overall monochrome grey design of the exhibition, yet still adding a sense of authority. The label placed inside the showcase reads: "Lu Xun's Mask, made by Okuda Koka 鲁迅面模，奥田杏花制作" along with the English translation "Death Mask of Lu Xun, made by a Japanese dentist". The Chinese term facial mask (*mianmo* 面膜) does not immediately imply that it is a death mask and there is no corresponding Chinese term used combining both "death" and "mask", but instead either the term "facial mask" (*mianmo*) is used, which does not necessarily refer to a mask of a deceased person, or "mortuary portrait" (*yirong* 遺容)[83] is used, which does not necessarily refer to a mask. As has been discussed above in this interlude, the production of death masks as a practice was introduced to China during the 20th century and has no local counterpart. To provide a term for the object in the labels of the museum and in illustrated books of the exhibition, "plaster mortuary portrait" (*shigao yirong* 石膏遺容) is used to avoid ambiguity by specifying its material. In the Beijing display which refers to it as "facial mask", the fact that it is indeed a *death* mask is mainly communicated through the context in which the mask is displayed, as the below will show. The English and the Chinese furthermore differ in that the name of the Japanese dentist is not given in the English translation and that in the Chinese it is not mentioned that Okuda Koka was a dentist. These differences in the translation are minor, but can have an effect on the viewer, intended or not. While the name might have been omitted in the English version to make the labels easier to understand and thus more accessible to a foreign audience, it actually is doubtful whether a larger Chinese audience would indeed know Okuda Koka, thus raising the question whether the same method might have been helpful for a Chinese audience as well. However, more seems lost in the Chinese version by not mentioning that Okuda Koka was a dentist, resulting in the "medical", arguably technical, air implied by his occupation being lost, as Okuda Koka could be understood to simply have been a friend or an artist, connecting the mask much more easily with a presentation of the mask as an

[82] Lu Xun had a large collection of seals, including seals for his numerous pen-names, but also variations of his pen-name Lu Xun. The seal print used here is from a seal carved by Wu Deguang 吳德光 in 1931, which Lu Xun used frequently for his essays in the 1930s (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 229–42).

[83] According to the *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典, the first use of the term *yirong* was in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) (The Commercial Press 2002).

aesthetic object, not an artisanal one. However, these differences that one can make out in the reading of the label are not conspicuous. Instead, as we will see later in this part, it is not the information the label gives that is telling, but the information which it withholds. Before returning to the label, however, the following will first provide a (close) reading of the mask in the exhibition along with the other texts and forms of media which contextualize it in the display.

For even though the death mask is singularized at the center of the room, it is important to see the death mask in its spatial context. By taking into consideration the composition of the exhibition, it becomes clear how this object is indeed highlighted in the display. For the exhibition in Beijing is organized chronologically, starting from Lu Xun's birth in Shaoxing to his death in Shanghai. The exhibition does not *end* with Lu Xun's death, but in an additional area provided in a room adjacent to the exhibition hall, the visitor is also introduced to the posthumous reception of Lu Xun before exiting the building. Lu Xun's death does, however, conclude the exhibition in the main hall in which his life and works are presented. In the immediate context around the death mask, other objects are on display as well: A selection of manuscripts of the last texts and letters Lu Xun wrote before he died, some of the last photographs of Lu Xun, most prominently the photograph of Lu Xun depicting him shortly after he died, but also medical records, such as his X-rays, and symbolical records, such as a large white banner which had been placed on his coffin when it was carried through the streets of Shanghai. Indeed, all of these objects are presented in glass cabinets built into the walls of the exhibition hall, with only the death mask singled out, on display in the middle of the room. All these other objects have an influence on how one sees, reads and experiences the death mask on display.

Reading One: Heroic?

One reading of the display encourages the visitor to see Lu Xun as a literary hero. In favor of this reading are three other exhibits along which the death mask is on display. Firstly, the mask is displayed next to the banner that had been placed on Lu Xun's coffin [IC 11 Heroic I 1]. The banner itself reads Soul of the Nation (*minzuhun* 民族魂). The label on the glass, behind which the banner is displayed, gives additional information: "After Lu Xun passed away, a white banner donated by the people of Shanghai covered the coffin, Shen Junru wrote the title 'Soul of the Nation' on it. 鲁迅逝世后，灵柩上覆盖一面上海民众敬献的白色旗帜，沈钧儒题写民族魂". Shen Junru 沈鈞儒 (1875-1963 from Jiaxing/ Zhejiang) was a lawyer and friend of Lu Xun's. He will not likely

be known to a larger foreign audience, which might be why his name is again omitted in the English translation on the label, similar to the labeling of the death mask. The banner had great symbolical meaning and it is not coincidental that the label states that the "people of Shanghai" as a collective donated the banner to be placed on his coffin, for it aims to show a consensus across a collective group that valued Lu Xun and agreed on him having embodied the bodiless soul (*hun*) of the whole of the Chinese people (*minzu*). The term *hun* 魂 refers to the heavenly soul, which in Confucian belief transcends the body and can be worshiped anywhere. Its counterpart is the bodily soul *po* 魄, which remains in the corpse and needs to be settled in a grave and presented with offerings (Ebrey 1990, 417); (James L. Watson 1988, 8). Lu Xun as a hero of the people was thus presented as having embodied the *hun*, the heavenly soul, of the Chinese people.

The banner itself is an object that reveals much about how the posthumous Lu Xun is represented. The "original" cloth could not be preserved, as it was buried with the coffin in 1936 and was disintegrating (*fubai* 腐敗) when the grave was reopened later on (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 18).[84] But the banner came back to life in the sense that a replica of the first banner was made for the ceremony around the second burial[85] of Lu Xun which took place in 1956, when his grave was moved from the Wanguo Public Cemetery 萬國公墓 to Hongkou Park 虹口公園 (later renamed Lu Xun Park 魯迅公園). The second burial was enacted as a state burial, while the first had been a private burial turned "public" by the large audience that attended, an audience which was held to be "the people", juxtaposing them to the then-current government of the GMD which refused to commemorate and valorize Lu Xun.[86] In black-and-white photographs of this second

[84] Ye Shusui also pointed out in the interview that the original banner does not exist anymore, but that it was recreated by Zhu Jiadong 朱嘉棟 (1932-1993) from the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 2016b, 273), who had allegedly climbed onto the coffin when it was unearthed and copied the characters from the banner of the first coffin to create the new red banner. Ye Shusui could, however, not recall that the color of the replicated banner had been changed from white to red. This might be explained by the fact that she too relies on the black-and-white photographs which circulated in the publications discussing the second burial (Ye Shusui 葉淑穗 22.08.2015, 01:12:42).

[85] The second burial was a state burial and moved Lu Xun visibly from the private to the public/state realm. This can most vividly be seen in the fact that the tomb stone inscription of the 1936 tomb stone was in the handwriting of the seven-year-old Zhou Haiying(Liu Lihua 刘丽华 and Zhao Lixia 赵丽霞 2001, 92);(Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1996, 101) [IC 11 Heroic I 4], while the inscription of his new tomb in Hongkou Park was written by Mao Zedong in 1956 and has been kept until today [IC 11 Heroic I 3], which clearly marks Lu Xun's grave as a political picture act in which Mao Zedong claimed authority over Lu Xun's body (see "*Structure*: The Research Room: From Maojiawan to Fuchengmen (1975-79)" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized") (Bredekamp 2010, 48–56).

[86] Shen Junru pointed out in his speech at Lu Xun's funeral in 1936 that Maxim Gorky, who had only died a few months before Lu Xun, was granted a state funeral in the Soviet Union, while the demands of the Chinese people to hold a state funeral for Lu Xun was not heard by the government. Thus the focus was laid on the fact that "the people" instead of the government held the funeral (Wang Xueping 王学平 2006, 16).

burial [IC 11 Heroic I 2],[87] one can see that his coffin is covered by a similar banner, with Lu Xun's friends and family standing close by, including from right to left Ba Jin, Xu Guangping (1898-1968 from Guangzhou/ Guangdong), Song Qingling (1893-1981 from Shanghai) and at the center wearing a suit and tie, Mao Dun, who had not been present at Lu Xun's first burial as he was not in Shanghai at the time (Kong Haizhu 孔海珠 2002, 66); (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2013, 130).

What these black and white records do not show, however, is that the cloth on which the three characters for Soul of the Nation were stitched, had been changed from white to red satin (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 18). The symbolical power of the red colored satin highlighted that the PRC in which the CPC (with red as its representative color) formed the government had finally granted Lu Xun the state burial he deserved. However, the red color of the banner is hardly recorded in publications dealing with Lu Xun's funeral(s) and is only stated casually in the chronicles of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, edited by its director Wang Xirong 王錫榮. For the display in the museum, the colors of the banner which was placed on the coffin of his first burial were chosen, with the white satin as its background, which in its coloring also corresponds to the photographic images visitors will have in mind of the ceremonies when drawing on their visual memory. When thinking of the banner, it is most likely that the imagery of the second burial will come to the mind of visitors, as these images are the ones in which the banner is indeed visible and are the ones that were circulated most widely.[88]

The choice of the color white instead of red for the replica could also be connected to the color white being traditionally associated with mourning in China, and possibly also with the Confucian practice of pasting white banners on the houses of the deceased as a formal notification of death (James L. Watson 1988, 12). In the arrangement in the display, a further connection to Confucian burial practices is echoed in the banner's presentation. One of the main standardized burial rites in Confucian tradition was the preparation and installation of a soul tablet for the dead (James L. Watson 1988, 13). These tablets were commonly installed on the domestic altar or in an ancestral hall. The tablets for the deceased served as a "repository for one aspect of their soul", and the soul was represented as a written name, usually a posthumous *hao* 號, a pseudonym or art name. The repository of the soul did not take the form of pictures, icons or statues, also not among the illiterate (James L. Watson 1988, 13). The vertical display of the white banner with the characters

[87] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 011.

[88] I could not find a photograph from the 1936 burial in which the banner "Soul of the Nation" is visibly draped over the coffin. All imagery I could access in publications that feature the banner are from the 1956 state burial.

"Soul of the Nation" written on it thus evokes associations of such Confucian soul tablets (*paiwei* 牌位). Taking this into consideration, the banner can be seen as serving as a traditional form of visual representation of the deceased while the death mask provides a form of visual representation understood as "modern" and "foreign" to traditional Chinese representations of the deceased, as is later discussed in this part. The death mask and the banner are connected in as far as both of them are understood to have been created in the days following Lu Xun's death, thus are displayed together. The death mask did not seem to have played a role in the funeral or burial ceremony as it does not feature in the photographs showing Lu Xun's deceased body on display at the Universal Funeral Parlor 殯儀館. The two are, however, connected symbolically in the display, as the death mask is the embodiment of the bodiless soul (the individual face) and the banner as a symbol of recognition by the people and as capturing the consensus of ascribing the title Soul of the Nation to this one individual by the collective. In both cases Lu Xun is the individual who paradoxically stands *for* and stands *out* of "the people".

In addition to the banner, a partition wall separates the large exhibition hall into sections and itself also forms an exhibit, the second through which the death mask is presented as heroic. The wall is covered with enlarged photographs of the funeral concession, showing "the people" mourning Lu Xun. Three smaller individual photos are featured on the wall, namely Lu Xun's open coffin on display at the funeral parlor, Song Qingling giving her commemorative speech for Lu Xun at the funeral and his coffin being transported by the coffin bearers. These photos are presented with the "masses", "the people" as their backdrop. The combination of the photographs makes a visual argument, emphasizing that both the intellectual elite and "the people" expressed their appreciation and loss on this day. Indeed, some of the coffin bearers stood for highly important representatives of the cultural elite[89] and the photograph chosen for the exhibition is by no means accidental, but carefully chosen. In the case of the photograph chosen for this part of the exhibition, Ye Shusui explained in an interview that it was purposefully chosen, as in this scene one of Lu Xun's protégés and casket bearer at his funeral Hu Feng 胡風 (1902-1985 from Qichun/ Hubei), who had later been criticized in political campaigns in 1951 and 1952[90], was at that very moment

[89] Among the most famous representatives of the cultural elite of that time serving as coffin bearers were writers Ba Jin, Xiao Jun and Hu Feng. However, the group also included individuals which were far less known. For an analysis of the casket bearers based largely on interview materials with Huang Yuan 黃源, one of the casket bearers, see (Kong Haizhu 孔海珠 2002), published in *Lu Xun Research Monthly* 魯迅研究月刊 in 2002.

[90] For more information on the Anti-Hu-Feng Campaign, see the section on "Historical Context: The Servitude of Literature and the Narrowing of Memory" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

ducking under the casket, thus is not recognizable in the photograph [IC 12 Heroic II 1, 2, Hu Feng not visible]. The choice of this image instead of other images of the scene in which Hu Feng can be seen clearly, is a historical remnant of an "extreme leftist thought 極左思想" that had influenced the exhibition display in its early years, Ye explained (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 01:43:28). When the museum's exhibition was designed in the mid-1950s, this photo was intentionally chosen by the museum researchers, among them Ye Shusui, for the purpose of display and the photo included in the exhibition today is still that same photograph (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 01:43:28).[91] Thus the photograph is intended to present a highly selective and ideologically sanctioned group to be displayed with the death mask, instead of choosing other scenes of the day of the funeral, in which more controversial individuals can also be seen and thus associated with Lu Xun. Today however, Hu Feng can be included in the exhibition as he was rehabilitated in the early 1980s, which becomes clear in the additional photograph included in the following part of the exhibition dealing with Lu Xun's posthumous reception in which another photograph of the same scene is included in which Hu Feng is clearly visible [IC 12 Heroic II 3, Hu Feng visible]. For the immediate spatial context of the death mask, however, the previously sanctioned photograph was chosen. Along with the banner Soul of the Nation, this partition wall with the photograph of the casket bearers in the foreground and "the people" joining the procession in the background, again presents the image of Lu Xun as heroic, presents his face as a singular, significant face around which the "people" would come together in

[91] Ye Shusui was a young researcher when she came to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in the mid-1950s. In the interview, she remembered the selection of this particular photo for the then-current exhibition as follows: "However, there was also an extreme leftist thought, for example towards Hu Feng, when our museum was established in 56. The situation around Hu Feng was in the early years after the establishment of the PRC, in 51, 52. At that time we were looking for a photograph of the coffin bearers, bearing Lu Xun's coffin. The whole procedure was looked through, then we discovered one photo without Hu Feng, Hu Feng was just ducking under the coffin, this photo was chosen, you don't see Hu Feng. On the current [photograph] you can't see Hu Feng. There were about twelve people who bore the coffin. This too was a kind of extreme leftist thought. This was sometimes included in some of the processes in our exhibitions, at that time, including the publications from the 50s, if there were problematic people, they were simply erased from the photographs 不過那個時候也有極左思想，比如對胡風，我們建館是五六年，胡風的事情是建國初期，大概五一，五二年的事情，那個時候為了找一張抬棺，抬魯迅棺材的那個照片，把整個過程看了，一看，那一張照片沒有胡風，胡風剛好轉了棺材地下，選了那一張。沒有胡風，你看現在的你就看不見胡風，一共有大概十二個人可能抬棺，也是一種極左思想，包括我們的展覽有時候也是有些過程，就那個時候，包括你看的五十幾年出版的東西已經開始，就凡是有問題的人都從照片給他們修掉" (Ye Shusui 葉淑穗 22.08.2015, 01:43:28). The photograph in which Hu Feng is not visible is also available at (Wen Da 闻达 2013) and interestingly also included in the teacher's image materials of the People's Education Press uploaded in 2006 (People's Education Press 人民教育出版社 2006a), with its caption explaining that Hu Feng and Ba Jin carried the casket, but with Hu Feng not visible and Ba Jin only partially visible at the very front.

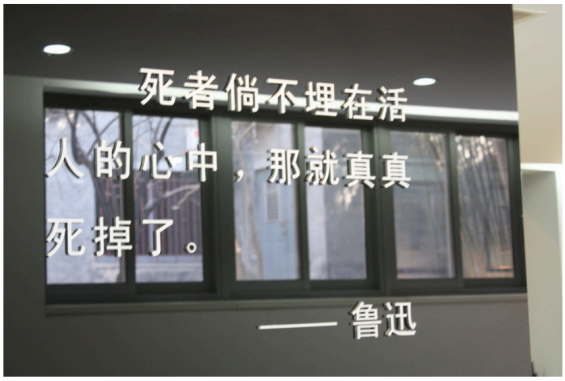
a large commemorative ceremony, with both the faceless unidentifiable masses and the carefully selected individual representatives of the cultural elite joining collectively in mutual consent.

Thirdly and finally, this reading can furthermore be argued to be assisted by the larger narration of the display which goes beyond these "last days" of Lu Xun, as the visitor, after leaving the exhibition and entering the additional space which discusses his posthumous reception, is introduced to this new part with a quotation set with white characters against a black marble wall, reading: "If the deceased is not buried in the hearts of the living people, then he really has died. Lu Xun 死者倘不埋在活人的心中，那就真真死掉了。 鲁迅" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005i, 298). [**IC 13 Heroic III 1, 2**]. The quotation by Lu Xun serves as an appellative tool or an imperative, calling upon the visitors to remember Lu Xun and keep him in their hearts. It even passes the responsibility of Lu Xun's death, which the visitors have just witnessed, on to the visitors. For it is up to them whether Lu Xun "really died" or whether he will live on "in their hearts". It is a quotation of his essay titled "Empty Talk 空談" which he wrote on April 2, 1926 right after his essay "In Memory of Liu Hezhen" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005i, 299).[92] Lu Xun was, of course, not referring to himself in the

IC 13 Heroic III: Bridging "Last Days" and Posthumous Reception



1.



2.

1./ 2. Partition wall in the permanent exhibition; Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 19, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

essay, but to his students, among them Liu Hezhen, and appeals to the reader that their deaths should not be in vain. He claims that their death had the consequence that the human masks

[92] The essay was first published only a week after he wrote it in *Guomin xinbao fukan* 國民新報副刊 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005i, 299).

(*renxiang* 人相) had been torn off of "the things" (*dongxi* 东西, or as the Yangs translated it, the "creatures"), the "things" with human masks here referring to the Duan Qirui government, and thus had been meaningful for those surviving since they had demasked the cruelty of the then-current government. Ending his essay by placing the focus on what the dead had "contributed to the lives of those surviving them 贵给后来的功德", he requests the reader to make sure that the students ought to be buried in the hearts of the living (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005i, 298). The singularization of the death mask in the display (Kopytoff 2011, 73–77), its contextualization with the banner praising Lu Xun as the Soul of the Nation, alongside the collective mourning represented by the enlarged photographs of the funeral procession and casket bearers and the final bridging passage into the last exhibition room calling on the visitor not to let Lu Xun die, presents Lu Xun as an outstanding heroic individual.

Reading Two: Morbid?

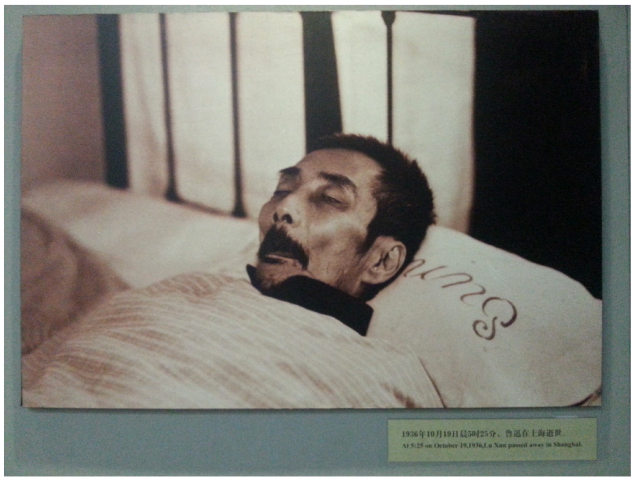
While the imperative behind the display of the death mask might have been to regard Lu Xun as a heroic individual, the display can also be read against the grain of such an interpretation. For example, the display of the death mask could be perceived as shocking or simply as morbid. One result of the chronological arrangement of the display is that the visitor inescapably moves towards the author's death [**IC 14 Morbid Ia**]. This is not only due to the overall arrangement, but is an effect enhanced through the subtitles presented within the display near the end of the exhibition. These subtitles form a countdown of Lu Xun's life, informing the visitor at regular intervals: "the distance from his death: 11 days, 3 days, 1 day 距逝世十一天、三天 、一天". The reason for beginning eleven days before his death is due to the fact that it was on October 8, 1936 that Lu Xun had appeared publicly for the last time before his death, meeting with young woodcut artists. Many photographs of this meeting remain and these photographs became some of the most frequently

IC 14 Morbid Ia: Lu Xun's Last Days

1.



2.



1. Lu Xun October 8, 1936, photograph displayed in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lu Xun on his death bed October 19, 1936, photograph displayed in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

reproduced iconic images of Lu Xun.[93] The time period between this last appearance in public and the photograph of the deceased Lu Xun lying on his bed is chosen to delimit his last days. This period reveals how important the availability of visual materials are for the display, not only in the sense of providing a form of media (photographic material), but also for the underlying logic and structure of the arrangement, for in this case, it is the (availability of) visual material that structures the space. Being lead towards his death in this form can be experienced as suffocating by visitors. The narrative urgency is not only highlighted through the subtitles, but also through a small partition wall separating this part of the exhibition on his last days from the other previously displayed materials showing his life in Shanghai [**IC 15 Morbid Ib**]. It cites a passage from this essay "Death 死" which he wrote on September 5, 1936 and which was published later that month, thus still during his lifetime:[94] "Since last year, whenever I lay on my wicker chair recovering from illness, I would consider what to do when I was well, what articles to write, what books to translate or publish. My plans made, I would conclude, 'All right – but I must hurry' 从去年起，每当病后休养，躺在藤躺椅上，每不免想到体力恢复后应该动手的事情：做什么文章，翻译或印行

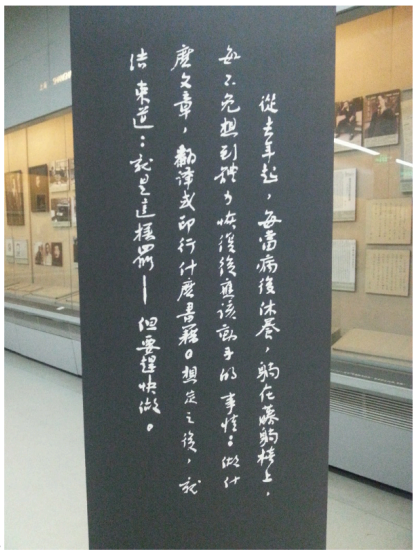
[93] Eight photographs of the meeting were included in the pictorial biography of Lu Xun (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1976, 106–13), and the scene of the meeting, showing Lu Xun sitting with four young artists in wicker chairs, has been recreated through various media, for example as wax figures (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 2013, 68) on display at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum or as bronze statues formerly displayed at the Beijing Lu Xun museum (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 69).

[94] The essay was first published on September 20 in the bi-monthly journal *Zhongliu* 中流 Vol. 1.2 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005t, 636).

什么书籍。想定之后，就结束道：就是这样罢——但要赶快做。”(Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005t, 633). Thus the overall feeling communicated to the visitor is a sense of urgency, with Lu Xun’s time running out.

IC 15 Morbid Ib: A Sense of Urgency

1. 

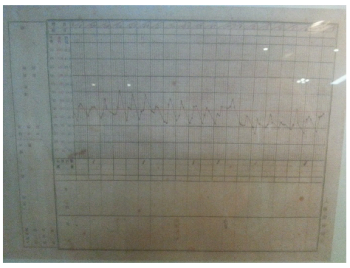
2. 

1./ 2. Small partition wall with excerpt of Lu Xun’s “Death” (1936); Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Cortesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

In addition to this narrative aspect, some objects on display further visualize the decay of his body, creating a morbid atmosphere [**IC 16 Morbid II 1, 2a, 2b**]. Along with his last manuscripts and letters, images of the X-ray of his failing lungs as well as records of his high body temperature

IC 16 Morbid II: Records of Bodily Decay

2a. 

2b. 

1. 

1. / 2a. / 2b. Display of Lu Xun’s last days in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

are on display, documenting the arrival of Lu Xun's death medically. The X-rays were taken at the end of May, five months prior to Lu Xun's death (Pollard 2002, 196), thus do not chronologically fit into this space focusing on the last 11 days of his life, but as they visualize his immanent death, they are nevertheless included in this part of the exhibition. In the same essay "Death", of which an excerpt is quoted on the partition wall, Lu Xun also describes how the X-ray was taken. The X-ray had been taken by an American doctor, who Lu Xun names Doctor D, referring to Thomas Dunn (1886-1948), who was the only tuberculosis specialist in Shanghai at that time and who was recommended to Lu Xun by Agnes Smedley. Lu Xun describes the scene humorously in the essay:

> [Doctor D] announced that my end was near, adding that had I been a European I would already have been in my grave for five years. This verdict moved my soft-hearted friends to tears. I did not ask him to prescribe for me, feeling that since he had studied in the West he could hardly have learned how to prescribe for a patient five years dead. But Dr. D's diagnosis was in fact extremely accurate. I later had an X-ray photograph made of my chest which very largely bore out his findings. [D 医师] 宣告了我的就要灭亡；并且说，倘是欧洲人，则在五年前已经死掉。这判决使善感的朋友们下泪。我也没有请他开方，因为我想，他的医学从欧洲学来，一定没有学过给死了五年的病人开方的法子。然而 D 医师的诊断却实在是极准确的，后来我照了一张用 X 光透视的胸像，所见的景象，竟大抵和他的诊断相同 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005t, 634).

In this passage, Lu Xun contemplates his failing health. On the one hand, he might have felt a sense of pride, when the doctor showed surprise over the fact that Lu Xun was still alive, pointing out (probably not without humor or intention of comfort) that Lu Xun's body was tougher than that of a European. On the other hand, it communicates his acceptance of his immanent death, a counterpoint to the feeling of urgency which he had described earlier in the essay as the "idea of 'having to hurry' '要赶快做'的想头" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005t, 633). Faced with the fatal diagnosis of his doctor, Lu Xun not only chose to accept his failing health, deciding against a new treatment and continuing the treatment he had received from his Japanese doctor Iozo Sudo 須藤五百三 (1876-1959). More importantly, he chose to communicate this acceptance in a humorous tone to the reader. He presents himself as joking to himself about this decision, pointing out that the medicine Dr. Dunn could offer would not be able to cure someone already five years dead. While Lu Xun self-fashioned himself in this manner in this essay still published during this lifetime, this part of the essay is, however, not included in the exhibition. Thus, the more humorous than sarcastic comment of Lu Xun which he chose in the essay does not ease the tension which is building up

when the visitors move towards the death of Lu Xun in the museum display. Why was this part not included? The answer seems close at hand. Lu Xun's death on display is not a laughing matter. Instead it is presented to the visitor by letting him see into his bodily decay by literally shining a light through his body. One visitor, Ms. Ma (age 25/ female/ from Guangzhou, Guangdong with an MA in archeology), recalled the X-ray as one of the objects that made the strongest impression on her after her visit. She recalled: "In his X-ray, the left lobe of his lung was already completely dark. He had overworked himself. When I saw it, I felt a quite distressed. 他的一幅 X 光片，他左葉的肺，整個都已經黑掉了，積勞成疾。到時看的時候有點心痛" (interview with Ms. Ma and Ms. Zhu, 2014, August 18, 00:09:38). The explanation of the cause of his death implies a heroic death, as Lu Xun sacrificed his health for this work and through it arguably for the greater cause he took up in his literary oeuvre. The visibility and vividness of the shadow which is traceable in his medical records and the morbidity and decay of the human body which it reveals, can also have been an important factor in contributing to the visitor's distress.

Finally, the portrait of Lu Xun photographed by journalist and photographer Sha Feigeng 沙飛更 (Zhou Lingfei 周令飞 and Zhao Yu 赵瑜 2011, 245), which shows Lu Xun lying on his death bed, further can be read against the grain of a heroic image of Lu Xun. The photograph is enlarged, much larger than the other photographs of his past public appearance and also larger than the rest of the glass showcases embedded in the wall displaying his manuscripts [**IC 17 Morbid III 1**]. This has the effect that this particular image is on the eye-level of the visitor and presents the over-

IC 17 Morbid III: Reception of Lu Xun's Death on Display

1.



2.



1. Display of Lu Xun's last days in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Visitors observing the display; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

life-size portrait of Lu Xun's deceased face in all its straightforward documentary effect. For it clearly differs from Lu Xun's prior portrait photograph: Lu Xun seems to lie immobile and stiff, implied by the blanket drawn up to his chin, tucked in around his shoulders. The most prominent difference to the prior portrait is his sunken cheeks. This was probably not only due to the common dropping of the jaw of the deceased, but also the result of Lu Xun no longer wearing his dentures while naturally he was wearing his artificial teeth in the previous photographs with his students of the woodblock movement. Furthermore, Lu Xun's left eye is slightly opened, which is visible due to the angle of the camera, further encouraging the reading that he is not merely sleeping. The angle of the photograph also has an additional effect. It puts the visitor into the position of standing next to the death bed, as if present to witness his moment of death. The label under the photograph simply states: "At 5:25 on October 19, 1936, Lu Xun passed away in Shanghai 1936 年 10 月 19 日晨 5 时 25 分， 鲁迅在上海逝世". It again strikes a highly documentary tone by stating the exact time of death. It is precisely this documentary precision which I argue runs against the celebratory atmosphere of commemoration encouraged in the first reading of the death mask. Indeed, visitors expressed shock when looking at this particular photograph. This could be clearly detected in their body language. One example hereof, was the covering of one's mouth at the sight of the photograph [**IC 17 Morbid III 2**]. As one can see, the young woman stands in front of the photograph, covering her mouth with her right hand, shocked at Lu Xun's appearance. Another visitor, Mr. Cai (age 25/ male/ from Wenzhou Zhejiang with a BA in finance) explained that this photograph made the strongest impression on him during his visit. "The photograph of when he died [made the strongest impression on me]. 我對他去世那個照片[印象最深刻]". When I inquired: "Looking at the photograph, how does it make you feel? 看著個照片感覺怎麼樣？", he further explained:

> **Cai:** The feeling, how should I put it…[…] [he died] because he overworked himself. I think that when he died, he must have felt great regret. He felt that he had not finished the things he had hoped to accomplish. He always felt that there wasn't enough time. So I have stronger feelings towards this photograph, […] I feel quite sorry. But when it comes to talent, the more regret you leave behind, the more one can tell that this person had a great impact on the later generation. I guess I miss him. 感覺怎麼說呢，[…] 因為勞碌成疾嘛，我想著他走的時候他帶著滿沉的遺憾，他感覺還沒有，做他全部的事情，總覺得時間不夠用，我是對那張照片比較有感情，[….] 我覺得滿遺憾。不過人才的話，留下了遺憾越多越說明他對後人的影響越大。[…] 大概就是懷念他 (interview with Mr. Cai, 2014, August 19, 00:03:20).

Both reactions reveal the emotional intensity the display can evoke in visitors. In the first case, the gesture of the visitor is likely to express a feeling of shock, while the other visitor expressed a feeling of regret, both in form of sympathy for Lu Xun and as a feeling of missing him. Linking his death to his being overworked again implies a kind of sacrifice, in which Lu Xun sacrificed his health and – essentially – his life in order to make a contribution for the younger generation. Pan, however, also translated the pain and feeling of loss when looking at the image into a way of cherishing the memory of Lu Xun, equating the degree to which a writer is missed to his impact on his society. Thus by experiencing a feeling of loss, the visitor performed a valorizing act, contributing to Lu Xun's impact on Chinese society.

However, the degree of documentation is nevertheless limited, even in the contemporary display. For not all possible objects are put on display. Old photographs, which were transformed into postcards, are collected in the Lu Xun Museum in Xiamen and show how Lu Xun's death had once been put on display in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum. The photographs are likely to be from the early 1950s, but unfortunately are hard to date.[95] What they reveal is how Lu Xun's death had been exhibited in the past. In the display which was set up in Dalu xincun No.10, the adjacent building to Lu Xun's last resident in Shanghai, which functioned as the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum prior to the construction of the large-scale exhibition building in Lu Xun Park in 1956, two visual representations of Lu Xun reappear [**IC 18 Lu Xun's Dentures**]: Lu Xun's death mask is on display in the showcase in the foreground, placed on a black substratum, possibly of velvet. On the back wall there is another painting of Lu Xun which is based on the photograph of Lu Xun on his death bed. It is set apart from the other images on the wall due to the orange frame. Not the original photograph was chosen for this purpose, possibly because the means of enlarging photographs were not as readily available or since reproducing the image via the means of artistic production enabled the artist to refine his portrait, for example adding a halo-like light-blue background around his portrait. In any case, the painting which had been a present to Xu Guangping by a Japanese painter

[95] I would like to thank Beijing Lu Xun Museum researcher Dr. Ge Tao for providing me with his photographs of the collection kept at Xiamen University.

IC 18 Lu Xun's Dentures: Limits to documentary precision?



Postcards, based on photographs of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, ~1950-56; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.

and admirer of Lu Xun was chosen instead of the photograph.[96] Most importantly, however, one sees that in this past display, Lu Xun's dentures, which remain in the collection of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, were also included in the display, placed next to the death mask in a black (velvet) box. It is telling that Lu Xun's dentures (*yichi* 義齒 / *jiaya* 假牙), despite being ranked as Grade One National Objects (*guojia yiji wenwu* 國家一級文物) (Xia Xiaojing 夏晓静 2011, 209) are no longer included in any permanent display of Lu Xun in Beijing, Shanghai, Shaoxing or elsewhere today. One reason for this could be that they take the documentary precision of Lu Xun's death a step too far. While the death mask can be experienced as an artistic timeless portrait of Lu Xun and the enlarged photograph of Lu Xun on his death bed can still allow for the dignity of the deceased by placing it at eye-level of the visitors and letting them stand at the side of his bed to reenact the historic moment of his death, the display of his teeth could be seen as not only morbid, but also as banal objects of bodily use, tools to support a body which is in the process of decaying. Indeed Lu Xun had suffered from bad dental health for a long time after losing his front teeth in a rickshaw accident in 1923 (Denton 2002), thus his dentures do not strictly point to his death. However it seems that while Lu Xun's death ought to be heroizing, but might also allow for a documentary (and thus almost morbid) reading, his death cannot be turned into something banal. Thus the

[96] The painting was made by the Japanese painter Hiroshi Okumura 奥村博史 who used the portrait photograph of Lu Xun on his death bed, which had been published in numerous newspaper in Shanghai, as his model. Uchiama Kanzo suggested to him to give it to Xu Guangping as a present. Uchiyama Kanzo further remembers how the painting was hung in the Lu Xun Museum on Dalu xincun No.10. For more information on the painting, see: (Zhou Guowei 周国伟 2007, 54).

documentary precision with which Lu Xun's death is presented in the museum display is likely also to be limited to a certain *degree* of precision only.

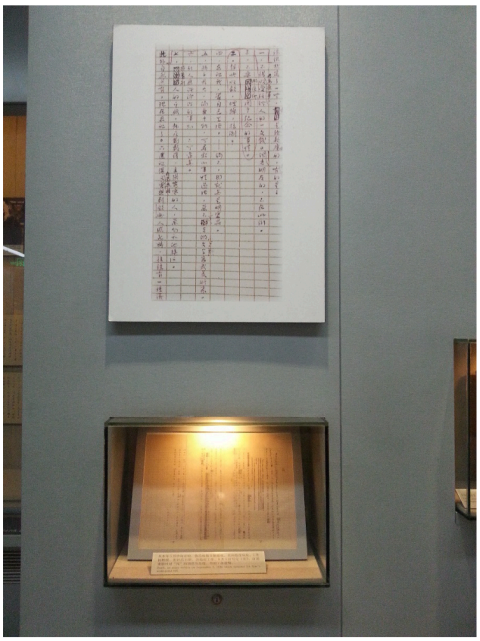
Reading Three: Ironic?

The reading of the death mask in particular, or the "last days" of Lu Xun more generally, is influenced by the selection of the material by which or in the context of which it is presented. Lu Xun's death mask is included, his dentures are not. Lu Xun's reference to his feeling of urgency is quoted, while his humorous reaction to the X-ray of his lungs is not. Through this selection the display aims at communicating Lu Xun as a hero, a death distant from the banality of bodily decay and a death that is to be taken seriously. I would like to suggest a third reading of the display, a reading which would arguably be even further from a heroic reading than experiencing the display as morbid: namely an ironic reading of the display. Lu Xun's essay "Death 死" is not only quoted in the partition wall, but reappears again right next to it, encouraging a reading of the display which holds the potential to delegitimize the museum visit as such. The manuscript of the essay is on display in a glass showcase [**IC 19 Ironic**]. It shows the first page of the manuscript in full, with the other two pages placed one behind the other, slightly set to the left. The label gives a short description of the text, pointing out that the essay contained a seven-point will (*qitiao yishu* 七條遺囑) which Lu Xun wrote thinking of his relatives (*qinshu* 親屬), but which in their general imperative can also be read to address the reader. An image of the page containing the seven points is enlarged and placed above the glass showcase, listing all seven points in Lu Xun's hand writing, three of which are particularly interesting:

2) Hurry up, bury me, and have done with it.
3) Do nothing in the way of commemorating me.
4) Forget me, and take care of your own lives. If you don't, you really are fools.

二，赶快收敛，埋掉，拉倒。
三，不要做任何关于纪念的事情。
四，忘记我，管自己生活。一一倘不，那就真是胡涂虫。

IC 19 Ironic: Lu Xun's Will



Manuscript of Lu Xun's "Death" (1936), enlargement of seven-point will above; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Cortesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

The irony of reading points two, three and four, standing in one of many large-scale state museums dedicated to commemorating Lu Xun is hard to (dis)miss. Indeed, the enlarged photographs of Lu Xun's large-scale funeral ceremony which is shown on the partition wall across the room in this part of the exhibition shows that Lu Xun's wish to be buried quickly and with little fuss was clearly not respected, not to mention the widely celebrated moving of Lu Xun's grave from the Wanguo Public Cemetery to Hongkou Park next to the newly established Shanghai Lu Xun Museum in 1956. The memorial museums which take up commemorating Lu Xun as their primary function naturally stand in stark contrast to Lu Xun's request to those surviving him to "do nothing in the way of commemorating [him]". Here the irony becomes particularly palpable, since at the very moment of reading this line the visitors are indeed questioned in their role of performing the very form of commemorative practice which Lu Xun rejected. This is even enhanced by the fourth point "Forget me" in which Lu Xun addresses his family, but arguably also his reader, or in this case the museum visitor reading Lu Xun's handwriting in the display. Read in this way, Lu Xun accuses or ridicules the visitors as fools for not forgetting him and thereby not focusing on and taking care of their own lives. And certainly nowhere on this list can the visitor imagine the wish that a mask should be formed of his face after his death which then be placed at the center of a museum display for the people to look at, admire and revere (*zhanyang* 瞻仰) decades after his passing. Presenting the visitor with Lu Xun's seven-point will is in a way a bold move by the curators, even though such an ironic reading of the display and the death mask at its center was not likely to be intended.

Of course, the curators are unlikely to have such an ironic reading in mind and the passages can also easily go unread, as the display does not further highlight its content, by, for example, printing it in more readable characters. Also, Lu Xun's essay "Death" from 1936 does not belong to the essays which were commonly included in the textbooks of compulsory education in the PRC,[97] and thus, they do not occupy a strong presence in the literary memory of the general public as do some of his other essays, for example the previously mentioned "In Memory of Liu Hezhen" from 1926. However, the points are legible and the essay has belonged to the widely published essays of Lu Xun, included in all of the editions of his collected works and other selected writings. Thus, depending on the background knowledge of the visitor, the seven points might already be known and be brought to the display in the literary memory of the reader – now turned museum visitor.

It would go too far, however, to argue that these seven points should be taken literally, for in the end, they are not a will, but part of an essay. Lu Xun, or the first-person narrator, only wrote down his thoughts about what his will could *potentially* look like, as it had been a subject on his mind. He introduces the list by stating "At the time, I *seemed to* have thought out quite a few items, all of them for my relatives 当时好像很想定了一些，都是写给亲属的" [my emphasis]. But he finally concludes: "I did not draw up a will. I simply lay there in silence. 遗嘱[也]没有写，不过默默的躺着." (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005t, 634–35). Thus the essay remains a reflection, not an instruction, about how his body and personal estate should be dealt with after his death. These points said, the will nevertheless can be read as destabilizing the museum visit by calling any form of commemorating Lu Xun into question and using Lu Xun's literary voice and his handwriting to do so. It certainly is no coincidence that the museum chose the ten-year prior quote from 1926 to finally bridge this passage of the exhibition to the posthumous reception, stating the above mentioned: "If the deceased is not buried in the hearts of the living people, then he really has died. Lu Xun" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005i, 298).

To sum up, this part has led the reader along the exhibits which surround the death mask of Lu Xun in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. I have shown that this one object can result in (at the very least) three different, even contradictory, experiences: While the death mask might give the impression of a heroic individual standing out from the masses, the surrounding objects placed

[97] The Nanjing Lu Xun Museum offers a table in which the essays which have been included in school textbooks from 1924 to 2004 are listed. "Death" is not included in the textbooks.

around this death mask can also be read to create a morbid atmosphere, or even one with a touch of irony, showing that an object does not demand a single reading but contains an inherent ambiguity, allowing for readings with and against the grain of seeing Lu Xun as a literary hero. This ambiguity suggests that it is indeed not possible to face Lu Xun's death directly, as the reading can change with every visitor approaching the mask, with every person coming to see Lu Xun face to face.

I conclude this first part of the Interlude on "Lu Xun – embodied" with a contemporary art work by Sheng Tianye 盛天曄 (1970-, from Yixian/ Zhejiang), an artist specialized in Chinese ink painting, member of the China Artists Association 中國美術家協會 and currently teaching at the China Academy of Art 中國美術院 in Hangzhou. In his work with mixed materials[98] from 2011 titled "The Master, [his] Death Mask (*yirong*) 先生 · 遗容" (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 361) [IC 20 Sheng Tianye], we once again can find contradicting experiences and readings hidden within one image. An image of Lu Xun's death mask is positioned in the foreground. In the background written in traditional characters and written vertically from right to left as was customary prior to the reform of the Chinese writing system in the 1950s are a collection of quotes from Lu Xun's works. The quotes are from different works of Lu Xun, yet are listed one after the other with no marking when one quote begins and another ends. While it seems as a mere background standing pars pro toto for Lu Xun's "writing" as a whole, it is worth taking a closer look at the selection of the quotes. All three quotations cited are from Lu Xun's early writing when he lived in Beijing, written in the context of the March 18 incident, when confronted with the death of his students at the National Normal Women's College, thus belong to the immediate context in which he wrote his "In Memory of Liu Hezhen". The first quotation derives from his prose poem "Amid Pale Bloodstains 淡淡的血痕中", written on April 8, 1926.[99] In the poem he describes a cruel creator (*zaowuzhu* 造物主), who causes living creatures to die. Those loyal to him accept this destiny as his loyal subjects (*zaowuzhu de liangmin* 造物主的良民). At the end of the poem, Lu Xun introduces a "hero", a "rebellious

[98] Little information is given on the materials in the museum catalogue. It states that it is an art work with "mixed materials 综合材料", and appears to be a collage, with an image of Lu Xun's death masked attached to a background of either paper or canvas (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 361).

[99] The poem was first published on April 19, 1926 in *Threads of Conversation* 語絲 No.75 and later included in this collection *Wild Grass* 野草 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005c, 227).

fighter" (*mengshi* 猛士), also the term he uses in his "In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen" with which this part opened. In this poem this fighter is defined by the fact that he not only remembers but bluntly faces those deaths and the blood shed by the creator:

> A rebellious fighter has arisen from mankind, who, standing erect, sees through all the deserted ruins and lonely tombs of the past and the present. He remembers all the intense and unending agony; he faces squarely (*zhengshi* 正視, literally: to look straight at) the whole welter of clotted blood; he understands all that is dead and all that is living, as well as all that is being born and all that is yet unborn. 叛逆的猛士出于人间；他屹立着，洞见一切已改和现有的废墟和荒歧，记得一切深广和久远的苦痛，正视一切重叠淤积的凝血，深知一切已死，方生，将生和未生 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005c, 226–27).

This poem belongs to Lu Xun's dramatic and appellative literary works. If in this case not his students, but Lu Xun is presented as the fighter, as the placement of his mask in the foreground suggests, the mask and Lu Xun are once again to be read as heroic. Yet, the second quotation presents Lu Xun as doubtful and self-denying, by no means as an active force. It is a quotation of an essay titled "After 'Knocking Against The Wall '碰壁'之后'", written prior to the poem and the protests, in May 21, 1925.[100] In the essay Lu Xun deliberates on his role within the student uprising, as he is a part-time teacher at the College and feels uncomfortable being part of the establishment as he witnesses the impatience of the teachers and principal towards the students, worrying about the fact that he automatically is involved in a fight which he feels will not end well and positioned on the side which he has difficulty identifying with, as he was part of the authorities. The quotation reads:

> Presumably our great country is not hell, yet "the mind creates its own kingdom", and before me I always see banks of luring clouds packed with old ghosts and new ghosts, wandering spirits, ox-headed monsters, beasts, transformations, loud wails and silent lamentations, which I find hard to bear. To deceive myself, I pretend to hear and see nothing, and make believe that I am not in hell. 华夏大概并非地狱，然而"境由心造"，我眼前总充塞着重迭的黑云，其中有故鬼，新鬼，游魂，牛首阿旁，畜生，化生，大叫唤，无叫唤，使我不堪闻见。我装作无所闻见模样，以图欺骗自己，总算已从地狱中出离" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005r, 72).

Here, Lu Xun's self-denial does not allow for a heroic reading, but indeed shows him in the role of an anti-hero, of he who is not a fighter but denies himself, as someone who cannot face his life directly (*zhimian*), as has been suggested in Wang Xiaoming's reading of Lu Xun's biography.

[100] This essay was first published July 1, 1925 in *Threads of Conversation* 語絲 No.29 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005r, 77).

These first two quotations can be read as the two views of Lu Xun in Profile, merging into one portrait that cannot be faced directly, that resists merging into one.

The third and final quotation cited is from his essay "Deadly Ground 死地", written on March 25, 1926.[101] Writing after the shooting has occurred, Lu Xun criticizes those who argued that the students were partially responsible for their deaths as they had tread on deadly ground when demonstrating against school authorities. Interestingly, the focus shifts away from the hero/ anti-hero to the society as a whole, or more specifically the Republic.[102] The quotation breaks off in the middle of the second sentence due to the special limitations of the art work, adding to the text first appearance of the text as a background pattern.

> The republic did not want to have to carry his corpse in its arms – the burden would have been too heavy. For the nations that feel the heavy burden of the corpse and are unwilling to carry it, [the sole panacea for the "life" of posterity is the death of martyrs. But if it is for those nations that no longer feel this burden, this corpse is nothing more than something that weighs down on you until everyone sinks and perishes.] 共和国不喜欢在臂膊上抱着他的死尸，因为这过于沉重。会觉得死尸的沉重，不愿抱持的民族[里，先烈的"死"是后人的"生"的唯一的灵药，但倘在不再觉得沉重的民族里，却不过是压得一同沦灭的东西] (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005u, 283).[103]

In contemporary China, the question that arises by setting Lu Xun's death mask into the foreground of this artwork is whether the viewer, or China, is indeed willing to carry the burden of Lu Xun's corpse, willing to bear the weighty heritage of Lu Xun. Arguably it is this paradox of the heroic and anti-heroic (death of) Lu Xun that constitutes the weight of his heritage in China today. Yet it is not clear what the painting as a whole communicates. Is Lu Xun a hero in the end? On the one hand, one sees Lu Xun's words as they seem to make the thoughts visible, as if the viewer can see his thought running through this mind, Lu Xun's eyes closed, at first glance he possibly seems like he is thinking, not like he is dead. And this could be one reading, after all, for through his thoughts, through his written words, the author remains alive. On the other hand, the question arises: Is Lu Xun no longer a hero? His words might have been dramatic and powerful, but they have retreated

[101] It was first published March 30, 1926 in *Guomin Xinbao fukan* 國民新報副刊 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005u, 284).

[102] In his essay, the Republic actually refers to the French Republic as the narrator is summarizing Romain Rolland's *Le Jeu de L'amour et de La Mort (The Game of Love and Death)* from 1925 which he describes lying in front of him to highlight the similar problem the Republic of China faces after the March 18, 1926 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005u, 283).

[103] The text given in the square brackets is not included on the canvas as the canvas ends mid-sentence, however, it is provided to the reader here to complete the full sentence from Lu Xun's writing.

into the background. In the foreground his mask forms the center of the image, showing that the author is dead and that the weight of his corpse is too much to bear.

The Beginning of Authenticity

The death mask as an object on display at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum today deconstructs the notion that an object can be used to send one single message alone. It destabilizes our perception of the object as part of a state-run collective commemoration which necessarily must lead to a specific understanding of Lu Xun (e.g. Lu Xun as a literary hero). However it holds other destabilizing powers as well, for it raises questions of authenticity and questions of power, both of which lie at the heart of the materiality of world literary heritage. These are not straightforwardly addressed in the exhibition, but reveal themselves though other sources in the context of which the display can be (re)read.

The memoirs of Lu Xun's son, for example, provide an intriguing source for our understanding of the death mask as he was present at the moment of its creation. Zhou Haiying, who was seven years old when his father died, describes in his *Lu Xun and I for Seventy Years* 鲁迅与我七十年 (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006) the following scene:

> At this point, a Japanese sculptor named Okuda Koka, came and walked close up to father's bed, bent over and opened a case, and dug out yellow Vaseline from a bottle, and spread it on father's cheeks, first starting to spread it from his forehead, then carefully downward, spreading it carefully; then he used a ready mixed white plaster paste and used his fingers and a scraper to apply it evenly, layer for layer, occasionally applying thin pieces of gauze, continuing until it turned into a smooth semi-circular shape. After waiting for half an hour, Mr. Okuda pulled at the edge of the mask, slowly lifting it upward, until the mask finally came off. When I saw that inside the mask hairs from my father's eyebrows and mustache were stuck, I was overcome with a peculiar tugging pain, I wanted to rush up and ask some questions, but my body would not budge, my mother's embrace held me tight. She did not make a sound, what then could I have said! Mr. Okuda was very pleased with the mold of the mask and spoke a few words with Uchiyama Kanzo and then just left. 这时来了一位日本塑像家，叫奥田杏花，他走近父亲的床前，伏身打开一只箱子，从瓶子里挖出黄色黏厚的凡士林油膏，涂在父亲面颊上，先从额头涂起，仔细地往下，慢慢擦匀，再用调好的白色石膏糊，用手指和刮刀一层层地搽匀，间或薄敷细纱布，直到呈平整的半圆形状。等待了半个钟头，奥田先生托着面具边缘，慢慢向上提起，终于面具脱离了。我看到面具里黏脱十几根父亲的眉毛和胡子，心里一阵异样的揪疼，想冲上去责问几句，身子却动不了，母亲拥着我。她没有作声，我又能说什么呢！奥田先生对面膜的胎具很满意，和内山完造先生讲了几句，就离开了 (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 45–46).

This description is not included in the Beijing exhibition, which is not surprising, since the display was designed prior to Zhou Haiying's publication. It is telling, however, on different levels. Firstly, when recalling the different possible readings of the mask, Zhou Haiying's experience could argue for the reading of the death mask and its display in the exhibition as a morbid experience. While the careful application of the Vaseline and plaster at the beginning shows the level of caution and attention with which Lu Xun's body was handled, the removal of the mask likens a violation, both of the deceased body (by tearing out its hair) and of the emotional state of the son (who felt pain and was unable to express it).

But it also points to the questions of authenticity and power. For this scene secondly uncovers information about the death mask on display in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. After taking a closer look at the display, one can quickly tell that there are no hairs of Lu Xun's beard or eyebrows visible on the death mask in Beijing [return to **IC 7 Death Mask, Beijing**]. And this is where it is important to return to the label of the object, which states that it is "Lu Xun's Mask, made by Okuda Koka 鲁迅面模，奥田杏花制作" as mentioned above in this interlude. For instead of focusing on what the label says, it is more interesting to know what the label does not say, namely that this object is indeed a replica of Lu Xun's desk mask, not the original. It was a replica made by Lu Hongji 盧鴻基 (1910-1985 from Qionghai/ Hainan), a sculptor (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 9). On display in his hometown Shaoxing, near the end of the exhibition, another showcase displays his death mask, placed beside a calendar, which shows the date of his death [**IC 21 Death Mask, Shaoxing**].

IC 21 Death Mask, Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum

1.



2.

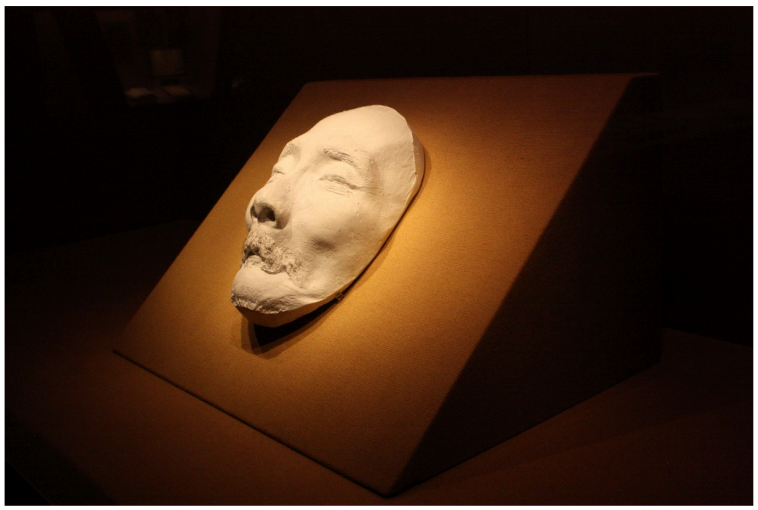


1./ 2. Lu Xun's death mask in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 18, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

This too, however, is a replica of the mask by Lu Hongji, who donated a copy/model (*linmou* 臨摹) of Lu Xun's death mask to the Shaoxing Museum in 1951 (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 9). The original death mask is on display in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum [**IC 22 Death Mask, Shanghai**]. Displayed in the most eye-catching manner of the three presentations, the mask is displayed in a large glass showcase which is surrounded by black walls, featuring a dramatic contrast to the relatively strong light hitting the white mask. The label points to the hairs of Lu Xun's beard and eyebrows that came off when Okuda Koka removed the mask, counting

IC 22 Death Mask, Shanghai Lu Xun Museum

1.



2b.

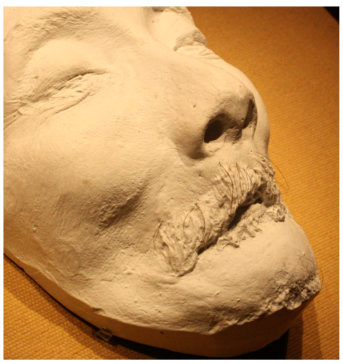


2a.



1. / 2a-c. Lu Xun's death mask in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

2c.



them 20 beard and 2 eyebrow hairs. While the English translation explains in an idiomatic and narrative expression “These are all that remain of Lu Xun,” the corresponding Chinese reads that “these are the only original objects (*yuanwu* 原物) that are left (*yiliu* 遺留) from Lu Xun’s body, that can be seen until this day 这是迄今可以看到的鲁迅身上遗留下来的仅有的原物”, adding in brackets that the object was “donated by Xu Guangping and Zhou Haiying 许广平、周海婴捐赠”. The audio guide embedded in the micro-messenger We-chat which accompanies the number 68 gives the same information, further adding: “It is the most precious treasure of our museum (*zhenguan zhibao* 鎮館之寶) and it also is a National Grade One Artifact 它是我管的鎮館之寶，也是國家一級文物。”

Thus while the Beijing and Shaoxing museums do not claim to display the original, they also do not state that they are displaying replicas, leaving ample room for the visitor to falsely presume them to be “authentic”. The Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, on the other hand, labels the objects that are replicas as such throughout the exhibition, adding “replica” (*fuzhipin* 複製品) in brackets on the labels, and in the case of the death mask goes to great lengths to emphasize its uniqueness, thus adding to its value by a) ascribing it the unofficial appraisal “most precious treasure of the museum”, b) by highlighting its official administrative rank as a Grade One Artifact on national level and c) by creating a distance from the other objects on display that are indeed replicas. This labeling is the kind of “marking as authentic” that literary theorist Jonathan Culler refers to in his critique of authenticity, pointing out that the paradox or the dilemma of authenticity “is that to be experienced as authentic it must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself, and hence lacks the authenticity of what is truly unspoiled, untouched by mediating cultural codes” (Culler 1988, 164). The authenticity of Lu Xun’s death mask on display in Shanghai is extensively mediated to the visitor in this display.

How much importance, then, is placed on the uniqueness of the object? And are all replicas equal? Here it is helpful to differentiate between the structural conditions that underlie cultural heritage in China, the agents in the process of presenting the mask (i.e. the museum and the descendants), and the recipients of its display (the museum visitors). Structurally, the amount of replicas of Lu Xun’s death masks is strictly supervised, precisely because the mask is ranked as a National Grade One Artifact 國家一級文物. Since the introduction of the Cultural Heritage Protection Law 中華人民共和國文物保護法 in 1982 (SACH 国家文物局 2015), the regulations of their implementation have become further specified in 2003, strictly regulating the

administrative process of creating replicas or duplicates (*fuzhipin* 複製品) and providing the possibility to press legal charges against unauthorized replicas.[104] These laws controlling replicas did not exist in the mid-1950s when the Lu Xun Museums were established in Beijing and Shaoxing, but show that the creation of replicas of what is considered material "cultural heritage" or "cultural relics", *wenwu* 文物, in China today is first and foremost a legal issue.

Concerning human actors in the process of presenting the mask, such as Zhou Haiying, it furthermore is an ethical issue as well. In his memoirs he not only describes the intimidate process when the death mask was created, but also his shock when in the late 1970s, he discovered a handicraft store, which sold unauthorized copies of Lu Xun's death mask, claiming that they had been produced from the original mold used by Okuda Koka. Zhou Haiying doubted this claim and was outraged at the fact that his father's death mask was used to make a financial profit, exclaiming: "To make money out of the original mask of a deceased person, where are your basic moral guide lines? All the more, this is Lu Xun, a great man in the heart of the people! I pray (*qiyuan*) that this kind of blasphemy/ profanity (*xiedu* 褻瀆) against our older generation will not happen again. 拿一个死者的原始面膜翻制赚钱，你的基本道德在哪里？何况这是鲁迅，人们心目中的伟人啊！我祈愿这种亵渎先辈的事，永不再发生" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 47). Referencing the elders, it becomes evident that for Zhou Haiying the object of the death mask (also when regarded as an object of collective and not only personal commemoration) remains a ritual object of death cult that he understands in the context of Confucian ancestor worship, thus is subject to

[104] While the law only specifies that the institution must take care not to damage the artifacts (cultural relics) during their reproduction, the Regulations for the Implementation of the Law give further instructions. They require so-called "Cultural Relics in the Collection of Cultural Institutions 館藏文物" to adhere to the following points: Firstly, to reproduce/ duplicate (*fuzhi* 複製) artifacts, the institution must report for approval (*bao x bumen pizhun* 報 x 部門批准). For National Grade One Artifacts this approval must be issued by the "competent cultural relics administrative department" of the State Council 國務院, in the case of the death mask this would be the SACH 國家文物局, while objects of Grade Two and Three can report at their respective "competent cultural relics administrative departments" of the People's Government 人民政府 on province, autonomous region or municipality level. Secondly, the institutions which are eligible to make the duplications are required to meet a number of preconditions (*tiaojian* 條件), including the level of schooling of the personnel (requesting a technical title or a level of professionalism in the field of cultural relics or museology) and providing the necessary technical equipment etc. Thirdly and finally, a formal application must be submitted to the authorities (*xiang x bumen tichu shenqing* 向 x 部門提出申請). Also, if such objects are duplicated without authorization and in violation of the provisions of the regulations, the objects and gains made through the duplication are confiscated, a fine is issued and those involved are to be investigated, since the act of reproduction is criminally liable. For more information, see: (SACH 国家文物局 2015); (SACH Cultural Relics Protection Law Implementation [2003] 2013); for an English translation offered by the UNESCO database, see: (SACH Cultural Relics Protection Law [1982] 2007); (SACH Cultural Relics Protection Law Implementation 2003).

ethical and moral standards. His use of the terms *qi* 祈, meaning to pray to heaven or god,[105] and the term *xiedu* 褻瀆, meaning to pollute and be disrespectful to the ancestors (*xianzu* 先祖), derive from Confucian terminology and situate the "modern" death mask made of plaster in the Confucian context of ancestor worship and the commemoration of Lu Xun as an elder into Confucian tradition.

The death mask in its broadest sense is a ritual object with one of the longest histories when viewed from a global perspective and yet, in its form (plaster cast) and function on display in a museum (death cult), Lu Xun's death mask in particular occupies an intriguing place within the trajectory of this history. For the death mask of Lu Xun clearly serves a ritual or cult function in Chinese society today. This practice around the mask was a function which had to be "rediscovered" in Europe, as for centuries similar plaster masks had served merely as "tools", as means to an end, not being regarded as having an inherent value. Lu Xun's death mask is an object that has been inspired by largely European practices, which differ from similar practices of death masks in China both with regard to its material and to the importance likeness played in its valorization, whereby I argue that likeness provides a visual link to the author's First Body.

The question of the uniqueness and authenticity of the mask gained in currency with the spread of the public museum and the return to the death mask as an object of death cult. Today, the focus on the government-controlled legally sanctioned creation of reproductions serve to protect the original, but also control the amount of reproductions, thus aiming to uphold the original's singular and the reproductions rare quality. The museum hereby claims authority over declaring an object authentic. The reproductions of Lu Xun's death mask, however, at the same time contain a destabilizing power, as they can undermine trust visitors have towards these cultural institutions in China. While the Shanghai Lu Xun museum notes which objects on display are replicas (*fuzhipin*

[105] The term *qi* (pray) appears in the Confucian classics from the Warring States Period (475-221 BCE), such as the *The Classic of Rites* 禮記 in the chapter "Proceedings of Government in the Different Months 月令" which explains: "In this month the son of Heaven on the first day prays to God for a good year 是月也，天子乃以元日祈谷于上帝" (Legge [1885b] 2017). The term *xiedu* also appears in the Confucian classic *The White Tiger Hall* 白虎通 in the chapter "The Gods of the Earth and of the Millet 社稷", which reads: "Why is the alter of the Gods of the Earth and of the Millet outside the middle and inside the outer gate [of the palace]? To honour [the gods] and yet to be near to them. They are [treated in] the same [way] as the ancestors. Why [is the alter] not placed inside the middle gate? To respect it, and to indicate that one should not be too intimate with it. The *Lun yü* says: 'Taking as an illustration a palace with its enclosures: if one cannot enter through and the wealth of all the offices'. The *Chi I* says: 'To the right there is the alter of the Gods of the Earth and of the Millet, to the left there is the ancestral temple'. 社稷在中門之外、外門之內何？尊而親之，與先祖同也。不置中門內何？敬之，示不褻瀆也。《論語》曰：「譬諸宮牆，不得其門而入。不見宗廟之美，百官之富。」《祭義》曰：「右社稷，左宗廟。」" (Som 1952, 382–83); (Legge [1885a] 2017). Here the term *xiedu* today understood as blasphemy or disrespect referred to the inappropriate placement of the altar within the palace, which ought not imply too great a distance to too strong a degree of intimacy.

複製品), the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum do not give this information when displaying their death masks and other reproduced objects. In academic circles, the normative term of the "copy" has been reevaluated in material studies and due to its negative connotations increasingly rejected as an analytical term in Chinese and global art history, especially in postcolonial and postmodern, but also more recently in transcultural approaches to art.[106] Yet questions of authenticity in the arts and with regard to intellectual property are increasingly considered important in Chinese society since the beginning of the 20th century and certainly in contemporary China,[107] thus the claim of "authenticity" and the trust in the institution's authority remain at the core of museum collections.

One visitor's impression of the reproduction of Lu Xun's death mask on display in Shaoxing gives insights into the reception of the display. When inquiring about what exhibit caught the attention of the visitors, one visitor led me to the death mask on display [**IC 23 (Dis-)Trust in the Institution**]. Mr. Zeng (age 40, from Inner Mongolia and a BA degree in International Trade) explained why the death mask had intrigued him:

> **Graf:** Which object on display left the strongest impression on you? 您對哪一個展品印象最深刻?
> **Zeng:** Because I am a Chinese, I understand Lu Xun's life more or less, but I only just saw something that caught my attention, you can come with me, I think rarely people will see this, it's pretty exciting. It is a plaster mask made by a Japanese, he made it when Master Lu Xun passed away, plaster was used. I guess, because the majority of the (literary) works displayed, I mostly just pass by, but this was the first time, [to see] Lu Xun's death mask (*yirong*), made of plaster, according to his proportions 因為我作為一個中國人，對魯迅生平大概都有瞭解，但是我剛剛看到一個魯迅先生的一個，你可以跟我過來看看，我就覺得這可能是一般人很少能看見的，挺刺激的，這是一個面膜，一位日本人石

[106] Art historian Juneja argues that a transcultural history of art which looks at "transformatory processes that constitute art practice through cultural encounters and relationships" can help destabilize many values which still go unquestioned in the field of art history, namely the elevation of "originality" which is used to measure creativity and the dichotomy between an "original" and a "copy" which follow from this elevation. The argument that "copies" or "imitations" can be equally "creative" aims to reevaluate these art practices and also reevaluate the terminologies which have at times been opposed onto non-Western artist, but also enforced by them (Juneja 2012, 282). Museums have played a key role in constructing a "model history of Western heritage", which the newly independent postcolonial nations themselves later cultivated to institutionalize their unique national heritage (Juneja 2012, 281). Juneja calls on the field of art history to "sharpen its conceptual tools" and "create a language" which can provide practices of Non-Western, in her case South-Asian, artists with "disciplinary anchors" (Juneja 2012, 293).

[107] Lena Henningsen concludes her work on questions of authenticity in contemporary literary production by arguing that "copyright matters" to contemporary Chinese writers (Henningsen 2010). The collection of reproductions displayed as "originals" in the Jibaozhai Museum 冀寶斋博物館 in Hebei (estab. 2007) have caused a scandal that not only became well-known abroad, but was harshly criticized in China after being demasked by novelist Ma Boyong 馬伯庸, who raised doubts about the museum's artifacts in an online blog (Ma Boyong 马伯庸 2013) and was thereafter shut down in 2013 by the authorities (Jones 2013).

膏遺容，魯迅先生過世的時候，他就用石膏，我看的因為大概那些作品啊，我就過，但這也是頭一次，就把魯迅先生的遺容，就拿石膏，按著比例嘛。

Graf: In the past you did not know of this exhibit? 所以您以前不知道有這個展品?

Zeng: No, I didn't, I really didn't know of it. And this is from the month when Lu Xun passed away, this is history, this is from those times, not a replica, it's the original. 不知道，我真的不知道這個。而且這個時間的魯迅先生逝世的那一天的月份吧，這就是一個歷史的，這是當時的，不是複製的，這是原版的。

Graf: The original 原版的…**[**echoing / repeating the interviewee]

Zeng: And this could not be a replica. [Reads the label aloud:] "Lu Xun's Plaster Mask. Made by Japanese Okuda Koka", this must have been a Japanese friend who especially made this for Lu Xun out of plaster. 而且這個物品這不可能是一個複製品，魯迅石膏遺容，日本的奧田杏花作，這可能就是日本的一個友人，專門為了魯迅先生拿石膏倒著面容。

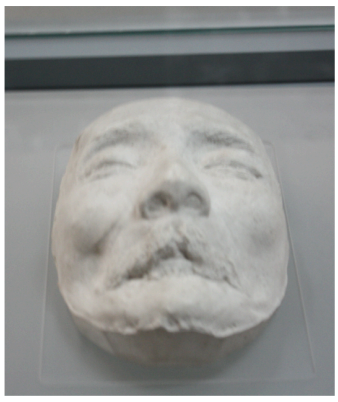
Graf: What feeling does it give you? ….Excited? 看它有什麼樣的感覺?刺激?

Zeng: Not excited. The majority of the material in which you see him will be film or photography, but this death mask (*yirong*), it almost is like a deeper exhibit, for me as a Chinese, I feel that I have seen the living Lu Xun, he drops out of this mask. But with the photos, those are all the same, his photos, his works, his life, we Chinese know this better, but this was the first time and it was outside of my [usual] impressions. 也不是刺激，就是因為一般見到魯迅先生的時候，大多數影片還是照片上見到他， 但是這種遺容，幾乎就是比較深入一點的展品，對我一個中國人來說，好像類似於看到活生生的魯迅先生，他就從這個面膜倒出來，就是感覺到，但是照片都一模一樣，因為他的照片，他的作品，他的生平作為中國人大多數都比較瞭解，但是這個在我的印象之外的，第一次看到的 (interview with Mr. Zeng, 2014, August 18, 00:13:10).

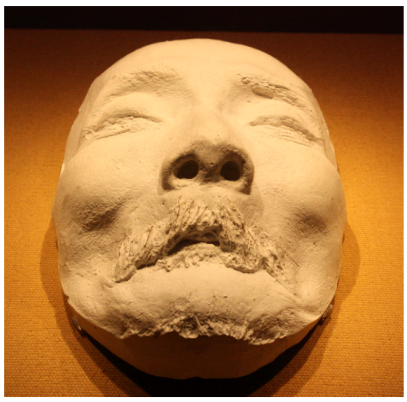
IC 23 (Dis-)Trust in the Institution: The Death Mask in Museum Space



1. Shaoxing



2. Beijing



3. Shanghai

1. Lu Xun's death mask in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 18, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lu Xun's death mask in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed February 19, 2013. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Lu Xun's death mask in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

The death mask had caught the attention of the visitor as it was a different medium from the photographic and textual materials and because it was an object new to him, something he had never seen before. Interviewed by a foreigner, he emphasized the fact that his familiarity with the majority of materials related to Lu Xun was due to him being "Chinese", by which he most likely meant that Lu Xun had been part of his and every Chinese compulsory education. However, besides being made of a different material (medium) and standing out from the otherwise largely familiar exhibits (novel material), it also stood out because, as he believed, it "is history, this is from those times, not a replica, it is the original 這就是一個歷史的，這是當時的，不是複製的，這是原版的".

This quotation leads us to two linked realizations. The first is rather straightforward. When I echoed his statement, he shortly hesitated by telling himself that it could not be a replica and read out the label of the display to me. The fact that the visitor turned to the label in a moment of doubt reveals that he trusts in the museum as an institution to communicate the relevant information to him. The Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, regardless of its intentionality, led the visitor to believe the mask to be authentic. That the term "authenticity" (*yuanzhenxing* 原真性) is equally normative as its above mentioned counterpart (the copy) with its positive connotations historically linked to Western cultural hegemony, has, of course, resulted in this term having undergone a similar reevaluation in recent decades.[108] Yet museums and archives continue to function as the main institutions in society responsible for authorizing and safeguarding "authentic" objects and documents, and the term continues to constitute a highly valued category in the field of museology and heritage studies, with attempts being made to open it conceptually instead of discarding it.[109] For Assmann, who acknowledges and even

[108] The thematic fields which recent research groups dealing with "historic authenticity" have opened up include: 1) the semantic change the term authenticity experienced from a historical perspective, scrutinizing its conceptual history 2) the processes of determining and communicating the authentic, for example through the museum as an institution 3) different approaches to historic building structures, for example historic houses, debating questions of reconstruction, conservation and restauration, whereby a shift in the recent decades from the mere preservation of the structures to the inclusion of ritual practices which ascribe authenticity to the structures can be witnessed, and finally 4) cultural politics on local, national and international level which accompany the practical realization of engaging with any designated "authentic" heritage (Sabrow and Saupe 2014b, 15–27).

[109] Postcolonial discourse left its imprint in the field of museum and heritage practices in the 1990s, as the "Nara Document on Authenticity" drafted by UNESCO, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) opened up the less flexible term of authenticity defined in the prior Charter of Venice of 1964 to include various cultural value systems. The Nara Document clearly emphasizes the fact that authenticity is not a fixed category but a process of valorization dependent on local cultural value systems: "It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and

argues for "authenticity" as a "signature of Western exceptionalism" in her inquiry into philosophical and literary discourse, the question of authenticity is inevitably linked to that of sincerity. "Sincerity and authenticity are dialectical values that are largely defined by their opposites, namely insincerity and inauthenticity. These overshadow them as a constant threat; the antithetical relationship generates doubt and frames every approach to it with an attitude of skepticism and mistrust. The central agent is a suspicious gaze that perceives a disturbing gap between the outer representation and the inner condition of a phenomenon" (A. Assmann 2012, 36). The aim of this interlude is not to accuse the Shaoxing or Beijing museums of "insincerity", but to highlight the trust brought to the museum display by museum visitors. It is not hard to imagine that the visitor would be disappointed if he were to learn that he did not see the "original" (*yuanban*) death mask, but indeed the replica, especially given the fact that he had travelled to Shaoxing, Lu Xun's home town, from Inner Mongolia.

However, the second realization which this visitor's experience brings forward is of greater importance for this thesis, namely the steadfast belief both on side of the producers and on that of the recipients in the (abstract) accessibility of Lu Xun's First Body. For it was due to the fact that it was authentic that it acquired a deeper meaning for this visitor, who explained the value by the fact that he felt it to be a "deeper" exhibit, that it made him feel like he had "seen the living Lu Xun", that he "drops out" of the mask. The visitors experienced this object as the medium which brought him closer to the "living Lu Xun", to Lu Xun's First Body. In this case, from a visitor-response-perspective, one could argue that this mask had indeed been authentic, or acquired authenticity through the visitor's performance, by which he *ascribed* authenticity to the object (Echtheitszuschreibung) (Sabrow and Saupe 2014a, 10). Even though the knowledge of the other displays and the memory of Zhou Haiying of the moment of its creation reveals that this one replica is indeed not the original, the display of the Shanghai Lu Xun museum reveals that, on the side of the producers, the Shanghai mask's authenticity, in particular the hairs are presented as "the only original objects 仅有的原物" that are "left of Lu Xun's body 鲁迅身上遗留下来的", encouraging exactly the reading this visitor uses for the replica.

authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must [be] considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong" (UNESCO 1994).

I would thus like to strengthen this second realization, as it leads me to the core of this thesis, the inaccessibility and irretrievability of the First Body of the author. The death mask is one of the main objects that best symbolizes the danger or "lure" of the First Body, which I addressed in the reading of Liu Jian 2011 "Lu Xun Lu Xun" in the introduction "Zooming In: Lu Xun on Display" of this thesis. The relic (the hair), the physical bodily remains, are perceived as the First Body of the author, the natural body, the mortal body. Emphasizing the possibility of retrieving this First Body, which is conceptually widened to the historical person, the museums declare the existence of such a First Body. In my reading of Lu Xun's museum space, I, however, argue that the (original) Shanghai death mask is indeed already the Second Body of Lu Xun, not the first. The death mask symbolizes the end of the author's bodily autonomy, the end of autobiography. At the moment the plaster separates from the skin, the production of the Second Body begins. This production requires a continuous process of valorization to ascertain that Lu Xun's hair is indeed a relic, not a hair of an ordinary human's remains.[110]

The End of Bodily Autonomy

When returning to Zhou Haiying's memory of how he witnessed the creation of the death mask when he was a young boy, this production becomes evident, a third and last point which ultimately raises the question of power. For when he saw the hairs stuck in the mask he remembers how he was "overcome with a peculiar tugging pain" and that he "wanted to rush up and ask some questions", but that his "body would not budge, [his] mother's embrace held [him] tight", exclaiming "She did not make a sound, what then could I have said!" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 45–46). He does not specify where this emotional pain derived from at that moment. Did he feel the creation of the mask and partial disfigurement of Lu Xun's face as dishonorable? Intruding? Heartless? Did it feel like too mechanic a procedure for such an intimate emotional moment of bidding farewell to his father? These questions remain unanswered. It is difficult to imagine how

[110] In medieval historian Patrick Geary's understanding of the relic in the medieval Christian context, the remains of a person can only be valuable if they undergo a "social and cultural transition from being perceived as ordinary human remains to being venerated as the remains of a saint" (Patrick Geary 2011, 177), regarding this process as a circulation of commodities, being transferred across members of society through theft, gift-giving and commercial exchange, transferals which valorize these relics in society (Patrick Geary 2011). Since Lu Xun's death mask has not circulated in society, but has remained in the collection of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum since 1950, it is through continuously changing means of presentation that this valorization takes place.

Zhou Haiying might have felt when viewing the death mask on display in the museum. While no objections towards the form of display chosen for the death mask are recorded, the question remains whether his experience of the (legal) replica[111] of the death mask as it is on display in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum would have been a heroic, morbid or ironic experience for him. The scene nevertheless clearly captures a moment in which the reader witnesses the moment of the mask's creation through the eyes of descendants, as Zhou Haiying presents himself in his memoirs as placing the needs of the collective over his own personal feelings of loss and instinct to protect the deceased body from harm. This instinct to want to protect the corps from disfigurement (or in the case of the death mask of a literal understanding of defacement) can be witnessed to varying degrees in many yet not in all cultures[112], and in China leads back to the Confucian belief that the body of the deceased should be left unharmed.[113] Following his mother's example, Zhou Haiying remained silent, letting his feelings of duty overrule his feelings of personal loss, but the emotional stir gives insights into the first power struggle that took place between the actors in the posthumous making of Lu Xun. The final step towards letting the needs of the collective supersede the needs of personal commemoration is in the act of donating this object to the state, which Xu Guangping as the legal guardian of Zhou Haiying did in 1950, but the power struggle over Lu Xun's literary and personal estate does not necessarily end here. The indebtedness of the museum as a cultural institution towards the family is also something that is included in the Heritage Protection Law. Thus even though the descendants renounce their right of ownership over this (material) estate (*wuquan* 物權) at the moment of donation, the museums are required by law to honor and comply with the wishes of the donors to "make appropriate display of them".[114] Yet, the question of what

[111] Since the reproductions were produced prior to the introduction of the Cultural Heritage Protection Law and the museums have the right of ownership over Lu Xun's (material) estate (Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生 13.08.2014, 00:09:51), the masks displayed in the museums are legal.

[112] The Tibetan practice of exposing corpses in so-called sky-burials to be eaten by scavenging animals or the medieval European practice of dividing bodies are examples in which it is not deemed necessary to keep the corpse intact (Ebrey 1990, 1). Keeping the dead unmutilated in Confucian tradition was of major importance even up to the point that hair, nails and teeth that were lost prior to the death would be placed into the coffin along with the body. Mangling a person after death was furthermore the most severe form of punishment (Groot 1892, 344).

[113] Confucian funeral rites strongly differ from Buddhist rites in this point, as the Buddhist belief system in a rebirth allowed for the physical remains to be discarded and the body cremated while such cremation was strictly prohibited under Confucian state policy since the Sung until the end of the Qing Dynasty (with exceptions to the Sung prohibition of 962 made for Buddhist, monks and foreigners only) (Ebrey 1990, 432). But earlier Confucian funeral practices also dominantly center around delaying decay (Ebrey 1990).

[114] In Article 52 of the Cultural Heritage Protection Law, the state encourages citizens and organizations to donate cultural "relics" to state institutions. "Institutions for the collection of State-owned cultural relics shall honor and comply with the wishes of donors and keep the donated relics in proper collection and preservation and make

is "appropriate" (*tuoshan* 妥善) and the actual practice and execution of this law are very complex and thus are intentionally and unsurprisingly phrased broadly in this article. The next major part of the thesis will therefore focus on this complex power dynamic between human and non-human actors over the posthumous image of Lu Xun, presenting the human actors, institutional structures and the objects on display each as active agents in this process.

The one agent who at the moment of the creation of the death mask, has finally lost his agency, is the author himself. For while much of the presentation of Lu Xun must also be regarded in the context of the "self-fashioning" of the writer, not only through his writing (Greenblatt [1980] 2005),[115] but also through staging himself visually through dress and performance, posture and facial expression. The death mask however captures the very moment in which the author loses this ability and captures the end of his bodily autonomy. For he loses control over his self-image, over his expression, he loses control over his face. It is not surprising that authors refused to have death masks made of themselves in the past. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832 from Frankfurt) famously refused to have a death mask produced of himself, even though he did agree to two life masks, due to Gall's interest in him in his research on phrenology. He however refused to see his friends' Friedrich Schiller's (1759-1805 from Marbach) or Christoph Martin Wieland's (1733-1813 from Oberholzeim) masks.[116] Goethe is recorded to have said in conversation: "Der Tod ist ein sehr mittelmässiger Portraitmaler. Ich meinerseits will ein seelenvolleres Bild, als seine Masken, von meinen sämtlichen Freunden im Gedächtnis aufbewahren. Also bitte ich es Euch, wenn es dahin kommen sollte, auch einmal mit mir zu halten" (cited in Hertl 2002, 54). Indeed, many famous cultural figures would make their wishes known before passing away. Bertolt Brecht famously requested no one to speak at his funeral, but gave his consent to have a death mask produced of himself by the sculptor Fritz Cremer (1906-1993 from Arnsberg). During its production, Cremer had difficulty removing Brecht's mask, remembering "Der tote Brecht schien

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appropriate display of them. 国家文物收藏单位应当尊重并按照捐赠人的意愿，对捐赠的文物妥善收藏，保管和展示" (SACH 国家文物局 2015).

[115] Literary historian Stephen Greenblatt's analysis of the self-fashioning of writers in sixteenth-century England sees the Renaissance as a time in which there was a perception of the "self" and a sense that it could be "fashioned". He, however, does not focus on the autonomy but on the perception of the self, emphasizing the "increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process" (Greenblatt [1980] 2005, 2).

[116] Schiller's death mask was made by Johann Christian Ludwig Klauer in 1805 [IC 9 Death Masks of Writers I 2] (indeed three masks were made, one made of terracotta, two of plaster cast). Goethe did not have the same feeling about Schiller's skull, however, as he would keep Schiller's skull after it had been unearthed in his apartment for a period of time, when Gall's drawing of the skull would help spread his ideas of phrenology (Hertl 2002, 143).

sich zu wehren" (cited in Hertl 2002, 58). In this last struggle, the deceased body regains its agency for a last time, before the plaster separates from the face and the Second Body is irreversibly detached from its first. Those who become agents in the posthumous making of the author thus might struggle with the idea that their object might resist their construction, might even put up a fight.

In a way, Lu Xun's death mask still puts up a fight in the museum display by providing multiple readings, thus continuing to act as an active force in the museum communication. Its ambiguity argues against only one possible reading, thus against one true, correct reading of the display. However, it also challenges and re-establishes (arguably stronger than without) the claims of authenticity and the retrievability of the author's First Body made by museums. The part on "Lu Xun – institutionalized" will thus address the power struggles that ensue in the creation of Lu Xun's Second Body through the means of his material heritage between the descendants, the museums, the state, the public, structural forces and not least his material heritage (including this mask) as non-human actors.

小中 PART: Lu Xun – institutionalized

Confucius' Temples and Lu Xun's Museums

> In a word, it was those in authority who boosted Confucius in China, making him the sage of those in power or those anxious to take power, a sage having nothing to do with the common people. And as for the Confucius temples, those in power soon lose their enthusiasm for these. […] The ordinary people of China, especially those known as the ignorant mob, though they call Confucius sage, have never really looked upon him as such. They accord him respect but have no feeling for him. […] But I think, to have no feeling for a sage who had absolutely no feeling for them is only natural.[117] 总而言之，孔夫子之在中国，是权势者们捧起来的，是那些权势者或想做权势者们的圣人，和一般的民众并无什么关系。然而对于圣庙，那些权势者也不过一时的热心。[…] 中国的一般的民众，尤其是所谓愚民，虽称孔子为圣人，却不觉得他是圣人；对于他，是恭谨的，却不亲密。[…]不去亲近那毫不亲密的圣人，正是当然的事 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ad, 327; 329).
>
> Lu Xun 1935 Confucius in Modern China
> 鲁迅 1935 在现在中国的孔夫子

Lu Xun wrote his essay "Confucius in Modern China" when he lived in his last residence in Shanghai on Dalu xincun No. 9 大陆新村 9 號. Only a year later, when he was 55 years old, Lu Xun passed away, lying on his bed next to the desk where he had written these lines not long before, at that time already greatly weakened by the deterioration of his health, especially his lungs. It is not surprising that Lu Xun deliberated the posthumous reputation of Confucius at that time and

[117] English translation by Xianyi and Gladys Yang (Lu Xun [1960a] 1980, 186,188).

even though he does not speak of himself in the essay, he probably did have his own mortality and possibly legacy on his mind when writing. In the essay, which actually addressed a Japanese readership not necessarily a Chinese one,[118] Lu Xun makes observations about Confucius and his status in Chinese society as a whole, but also among the "common people" (*yiban minzhong* 一般的民眾) or, to use Confucius' term, among the "ignorant mob" (*yumin* 愚民) in particular. In his essay, Lu Xun speaks briefly of Confucius as a person, but then turns his attention quickly to Confucius' posthumous transformation into a sage by those in authority (*quanshizhemen* 權勢者們), arguing that Confucius was instrumentalized to serve their needs. He draws on the metaphor of the sage functioning as a brick (*zhuantou* 磚頭) to open doors, which arguably is a more violent image than the ladder metaphor in the English language in which those seeking a career within the government system could use Confucius to gain power by climbing up the official government ladder in the imperial examination system, in which Confucius' writings formed the core texts. The brick can be used to break in otherwise closed doors, thus terming it "a brick to knock on doors" (*qiaomen zhuan* 敲門磚) (Lu Xun [1960a] 1980, 186); (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005ad, 329). But in the above excerpt, Lu Xun also speaks of the Confucius temples, "temples for the sage" (*shengmiao* 聖廟). If one imagines the two places Lu Xun sketches, it is only within the booths in the examination halls that Confucius functions as a brick.[119] The temples are quite different. While they are established by those in power and frequented by those seeking power, both eventually lose interest in these places, according to Lu Xun. As for the "ignorant mob", they do not visit the Confucius temples, as they are neither welcome there, nor do they feel inclined to use these places of worship to worship a sage who has "no feelings for them" as Xianyi and Gladys Yang translated in the mid-1950s, or who is "unapproachable to them" (*haobu qinmi* 毫不亲密) in a more literal translation. Other places of worship, such as Buddhist temples, were far more popular among the

[118] His explanation of the relationship between the Chinese people and their "sage" (*shengren* 聖人) was not directed at a Chinese readership, but was in its conceptualization written for a non-Chinese audience, as he wrote the essay in Japanese and published it first in the Tokyo-based Journal *Transformation* 改造 and later, in Chinese translation, in the Japanese journal *Zatsubun* 雜文. Lu Xun worked with the Japanese literary society Transformation Society 改造社, which published his essays. The leading member of this society Sanehiko Yamamoto 山本実彦 (1885-1952) would also be a driving force in publishing the first Lu Xun collected works in Japan in 1937, only one year after Lu Xun's death (Tang Zheng 唐政 1999, 63). For more on Yamamoto Sanehiko's relationship with Lu Xun and his efforts of introducing Lu Xun to a Japanese readership between 1928 and 1944, see: (Keaveney 2010, 216–25).

[119] For an excellent spatial reading of the examination booths as *sites of knowledge*, places in which knowledge is produced, see Elman's *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Elman 2000).

"ignorant mob", as Lu Xun observes, leaving the Confucius temples deserted by the common people. Lu Xun explains that if they were to enter the Confucius temple in Qufu 曲阜, Confucius' home town, in rags and bare feet, they would likely be thrown out, which is why Lu Xun sympathizes with the people's lack of enthusiasm for this sage and his places of worship. Lu Xun was explaining this phenomenon to his Japanese readership, while reminiscing about his own bewilderment during his studies abroad in Japan, when the dean of his university had announced that he ought to visit the Confucian Temple at Ochanomizu 御茶ノ水 in Tokyo to pay his respect to Confucius, with the reason being that all Chinese international students were "disciples of Confucius 孔子之徒" after all (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ad, 326).

After Lu Xun's death in 1936 and especially after the establishment of the PRC in 1949, it was Lu Xun who was to experience a similar fate, as it was his turn to be "boosted" by those in authority, by the political elite of the Communist Party. The parallel becomes most vivid in Mao Zedong's famous proclamation: "Lu Xun […] is China's number one sage. Confucius was a feudal society's sage, and Lu Xun is modern China's sage. 鲁迅[…]是中国的第一等圣人，孔子是封建社会的圣人，鲁迅是新中国的圣人,"[120] a connection which he drew on October 19, 1937, one year after Lu Xun's death, in a speech titled "On Lu Xun 鲁迅论" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 281) . But unlike Confucius, Lu Xun was to be a sage who *did* have feelings for the common people, who stood for the "the majority of the nation 全民族的大多数" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1970, 191), as Mao Zedong stressed in another speech three years later in 1940 titled "On New Democracy 新民族主义论". At first glance it seems that, instead of temples, "those in authority" had memorial museums established across the country for this new sage, located in many of his past residences in Shaoxing, Nanjing, Beijing, Xiamen, Guangzhou and Shanghai, putting Lu Xun's literary and personal estate on display. Ideally, Lu Xun was to be a sage who stood for the majority of the people, which meant that these temples would be filled with visitors, unlike the temples of the old sage Confucius, and be places which those in authority *would not* lose their enthusiasm for. While this might have been the vision of Mao Zedong when he encouraged the establishment of institutions commemorating Lu Xun, the realities of the museums are far more complex.

[120] Stuart Schram translates *shengren* as "saint" (Mao Zedong 2004, 97), however, "sage" is the more common translation for the term in relation to Confucius, thus the term sage is more appropriate for the above translation. For an in-depth reading of the term *shengren*, see "Lu Xun – centered or marginalized?" of this thesis.

In the following, I analyze the history of the establishment of the Lu Xun museums and their historical development over the past 60 years. This part offers an interpretation of the institutional history of Lu Xun's museums through a critical reading of their self-descriptive historiography, reading it alongside interview material with the respective current and retired museum directors and museum staff, whose oral accounts have immensely enriched my understanding of the written materials and which at times have offered intriguing oral histories worthy of analysis in their own right.

This part does not open with Lu Xun's deliberations on "Confucius in Modern China" because it offers an *answer* to the role of Lu Xun museums in their function of "boosting" Lu Xun in Chinese society. Instead, I believe Lu Xun's essay to be helpful, because – if read critically – it quickly raises the important *questions* that need to be addressed when trying to understand how a "sage" or "cultural hero" is produced in society. These questions are: Who were "those in authority" over Lu Xun's estate? Here one must keep in mind that state museums, especially when they also function as archives, have become (largely negative) symbols of power in postmodern discourse since the mid-1960s. Theories revealing state-power as it operates visibly and invisibly through institutions, for example the archive, have made scholars highly skeptical towards these institutions.[121] In this part, I will show that this skepticism not only remains necessary, but little to

[121] The power discourse leads back to theoreticians associated with the left scene, such as Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) and his theory on cultural hegemony (Gramsci and Forgacs 2000), Louis Althusser's (1918-1990) structuralist critique of state apparatuses (Althusser 1999) and Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) writings, among them his poststructuralist analysis of prisons (Foucault 1977). In the philosophical writings of Foucault and Derrida "the archive" comes to represent more than the material institution but is used metaphorically to understand the law that governs statements in discourse, a so-called "system of statements" (Foucault and Sheridan 1972, 128). In Derrida's Freudian reading of the archive, he uses concepts of psychoanalysis to deconstruct the archive and its function in memory-making, which leads to the concept of "archive fever", reminding the reader that the archive does not only collect (positively), but that the archive always includes the negative, forgetfulness, annihilation of memory, the death drive, that which is not within memory but outside of it (Derrida 1996, 11). Concerning the constructedness of the archive, Derrida points out that: "A science of the archive must include the theory of this institutionalization, that is to say, the theory both of the law which begins by inscribing itself there and of the right which authorizes it. This right imposes or supposes a bundle of limits which have a history, a deconstructable history." […] "This deconstruction in progress concerns, as always, the institution of limits declared to be insurmountable, whether they involve family or state law, the relations between the secret and the nonsecret, or, and this is not the same thing, between the private and the public, whether they involve property or access rights, publication or reproduction rights, whether they involve classification and putting into order: What comes under theory or under private correspondence, for example? What comes under system? under biography or autobiography? under personal or intellectual anamnesis? […] In each of these cases, the limits, the borders, and the distinctions have been shaken by an earthquake from which no classifying concept and no implementation of the archive can be sheltered. Order is no longer assured" (Derrida 1996, 4–5). Derrida's analysis has revealed the immense power but also limitations these institutions encompass, precisely because their making relies on fallible human and non-human agents, but also on the inescapability of categorization as this part of the thesis will show for Lu Xun's personal and literal estate. As for the material institution, archives continue to be seen as institutions set up by the powerful to enhance their position in society. Beside these theoretical approaches, historians, such as

the surprise of Lu Xun scholars, is at times well-founded. The control over the objects and the display of a museum features many parallels to the control over documents in an archive. Whoever controls the archive, controls who his presented as the winner or loser in history, whoever controls the museum's collection and museum display controls who is remembered as a hero and who is forgotten. To regard the State or – in the case of the China the CPC – as a homogenous entity which exerted control over Lu Xun's estate would suffice to reveal a process of his instrumentalization, but also extremely simplify a process in which many different actors are involved. It is thus necessary to further inquire: Who established these museums and why? What *form* of authority or "capital", to use Bourdieu's terminology (Bourdieu 1986), did individual actors have in this process? And how did the museums change over time? Whose authority increased, whose diminished? Did those "in authority" and the common people lose their enthusiasm for Lu Xun? In what way could Lu Xun's heritage be used as "bricks to open doors", as Lu Xun puts it? When could his heritage refuse such instrumentalization? And does the accusation of an instrumentalization of Lu Xun's heritage hold even today?

In this part, I argue that it is important to take into account the agency of personal actors, institutional actors, and also the agency of objects and images as non-human actors,[122] when analyzing the production of Lu Xun in museum space. Both individual actors and bureaucratic structures have the power to valorize and exercise control over the writer's personal and literary estate and thus ultimately over the image of a writer in society. To avoid the pitfalls of monocausal explanations, this thesis addresses human actors, institutional structures and displays (as marked in the subtitles), and enquires into their dynamics and the agency they developed. As the following will show, *both* the State Administration of Cultural Heritage 國家文物局 (SACH) and the individual Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 (1898-1958 from Houqiu/ Anhui), Deputy Director of the SACH

Patrick Geary, have revealed that medieval archives not only encompassed legal and business transactions, but also had further historical and sacral/symbolic purposes (Patrick J. Geary 1994). Schwartz concludes with the archive's ambiguity in history, arguing that they "can be a tool of hegemony; they can be a tool of resistance" (J. M. Schwartz and Cook 2002, 13). In the Chinese context, the former has mostly been in the focus of research. For more information on Chinese archives, see the extensive study by Vivian Wager titled *Erinnerungsverwaltung in China* (V. Wagner 2006).

[122] The agency that objects can develop is also at the center of Bruno Latour's so-called Actor-Network Theory (Latour 2005, 63–87). Here he points out that "[t]he main reason why objects had no chance to play any role before was not only due to the definition of the social used by sociologists, but also to the very definition of actors and agencies most often chosen. If action is limited a priori to what 'intentional', 'meaningful' humans do, it is hard to see how a hammer […] could act. They might exist in the domain of 'material' 'causal' relations, but not in the 'reflexive' 'symbolic' domain of social relations" (Latour 2005, 71). This thesis, however, defines agency more broadly than agency which derives from intentional human action alone, which is also discussed in the following section introducing the context of new institutionalism.

文物局, need to be taken into consideration when understanding the reason for the institution's high administrative ranking. *Both* Lu Xun's Former Residence 魯迅故居 as a material space and the two women (one wife, one life-partner of Lu Xun) Xu Guangping 許廣平 (1898-1968 from Guangzhou/ Guangdong) and Zhu An 朱安 (1878-1947 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang) had a bearing on how this space could contribute to Lu Xun's posthumous elevation – and *both* the Lu Xun Museum in Beijing and its director Sun Yu 孫郁 (1957-) made it possible to communicate a particular current or challenge previous images of Lu Xun within these museum spaces. The bureaucracy which surrounded the making of Lu Xun in these institutions of commemoration was both *restrictive* and *valorizing*.[123] The complexity of who exactly was "in authority" and the structures which influenced the way in which Lu Xun was, is, can be and cannot be communicated (*production*) in these spaces is addressed in this part along with the agency of those whom this image is communicated to (*reception*).

Institutionalism and Charisma

Regarding this study as a whole, the three broad research questions this thesis addresses are: How was Lu Xun produced as cultural "hero" in Chinese society? (→ the making of Lu Xun) How is literary heritage produced when regarded from a transcultural perspective? (→ the making of world literary heritage) And finally, how are these two productions intertwined? For as the titles of the two introductions reveal, their relationship is that of a reciprocal process of valorization. This part on "Lu Xun institutionalized" addresses these questions from a neo-institutional approach, taking a closer look at the history of how Lu Xun was institutionalized in museum space in China. To better understand how the author as a hero on the one hand and world literary heritage on the other are produced, I argue that it is necessary to understand the structural conditions in which this production occurs. Thus the research questions I address in this chapter are: Regarding the structure, what kind of institutionalized systems and metrics of value [for literature and cultural heritage] exist (in China)? (→ ranging from Level One Museums 一級博物館 (SACH), Grade One Artifacts 一級文物 (SACH) to the system of Administrative Ranking 行政級別 etc.) Which institutional

[123] The term "bureaucracy" originally comes from the writer's study, the bureau. The term evokes more positive or negative associations in different languages, with Max Weber's definition giving the German "Bürokratie" a less negative connotation than the corresponding term in English and French. For the etymology of the term bureaucracy, see (Williams [1979] 1983, 49).

and personal actors have a bearing on these systems and on how Lu Xun's literary heritage was introduced into and situated within them?

Before going back to the establishment of museums dedicated to Lu Xun, I would like to briefly point out the predicament any institution of literary heritage faces if regarded by a firm believer in the autonomy of literature in the stricter sense. If the institution was formed bottom-up, say by individual readers after joining together in a form of a society, thus usually understood to be a grassroots organization, this believer would brush aside this institution as a place of hero worship, an unscientific, unscholarly infatuation with the author, which more closely resembles celebrity and personality cult. Thus the charisma the author inherently possessed or acquired posthumously is untrustworthy and only naïve readers would be drawn in by this spell the author has cast over them, making them blind to the importance and value of the text. Being associated with such a simple reader is the reason why scholars in the field of literary studies have often felt ashamed to visit museums dedicated to writers or literary sites, or as Nicola Watson describes in her *The Literary Tourist* as an "adult vice, obscure in its impulses", "an embarrassment palpable among professional literary scholars", since "only the amateur, only the naïve reader, could suppose that there was anything more, anything left, anything either original or residual, let alone anything more legitimate or legitimating, to be found on the spot marked X" (N. J. Watson 2008, 6–7).

If, however, the institution was formed top-down, say supported or even actively promoted by the state, this writer would have been crafted by a regime or the political party. The creation of a *Staatsdichter* constructed by the state (a state in any form, ruling over any territory, empire or nation) in order to fool the masses, to fool the naïve reader into seeing the author as someone charismatic, but actually having caught historical objects in a web of its institutionalized ideology. Thus the bureaucratic machines of political regimes produce the writer's charisma through propaganda, by encouraging his personality cult, instead of letting the texts speak for themselves, leaving them open to the possibility of being red against the grain of an officially sanctioned way of reading. If viewed in this manner, the Lu Xun museum would be little more than "propaganda machines", whose master-narrative is constructed by the state to serve ideological needs as pointed out in the analysis on the Museum of the Chinese Revolution of the early 1960s by Hung Chang-tai (Hung 2005) and by Vickers in his study on the shift from the revolution to patriotism in these museum narratives since the 1990s (Vickers 2007). Thus no matter if these institutions were formed bottom-up or top-down, such believers would be equally suspicious of these spaces of

commemoration. Taking a sociological approach to literary museums, this thesis is thus not based on the belief in the autonomy of literature.

Institutionalism, originally developed in the academic field of economics, political science and sociology, has enjoyed a new boost in various academic disciplines, especially cultural studies in the last two decades, frequently termed "new institutionalism". Both the new and old forms of institutionalism share certain elements when approaching their object of research. They take a "critical" approach to institutions and promise to reveal aspects of reality that are inconsistent with the formal accounts of the organizations (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 12). When approaching Lu Xun museums as institutions in their most narrow sense, then reading the "histories" and "chronicles" by the Lu Xun museums critically, with an awareness of them constituting a "formal account", which can be challenged, falls under a critical approach to institutions. But institutions encompass more than their material, bureaucratic and historiographical manifestations. When Max Weber described "institutions" as "stahlhartes Gehäuse", he was referring to the workings of capitalism that lay far deeper than what meets the eye (Weber [1905] 1992, 123) and Durkheim's understanding of "social facts as things" would also look beyond institutions in their crystalized form of a social organizations, such as legal and moral rules, religious dogmas, financial systems etc. (Durkheim [1895] 1982, 52). The definition of an institution in this chapter is broader than regarding the Lu Xun museum in Beijing as an institution which is restricted to the narrow confines of its premises on Gongmenkou Lane 2 No. 19 宮門口二條 19 號 where the Beijing Lu Xun Museum is located. Instead, (old) intuitionalism and neo-institutionalism, define institutions as "recognized practices consisting of easily identifiable roles, coupled with collections of rules or conventions governing relations among the occupants of these roles".[124] In the case of the Lu Xun museums, this could be broken down to "recognized practices [e.g. collecting, protecting, interpreting and displaying on the production side, as well as visiting and interpreting a museum on the reception side] consisting of easily identifiable roles [e.g. museum director, museum curator, researcher, museum guide, museum visitor], coupled with collections of rules or conventions governing relations among the occupants of these roles [museum laws articulated by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage / visitor regulations]". This broader definition of an "institution" encompasses much more than the definition provided by the International Council of Museums: "A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development,

[124] See: (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 8). DiMaggio refers to Young's definition of international regimes as institutions (Young 1986, 107).

open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment."[125] Are the Lu Xun museums "permanent"? And to what extent are they "public" – especially when exhibitions were held in Lu Xun's former residence, an originally private space? When then did this private space become public and through which processes? How did meanings start to shift once this transformation occurred? Indeed, there are many questions which this definition of a museum leaves unanswered.[126]

The broader definition of a museum as an institution is more productive for this analysis of Lu Xun's museums. But there are also differences between old and new institutionalism that need to be considered. In past approaches, institutions were first and foremost a product of human design, "the outcome of purposive actions by instrumentally oriented individuals" (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 8). Neo-institutionalism does see institutions as the result of human activity, but it does not accept the premise that they are necessarily the product of conscious design. An example is usually the nation-state, since the "modern sovereign state is not traceable to the conscious efforts of specific social groups" (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 8). Instead new institutionalism rejects rational-actor models and is interested instead in institutions as independent variables, and turns to cognitive and cultural explanations, since it does not see that institutions can be reduced to the direct consequences of individuals' motives or alone to their aggregation.

The "cognitive revolution" in the field of psychology through Freud's research had the effect that researchers became aware to what extent institutions are indeed internalized in society, meaning that they are taken for granted. This insight was eagerly adopted by scholars in the field of cultural and literary studies in recent decades. Be it in Bourdieu's understanding of the dynamics of the literary field (Bourdieu and Randal Johnson 1993) or in Goffman's understanding of how

[125] This definition is provided by ICOM according to the ICOM Statutes and was adopted by the 22nd General Assembly in Vienna, Austria on August 24th, 2007. The definition is followed by the disclaimer: "This definition is a reference in the international community" (ICOM 2007).

[126] Other definitions of the museum have focused on the social *movement* of objects and their spatial context in the museum, thereby questioning the static definition of "permanent institutions" provided by ICOM, as well. Pomian's definition sees these collections as "an arrangement of natural or artificial objects which either for the time being or permanently have been removed from the circulation of economic activities in a closed-off space created for this purpose alone. (Zusammenstellung natürlicher oder künstlicher Gegenstände, die zeitweise oder endgültig aus dem Kreislauf ökonomischer Aktivitäten herausgehalten werden, und zwar an einem abgeschlossenen, eigens zu diesem Zweck eingerichteten Ort)" (Pomian 1988, 16). This new "placement" within society is further emphasized in Karl-Heinz Kohl's displacement theory, which argues that the spatial context offered to the viewer in a museum is – at its very foundation – a lie (see title of his essay "Kontext ist Lüge") (Kohl 2008).

rituals shape our way of communicating in everyday life (Goffman 1956).[127] In these approaches, scholars have especially inquired about social structures and institutions invisible to the human eye which are chronically reproduced by individuals even though they are not in their own interest, be it in the case of a writer trying to acquire fame within literary circles or scholars in the academic field, failing to realize the determining factor of their success being their *habitus* (Bourdieu 1988) and not alone their achievements or inherent abilities, questioning, or down-right shattering, the ideal of the writer as hero or genius (Carlyle [1840] 1966). Similar approaches have also been adopted in the field of museum studies, for example when regarding the museum as a form of civic ritual (Duncan 1995). But the big question which institutionalism as an approach, in either old or new form, struggles most to answer is how – if institutions are within our every move – does change occur? How indeed does change occur in museums displaying Lu Xun? And how do they react to changes in Lu Xun reception and Lu Xun scholarship? (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 29) This question will be addressed at the end of this part on "New Approaches? (1980-2000s): History's Cul-de-Sac and the Rejection of Sagehood".

But generally speaking, change comes about in one of two ways: On the one hand it occurs when institutions are appropriated in new environments, for example when an institution moves across space, crossing national boards and being appropriated within new cultural spheres (i.e. when the writer museum was introduced to China from the Soviet Union by Guo Moruo shortly before the establishment of the PRC). On the other hand, change can occur when institutional orders come into contradiction within one environment, a contradiction which grows over a certain amount of time. This could be seen in the increasingly different approach to Lu Xun by the Beijing, Shanghai and Shaoxing museums since the Reform and Opening Period, which produce different Lu Xuns which can come to contradict each other.

When literary and Lu Xun scholars speak of an "instrumentalization" of Lu Xun, they can usually be understood as speaking in their roles as "critical realists" (critical approach) who attempt to *reveal* this instrumentalization, which – to an untrained eye – will seem hidden behind a seeming mass-popularity of Lu Xun's literature. Viewing Lu Xun museums in this manner firstly results in a general implicit separation between the political and literary field, as the actors in Lu Xun's instrumentalization are seen as Party functionaries and not themselves writers from within the literary field. The latter would be regarded as "consecrating" (Bourdieu and Randal Johnson 1993,

[127] Goffman draws on Durkheim's theory of rituals. He argues that people value proper "role performance" in and of itself. Not so much because we have to, but because the ritual game is very affirmative instead of sanctioning.

59) while the former would be "instrumentalizing" Lu Xun (Goldman 1985). In the context of the Lu Xun museums, the emphasis would hereby lie on the Party-State operating the museums which put a writer on display, a writer who himself was never nominally a member the Communist Party. In other words, Party functionaries are regarded as *trespassing* into the realm of literature and posthumously and forcefully institutionalizing this writer in the context of the political field. Secondly, it assumes that politicians in power were doing first and foremost what was best for themselves, driven by self-interest. In the case of Lu Xun, Mao Zedong is regarded as "using" Lu Xun for his personal gain in attaining power and eliminating competing political and cultural interests by rivaling politicians. Holm has skillfully approached the discourse surrounding the consecration of Lu Xun as China's modern "saint" by Mao Zedong on the one hand and as a "Chinese Gorky" on the other, a term which gained currency through its use by Mao's political rival Wang Ming from the Internationalist fraction with closer ties to Moscow (Holm 1985, 166–67). What Holm's analysis nevertheless presumes is an existence of a political discourse appropriating Lu Xun for the self-benefit of individual political leaders. A second form of self-interest refers to the interests of a group. In this case it is revealed how certain interpretations and representations of the author Lu Xun were in the self-interest of a group, e.g. interpreting Lu Xun as a hero for the Communist Party as a whole, or for the dominating fractions within the Party (Goldman 1985).

This "instrumentalization" of Lu Xun by political actors, which are regarded as rational-actors, can be seen in two ways: Firstly, political actors aimed at strengthening the Communist Party against internal threats of fractions or external threats of the Nationalist Party Guomindang through the popularity of Lu Xun among the people, which can certainly be argued to have existed in the late 1930s during Lu Xun's lifetime among his readers and students. In this case, the charismatic Lu Xun valorized the uncharismatic, highly bureaucratic Party (Weber [1922] 1978, 1111–58). Secondly, political actors attempted to embody the essence of the Party within an individual figure. In this view, the individual person could have been Lu Xun, but could also have been another individual, who then comes to stand for the Party, maximizing its power though the possibility of embodying charisma, leading to an increase of the Party's influence both within and outside of the political field. The institutionally produced charisma hereby elevates the historic figure Lu Xun into a charismatic cultural and political figure (Turner 2003, 12); (Shils 1975, 256–75). Both approaches, however, assume choices made by actors, rational-actors who *create*

institutions (museums) intentionally. Institutions that – from the view of the Party – provide an optimal response for social needs.

In a way this part on "Lu Xun institutionalized" would like to take a step back and take a look at Lu Xun museums with no assumptions on the function they might serve in society. One assumption that is commonly held about institutions in general and is likely to be held when regarding Lu Xun museums as instruments of the Communist Party is that they must be beneficial to somebody. Indeed, this is an often encountered assumption on institutions, an approach which has been termed "optimistic functionalism", meaning that through competition between institutions, those which become inefficient and serve no one's purpose (e.g. not the peoples', not the state's) would be eliminated (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 4). But actually institutions may persist even though they are collectively suboptimal. Thus the mere existence of museums dedicated to Lu Xun today should not be seen as proof that Lu Xun is "valued" in Chinese society today, for it could be that the museums no longer serve to benefit those who once established them. From a purely economic point of view, some institutions might not have adapted well to their changing surroundings (e.g. the image of Lu Xun as a socialist in "post-socialist" times), but have encompassed a certain degree of inertia. Thus it could be that institutions are maintained even if they do not conform to the demands of a given environment (Lu Xun in the post-socialist PRC), because simply "keeping" them might be cheaper than making changes in them or closing them. Such costs, of course, are much more easily quantified when analyzing economic and political institutions than cultural institutions. But one might ask when the ideological, symbolical or cultural "value" for a nation state or a political Party no longer legitimizes the costs for its cultural institutions? Thus when approaching Lu Xun museums as institutions in China today, I would argue that it is important not to assume that just because the Lu Xun museums exist today, they automatically serve a purpose (even if it were only for the Communist Party), since they possibly still exist because closing them would involve a greater effort (financial costs, relocation of museum staff, justification towards the public or scholarly community) than keeping them. It should remain a possibility that indeed Lu Xun museums serve or have once served nobodies interest. Not the Parties, not its initial establishers, not the critical intellectuals in China who identify themselves with Lu Xun as a critical thinker and denounce his "instrumentalization" by the Party (critical realists writing in China), and not for the critical realists outside China, who – if they were closed – no longer could use state-museums to show how Lu Xun is "instrumentalized" (if the narratives simplifying Lu Xun into a strait jacket of the Party's ideology are no longer told

in the museum / if the once censored or manipulated materials have been corrected). Thus to begin, I approach "Lu Xun – institutionalized" with no assumptions on their presumed development and current functions.

Critical Approaches to Lu Xun Museums as Official Narratives

Along with Shakespeare's (~1564-1616) birth house in Stratford, England, Friedrich Schiller's (1759-1805) birth house in Marbach, Germany is held to be one of the first publicly maintained author museums, both having been opened to the public in the middle of the 19th century (Emery 2012, 9).[128] The Schiller birth house was bought by the Marbacher Schillerverein in 1857, which was established as a museum open to the public on the 100th birthday of Schiller on November 10, 1859 (Schwedt 1995, 99). In addition to Schiller's birth house, the Schillerverein would further build an additional Schiller archive and museum in 1903 under the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Later this museum was renamed the Schiller Nationalmuseum in 1922 during the Weimar Republic. By the end of the 20th century, a travel guide to literary museums already listed close to 200 literary museums open to the public in Germany, Austria and Switzerland (Schwedt 1995).

In Germany, the literary estate of writers and their former residences have very different managing institutions (Träger). They could remain in the possession of the family (thus in private ownership) or managed by literary societies (Gesellschaften, Vereine) and foundations (Stiftungen). Otherwise they could be bought by or donated to the state, leaving the managing responsibilities of many museums today in the hands of local governments, from townships (Gemeinden) and counties (Kreise) to the federal states (Länder). In some cases, the estates of writers would become or (in the case of the buildings remain) in the possession of the different churches, as for example in the case of the Romantic poet Eduard Mörike (1804-1875 from Ludwigsburg), who worked as a vicar in the small town of Ochsenwang, today owned by the Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Ochsenwang (Schwedt 1995, 25). In the case of the management by civil foundations (Stifungen) and societies (Vereine), but also in the case of the churches, these museums can be regarded as being run by non-governmental organizations. When looking at the institutional histories of the Lu

[128] Emery dates the opening of the Schiller and Shakespeare Museum at 1847, while Schwedt and the official website of the Schiller birth house set its establishment at 1859. The Schillerverein had originally come into existence as a Verein für Schiller's Denkmal, and was later renamed the Schwäbische Schillerverein in 1895 and the Deutsche Schillergesellschaft 1946.

Xun museums in Beijing, Shanghai, Shaoxing, Nanjing, Xiamen and Guangzhou, however, one learns Lu Xun's literary heritage is managed and largely owned by the People's Republic of China.

When asking whether Lu Xun museums in China are GOs or NGOs, the question thus might strike one as futile, because at first glance and indeed factually the answer can be reduced to two letters: GO. All of Lu Xun's memorial museums are indeed state-owned (*guoyou* 國有) organizations run by the state and affiliated with various government institutions. This applies both to the historic buildings and the additionally built museums dedicated to Lu Xun. They are government organizations in the sense that they are run, managed and financed by the People's Republic of China, which again de facto means by the CPC. But does this mean that the museums are run solely by government officials of the Communist Party, functionaries who are both isolated from literary circles well read in Lu Xun's works as well as isolated from Lu Xun's contemporaries, family and friends who drew from their own personal experience in their understanding of Lu Xun as a person? While no such claim has been made, the critical voices against Lu Xun's "instrumentalization" by the Communist Party which we find in the English scholarly work on Lu Xun's legacy will convey this impression, as well as the fact that no scholar has so far considered the museums worthy of an analysis in their own right.

In Leo Ou-fan Lee's edited volume *Lu Xun and his Legacy* from 1985 (Lee 1985a), David Holm takes a closer look at the official memorial ceremonies and speeches of state-leaders as well as cultural and research institutions dedicated to Lu Xun, concluding: "One might also ask: Was the Party's claim on the heritage of Lu Xun entirely meretricious? Again, one is tempted to say yes. The cult of Lu Xun was clearly the product of a pragmatic and utilitarian attitude to cultural reconstruction, and much of the official discourse on the author reeks of manipulation and emotionalism" (Holm 1985, 179). In Holm's as well as Goldmann's contributions in this volume, the critique of an instrumentalization of Lu Xun by the Communist Party is far more direct and sharp than it ever would become in China, even though it should be added that, especially in the early 1980s, there was indeed room for such a debate in China as well.[129] Both Leo Ou-fan Lee's edited volume and his book *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun* published two years later in 1987 lay the ground for research on Lu Xun that attempted to read his literature and life against the grain of the Communist Party's interpretation of Lu Xun as an archetypical Marxist

[129] This debate became to be known as the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun 反對神化魯迅運動, see (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 2002, 89–138).

thinker, but instead as a complex modernist. His work was praised by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová as not being yet another hagiography, but by breaking all taboos reveals Lu Xun as a 'highly intellectual' writer who transformed his ideas and emotions [...] into *artistic* structures of meaning which decry the *superficial effort* to extract merely 'revolutionary messages'" [my emphasis] (Doleželová-Velingerová 1988, 604). The result of this search for an "alternative" reading of Lu Xun was that Lu Xun museums in China were dismissed from this research – both as research institutions and as providers for primary material worth considering, precisely because they were institutions associated with the government. Looking back at his past Lu Xun research in 2015, Leo Ou-fan Lee replied to the question, "were the Lu Xun museums of any help to your research [on Lu Xun]? 它們［魯迅博物館和紀念館］ 對你的研究有幫助嗎？" by explaining: "They were of no help. Because the Lu Xun museums at the time were all official/ state-controlled (*guanfang de*) 沒有幫助，因為當時的魯迅博物館都是官方的" (interview with Leo Ou-fan Lee, 2015, June 8, 00:00:37). It was *because* the museums were official (government) institutions that they did not provide any help to his research, he believed.

But this did not mean that Leo Ou-fan Lee had not visited the museums and former residences of Lu Xun in China. In the early 1980s, he had visited Lu Xun's museum in Shaoxing, his former residence in Shanghai and Guangzhou. When he visited Lu Xun's home town in Shaoxing, he remembered that he was very touched and that he "felt that Lu Xun's spirit still seemed to linger here 我感覺魯迅的陰魂在這裡" (interview with Leo Ou-fan Lee, 2014, July 9). "But this was also due to the fact that the former residence had not yet been arranged or put into an order, but was still completely untouched 那時的故居完全沒有被整理，沒有人碰過" (interview with Leo Ou-fan Lee, 2014, July 9). It was by the act of being touched and being put into an order by the state that Lee's interest in these sites – even though it had been a personal one rather than professional – seemed to have vanished, no longer evoking an emotional response, no longer able to move him. But how did Lu Xun's material possessions come to be put into an order, arranged, and even owned by the state? It is not easy to pinpoint the historical moment in which Lu Xun's heritage was "touched", when Lu Xun would come to be institutionalized in museum space and exactly how his literary heritage would be put "into an order" (*zhengli* 整理). The following will thus introduce different moments in the life of Lu Xun's material literary heritage and the various actors who touched them. By this I show the complexity of how Lu Xun's heritage was introduced into a state order and how this order would come to bureaucratize Lu Xun.

Before the Birth of the Lu Xun museums (1936-49): Lu Xun in Limbo

Foreshadowed Spaces: Xu Guangping and Xu Shoushang

In 1936, nine *days* after Lu Xun had passed away, Lu Xun's friend Xu Shoushang 許壽裳 (1883–1948 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang) wrote a letter to Xu Guangping in Shanghai, entreating her to take good care of Lu Xun's personal belongings [IC 24 Letter from Xu Shoushang to Xu Guangping][130]:

> Take proper care of all of the relics (*yiwu*), photos, portraits and prints of Yucai [Lu Xun], the utensils and stationary he used during his life, no matter if it is his ashtray, his tea cups, rice bowls, wine cups, chopsticks, old writing brushes, ink stones, under no circumstances are they to be lost, they have extreme importance as objects of commemoration (*jinianpin*), all are enough to provide them to the later generation (*houren*), to those who are interested in Lu Xun 又豫才兄照片画像木刻像等及其生前所用器具文具，无论烟灰缸、茶杯、饭碗、酒杯、筷子及破笔、砚台，亦请妥善保存，所有遗物，万勿任人索散，此为极有意义之纪念品，均足以供後人之興感者 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 2).

In the letter, Xu Shoushang referred to Lu Xun's belongings with a specific term, describing them as "relics" (*yiwu* 遺物). Thus with Lu Xun's death, his personal and literary estate had changed from objects of everyday use into relics, a change which was not visible to the eye, but nevertheless brought great change to them. In Xu Guangping's eyes, these objects might have already become objects of commemoration, objects that reminded her of her partner, objects that carried personal memories of him. But at the very latest with the arrival of Xu Shoushang's letter, the transformation of these objects of personal memory into objects of collective memory had begun (A. Assmann 2006). For Xu Shoushang foresaw that these objects would come to have a value not only to Xu Guangping who would be reminded of her partner with whom she had lived together for the last ten years of her life, but also for later generations, who would be reminded of a historic person, someone they would only be able to encounter though various media, be it through his texts or his relics, as "Lu Xun".

That Lu Xun's former living spaces would become of value in the future had already been realized on the day of Lu Xun's death, on October 19, 1936. The spectacle that took place around Lu Xun's funeral did not take place within his former residence. Lu Xun's body was taken to the Universal Funeral Parlor 殯儀館 on the day of his death and his body was put on display on the

[130] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 024.

October 20, when 4,462 people queued to pay their respects[131] (Kong Haizhu 孔海珠 2002, 63) in a highly emotional experience as described in later commemorative texts published a few weeks after the event (Hu Feng 胡风 2012, 73). Even more would join the funeral procession on October 22 to the Universal Public Cemetery 萬國公墓 where Lu Xun was buried. While the masses of people followed Lu Xun's deceased body through the streets, his former living spaces were left devoid of people.

Or better, devoid of most people. Photographs of the empty rooms of Dalu xincun No. 9, however, show that someone had (allegedly) been present at the house on October 19 to record the state in which Lu Xun's living spaces were at the time when he had passed away.[132] The photographs of these deserted spaces stand in contrast to the photographs of the funeral parlor and streets of the upcoming days filled with people.

It is likely that these photographs were meant to document the "original" living surroundings of Lu Xun before any changes were made, and indeed these photos and prior ones would serve as references when his former residence was "restored" in the efforts of establishing a Lu Xun memorial museum in Shanghai after the establishment of the PRC. However, assuming that the photos were indeed taken on October 19, they nevertheless present not only a selective, but also an altered version of Lu Xun's residence. Firstly, the rooms and angles are carefully selected. The main rooms in which Lu Xun lived with Xu Guangping and Zhou Haiying were indeed photographed. But the kitchen, bathroom, rooftop and room of the two maids were not photographed, or at least not included in the later published collection of the photographs in 1981 (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 20–29). The rooms chosen were the living and dining room on the first floor, Lu Xun's bedroom and study on the second floor as well as Zhou Haiying's room on the third floor, along with the smaller guest and storage rooms [IC 25 Shanghai Dalu xincun 1936 I; IC 26 Shanghai Dalu xincun 1936 II].[133] The photographs were most likely

[131] On the second day another 2,857 people came to pay their respects and behold Lu Xun's deceased body (*zhanyang yirong* 瞻仰遺容) (Kong Haizhu 孔海珠 2002, 63).

[132] According to my personal correspondence with museum researcher and Deputy Director Li Hao 李浩 (02.08.2017), on the day of Lu Xun's funeral Kong Lingjing 孔另境 (1904-1972) and Sha Fei 沙飛 (1912-1950) took photographs of the funeral, which is also described in their biographies, see: (Kong Haizhu 孔海珠 2004) and (Wang Yan 王雁 2015). However it is held that there were other photographers as well. Furthermore, the Shanghai Mingxing Film Company 上海明星電影公司 filmed during the day and some images were afterwards copied from the film material. Part of this film is also shown in the permanent display of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

[133] The numbers of the photographs are given according to the publication (Photos 20-29) (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 20–29). To view these image clusters, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 025 and IC 026.

taken by close friends who came to pay their respects to Lu Xun's deceased body and who had stayed after his body had been taken away, for the body is no longer lying on the bed [see IC 25 Shanghai Dalu xincun 1936 I Photo No. 25]. [134] Yet the rooms were not necessarily untouched. Alterations are likely to have been made, since Lu Xun's last manuscript which he had been writing up to October 17, described by Xu Guangping as still having been lying on his desk held by paperweights on the day of his death, had also already been cleared away for the photograph (Xu Guangping 许广平 2012, 144) [IC 25 Photo No. 25]. It is thus important to be aware of the fact that the spaces presented in the photographs are not merely impartial documentation, but at the very least strongly influenced by the power of the photographer and more likely depict settings which have already been "touched" by the first hands partaking in a making of Lu Xun.

What adds to further confusion for researchers of these spaces is that the photographs from 1936 (after Lu Xun's death) are at times mixed in publications with photos that were taken in the 1950s (after the restoration of his living spaces as a memorial museum), but are left undated. As the 1981 publication by the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum shows, IC 25 Photo No. 20 (undated in the publication) does not strictly belong to the photographs taken on October 19, namely IC 25 Photo No. 21–26 and IC 26 Photo 27–29, among which it is presented. While IC 25 Photo No. 20 provides a better view of the room since it shows it from a greater distance, allowing the viewer to see the placing of the book shelf in relation to the desk, one can tell from the discrepancies of the bookshelf and desk also visible on IC 25 Photo No. 21 and IC 25 Photo No. 22 that alterations have taken place. For example, the arrangement of the potted plants, the calendar and ink bottle were replaced with a single flower pot and lamp. Another indication is the reduced display set on top of the cupboard with Wang Junchu's 王鈞初 (1904-1986 from Fuguo County/ Henan) oil painting that he had given to Lu Xun as a present in 1935 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 110). In IC 25 Photo No. 20 the cupboard has been decluttered, featuring fewer objects as in IC 25 Photo No. 21. Furthermore, the inclusion of Lu Xun's portrait which was on display at the funeral parlor as the

[134] The publication from the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum does not give any information on who took the photographs in the publication from 1981 (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 20–29), only the date. Among those who visited Lu Xun on the day of his death, Jenner listed Uchiyama Kanzo, Huang Yuan, Xiao Jun, Huang Xinbo (woodcut artist), Chen Yanqiao, Ba Jin, Hu Feng, Dr. Okuda, the Japanese dentist who took the death mask (Jenner 1982, 436). Xu Guangping does not mention herself or someone else taking photos of the house in her 1936 publication "The Last Day 最后一天" (Xu Guangping 许广平 2012). The photos of Lu Xun's desk were also already included in the 1938/ 1948 editions of Lu Xun's collected works at the beginning of the volume (Lu Xun 鲁迅 [1938b] 1948, xvii–xxiv), thus were not only photographed after the rooms were reconstructed as a memorial museum in the 1950s, however they too were included without any reference to when the photographs were taken or by whom.

funeral portrait (*yirong* 遺容) was by then included in the house, thus the photograph must have been taken after the museum was established as a memorial museum after 1951 when the rooms had been "restored". When comparing the scenes with color postcards showing Lu Xun's Shanghai residence which are most likely from the 1950s and are collected in the Xiamen Lu Xun museum, one can see that the setting of the living room in the first room is almost absolutely identical, while the setting of Lu Xun's study on the second floor features differences (e.g. the 1936 black and white version depicts many books and papers still lying on the commode) [IC 27 Comparison Shanghai Dalu xincun 1936 or 1950s].[135] The IC 25 Photo No. 20 is implied to be from 1936, but is more likely to simply be a reproduction of a photo from the mid-1950s (removing one framed image of text on the wall, possibly by retouching the photograph), as it is otherwise completely identical with the 1950s version but is decidedly different from the other 1936 close-up photographs of the individual pieces of furniture (desk and cupboard). What this comparison aims to show is that it is largely impossible to speak of an "original" setting of Lu Xun's living environment, not least because even the photographic documentation which would allow a close (if never absolute) *Annäherung* to these spaces is already largely questionable as a primary source, as their publication history has shuffled and reshuffled these images with few reliable sources on authoritative materials. If one, however, relies on the dating of the photographs (and to a minimal degree a researcher must), the photographs suggest that on the very day of Lu Xun's death on October 19, the establishment of Dalu xincun No. 9 as a "Lu Xun Former Residence" (*Lu Xun guju* 魯迅故居) or "memorial museum" (*jinianguan* 紀念館) was already *envisioned*, thus creating a need for documenting the status-quo of Lu Xun's living surroundings before any further alterations could be made – even though the spatial context in which these relics (*yiwu* 遺物), as Xu Shoushang termed them, should be made accessible to the later generations was not yet discussed explicitly.

Xu Shoushang does not speak of Lu Xun's former residence as a commemorative *space* (*jinian kongjian* 紀念空間) in his letter to Xu Guangping in 1936 and with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 this concern was arguably not a priority (Lu Xun's *movable* heritage in form of commemorative objects (*jinianpin*) were on his mind instead). As the later events show, Xu Shoushang's worries proved justified. Xu Guangping, was imprisoned by the Japanese in 1941, when Japanese soldiers raided her house on December 15 and even took with them Xu Guangping's manuscripts of Lu Xun's diary and other collected papers and journals (McDougall 2002, 75).

[135] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 027.

During her arrest, Xu Guangping was mainly interrogated about the Shanghai leftist literary scene, but since she refused to cooperate, she was beaten, whipped and given electronic shocks (McDougall 2002, 75).[136] Suffering though this hardship, it becomes clear that Xu Shoushang had certainly not given her an easy task when asking her to "take care" of Lu Xun's relics (*yiwu*). It was not until March 1, 1942 that Xu Guangping was finally released. The spatial context in form of a museum was only discussed nine *years* after Lu Xun had passed away, namely after the end of the Second World War and the defeat of the Japanese by the allied forces. As the following will show, it was in the mid-1940s that the concept of an "author museum" made its way to China via the Soviet Union.

Moving Spaces: Inspirations from Moscow (Guo Moruo, Mao Dun and Wang Yeqiu)

On October 19, 1945, Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978 from Leshan/ Sichuan) published an article in the *Xinhua Daily Newspaper* 新華日報 titled "My Suggestion 我建議". In this article, he passionately called for a Lu Xun Museum to be established [IC 28 Guo Moruo 1945 My Suggestion].[137] Besides a museum, Guo further suggested that Lu Xun statues and busts should be produced and that natural scenic areas ought to be named after him (e.g. lakes and mountains). In each of these three forms of commemoration, including the institutional, material and natural, Guo Moruo emphasized where his ideas had derived from, stating explicitly, "I learned this from the Soviet Union 從蘇聯學來的", repeating it three times in the short article (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 4). This comes as little surprise knowing that Guo Moruo had visited the Soviet Union only a few months before in 1945, which is why his visit abroad was an integral part in the establishment of the Lu Xun museums.

The significant role of Guo Moruo as an actor in the establishment of memorial museums dedicated to Lu Xun is addressed here in more detail, because his biography stands exemplary for a larger issue: The agency and power of writers as cultural politicians and the resulting impact of cultural politicians on literature and literary memory, an impact that raises suspicion as it furthers the instrumental value of the museum as an institution for the state. One form to highlight the possessive nature of cultural politics over cultural memory is to present these human actors not as

[136] During Xu Guangping's incarceration, Zhou Haiying lived at Zhou Jianren's home in Shanghai (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 128–35).

[137] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 028.

writers *and* cultural politicians, but writers who *turned into* cultural politicians. Guo Moruo, who like Lu Xun, is often described as one of the May-Fourth "veterans", would later play a major role in the cultural politics of the PRC and, as an intellectual, played an interesting role in bridging the gap between the political and literary fields in China. In Western scholarly literature on Guo Moruo, these two roles have been presented as almost contradictory (Klöpsch, E. Müller, and Keen 2004, 112–13), (Liu 2000, 102). When introducing his biography and the process of his intellectual development, Guo Moruo the writer and Guo Moruo the politician or party functionary are thus often presented as the one replacing the other, the artist turned politician. The artist is commonly seen in the young Guo, who, during his studies abroad in Japan, translated many foreign works from German into Chinese and his philosophy is presented as a mix of Daoist and Buddhist ideas with the philosophies of the writings of Goethe, Tagore, Whitman and many other foreign writers. The "aesthetic" Guo emphasized the realization of one's inner self through poetry and became known for his poetry-collection *Goddesses* 神女 published in 1920 and for his translation of Goethe's *Leiden des Jungen Werther* into Chinese in 1922. The turn in Guo's literary work is seen in parallel to his turn to the Communist Party in 1924 after his return to China from Japan. While literature had been a means of artistic self-expression, Guo hereafter saw it as an instrument for social change. This transformation into a "Marxist writer" is shown as becoming complete with the establishment of the PRC, in which he held many official positions, as head of the CFLAC 中國文聯 and of the CAS 中國科學院. Guo, the cultural politician, would support Mao Zedong's line in the decades to follow, especially after 1958 with the approaching Sino-Soviet split, when a political and also literary thaw under Khrushchev (1953-1964 from Kalinovka/ Russian Empire) seemed no longer worthy of emulating in Guo's and Mao's eyes. Thus Guo is presented as a former advocate for Western Romanticist individualism who "converted" to Communism (Klöpsch, E. Müller, and Keen 2004, 112–13), (Liu 2000, 102).

This conversion of major Chinese writers and intellectuals to Communism has been something literary scholars in the field of Sinology have been grappling with, aware of the eventual rise of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). One accepted reason among scholars why May Fourth intellectuals chose this path was their frustration and desperation in trying to save China as a nation in the modern world (Chen 2007, 2). In a 2007 monograph on Guo published in the US, Chen Xiaoming confirms this view, but also adds other reasons which were not limited to "national salvation" (*jiuguo* 救國) by presenting Guo's cosmopolitan ambitions in combination

with his indebtedness to Chinese philosophy more prominently than other scholars. These ambitions become manifest in Guo Moruo's continuing engagement with Confucianism, for example. For Chen Xiaoming, Guo's case shows that "May Fourth to Communism" was not merely a story of "national salvation smothering enlightenment", a view represented by the philosopher Li Zehou 李澤厚 (1930- from Daolin/ Hunan). Instead, Guo's continuing attempts to bring together Confucianism, Western Enlightenment and Marxist Communism shows his indebtedness to Chinese traditional thought.[138] Thus in this more recent study, Guo is presented as having attempted to bridge an ultimately unbridgeable gap between Confucian moralism and Marxist historical materialism (Chen 2007, 2). [139]

Since Lu Xun died before the establishment of the PRC and never held a political office in the PRC nor was a member of the Communist Party, his political standpoint ultimately escapes the grasps of literary scholars. Guo Moruo's case however seems more straightforward. His alliance to the Maoist principle of the function of literature in society is still seen as tragic in the West while it remains celebrated in China. As Chen summarizes, some critical scholars are simply baffled by the fact that Guo, despite being publicly criticized and having suffered the loss of his sons in the Cultural Revolution, would have followed the Maoist line. Others conclude that Guo was a "shameless survivor without any principles in the ever-changing tide of the Maoist radical revolution" (Chen 2007, 110). However, Chen Xiaoming challenges both of these narratives by arguing that Guo did not simply follow Maoist principles blindly, but that he ultimately was in agreement with them, that they were indeed his *own* principles which he had already developed in the 1920s, thus challenging the dichotomy between the aestheticist (of the 1920s) vs. cultural politician (1950s-70s) (Chen 2007, 110–11). This study is to show that it is important not to fall into simplifying dichotomies of writer *vs.* cultural politician, as it erodes our unbiased approach to these museums in China, quickly defining them as state institutions, not as cultural institutions.

To return to Lu Xun's museums, it was this – up to today controversial – figure who, after having visited the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War and with the upcoming Chinese

[138] This attempt to bring Confucianism and Marxism into a dialogue becomes clearest in his short story "Marx Enters the Confucian Temple 馬克思進文廟", first published in 1925. For an English translation see (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1999).

[139] Guo Moruo's transformation is seen as one of the first and most dramatic. Guo's work in the *Creation Society* 創造社 (1921-29), which advocated "art for art's sake" during the May Fourth period, changed dramatically when he explained that the *Creation Society* could only justify its existence if it contributed to the revolution. Hereafter, the group would come to consist increasingly of young leftist writers beginning in the years 1926-27 (Pickowicz 1981, 82).

Civil War still ahead, had called for Lu Xun to be commemorated in museum space.140 While also offering other forms (e.g. artistic, natural), he first and foremost called for museums (*bowuguan*) to be established in Lu Xun's name, thus emphasizing the institutional form of commemoration. According to Guo, the Lu Xun museums were to function as sites where scholars could conduct research on Lu Xun and furthermore allow "people who respect Lu Xun to have the opportunity to *look at him with reverence* 讓敬仰魯迅者的人民大眾得以瞻仰". The term "to look at somebody or something with reverence" (*zhanyang* 瞻仰) was used in classical texts in the context of looking at natural phenomena in awe, such as a mountain. A text from the Eastern Han-Dynasty (25-220 AD) reads: "All people looked at the mountain with awe/ reverence 夫山者，萬民之所瞻仰也".141 Yet by the time Guo applied this terminology to the visiting experience of a memorial museum, this feeling of awe had become applicable to a way of seeing, a way of beholding of Lu Xun.

Guo Moruo not only explained that he learned the concept of dedicating a museum to a writer in the Soviet Union, but also gave concrete examples from which he drew direct inspiration: "The great writers of the Soviet Union generally all have a museum in their name, for example the Tolstoy [1828-1910] Museum, with his daughter as the director, the Mayakovsky [1893-1930] Museum, with his mother as director, and the Ostrovsky [1904-1936] Museum, with his father acting as director 蘇聯的大作家大抵都有在他的名義下的博物館，例如托爾斯泰的博物館，館長是他的孫女，瑪雅可夫斯基博物館，館長是他的母親，奧斯特羅夫斯基博物館，館長是他的父親" [return to IC 28 Guo Moruo 1945 My Suggestion]. Concerning the museum's management, Guo also had a clear idea of who the director of the Lu Xun museum should be if once it was established. He believed Xu Jingsong 許景宋 [Xu Guangping], Lu Xun's partner, ought

140 "I suggest: One should establish a Lu Xun Museum (*bowuguan*). Any materials on Lu Xun, his life history, the situation of his everyday life, his collected books, the books he wrote, the original manuscripts, [his drafts], his notes, his diary, his reading summaries, photographs and so on, as well as research on Lu Xun, no matter if it is Chinese or foreign should be collected, and displayed according to categories. [Through this] researchers and the masses who respect Lu Xun will have the opportunity to look at him in reverence [/pay him their respects] 我建議: 應該設立魯迅博物館。凡是關於魯迅的資料，他的生活歷史，日常生活狀態，X的書，著的書，原稿，X稿，筆記，日記，書簡，照片，等等，還有關於他的研究，無論本國的或外國的都 X 門蒐集，分門別類地陳列。讓研究魯迅者，讓敬仰魯迅者的人民大眾得以瞻仰" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物馆 2006, 4).

141 This quotation is given from the *Outer Commentary to the Book of Songs* 韓詩外傳, a collection of commentaries illustrating the *Book of Poetry* 詩經, see *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典 on "*zhanyang* 瞻仰" (The Commercial Press 2002). The term was used metaphorically by Guo Moruo and later by Bing Xin 冰心 (1900-1999) to describe her looking at her mother's remains at her funeral in reverence.

to be given this position. This however was never realized and the struggle of Xu Guangping to retain her power over Lu Xun's heritage after she donated his estate to the state is discussed in detail in this thesis when addressing the museum's history leading up to the Cultural Revolution.[142] Thus not everything that Guo Moruo had envisioned in 1945 in his suggestions was realized after the establishment of the PRC. Yet, this article from 1945 shows that in the years of the Chinese Republic the concept of an "author museum" had already entered China and the ways in which such a museum should be established was being discussed in the public realm. According to the publication of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum history, the very next day, eleven other men, among them Hu Qiaomu 胡喬木 (1912-1992 from Yancheng/ Jiangsu) and Ge Baoquan 戈寶權 (1913-2000 from Dongtai/ Jiangsu), the latter of which would later become active in the museum as a researcher and translator, wrote a handwritten letter in reply to Guo's call, supporting Guo's ideas and adding seven further points to consider. The points included among others enhancing academic research by establishing a Lu Xun research room (*yanjiushi* 研究室) and increasing translation work (into Russian, French and Esperanto), thus adding more detailed functions with regards to the scholarly productivity of the museum to Guo's otherwise suggested public space of commemoration[143] [IC 29 A Letter in Reply to Guo Moruo, 1945].[144]

But what had Guo Moruo seen in the Soviet Union that inspired him to make this public call in the newspaper after his return to China? Guo visited the Soviet Union in 1945 for a little over two months, where he attended the celebrations of the 220th anniversary of the SU-Academy of

[142] Xu Guangping was not given a leading role in the newly established Lu Xun museum, nor did she receive much respect from the early museum leadership during the 1950s. The reason why she was not structurally included in the museum through a museum staff position is not clear, but it could have to do with Xu Guangping not being a member of the Communist Party, as Ye Shusui described as a reason for the lack of respect she received from the museum leadership in the 1950s. This is discussed in "*Structure*: The Research Room: From Maojiawan to Fuchengmeng (1975-79)" of this thesis.

[143] Among the other men were Zhu Erfu 周而復 (1914-2004), Hou Wailu 侯外廬 (1903-1987), He Qinfang 何其芳 (1912-1977), Situ Huimin 司徒慧敏 (1910-1987), Liu Baiyu 劉白羽 (1916-2005) and others. Ge Baoquan on the one hand was a translator of Lu Xun's works into Russian, but also of Pushkin's and Gorky's work into Chinese. Later in the 1950s, Ge would moreover become a political analyst, working at the Chinese embassy in Moscow. Ge Baoquan did not speak critically of Joseph Stalin (1878-1953) in his reminiscences and continued to portrait him as "Stalin is a friend of China", a term he had first used on the 100 year anniversary of Stalin's birth in 1979 and continued to defend until 1986 (Rozman 1987, 80). He was also present in the conference Leo Ou-fan Lee took part in in 1981 from which the edited volume *Lu Xun and his Legacy* developed. Hu Qiaomu, on the other, is known as a hardliner against the reforms propagated by Deng Xiaoping after Mao Zedong's death, while he was the secretary to Mao Zedong. Hu Qiaomu and the writer Xiao Jun 曉軍 (1907-1988) had very different opinions on how important the Party should be in literature (e.g. the "party-character" of literature (*dangxing* 黨性)) and in the interpretation of Lu Xun's work. For an in-depth discussion on their dispute over Lu Xun before and after the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art in 1942, three years before this letter to Guo Moruo, see (Ge Tao 葛涛 2012, 306–30).

[144] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 029.

Sciences in Moscow and Leningrad for which he had the role of the Cultural Ambassador of China 中國文化界的使者, returning to China directly after the Japanese surrender in the war.[145] His experiences from visiting the SU were first published in *Xinhua Daily* 新華日報 from October 10, 1945 to January 22, 1946, titled "Travel Notes on the Soviet Union 苏联纪行" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 120–274). They contain his diary entries from June 9 to August 16, 1945 and were also included in the 1997 publication of *Guo Moruo's Diaries* 郭沫若日記.[146] In his diary, Guo describes how he visited a number of museums dedicated to writers. He felt very honored to have been invited to this trip, reminding himself in his diary (whose publication after his return he is likely to have already had on his mind) that he should use this opportunity to "learn some things and bring them back with him 应该多学一点东西回来" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 121).

The first writer museum he visited was a Museum on Kropotkin Street dedicated to Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910 from Yasnaya Polyana/ Russian Empire), which had been established as a museum in 1921 (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 222–23). Guo visited the museum on a rainy day and an elderly lady gave an introduction to the exhibition. He emphasizes that indeed Tolstoy had never lived where the museum was built. But he noted down the curatorial concept of the museum, which consisted of all-together ten exhibition rooms. "In the first room there was simply one bronze bust of Tolstoy 第一室仅一托翁铜像" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 222), noticing the minimal design of the first room. In the second room was a place for visitors to sign their names[147] and the third he describes as a larger hall, which addressed Tolstoy's hometown and his family relations. The fourth presented a battle in which Tolstoy had fought,[148] followed by the fifth which was entirely dedicated to the novel *War and Peace* (1869), of which Guo noted that its original manuscript had 2,500 pages and moreover, that there were various drafts, the result of Tolstoy having spent five years of his life writing it. The sixth room was about *Anna Karenina* (1877), which Tolstoy had written when he was 48 and which he had rewritten four times before its completion. Guo points out that this work had already been turned into a textbook for children and peasants, clearly drawing

[145] He traveled with a fellow playwright and physicist Ding Xiling 丁西林 (1893-1974).

[146] In the preface of his publication, Chen Shuyu repeatedly calls Guo Moruo a writer and famous cultural person (*wenhua mingren* 文化名人) and sees the value of the diaries in them being both documents of "historical value 历史价值" and "historical poetry 史诗" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 5).

[147] Guo Moruo does not specify that this "place for signing your name 签名处" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 222) is only for visitors, but it is likely that it would be book in form of a guest-book, in which visitors could sign their names and note down their impressions.

[148] Tolstoy had been a soldier in the Crimean War (1853-1856) in 1855, in which the Russian Empire lost to Ottoman, British and French Empires and the Kingdom of Sardinia.

on Marxist concepts of what a makes a great writer. The seventh room discussed Tolstoy's later life and the eighth his novel *Resurrection* (1899). The ninth was also dedicated to his novel *Hadji Murat* (published posthumously in 1912) and dealt with the time immediately before and after of Tolstoy's death, when he "faced his end 临终前后" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 223). The final tenth room went beyond the history of Tolstoy and displayed the "German invasion 德寇暴行", during which Tolstoy's former home at Yasnaya Polyana[149] was occupied by the Germans for 45 days. Apart from describing the content of the exhibition – room by room –, he makes two further observations. Firstly, that the materials on display were very rich. They included bronze busts, paintings, photos, painted portraits, manuscripts, drafts, diaries, letters, and different printed versions of Tolstoy's literary oeuvre. Further, they included translations from all over the world, letters between the author and foreign scholars, drafts of the illustrations which were included in the printed books, as well as the models and sceneries featured in the different works. His second observation was, however, that materials on China were very scarce. Only in room ten had there been a "fifties" edition of *War and Peace*[150], an edition of Xia Yan's 夏炎 (1900-1995 from Hangzhou/ Zhejiang; Minister of Culture 1954-65) adoption of *Resurrection* as a play,[151] and an autograph of the *Resurrection* performance from May 18th, 1943. Even though he does not state this fact explicitly in his diary, the scarcity of the materials from China seems to have bothered him and might have even served as a motivation to continue with his translations of *War and Peace* after his return to China.

Afterwards Guo Moruo visited another author museum dedicated to Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930 from Baghdati/ Georgia).[152] Here Guo points out that the building indeed once had

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[149] The official website of the museum provides a short version of the museum history. When Tolstoy's widow Sophia applied to have the house protected as state heritage under the Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, she was rejected. Only in 1921 was the house turned into a public museum under state guardianship and according to its own numbers over 3,000 visitors came to the house in that first year. In 1939 Yasnaya Polyana came under the authority of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which had the effect that the house became a branch of the "State Museum of Tolstoy", which also included the two Tolstoy museums in Moscow and a museum at the station of Astapovo, see: (Museum Estate of Leo Tolstoy 2017).

[150] Guo Moruo is referring here to the translation of a part of *War and Peace* translated into Chinese by himself and Gao Di 高地 (1911-1960) which was published in the Chongqing Fifties Publishing House 重慶五十代出版社 in December 1924.

[151] In the 1920s and 30s during the New Culture Movement in China it was not *War and Peace* or *Ana Karenina*, but instead Tolstoy's "moral tract" *Resurrection* which was more popular among readers (Ng 1988, 59–60). The first full-length translation of *War and Peace* was only published in 1947 by Guo Moruo and Gao Di, thus two years after Guo's visit to the Soviet Union.

[152] For photos and archive material on the history of the Mayakovsky Museum, see: (Mayakovsky Museum Музей В.В. Маяко́вский) (only in Russian). The Mayakovsky museum was opened on December 23, 1937. Previous attempts of his wife Lilya Brik to have a museum established for Mayakovsky failed, which meant that she had to

been the former residence of Mayakovsky from 1926-1930. Again he notes down what he saw during his visit: Mayakovsky's clothes hung at the entrance, including his hat and walking stick, and they did so "as they had before 如故" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 223) [IC 30 Mayakovsky Museum].[153] The dining hall and reception, the bedroom and library, "these too were all displayed as they were before 一切陈设亦均如故" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 223).

The war features even more prominently in his description of Mayakovsky's Former Residence. One anecdote points to the final defeat of the Germans. Guo describes a glass cabinet which used to be filled with Champaign bottles according to the museum staff, but a museum staff had sworn that if the enemy was to retreat back from Moscow to Smolensk, she would open the bottles to celebrate, and on the day of Guo's visit there were only empty bottles remaining in the kitchen. These symbols of victory made a strong impression on Guo. He further describes the drawings of Mayakovsky that were on display as well as some furniture designed by Mayakovsky himself. "Many of the things Mayakovsky had left behind had even once been buried 遗品均已收藏入土" to protect them in the war, Guo notes. This exemplified the transformation of Mayakovsky's belongings from objects of everyday use, into buried treasures to national heritage on display in a museum. And finally, the garden of the building featured one object on display which symbolically turned Mayakovsky into a literal weapon against fascism. A tank which had been named after Mayakovsky was displayed in the garden of the museum. Guo, inspired by this symbol, noted a poem into his diary, whose form he adopted from Mayakovsky's poetry as the lines of the poem are increasingly indented until the end of the verse, creating a stepped verse:

> Revolutionary Poet – Great Son of "attacking class"[154] – [We] Chinese have known your name for some time – […] No Mountain, desert or ocean can stop you! You – a tank – a jet – the apostle of truth – your time – is – the century of eternity! 革命的 / 诗人/ "进攻阶级" 的 /伟大的儿子。/ 中国人 / 早就知道 / 你的名字。[…] 任何的山岳，沙漠，海洋，都阻挡不了你! 你，坦克车，快速度飞机，真理的使徒，你的时代，是，永远的时代! (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 225) [IC 31 Guo Moruo's Poem][155]

move his belongings from Gendrikov Lane. The letter Lilya Brik wrote to Stalin to urge him to establish a museum in Mayakovsky's name is also provided on the webpage. After Stalin's support, a museum for Mayakovsky was established in Gendrikov Lane and Mayakovsky's clothes and other items were displayed. The museum also encompassed a library and a reading room, established by Lilya Brik. For a concise English biography on Mayakovsky, see: (Lahti 2004).

[153] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 030.

[154] Guo Moruo is drawing on Mayakovsky's terminology. See footnote 1 in (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 225).

[155] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 031.

Guo Moruo was inspired by the image of the embodiment of Mayakovsky as a tank which he encountered during his museum visit at a time when the Second World War was omnipresent. For Guo this exhibit was a powerful image of pure force which overcomes great obstacles. Thus in his poem, he addresses Mayakovsky, among other things, as a tank. What this poem reveals is that Guo Moruo not only walked through the museums attentively, looking for inspirations which he could bring back to China, carefully noting down the museums' exhibition concepts, but also saw the museum visit as an inspiring experience, which inspired him to also engage with the writer in his own literary work.

The two museum visits had brought Guo Moruo to two very different writers of Russian literature. One to Tolstoy, who had written under the Czar Nicholas II of Russia, the other having experienced the establishment of the Soviet Union. Mayakovsky had indeed only passed away in 1930, 15 years before Guo Moruo's visit, but had nevertheless already become a "hero" for the Soviet Union and even known to Chinese readers as Guo himself stated. Later during his trip, Guo visited two further author museums, visits which seemed to have had an ever stronger impact on Guo, as he describes his feelings towards the authors more explicitly than in the cases of Tolstoy and Mayakovsky. On July 31, Guo visited the museum dedicated to the romantic poet Mikhail Lermontov (1814-1841 from Moscow) and on August 1st, he visited the museum dedicated to the Soviet realist playwright Nikolai Ostrovsky (1904-1936 from Villya/ Ukraine). In both of these visits, Guo Moruo gives a much more detailed description of the writes' biographies than before, emphasizing for example, how the hardships Ostrovsky had faced in his life had made him into a fighter. Guo directly links this fighting spirit to the literature he would later come to write: "But he was a son made of steel, who had been 'born out of a rainstorm', he did not have the slightest setback in his will to fight, and he chose the weapon of the arts and literature, fighting in the blind and paralyzing darkness to win the iron flames which shine in all their splendor. 然而自己正是'从暴风雨里面所诞生'出来的钢铁炼就的儿子，他丝毫也没有挫折自己的斗志，他又选择了文艺这项武器，在他盲目而瘫痪的一片黑暗中，打出了万丈光芒的眩目的铁火". Walking through the building in which Ostrovsky had passed away in Moscow, Guo wrote "a fighter like this really moves you. His writings were formed by life 这样的一位斗士实在是令人感奋。他的创作就这样是由生命所凝成的" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 236). In these latter writers, it was clearly their biography that impressed Guo Moruo, not their literary works alone.

This is not too surprising. When looking at the young Guo Moruo, it has been argued that his admiration was not only reserved for Goethe's literary oeuvre, for example, but also for Goethe as a person – or better – Goethe as a biography that inspired him to translate his works. As Raoul Findeisen has shown in his contribution on the shaping of Western authors as models for a new literature in China, Guo's newly found interest in pantheism which he describes in his "10 Years of Creation 創造十年" was based on his fascination with the biographies of the writers: "It was because I loved Tagore and because I loved Goethe that I came to deal with their ideas on pantheism on a philosophical level. Or should I rather say, I always felt an affinity to pantheism and therefore valued writers who had similar affinities to mine. 因为喜欢太戈尔，因为喜欢歌德，便和哲学上的泛神論 (Pantheism)的思想接近了。-- 或者可以說我本来是有些泛神論的倾向，所以才特别喜欢有那些倾向的詩人的" (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1958, 58).[156] Thus Guo reflected on whether his love for the poets arose from his philosophical interests or vice versa. In Findeisen's terminology, Guo Moruo was subject to a specific kind of *biographism*, in which "knowledge of the author's biographies [...] preceded knowledge on their production, i.e. on their texts" (Raoul David Findeisen 2000, 135). As a result, during the May Fourth Period, especially after Hu Shi's critique of a "lack of biographical literature in China" (which Findeisen contends as not being an accurate observation, but nevertheless a critique which had a strong impact on the May Fourth generation), writers produced a large amount of biographical writings on non-Chinese authors and later increasingly also their own autobiographical writings. "A result of this dominance of biographical writing (with its side effect of prominent interest also in contemporary Chinese author's lives) was that knowledge on Western authors' biographies by far overwhelmed knowledge of the texts they had produced" (Raoul David Findeisen 2000, 126). It was this power that a writer's biography gained when displayed materially in a museum that clearly fascinated Guo Moruo during his visits to author museums in the Soviet Union as well.

In the Soviet Union, Guo experienced a new, emotionally touching form of learning a writer's biography, experiencing his life through his past belongings and living surroundings (Mayakovski's hat and walking stick hanging in the hallway as they had before (*rugu* 如故)) as

[156] The original text includes a mixture of traditional and simplified Chinese characters which can be explained by its publication in 1959, during the transition period of the script reform during the 1950s and early 1960s. I have kept Schäfer's term "love/ liebte" for the Chinese term *xihuan* in the English translation, as *xihuan* refers to a stronger emotion than the English equivalent of "to like". "Weil ich Tagore liebte und weil ich Goethe liebte, beschäftigte ich mich auf philosophischem Gebiet mit den Ideen des Pantheismus. Oder sollte ich lieber sagen, ich besaß eine Neigung zum Pantheismus und schätze deswegen Dichter mit ebensolchen Neigungen" (Schäfer 1986, 383).

well as through the narration of space (walking through the chronologically arranged Tolstoy Museum) and metaphorical objects (e.g. the Mayakovsky tank). In one way or another, lives were linked to literature, or as in Guo's description of Ostrovsky's literary work, great literature was writing "formed by life 由生命所凝成的". In his own experience, the knowledge of a writer's life could create a feeling of affection for him (Goethe, Tagore), could spark one's interest in his writings, in his philosophy. When Guo returned to China, after the surrender of the Japanese war, it was within only two months that Guo published his "Suggestions 建议", calling for the establishment of Lu Xun museums throughout China, places in which scholars could conduct research and the people could look at him in reverence. But these spaces would also give the visitors new insights in Lu Xun's life and how the life he led had come to form his literature.

While Guo Moruo serves as the main figure to represent the human actors who were involved in the transportation of the author museum as an institutional concept into China, he was by no means the only writer/ cultural politician who gained inspiration from Soviet author museums. Lu Xun's and Guo's contemporary Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981 from Wuzhen/ Zhejiang, pen name of Shen Dehong 沈德鴻) also played a similar role. For Mao Dun was quickly to follow in Guo's footsteps two years later in 1947 when he travelled to Moscow, also before the establishment of the PRC. Mao Dun described his visit to the museum dedicated to Maxim Gorky (1868-1936 from Nizhny Novgorod/ Russian Empire) which he visited on May 5th, 1947 in his collection of articles titled "Records of [Seeing and Hearing of] the SU 苏联见闻录" (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986a), dedicating whole chapters to the Gorky, Tolstoy and Pushkin museums.[157] Mao Dun took note of how the Gorky Museum 高爾基博物館 was managed, for example. Since Gorky himself had been the head of the World Literature Academy during his lifetime, the academy changed its name to the *Gorky* World Literature Academy 高爾基世界文學院 [my emphasis][158] after his passing in 1936. The literature academy was divided into five sections, the (1) Ancient Greek and Roman Literature Department (2) the Western European Literature Department (3) the Russian Literature Department (4) the Soviet Literature Department and as a fifth the (5) Gorky Research Department, which was dedicated to studies on Gorky alone, Mao Dun noted, revealing the major focus that was placed on this one individual writer. Administratively, this research academy was not only in

[157] Mao Dun's diary entries and essays were included in *Mao Dun's Collected Works* 茅盾全集 published in 1986, in whose publishing process Mao Dun was involved until his death in 1981.

[158] Today named the Gorky World Institute of Literature.

charge of the Gorky Museum, but also in charge of the Pushkin Museum, as well as four Tolstoy museums (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986a, 232). Mao Dun stated the fact that it was only after the October Revolution in 1917 that it had been possible for the Tolstoy Museum in Moscow to be established and the building maintained, since even though Tolstoy's widow Sophia Tolstaya had sold the house to the Moscow City Government with the hope that it would be protected as state heritage, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia did not did not "take care of it, even leading to considerable decay 不加管理，一至颇損失" (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986c, 307–8). The Pushkin Museum was also only established after the October Revolution, Mao Dun explained (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986b, 319). Even though the museums were by the 1940s all managed by the same (state-run) academy, Mao Dun's visiting experience varied greatly between them. He described how the Gorky Museum differed from the Pushkin or Tolstoy Museum.[159] For even though they all belonged to the arts (*wenyi* 文藝), the Gorky Museum felt more like his experience at the Lenin Museum (established in 1924): [160]

> This is the main point of difference between the Gorky and the Pushkin and L. Tolstoy museums, namely the point that the Gorky Museum has in common with the Lenin Museum: […] I cannot know other people's thoughts and feelings, it seems it is just as I see it, but when I visited the Pushkin-, the L. Tolstoy- or the Nekrasov [1821-1878/ from Nemyriv/ Ukraine] museums, I felt more admiration and respect for the achievements of these virtuous people of the older generations (*qianxian*), but in the Gorky Museum, I deeply felt the great era and this great people mentally, [strengthening] my resolve and incentive, for Gorky is more like the embodiment (*huashen*) of a great people during a great era, I nearly forgot that he was a "natural person". 这是高尔基博物馆不同于普希金博物馆及 L.托尔斯泰博物馆之重要的一点，也就是高尔基博物馆和列宁博物馆相同的一点 [⋯]. 别人的感想如何不得而知，若就我个人而言，则当我访问普希金，L・托尔斯泰，或者耐克拉索夫博物馆的时候，我的情感中似乎景仰前贤的成分比较多些，但在高尔基博物馆，我却深刻地感到伟大的时代和伟大的人民在我精神上所起的决荡和感召，而高尔基便是这伟大的人民在那伟大的时代的化身，我几乎忘记了他也是一个"自然人"了 (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986a, 234).

With Gorky and Lenin it had not been their literary achievements but their merging with a great area and people that made Mao Dun forget that Gorky was a "natural person", made him forget that Gorky had indeed once had that which I term in this thesis a First Body. The museum

[159] Mao Dun wrote essays about his visits to the Tolstoy House in Moscow (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986c), where Tolstoy had lived from 1882 until moving to Yasnaya in 1901, after which, however, he did not return to this house, and the Pushkin Museum in Leningrad (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986b).

[160] After Vladimir Lenin's (1870-1924) death in 1924, a Lenin-Museum was established as a branch of the Lenin-Institute. In 1936, this museum was further turned into the Central Lenin Museum (Dewjatow 1987, 8).

display had made Gorky's Second Body, that which Gorky as a writer represented beyond the literature that he wrote, so prominent that it had successfully pushed Mao Dun's awareness of the existence of his First into the background.

But how was this merging of the time period and the people with this one writer achieved? It had to do with how the museum narrated the writer's life in the museum. For in Gorky's case, Mao Dun observed that the museum "not only explained Gorky's life alone, but it also explained the struggle and success of the Russian people as it was reflected in the literature and arts of the last eighty years until the first twenty years of the rule of the Soviet Regime, and Gorky's life was hereby used as the *red thread*. 不，岂但说明了高尔基一生而已，也说明了上起八十年代，下迄苏维埃政权最初二十年的反映在文艺上的俄罗斯人民的斗争和胜利，而以高尔基的一生作为贯串的线索" (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986a, 234). Thus the author's life which straddled the past and present regimes was used in order to link two different historical periods, the time prior and after the Soviet regime, therefore ultimately telling the story of the successful establishment of a political regime. Naturally, Lu Xun's life could not offer a red thread that lead all the way to the establishment of the PRC (as it was yet ahead even of Mao Dun at the time of his visit to Moscow), but Lu Xun's life had straddled the past regime of the Qing-Dynasty and the establishment of the Republic, thus including the 1911 Revolution which would later form one of the major mythical events in the national history of the PRC. It is thus not unlikely that Mao Dun had had his former friend Lu Xun in mind as well during his visit, even though he makes no explicit references to Lu Xun as Guo Moruo had two years earlier.

Despite the fact that Mao Dun experienced Gorky as the incarnation of a great people, the objects that he actually remembered from the exhibition were everyday-life objects which *could have* made Gorky seem like a "natural person 自然人". Firstly, Mao Dun remembered a family photo which Gorky had taken with his son in 1899. On the photograph Gorky had himself written a few lines: "This is me and my son, a one-and-a-half-year-old philosopher, this is the work of my life I am proud of 这是我和我的儿子，——一岁半的哲学家；这是我生平的得意之作" (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986a, 235). Displaying Gorky as a loving and proud father is likely to have made him more approachable to the visitor. The other object Mao Dun remembered was Gorky's desk. On the desk were two tobacco pipes, his glasses, his pen, an ash tray and a cigarette box. While Mao Dun could not be sure, he remarked that "it is said (*jushuo*) that all was according to the way in which Gorky had placed those objects in those years 据说这都是按照当年高尔基生前各物摆置

的原样” (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986a, 235), implying but at the same time questioning the authenticity of the spaces. In any case, the desk is presented as having been left untouched after Gorky’s passing, conveying a degree of privacy, familiarity and especially immediacy.

While these objects might have made the visitor feel closer to the “great writer”, the fact that all manuscripts of his writings were only displayed as photographs again reminded Mao Dun of distance. The museum displayed photos of his manuscripts, the original (*yuanben*) were actually kept in the warehouse. For Mao Dun, the fact that the original manuscripts were stored in a storage house implied the value and inaccessibility of this great writer. Even though Mao Dun does not state this directly, he goes into great detail about the fact that the warehouse was built especially to protect the manuscripts, describing that the building consisted of fire-resistant brick and an interior steel structure, further noting that the manuscripts were stored “according to scientific methods”, controlling temperature and humidity. Through these methods, the valuable manuscripts of Gorky, but also those of other writers belonging to the larger museum network associated with the Gorky, such as Pushkin’s manuscripts, were safeguarded by the Gorky World Literary Academy (Mao Dun 茅盾 1986a, 234–35).

After the establishment of the PRC and until the Sino-Soviet break around 1960, leading cultural politicians of the PRC would continue to visit these museums during their official state visits. In 1950, like Guo Moruo had five years earlier, Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 (1898-1958 from Houqiu/ Anhui), who by then had become the Deputy Director of the SACH, travelled to the Soviet Union as part of an official delegation and visited many museums, among them also the Ostrovsky Museum [IC 32 Wang Yeqiu in SU Museum].[161] He too found inspiration in the Ostrovsky Museum on Gorky Street in Moscow, writing about his impressions of Soviet museums in articles titled “Impressions of a Visit to the Soviet Union 访苏观感” in October, “The Soviet National Museum of the Revolution 苏联国立革命博物馆” and “The National Ostrovsky Museum of the Soviet Union 苏联国立奥斯特洛夫斯基博物馆” in November of 1950 in the journal *Cultural Relics Reference Materials* 文物參考資料 (Hung 2005, 917).[162] For Wang Yeqiu, Ostrovosky was a socialist-realist writer and he knew his novel *How the Steel was Tempered* from 1932, in which the protagonist of the novel dedicates his life to the Communist cause. It had been translated into

[161] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 032.

[162] The photograph of Wang visiting the Ostrovsky museum with the delegation is not dated (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 194). It could have been taken during his visit in 1950 or during this later visit 1955 (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 287); (Hung 2005, 917).

Chinese in the 1940s and had been extremely popular among leftist youth. Wang praised Ostrovsky as a writer "who used art and literature to serve the people" (cited in Hung 2005, 919). Later in this part of my thesis, I will describe Wang Yeqiu's crucial role in the establishment of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in more detail. Here his visit should simply highlight the importance of Guo Moruo, Mao Dun and Wang Yeqiu visiting a number of author museums during their trips to the Soviet Union (especially in Moscow) from where they would gain inspiration to later call for a Lu Xun museum to be built in China. And indeed all three of them had visited the Ostrovsky Museum on Gorky Street in Moscow and not only brought back memories which they published as text but, in Wang Yeqiu's case, even photographs of the display. The photograph features the display, with a white (marble or plaster) bust of Ostrovsky on the very right, as well as the female tour guide with a pointer in her hands and the Chinese visitors, with Wang Yeqiu on the very left. The four Chinese visitors are presented as learning from the display, indicated by three of them taking notes (or self-fashioning themselves as taking notes) during the guided tour. Thus these commemorative spaces not only moved across national borders in the memory of those who visited them, but also circulated textually and visually in China after their return.

Ostrovsky's case is particularly interesting when trying to understand the "cult of literature" these Chinese visitors witnessed in the Soviet Union (K. Clark 2004). As Katerina Clark argues, literature in the 1930s in the SU "enjoyed a semi-sacral status among a broad spectrum of the population", including the intellectuals, for which it always had played a central role, but also the uneducated and the major agents of Bolshevik power, she explains (K. Clark 2004, 419). The two main reasons for the CPSU to value literature so highly, especially the novel, were that literature served as a means of legitimization in form of providing a new narrative of national (and in the case of the SU supra-national) identity, as well as creating new subjects for this nation, regarding writers as "engineers of human souls", as Stalin had famously proclaimed (K. Clark 2004, 417). Clark shows that Ostrovsky's novel *How the Steel was Tempered* written between 1930 and 1933 was both "genuinely" the most popular and, in the second half of the 1930s, the "most assiduously promoted Soviet literary product" (K. Clark 2004, 422). However, its success only came about after one of Ostrovsky's contemporaries, journalist Mikhail Koltsov (1898-1940 from Moscow) wrote a biographical piece on Ostrovsky in March 1935, arguing that indeed the novel was autobiographical, thereby collapsing the boundary between literature and life (K. Clark 2004, 425); (Kaganovsky 2003, 282). As to him becoming a (supra)national hero for the Soviet Union, both Ostrovsky and his literary hero in the novel were Ukrainian, with Ukrainian as their native language.

One reason to present Ostrovsky as a Ukrainian writer was to counter the oppositional Ukrainian writers who were persecuted in the 1930s with a "model 'Ukrainian' writer" institutionalized in the Soviet political center of Moscow (K. Clark 2004, 428). After receiving the Order of Lenin, which was the highest national award, in October 1935, Ostrovsky wrote to Stalin to express his gratitude. Stalin in return provided Ostrovsky with an apartment on Gorky Street 14 in Moscow, which Clark calls a "grotesquely monumental 'villa'" to replace the house in which he had lived before in Sochi, which (his hagiographer) Koltsov had described as a "hut" (*khaten'ka*) in his article (K. Clark 2004, 426). Presenting him in his new villa, embodied by a bust wearing a military uniform instead of an embroidered gown in which other photographs had also depicted him in, is likely to have aimed at presenting Ostrovsky as a Ukrainian, but first and foremost a Soviet literary hero, one whose literature and life was valorized by the political and cultural center of Moscow.[163] Both houses were turned into museums after his death in 1936, but it was this villa apartment, which Guo Moruo, Mao Dun and Wang Yeqiu visited in the 1940s and 50s.[164]

To summarize, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun and Wang Yeqiu visited author museums in the Soviet Union in the mid-1940s and early 1950s. They were not only impressed by how authors' lives could trigger emotional responses in them, but also witnessed how powerful the support of political leadership and a newly erected political regime was in creating such spaces that could come to stand for exemplary lives, lives of literary heroes that had been disregarded by previous rulers, lives whose valorization by a newly established political realm was important – be it during the writer's life time (as with Gorky and Ostrovsky) or posthumously (as in Tolstoy or Pushkin).

Forgotten Spaces: The Death of Zhu An (1947)

What today is named the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館 is a large-scale museum complex located at Gongmenkou ertiao 宮門口二條 near Fucheng Gate 阜城門 in Beijing. The premises include the past and the current exhibition buildings, administrative buildings, a bookstore and the "authentic" core, the courtyard house (*siheyuan* 四合院), which used to be located at

[163] The photograph on which the presentation of the bust was based showed Ostrovsky in a military uniform, see: (Wikipedia.org 2017). Unlike other photographs of Ostrovsky on which he is wearing a gown with a high color, buttoned to the side, with symmetrical embroidery (Kaganovsky 2003, 278). For the importance of the clothing chosen by the author in his self-presentation, as well as in his later making as a literary hero, see the cases of Lu Xun and Lai He in "Lu Xun marginalized or centered" of this thesis.

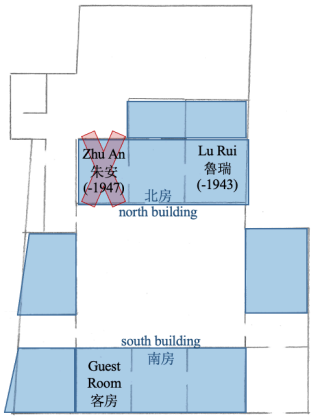
[164] After the collapse of the SU, the Ostrovsky museum in his apartment on Gorky Street was renamed "Overcoming" (*preodolenie*). It became a museum not only displaying Ostrovsky, but was dedicated to other individuals around the world that had overcome severe handicaps or serious medical conditions as Ostrovsky had (K. Clark 2004, 436).

Xisantiao hutong No. 21 西三條胡同 21 號 where Lu Xun lived from April 1924 to August 1926. Xisantiao hutong (literally translated as West Third Lane) has, however, for the larger part lost its meaning as a hutong lane, as it is no longer a part of larger network of hutong lanes, but merely a path within the larger premises of the museum. Nevertheless, this address which rests nested within the museum premises has become a crucial site in which the collective memory of Lu Xun has been produced in museum space.

Before Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 turned into a public museum in 1950 and displayed in its "original" state as one encounters it today, the house was still inhabited by Lu Xun's mother Lu Rui 魯瑞 (1858-1943 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang), who lived in the house until her death in 1943, and by his wife Zhu An 朱安 (1878-1947 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang), who continued to live in this house until her death in 1947. It is intriguing to see how Zhu An, Lu Xun's (first) wife, was eliminated from the spatial realm of the museum for the first 16 years of the museum's existence. Signs and labels referring to Zhu An having lived in these spaces, either with Lu Xun during the time he lived there from 1924-1926, or without him when she continued to live there up to her death in 1947, were only set up in 1986, as Wang Dehou 王得后 (1934-), long-term researcher and retired Deputy Director of the museum described to me in an interview (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:37:00). The label that was set up in her room for visitors to read, simply read "Bookstorage Room 藏書室" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:37:00) [**IC 33 Forgetting Zhu An at Xisantiao hutong No. 21**]. From the museum's establishment in 1950 until this change was encouraged by Wang Dehou himself in 1986, Zhu An had vanished from the museum display.

IC 33 Forgetting Zhu An at Xisantiao hutong No.21 (1950-1986)

1.



(1923) - 1928-1986

2.



1. Groundplan of Xisantiao hutong No. 21, Beijing. Figure by Emily Graf.
2. North building, Xisantiao hutong No. 21, Beijing; source:
Photographed March 23, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the museum's historiographies do not mention Zhu An in relation to the museum's establishment, i.e. as an actor in the process of institutionalizing Lu Xun. As many institutional histories, the museums present themselves as institutions established as part of the then newly-established PRC. The Shaoxing and Shanghai museum histories begin their chronological accounts with the years 1949 or 1950 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010); (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003); and the Beijing museum publication includes only two main references from before the establishment of the PRC. It firstly includes the letter Xu Shoushang wrote to Xu Guangping in 1936 in which he reminded her to protect Lu Xun's remains/ artifacts (*yiwu* 遺物) after his death, referring to Lu Xun's personal estate and anything that could serve as commemorative objects (*jinianpin* 紀念品) (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 2). Secondly, it includes Guo Moruo's "My Suggestion 我的建議", a newspaper article which he published in *Xinhua Daily Newspaper* 新華日報 in 1945, calling for Lu Xun museums to be built to commemorate Lu Xun in China in the same manner as Soviet writers, such as Gorky, Mayakovsky and Ostrovsky were being commemorated in the Soviet Union (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 4). Thus, references to the years 1936 and 1945 were made in the museum history, but hardly any to Zhu An or to the state in which the courtyard house on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 had been before its opening as a public museum.

But it is not only the official institutional histories that contributed to Zhu An's presence within Lu Xun's spaces of commemoration having been forgotten. One of the authoritative voices

in the history of Lu Xun's life, Xu Guangping, mother of his son and his life partner from 1927 up to his death in 1936, also contributed to Zhu An being erased from these spaces of commemoration. Xu Guangping repeatedly avoided mentioning Zhu An when she addressed Lu Xun's personal and literary estate to a public audience in articles published in newspapers. Two such examples, which are presented here, are an article which she wrote about the house in 1946 and one written retrospectively thirty years later in 1963. The first is Xu Guangping's account of Lu Xun's former residence in Beijing on Xisantiao hutong in an article from 1946, published in December in *Wenhuibao* 文匯報, simply titled "Lu Xun's Former Residence 鲁迅故居" (Xu Guangping 许广平 1979). In the article, she describes the neglected state in which the house had been left. Concerning the house itself, Xu Guangping's essay gives a short description of its structure and its different buildings, explaining that the house was a very small courtyard house, with a north building, two small buildings at the East and West (one used as a kitchen, the other used by the maid), and a south building with four rooms. But at her arrival in 1946 the house was not deserted. Two elderly men, friends of Lu Xun's deceased mother, Mr. Ruan 阮先生 and Mr. Sen 森先生 were living in the southern building, together with their sons, two university and high-school students, and a young girl of twelve years (Xu Guangping 许广平 1979, 514). Xu Guangping had often been to Xisantiao hutong during her student years in Beijing and even lived in the house for some time in 1925,165 but she does not mention this in this article. She simply describes how by the time she (re)visited the house in 1946, these new residents had, to her surprise, even put up a bronze sign at the entrance of the residence which read "The Residence of Doctors Ruan and Sen 阮和森医寓" (Xu Guangping 许广平 1979, 515). Thus before the house on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 turned into "Lu Xun's Former Residence" in 1950 it had previously been transformed into the residence of two doctors of Chinese medicine – which is ironic taking into consideration Lu Xun's critique of Chinese medicine in some of his most famous literary works.[166]

[165] Xu Guangping had been a frequent guest at Lu Xun's residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 when she was still his student in Beijing, visiting him many times in 1925, along with fellow students, but also alone. After the student strike at Women's Normal College, Xu Guangping was left homeless and Lu Xun invited her to live at his house on Xisantiao hutong no. 21 for a longer period of time (McDougall 2002, 38, 39-40).

[166] Most well-known are Lu Xun's short stories from his collection *Call to Arms* 吶喊, in which he criticizes the devastating consequences of Chinese medicine not only for patients, but also metaphorically for the Chinese people. See for example his "Preface to Nahan 吶喊自序" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005p), "Diary of a Madman 狂人日記" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005j), "Medicine 藥" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005aa) and "Tomorrow 明天" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005n) as the most prominent critiques. That Lu Xun was a firm critic of Chinese medicine is still held by some scholars today (Po Guoli 皮国立 2012), however, in the recent decade the topic of Lu Xun and Chinese medicine has been reevaluated by others, since Lu Xun's rejection of Chinese medicine was by no means absolute. Lu Xun bought Chinese

Xu Guangping, however, does not point to this irony. She simply describes how Lu Xun's relationship to the elderly men from Shaoxing went back to when Lu Xun lived in the Shaoxing guild house (*Shaoxing huiguan* 紹興會館) when he first moved to Beijing (May 1912-November 1919), where they had visited him rarely but regularly. In her essay, Xu Guangping focuses on some of their impressions of Lu Xun, mostly oral accounts of his life in Beiping[167] at the Ministry of Education, which mainly deal with Lu Xun's indignation about his duties as an official, but also their memories of the young Lu Xun in Shaoxing. Most striking about her account is, however, that she describes how she met with Dr. Ruan and Dr. Sen in the south building, adding that it was this building in which Lu Xun used to receive his guests in the past. But she fails to say anything about the rest of the house, not uttering a word about the north building. Hereby Xu Guangping avoided mentioning the crucial fact that Zhu An, Lu Xun's wife, was at that very time also living at Xisantiao hutong No. 21 in her room in the north building. Thus, while Guo Moruo was visiting author museums in the Soviet Union in 1945 and calling for Lu Xun museums in the PRC to be built after his return and even when Xu Guangping published this essay on her recent visit to the Residence of Doctors Ruan and Sen in 1946, which she titled "Lu Xun's Former Residence", describing the desolate situation of the house, Zhu An was quietly living within the walls of Xisantiao hutong.

But does the neglecting of Zhu An in Xu Guangping's essay and later in the official museum histories and in the display of Lu Xun's former residence up to 1986 mean that Zhu An was completely forgotten at the time of Lu Xun's death and in the years that followed when she lived at Xisantiao hutong No. 21? On the day after Lu Xun's death, all attention was indeed turned to his deathbed in his house on Dalu xincun No. 9 大陸新村 9 號 in Shanghai. At his side when he died were his partner Xu Guangping, his brother Zhou Jianren and a Japanese nurse (Jenner 1982, 428). Later, Tang Tao 唐弢 (1913-1992 from Zhenhai County/ Zhejiang) and Hu Feng 胡風 (1902-1985 from Qichun/ Hubei), two of his friends and fellow writers, would also come by to express their

medicine for his partner Xu Guangping and his son Zhou Haiying, bottles of which are on display in the Shanghai Lu Xun Former Residence today. For a discussion on the reevaluation of Lu Xun's attitude towards Chinese medicine, see: (Wang Yuanzhong 王元中 2000), (Fang Zhouzi 方舟子 2007).

[167] The capital Beijing was named Beiping ("Northern Peace" instead of "Northern Capital") from 1927 to 1937 while the capital was in Nanjing ("Southern Capital"), during the so-called Nanjing decade under the rule of the Nationalist Party. From 1936-1945 the city was renamed Beijing and served as a "provisional government", collaborating with the Japanese. The government was headed by Wang Kemin. In the South in Nanjing the "reformed government" was headed Liang Hongzhi 梁鴻志 (1882-1946). Later Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883-1944) would become the head of the collaborative government (Schoppa 2002, 267).

condolences (Qin Haiqi 秦海琦 2013, 39). After his death had been reported by the main Shanghai newspapers, Lu Xun's corpse was transferred to the Universal Funeral Parlor for viewing in an open coffin. On the day after his death, 4,462 people are said to have queued to pay their respect to Lu Xun and sign a book of remembrance (Pollard 2002, 199).

But a very small number of journalists turned their attention to Beijing and made their way to Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21, where Lu Xun's mother Lu Rui (then 80 years of age) and Zhu An (then 58) were living. The two of them had continued to live in this house ever since they had moved in together with Lu Xun in April 1924, thus staying behind after Lu Xun left Beiping for Xiamen University in August 1926. On October 19, 1936, a journalist from Beiping's *Global Daily* 世界日報 as well as a journalist from Nanjing's *New People's News* 新民報 visited Zhu An, as Qiao Lihua has revealed in her full-length biography on Zhu An, published in 2009 (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 165). The latter journalist described in detail the appearance of the house and that "a mourning hall (*lingtang*) had been erected in the guest room of the south building 灵堂[…]在南屋的客房". Here, Zhu An had hung Tao Yuanqing's 陶元慶 now famous portrait drawing of Lu Xun from 1926, a reproduction of which is also on display today [**IC 34 From Study to Mourning Hall, 1936, 2**]. In front of the portrait Zhu An had offered a sacrifice in the traditional form in which memorials were held, namely by placing food for Lu Xun to eat as if

IC 34 From Study to Mourning Hall, 1936

1.



2.



1. Zhu An sitting next to Lu Xun's portrait and a table of sacrificial offerings after Lu Xun's death on October 1936. The photograph was published in the *Shibao Bimonthly* 實報半月刊 on November 1, 1936 with the caption "The study (*shushi* 书室) of Lu Xun's former residence in Peiping has already been turned into a mourning hall (*lingtang* 灵堂)"; source: (n.a. 1936, iv). For Tao Yuanming's portrait of Lu Xun from 1926, see (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 260).
2. Replica of Lu Xun's portrait at Lu Xun former residence, photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

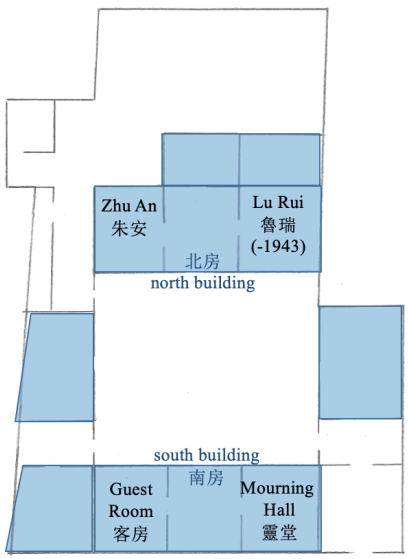
he was still among them, a practice which has a history leading back to the *Book of Rites* 禮記.[168] Zhu An and Lu Xun had not seen each other in over four years, but Lu Xun had written to Zhu An on a weekly basis, thus they had been in contact until his death in 1936 (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 166). In addition to these two articles, the *Shibao Bi-Monthly* 實報半月刊 published two photographs of Zhu An and Lu Xun's mother in front of the south building [**IC 35 Zhu An and Lu Rui, 1936, 1**] and one of Zhu An sitting in the reception room, with the cupboards filled with Lu Xun's collected books to her left and to her right the drawing of Lu Xun's portrait and the table with sacrificial offerings [return to **IC 34 From Study to Mourning Hall, 1936, 1**] (n.a. 1936, iv). The caption under the photograph reads "The book room (*shushi*) of Lu Xun's former residence in Beiping has already been turned into a mourning hall (*lingtang*) 魯迅北平故居之书室现已改为灵堂矣". In every year that followed, Zhu An would put out food and drink for Lu Xun, light incense, and hereby use her own practice of commemorating Lu Xun (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 200). From this coverage one can see that Zhu An had not been completely forgotten and that alongside the large-scale commemoration ceremony in Shanghai, Zhu An's personal form of commemoration was also known to the readers of these Beiping and Nanjing based newspapers.

IC 35 Zhu An and Lu Rui, 1936

1.



2.



1. Lu Rui (left) and Zhu An (right) standing in front of the Southern Building, 1936; (n.a. 1936, iv).
2. Groundplan of Xisantiao hutong No. 21. Figure by Emily Graf.

(1923) - 1928-1986

[168] The *Book of Rites* describes the ritual practices of the Zhou Dynasty (11th- 3rd century BC) and reads: "The Master said: […] Thus they served the dead as they would have served them alive; they served the departed as they would have served them had they been continued among them – the height of filial piety 子曰： '[…] 事死如事生，事亡如事存，孝之至也'". Source: *The Book of Rites*, Chapter 19 "Zhongyong", translated by James Legge, see: (Legge [1885c] 2017). For differing translations and interpretations of this quotation of the Zhongyong, see (Standaert 2008, 88).

Even though Xu Guangping contributed to Zhu An being forgotten by failing to mention her in later publications which spoke of this time in retrospect, Xu Guangping and Zhu An kept in contact through letters in the decade after Lu Xun's death. This was possible despite the fact that Zhu An could not read or write, for she received the help of family (e.g. Lu Xun's brothers Zhou Jianren 周建人 (1888-1984), Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967)), neighbors or friends when writing her letters. However, this correspondence is not highlighted in the institutional history of the museum as Zhu An's later years were indeed very tragic, which makes her role in the history of the museum a sensitive topic. Zhu An never had children, thus Zhou Haiying was the only descendant Lu Xun had. Qiao Lihua's biography emphasizes how concerned Zhu An was about Zhou Haiying and that after Lu Xun's death she hoped that Xu Guangping would bring him to Beiping and come live with her and Lu Xun's mother (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 174), but Xu Guangping declined and stayed in Shanghai. Xu Guangping nevertheless continued to send Zhu An and Lu Rui money after Lu Xun's death, money which she received from the royalties of Lu Xun's works (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 175, 193). But during the course of the Second World War and especially after Xu Guangping's arrest by the Japanese in 1941, when she was interrogated about the Shanghai leftist literary scene (McDougall 2002, 75), these letters of payment which had reached Zhu An and Lu Rui from Shanghai became more and more scarce. When Lu Xun's mother finally died in 1943, Zhu An was left quite alone and without any means to support herself.

It was a year after Lu Rui's death, in 1944, that Zhu An's situation became so desperate that she considered selling Lu Xun's books which had been stored at Xisantiao hutong [**IC 34 From Study to Mourning Hall, 1936 1**], thus, from the perspective of a museum history, placing Lu Xun's personal estate at risk of being lost to private collectors. According to Tang Tao's recollection, Zhu An had listened to the advice of Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren, who was still living in Badaowan hutong No. 11 八道灣胡同 11 號 and who is blamed for planting the idea of selling in Zhu An's mind by past and also current publications on the issue (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 2008), (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 182). For at the same time, Zhou Zuoren himself was also attempting to sell Lu Xun's collection of books in the South in Nanjing to Chinese and especially foreign buyers, an accusation which Xu Guangping made against Zhou Zuoren publicly in a later article published in 1963 (Xu Guangping 许广平 1998a). In the article, the second example in which Xu Guangping fails to mention Zhu An, Xu Guangping calls Zhou Zuoren a traitor to the

Chinese nation (*hanjian* 漢奸) who used the desperate living conditions of "Lu Xun's mother and others 鲁迅母亲等人" in order to sell Lu Xun's books (Xu Guangping 许广平 1998a, 398).[169] The threat of Lu Xun's books being sold was by no means only coming from Lu Xun's mother's situation, especially as this threat continued in the years after her death in 1943 and it was Zhu An who wanted to sell the books later in 1944. However, looking back, Xu Guangping again chose not to name Zhu An but only mention "other people" – once again playing her part in filtering Zhu An out of the collective memory of Lu Xun. It is telling that both in the first example of the 1946 reminiscences about Lu Xun's former residence as well as in the second 1963 article on the selling of Lu Xun's books, that Xu Guangping fails to mention Zhu An as still having been living in Xisantiao hutong prior to 1947. However, Xu Guangping also does not use Zhu An's attempt to sell Lu Xun's books to vilify her – as she did with Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren. Her correspondences with Zhu An, which reveal the ways in which she tried to stop Zhu An from selling Lu Xun's collected books, were only published posthumously,[170] long after Zhu An's presence had become acknowledged in the museum space in 1986. In these articles which Xu Guangping had published during her lifetime, thus before 1968, she chose not to mention that Zhu An was living at Xisantiao hutong No. 21, nor the fact that Zhu An had been a "threat" to Lu Xun's personal and literary estate, as she had considered selling Lu Xun's collected books on the open market. While the motivations of Xu Guangping not to mention Zhu An cannot be fully clarified, it is likely that in her editing out Zhu An from her written and published memories of this time, Xu Guangping was protecting herself – but also protecting Zhu An in this process.

From Qiao Lihua's biography we learn that having heard of Zhu An's deliberation of selling Lu Xun's books, Tang Tao traveled from Shanghai to Beijing on October 15, 1944 to visit Zhu An, together with two of Xu Guangping's friends Song Zipei 宋紫佩 (1887-1952) and Liu Zhemin 劉哲民, in order to convince Zhu An not to sell. When Zhu An was being urged to keep the books, Zhu An finally exclaimed: "You keep saying that Lu Xun's remains (*yiwu*) must be protected, must

[169] This account of Xu Guangping must be understood in the context of the rise of the Cultural Revolution, in which she published these remarks in an article titled "Fire Torch, Dawn and the Rising Sun in the Eastern Sky 火炬，黎明，旭日东升" in *Beijing Evening News* 北京晚报 on June 7, 1963 (Xu Guangping 许广平 1998a). The quote by Xu Guangping is provided by Chen Shuyu, but in the short passage provided it is not certain whether Xu Guangping is indeed referring to the year 1944, even though this is implied by Chen. See: (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 2008).

[170] Xu Guangping's selected works were edited by Zhou Haiying and published in 1998 (Xu Guangping 许广平 1998b) and the letters referenced by Qiao Lihua seem unpublished, as they are referenced as being included in the collection of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum with no other source of publication (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 185).

be protected! I too am Lu Xun's remains, you also should be protecting me! 你们总是说鲁迅遗物，要保存，要保存！我也是鲁迅遗物，你们也得保存保存我呀!" (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 188); (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 270). According to her narrative, the atmosphere was very tense and it was not until Tang Tao mentioned Haiying that the atmosphere between them changed. Zhu An exclaimed that, after all, Haiying was Lu Xun's only child, asking why he would not come to Beiping to let her have a look at him. Having softened at the thought of Lu Xun's son, in the end, Zhu An was willing to keep the books if she received a monthly allowance of 1000 yuan. With Tang Tao's agreement, Zhu An finally discarded the idea of selling Lu Xun's collected books (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 190). The books – or better the threat of their loss to the open market – and in Zhou Zuoren's case, the global market – had made Zhu An visible.

Zhu An had not only become visible among the close friends of Xu Guangping, but also visible in the public eye. For even though this incident was not discussed in the later memoirs and essays of some of the main actors (between 1950 and 1986), for example Xu Guangping's essays mentioned above, this did not mean that *at the time* it was not known that Zhu An was living in Xisantiao hutong. Quite on the contrary, beside the reportage shortly after Lu Xun's death, an article was published on her in the newspapers called "Visiting Lu Xun's wife 访问鲁迅夫人", describing her desperate living conditions in Lu Xun's former residence in late 1945. As a result, readers felt compassion for her and sent money to the *Global Daily* 世界日报 as a donation (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 196).[171] What this situation shows is that before the official birth of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in 1950, it was known that Zhu An still lived in Lu Xun's home on Xisantiao hutong in the 1930s and 1940s. Furthermore, it shows that in this early stage it can be argued that the Lu Xun museum, in form of the historic building and the collection of books and personal objects which it contained, was indeed established in a bottom-up direction, not a top-down order by the Communist Party when it formed the government in 1949. The preservation of Lu Xun's collected books and the house in which Lu Xun had lived, was also made possible through the financial support of "the public", through the readership of the *Global Daily*.

Thus, it was due to the fact that Zhu An indeed decided to keep Lu Xun's collected books and continue to live in the building and not to sell it, that later a Beijing Lu Xun Museum could be

[171] Qiao Lihua does not give the date of when the article was published, but it is likely to have been in December 1945. Zhu An would ask Xu Guangping for the permission to accept the donations, as Xu Guangping had been in charge of Zhu An's financial situation for many years.

established as it is today. This section, however, further argues that it was also due to her "timely" death as well. Qiao Lihua's biography of Zhu An is written in an emotionally moving narrative, emphasizing how tragic Zhu An's eventual death indeed was. Zhu An, who had the desperate wish to see Lu Xun's son Zhou Haiying, never personally met him, as Zhou Haiying explains in his memories of Lu Xun published in 2008.[172] Zhu An had, however, kept correspondence with Xu Guangping and was kept informed about his well-being. Shortly before her death, Zhu An had written to Xu Guangping about her failing health, worrying that there would be no one left to give a proper burial or conduct the traditional practices of commemoration for her as she had no children of her own (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 188). In response to Zhu An's letter, Xu Guangping wrote not one, but two letters in reply. One she sent to Zhu An, wishing her the best, reminding her of the fact that spring was arriving and expressing hope that her health would improve. Another, she sent to two of her friends in Beiping, Xu Ying 徐盈 (1912-1996 from Dezhou/ Shandong) and Wu Yuheng 吳昱恒 (1883-1963 from Yingshan/ Hubei), giving them instructions on Zhu An's burial, in case Zhu An would indeed pass away. Her instructions read: "The burial should be simple and inexpensive, according to Lu Xun's idea of 'bury me, and have done with it.' But because the sick is unlikely to understand 'Lu Xun's spirit', it is not necessary to inquire her opinion about any of this 丧事从简从俭，以符合鲁迅'卖掉拉倒'之旨。但因病人沉重，空难理解'鲁迅精神'，此皆不必先向其征求意见" (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 188).[173]

The simple funeral was something Zhu An would not have understood, as it was the "modern" approach to death and the commemoration of ancestors which was promoted by Lu Xun and also by Xu Guangping, in this case distancing themselves from traditional rituals of commemoration. For Zhu An, Qiao Lihua points out, it would have been important to know that she would be given a "traditional" burial and that sacrificial offerings would also be put out in her name on the anniversaries of her death, as she had done for Lu Xun at Xisantiao hutong, "as if he had continued among her."[174] This form of commemoration was not granted to Zhu An – but she was left in oblivion about the fate of her life after death. This fear of having to face her fate as a childless woman after death bears resemblance to the tragic fate Lu Xun created in the famous literary figure

[172] For Zhou Haiying's perspective, see chapter "Ms. Zhu An 朱安女士" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 88–96).

[173] Lu Xun addressed burials in different works. The above quotation comes from his work "Death" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005t), which is often read as an informal will as it consists of seven demands which Lu Xun wrote in 1936, months prior to his death.

[174] See the reference to the *Book of Rites* above for the full quotation and source (Legge [1885c] 2017).

of Xianglin's wife 祥林嫂[175], the protagonist of his short story "A New Year's Sacrifice 祝福" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ag)176. For Xianglin's wife and Zhu An were both women who had grown up with the traditional values of filial piety (*xiao* 孝), which required a women to bear children and dedicate her life to one man alone. While Xianglin's wife feared the ghost of her first husband haunting her after her death for having been forced to bear the child of another man, Zhu An had to face the fate of a woman who died without having given birth to any child, with no one to provide her with the traditional sacrificial offerings after her death. Even though Zhu An and Xu Guangping had been contemporaries, their experiences of life and approaches towards death had been very different. Thus when Zhu An died on July 29, 1947, she – unlike Lu Xun – was buried in accordance with "Lu Xun's spirit". Quietly and simply. But not in complete oblivion. The controversy of selling Lu Xun's books had given her visibility in Chinese society and the public was also informed of her death when a short obituary and a short biographical note was published in the *New People's Newspaper* 新民報 on March 24, 1948 (Qiao Lihua 乔丽华 2009, 213–16).

In more recent publications from the late 1990s, for example by former museum staff Ye Shusui 葉淑穗 (1931-), a long-time researcher at the museum affiliated with the museum since the late 1950s, Ye Shusui approaches Lu Xun via his artifacts/ remains (*yiwu* 遺物) and addresses Zhu An's ambivalent role in the establishment of the Lu Xun museum. This, however, occurs extremely subtly as this ambivalence only becomes apparent when reading certain chapters out of the over 80 short chapters included in the book, back to back. In the chapter titled "Those Who Protected Lu Xun's Former Residence 当年保护北京鲁迅故居的人" (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 495–99), Ye Shusui does not mention the fact that Zhu An had considered selling Lu Xun's books in 1944. Instead, she highlights the fact that Zhu An – days before her death – had written to Xu Guangping, worrying of who would take care of Lu Xun's estate after her death. For this Ye Shusui praises Zhu An as "a very kind person who, despite being struck by illness, had not forgotten her own 'duty' 善良的老人在病危时，仍没有忘记自己的'职责'" (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 496). In another chapter (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 477–90), she further "clarifies" the question of ownership. She describes the acquisition and remodeling of the former residence on Xisantiao hutong, explaining that "in order to protect

[175] The protagonist's name is not known to the narrator of the story, which is why he refers to her (as all the villagers of Village Lu) as his "sister-in-law", the wife of his uncle Xianglin 祥林.

[176] Qiao Lihua chose "Xianglin's Wife's Dream 祥林嫂的梦" as the title for the last chapter of Zhu An's biography.

this ‘real estate’ (*fangchan* 房產), Zhu An, with the support of kind people, had a written pledge in form of a *Donation Certificate* set up with the local court in January 1946 为了保住这份‘房产’，在热心人的建议下，朱安曾于 1946 年 1 月通过地方法院立下字据订立了《赠与契约》”. In this document, Zhu An donates her rights to Lu Xun’s estate to Zhou Haiying, under his name Zhou Yuan 周渊. The original document is not provided, but Ye Shusui quotes the document in full, adding that a seal of each name was placed under the document:

> The inheritance (*yichan*) of Mr. Zhou Shuren (also known as Master Lu Xun) has already been separated without objections as follows: Ms. Zhou Zhu wants to donate all of Mr. Shuren’s remaining movable and immovable property, which she receives, including the real estate grounds at Beiping Gongmenkou Xisantiao No. 21, the other real estate, books, objects of everyday use and copy rights, to Zhou Yuan [Zhou Haiying], with the permission of Zhou Yuan’s legal representative Xu Guangping to accept it and with her acknowledgment to take over all of Ms. Zhou Zhu’s life and funeral expenses. To avoid disputes in the future, this contract has been set up specially to serve as proof. 周树人公(即鲁迅先生)遗产业经周朱氏与周渊分割无异，周朱氏所得北平功门口西三条胡同贰拾壹号房产地基以及其他房产书籍用具出版权等一切以后熟人公遗留动产不动产之一部，情愿赠与周渊，周渊法定代理人许广平允许接收并承认周朱氏生养死葬之一切费用责任。为免日后纠纷特立此约为据。
>
> Donor: Ms. Zhou Zhu 赠与人：周朱氏
> Recipient: Zhou Yuan 受赠人：周渊
> Legal Representative: Xu Guangping 法定代理人：许广平
> Witnesses Chen Jianshi, Zhang Rongqian, Wu Yuheng, Xu Ying, Ruan Wentong, Song Zipei 证人：沈兼士、 张荣乾、吴昱恒、徐盈、阮文同、宋紫佩
>
> (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 486)

In these descriptions Zhu An is praised for her dutifulness in protecting and indeed donating Lu Xun’s estate to Zhou Haiying and Xu Guangping. Only in the chapter on “The Protection of Lu Xun’s books 鲁迅藏书的保存” does she mention that Zhu An considered selling his books, again “under the incitation of Zhou Zuoren 在周作人的授意下” (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 477-490: 270). In 2015, during my on-site interview at Xisantiao hutong with Ye Shusui, she spoke freely of Zhu An’s plans to sell Lu Xun’s books, revealing clearly the ambivalent role Zhu An played as a safe-guarder of Lu Xun’s literary heritage (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 01:02:00). In the interview she pointed out that Zhu An should have been entitled to the royalties of Lu Xun’s work and to her inheritance. But she also described Zhu An as being weak, giving in to the temptation of Zhou Zuoren’s suggestions to sell Lu Xun’s books in order to support herself, echoing Xu Guangping’s accusation against Zhou Zuoren as the primary

culprit. In Ye Shusui's publication, the truly admirable deed was performed by Xu Guangping, who would donate all of her belongings of Lu Xun's estate to the state in 1950 and by Wang Yeqiu, the undercover communist, who safeguarded the house after Zhu An's death 1947, which will be discussed below. In her publication Ye writes an "official" history of the time before the official birth of the Lu Xun Museum in the sense that she highlights the fact that it was mainly thanks to members of the Communist Party that Lu Xun's former residence would be protected: "Thanks to those sons and daughters of the Party, who went through fire and water under the bitter oppression of the enemy for us and our future generation, and who protected the precious cultural heritage of our people. 曾经由这样一些党的好儿女，在敌人严酷统治下，不惜赴汤蹈火, 为了我们和我们的后代，保护了我们民族的这份宝贵的文化遗产" (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 499). But her work also belongs to those publications which renegotiated the museum spaces of Lu Xun to once again include the ambivalent role of Zhu An in the museum's history.

Shortly before Zhu An died, a friend helped her to make a list of her belongings and whom she would give them to after her death (in which she gave away every piece of clothing, every hot water kettle either to Xu Guangping or to her friends such as the wives of Dr. Sen and Dr. Ruan). She had given her rights for the royalties of Lu Xun's work to Zhou Haiying and Xu Guangping beforehand (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 486); (Raoul David Findeisen 2001, 510–13), but it was only though her death that the house and Lu Xun's belongings acquired the possibility of being turned into a public museum. The Civil War was still in progress when Zhu An died, and it was not until the establishment of the People's Republic of China, that Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong was donated to the state by Xu Guangping (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 6) and was later turned into a public museum. It was in this last year, after the death of Zhu An and the establishment of the PRC that Lu Xun's literary estate experienced a time of limbo, in which various forces were threatening and protecting it. The man on whose contribution much of the official history of the Lu Xun museum would rest was Wang Yeqiu, who would later become the Deputy Director of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage 文物局副局長. It was his position within the network of cultural institutions in the later established PRC that would crucially influence the museum's status in Chinese society, since it was due to his position as Deputy Director of the SACH, that the Lu Xun museum in Beijing would become associated with the SACH 文物局 and not any other ministry or cultural association (such as the

Chinese Writer's Association 中國作家協會 or others) (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:03:13).

Zhu An's story, however, is a major building block on which the establishment of the Beijing Lu Xun museum is based, even though its official museum histories continue to celebrate the "birth" of the Lu Xun museum in 1950, when Xu Guangping donated Lu Xun's estate to the state. In order for her to do so, Zhu An's decision not to sell Lu Xun's books in 1944 is one of the ways in which she crucially influenced the further development of the museum and its collection. But arguably more important, it was her death in 1947 that was doubly crucial to the birth of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. On a practical level, and with regard to the legal matter of ownership, it was her death that "allowed" for Lu Xun's estate and his former residence to be donated to the state by Xu Guangping in the first place. How would the institutional history played out if Zhu An had lived to see the establishment of the PRC? Would she have continued to live on Xisantiao hutong No. 21, unwittingly interfering with Guo Moruo's plan of establishing a literary museum of Lu Xun as he had seen in the Soviet Union? These, of course, are questions that do not demand an answer but should highlight how strongly the history of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum is based on the death of Zhu An. For on a symbolical level, it was her death that allowed for the rooms of Xisantiao hutong No. 21 to transform, no longer to be used as spaces of personal commemoration (when Zhu An offered sacrifices to Lu Xun's portrait drawing), but would change into spaces of collective commemoration, spaces that would come to shape the collective cultural memory around Lu Xun (A. Assmann 2006). The personal mourning hall (*lingtang* 靈堂) of Zhu An was to be transformed in to a public memorial museum for Lu Xun – spaces of personal memory would shift into spaces of collective memory.

Endangered Spaces: Wang Yeqiu in Disguise (1947-49)

When looking for the main actors in the establishment of the Lu Xun museums, one of the crucial figures one encounters is Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 (1898-1958 from Houqiu/ Anhui). Like Tang Tao, he too is a figure who does not feature prominently in Lu Xun studies published in English. While Xu Guangping, as well as Lu Xun's close friends Xu Shoushang, Feng Xuefeng 馮雪峰 (1903-1976 from Yiwu/ Zhejiang) and Hu Feng (1902-1985) are figures who researchers on Lu Xun approach frequently with regard to their contribution on how Lu Xun was commemorated after his death (Jenner 1982, 443), Wang Yeqiu and Tang Tao are less visible in their role in the making of

Lu Xun.[177] Wang Yeqiu would become famous beyond China through his work in establishing the Museum of the Chinese Revolution 中國革命博物館, which was built on Tian'an men Square in Beijing and opened its doors to the public in 1961 (Hung 2005). But Wang Yeqiu's role in the making of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum leads into the time before the establishment of the PRC.

Wang Yeqiu was not a very prominent literary figure, nor close family or friend to Lu Xun. Young Wang Yeqiu first met Lu Xun in Beiping when he was only 17 years old. Wang had only just joined the Communist Party a year earlier in 1925. Thanks to his friend Wei Suyuan 韋素園 (1902-1932 from Houqiu/Anhui), also from his hometown, he learned about the Nameless Society 未名社. Lu Xun had established the society in August 1925, together with five friends, among them Wei Suyuan (the common acquaintance). The society became known for publishing numerous translations of Russian literature and Marxist literary thought, among them also Trotsky's "Literature and Revolution" (Pickowicz 1981, 83).[178]

The fact that Lu Xun and Wang met through a literary society is not unusual. As Michael Hockx and Kirk Denton show in their study on literary societies in the Republican Period, literary societies were extremely important in the literary field in China and strongly shaped the interactions of literary agents (publishers, editors, authors, reviewers and readers) in their understanding of what literature was and was supposed to be. Hereby literature was not understood in form of an abstract concept of literary value, but through social interactions and relationships, such as friendships and mentorships (Hockx and Denton 2008, 2).[179] But Wang Yeqiu and Lu Xun's

[177] Jenner does not mention Tang Tao's visit to Lu Xun's deathbed, only Hu Feng's, for example. Wang Yeqiu's contribution in saving the former residence on Xisantiao also goes unmentioned, as Jenner focuses his attention on Shanghai alone.

[178] The full name of the society reads the Progressive Literary Association Nameless Society 進步文學社團未名社. The founders of the society were Lu Xun, Wei Suyuan, Wei Congwu 韋從蕪 (1905-1978), Li Jiye 李霽野 (1904-1997) and Tai Jingnong 臺靜農 (1902-1990) (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 77). The group dismantled in 1930. It was due to Wang's introduction to the Nameless Society through Wei Suyuan that Wang first visited Lu Xun's house in Xisantiao, however the original "meeting place of the society 社址" was Wei Suyuan's apartment in Xinkailu No. 5 新开路 5 号, an old and humid brick house. The working conditions in this house further deteriorated Wei's health, as Lu Xun describes in his "Remembering Mr. Wei Suyuan 忆韦素园君" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ab); (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 77).

[179] While in English scholarship little focus was given to literary societies in Chinese literary history after 1949, they played a seminal role in evaluating writers according to which groups they belonged to (or not belong to). Therefore, the societies came to stand for literary, but mainly for moral and political values, resulting in those groups whose understanding of literature were at odds with the ideology of the leftist mainstream being vilified (Hockx and Denton 2008, 7). But also among Western scholars, such as C.T. Hsia the belonging to certain societies was again filtered according to other ideological terms, thus continuing to use the society as a "filter" to separate the different actors from each other and into separate groups. As Hockx's and Denton's volume shows, the similarities, agreements and shared values across these societies were very great, which argues against such a clear distinction into opposing groups, but should at the same time not be misunderstood as presenting the literary production in the

connection in the earlier years should not be overemphasized either, for Lu Xun hardly took notice of the young Wang when they first met. In Wang's biography, published by his son Wang Ke 王可 in 2007, Wang Yeqiu's recollection of the evening when he first met Lu Xun at Lu Xun's residence at Xisantiao hutong is (re)narrated. Wei Suyuan and Tai Jingnong 臺靜農 (1902-1990 from Houqiu/ Anhui) brought Wang along with them. The biography narrates this event with numerous details: By the time they arrived at Lu Xun's house it was already dark. The maid opened the door and Lu Xun had already left the north building (*beifang* 北房) and was waiting for them holding a lamp, standing in the courtyard [IC 36 Wang Yeqiu Inside and Outside].[180] When introduced to Wang, Lu Xun inquired about his age and educational background. Hereafter he brought Wang a bowl of melon seeds and some magazines and let him wait for them, sitting in the south building (*nanfang* 南房), while discussing the publication of the journal *Grasslands* 莽原 with Wei Suyuan and Tai Jingnong in the north building. In this first encounter of Wang Yeqiu and Lu Xun, the different buildings of Lu Xun's home had functioned as separating the "inside" and "outside" circles of the literary society. Wang Yeqiu, just as Tang Tao, had attempted to enter into the inside circles of Lu Xun's literary societies (17-year-old Wang into the Nameless Society in 1926 and 22-year-old Tang Tao into the League of Left-Wing Writers in 1935), but Wang Yeqiu was considered too young to join. Through his hometown acquaintance Wei Suyuan, a close friend of Lu Xun's, Wang had nevertheless physically entered the courtyard of Xisantiao hutong No. 21 when he was very young, an experience that gave him a strong personal connection to the house. For according to Wang Ke, this short visit was a crucial moment in Wang Yeqiu's life: "In Lu Xun's eyes, 17-year-old Wang was but half a boy. But this simple encounter, would be the start of a life-long predestined friendship 那时，在先生的眼里,十七岁的他还是一个半大小子。可就是这次简单的相见，却结下来一生的情缘", Wang Yeqiu's son explains (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 85). While this event is given much weight in the retrospect perspective of the biography, it would take years before Wang and Lu Xun would meet again. For in the mid-1920s, the political atmosphere in Beiping grew tense as the First United Front between the CPC and the Guomindang (1923-1927) slowly started to crumble after the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925 – the one man who

1920s and 30s as a "monologic" homogenous mass captured with the term May-Fourth (Hockx and Denton 2008, 8). Hockx and Denton mainly draw on Leo Ou-fan Lee's *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* from 1973 (Lee 1973).

[180] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 036.

had been held in great esteem by both parties alike. With the final break of the United Front, Wang decided to leave Beiping and head back to his hometown in Anhui in 1927.

Only ten years after their first meeting, namely in 1934, did Wang Yeqiu and Lu Xun have contact again. They started to write letters to each other, conversing about the history of Chinese literature. Lu Xun would give Wang feedback on his own pieces of writing, but only a few letters of their correspondence have been preserved.[181] However, even though Lu Xun and Wang Yeqiu reestablished contact, describing their relationship as a "life-long friendship" or even as "close associates" (Denise Yuet-Shu Ho 2009, 138) would arguably be overstating the extent of their exchange. In spring 1936, the year in which Lu Xun passed away, Wang was asked to write a preface for a collection of essays which friends of Lu Xun had dedicated to him[182] and when Lu Xun died later that year, Wang wrote a commemorative poem, which he hoped would be included in a volume of collected writings. The collection was not published until the mid-1970s, however, and it was not Wang's literary work in form of poetry or editorial work that contributed to Lu Xun's posthumous elevation. It was not in the realm of text, but in the material and spatial realm of Lu Xun's literary estate[183] that Wang Yeqiu contributed to the commemoration of Lu Xun, for it is due to Wang Yeqiu that Lu Xun's residence at Xisantiao hutong in Beijing has been preserved until today.

Li Yunjing 李允經 (1936 -), former researcher at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum,[184] describes how Wang Yeqiu came to protect the building in his article on "Lu Xun and Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋和魯迅" published in the Journal *Trends in Lu Xun Research* 鲁迅研究动态[185] in 1987. In the fall

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[181] Of 29 letters to Lu Xun only one survived. From the 13 answers Lu Xun wrote to Wang ten remain (Li Yunjing 李允经 1987, 43).

[182] The collection was titled *A Collection of Prefaces and Postscripts for Master Lu Xun* 鲁迅先生序跋集. It was finally published in the 1970s. The original manuscript of this work was originally thought to have been lost, but was rediscovered in the archive of the Beijing Lu Xun museum in 2010 (Wang Ke 王可 2010).

[183] Wang Yeqiu attempted a career as a writer in the mid-1920s and also sent manuscripts to the Journal *Threads of Conversation* 語絲 in 1928. He continued writing also in the 1930s, however with a focus on literary history and education (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 76).

[184] Li Yunjing studied Chinese literature at Beijing Normal University in the 1950s and continued working on his master's degree until 1962 at Renmin University. He worked at the Beijing Lu Xun museum as the head of the Archive of Artifacts 文物資料室主任 and museum researcher 研究館員. The group photo of the museum staff from 1986 includes Li Yunjin in the third row, first from the left (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 40).

[185] This journal, published by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, was established in 1980 and renamed *Lu Xun Research Monthly* 鲁迅研究月刊 in 1990 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 168). In its initial years, it was only published internally and the journal was only published regularly on a monthly basis after 1985 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 163).

of 1946, Xu Guangping came to Beijing since she was worried about the safety of the former residence and Lu Xun's collected books (Li Yunjing 李允经 1987, 45), a visit which was also described in the above section on "Forgotten Spaces". According to Li, Xu Guangping was worried because the "political situation was turbulent 政局动乱" and because ever since Lu Xun's mother had passed away, only Zhu An (together with the Ruan 阮 and Sen 森 families) still lived in Lu Xun's former residence. Xu Guangping spent two weeks in Beijing, where she sorted out his collected books and also prepared some manuscripts to take with her to Shanghai.

It was also during this trip when she wrote a letter to Wang Yeqiu and Xu Ying 徐盈 (1912-1996) asking for their help, as she was worried about what would happen to Lu Xun's estate after her departure. Li Yunjing does not explain her choice, but gives information on the two new actors now called into the process of protecting Lu Xun's estate: Xu Ying worked as a journalist for *Dagong News* 大公報 in Beijing but was also a member of the underground Communist Party. Wang Yeqiu had come to Beijing from Chongqing where he had worked as Secretary for the former warlord Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 (1882-1948 from Chaohu/ Anhui) from 1941 to 1946. When he returned to Beijing, he too served as an undercover agent for the Communist Party, receiving direct orders from the South, as other accounts such as that of museum researcher Ye Shusui explain (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 496). Working in the Eleventh War District of the Guomindang in Beijing, Wang was to "leak military intelligence to the Communist Party 秘密为党送军事情报", Li Yunjing specifies (Li Yunjing 李允经 1987, 44). After receiving the letter from Xu Guangping, Wang Yeqiu is described to have "secretly contacted 秘密取得联系" Xu Ying (Li Yunjing 李允经 1987, 45). When they came to Lu Xun's former residence, they are described to have intentionally dressed in Guomindang military uniforms of the Eleventh Army Group of the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) 中國國民革命軍[186] to visit Zhu An. In their identity as military officers and "under the false guise of the Eleventh Army 假借国民党第十一集团军的名义" they hung up an announcement, explaining that the building was to be a "civil accommodation" (*minfang* 民房) for the army (Li Yunjing 李允经 1987, 45). They used strips of paper to seal the doors (*fengtiao* 封條) and also stuck paper seals to all the boxes of books (Li

[186] Ye Shusui further specifies that they were disguised as military officers under Sun Lianzhong's 孫連仲 11th Revolutionary Army (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 496).

Yunjing 李允经 1987, 45). Li Yunjing concludes that "only like this, could Lu Xun's former residence and his collected books be fully preserved 这样，才使鲁迅故居和藏书完整地保存了下来" (Li Yunjing 李允经 1987, 45).

Ye Shusui's description published over a decade later, describes the state of Lu Xun's former residence even more dramatically, adding an additional twist and scheme: As the political situation at the end of World War II was very tense, "there was a possibility that Lu Xun's house and Lu Xun's estate could be destroyed by the enemy [Japanese and/or Guomindang] at any time 鲁迅故居和故居中的大批文物，随时都有遭到敌人破坏的可能", adding, as does Li Yunjing, that his mother's passing and Zhu An's fragile state of health also made the situation more worrisome (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 496). In her narrative, Wang Yeqiu was a "student and bosom friend 学生和挚友" of Lu Xun and was "the first to actively come running 积极奔走的，首先是王治秋同志" (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 496) in this dire situation, attributing a clear agency on the part of Wang Yeqiu and installing him as the main hero of the story. Her description stays in line with Li Yunjing's in how Wang secretly contacted Xu Ying and how they, disguised as the Guomindang, sealed off the building and the boxes. Ye Shusui, however, adds that it was not quite as easy as that. For only six days after Zhu An had passed away, a second threat emerged, namely the so-called members of Lu Xun's Badaowan family. The term the Badaowan family referred to Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren, his wife Nobuko Hata 羽太信子 (1909-1962 from Tokyo/ Japan), as well as Zhou Jianren's wife Yoshiko Hata 羽太芳子 (1897-1964 from Tokyo/ Japan). In December 1945, after the defeat of the Japanese in World War II, Zhou Zuoren was arrested and sent to a prison in Nanjing in May 1946 for having collaborated with the Japanese (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015, 337). Ye describes how "they" [which by that time can only refer to the two wives of Zhou Zuoren and Zhou Jianren] came to Xisantiao hutong No. 21 to "forcefully remove 强行搬走" Lu Xun's estate (i.e. his collected books), and others who remain unidentified appearing in military uniforms, shouting loudly on the streets, which even the Nanjing newspaper *New People's News* 新民報 reported on the next day. Xu Guangping knew of these developments because Cao Jinghua wrote to her, keeping her informed. The solution to these additional threats was found by Ms. Liu Qingzang 劉清揚 (1894-1977 from Tianjin), a former classmate of Xu Guangping. Drawing on their correspondences, Ye reconstructs the story, explaining that Liu Qingzhang, Wang Yeqiu and Xu Ying secretly got into contact with a man

named Wu Yuheng 吳昱恒 (1883-1963 from Yingshan/ Hubei). Liu had contacted Wu Yuheng for legal advice as he was responsible for the Beiping Democratic League 北平民盟 and worked as a judge at the Beiping local court. The four of them decided that they would, as Ye Shusui describes it, "use the enemy's autocratic tools against them 利用敌人的专政工具", namely by drawing on the authority of the "old court 旧法院" (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 498) to protect Lu Xun's estate. They used the fact that the "Lu Xun's Badaowan family 八道湾的鲁迅亲属" wanted to "steal 抢" objects as a reason to report the situation to the local Beiping court (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 498), which, after its ruling, had the building sealed off and on each of the objects in the house added an additional (new) label reading "Sealed by the Local Beiping Court 北平地方法院封". According to Ye Shusui's narrative, it was due to this method, that a second structural force beside the Guomindang army could be utilized (or hijacked) to protect the building. What makes this anecdote in the museum history especially memorable (i.e. easy to remember) is that Wang Yeqiu and Xu Ying later returned secretly to the site to take photos of the sealed-off building [IC 37 Beiping Local Court Seals].[187] Ye describes how on the back of the photo Wang Yeqiu had written: "The building has been sealed off and locked from the outside by the Court (please don't publicly show this image, because it was illegal to enter to take photos) 房门已由法院查封并外加锁（此点请不必公布，因入内照相是非法的）" (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 496). Ye Shusui's voice further gains in persuasiveness, as she met with Wang Yeqiu after the establishment of the PRC and recalls him recounting these past events in 1947, when Ye had aimed to protect Lu Xun's residence and his book collection. She quotes Wang Yeqiu explaining: "Through the underground connection of [my] Party, we had the whole residence sealed off with paper strips, the book boxes were sealed off, and each of the doors was sealed off with paper strips 我党通过地下关系，将故居全部封起来，书箱上也都贴了封条，所有门上也都贴了封条." (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 499). Ye Shusui documents this oral account in her written history of the museum, relying on past correspondences by the actors involved, but also on her memory recalling the personal memory of Wang Yeqiu.

[187] The photos were in the private photo-collection of Zhou Haiying when Ye's book was published in 1997. To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 037.

What we encounter in these two descriptions of Lu Xun's former residence in Beiping as endangered spaces are two examples of myth-making which seem to become enhanced in urgency with the temporal distance to the events. The factuality of these events cannot possibly be guaranteed in full, nor can it easily be refuted. In her contribution, Ye Shusui claims that the paper seals are still visible on the objects today (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 499), but I could not confirm this during my visit, as the boxes and objects referred to are likely to be kept in storage and are replaced by replicas in the display, in which I could not spot such paper strips. Whether or not the paper strips remain on some of the objects in storage can be further investigated. For my purposes, however, the answer to the question of their traceability is not as important as the fact that Wang Yeqiu came to be a hero in the establishment-myth of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and a main actor in the making of Lu Xun even before the museum's official "birth" after the establishment of the PRC. The visibility of this myth in form of the photograph has greatly enhanced the myth's power of persuasion. The later biography of Wang Yeqiu as a cultural politician in the PRC and his initial biographical connection to the historical life of Lu Xun by having met him in the courtyard of Lu Xun's house, greatly increased his legitimacy in this role. Yet, despite these straightforward elements of legitimization, the clear-cut boundaries between the "enemy 敵人" and the heroic "sons and daughters of the Party 党的好儿女" (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 499) become sufficiently blurred to a degree that creates a tension, an adventure, in short, suspense. The mystery of the heroes in disguise, the wit of the actors by hijacking the enemy's authority (in form of the Guomindang or the "autocratic" "old" court system) to save the residence and estate, and their role as "underground" Communists, create a narration that draws the reader in, captures the reader's imagination, turns the eventual establishment of the Lu Xun museum into an act all the more heroic and valuable due to the precarity from which the residence and estate were saved. Li Yunjing and Ye Shusui write their institution's history by placing it in the sound foundations of myth, with heroes in disguise, blurring the boundaries of friends and foes on the surface while continuing to solidify them. Wang Yeqiu as a later main actor in the cultural politics of the PRC has his debut in this museum history. As described below, his later affiliation with the SACH 文物局 will lead to Lu Xun's former residence gaining a structural protection as a cultural heritage site. In his debut role, Wang Yeqiu is presented as a major actor, but due to the time, the governmental structures of the PRC that would valorize Lu Xun's estate as

"cultural heritage" were not yet established, thus old structural frameworks needed to be "(mis)used 利用" to achieve their protection.

Conclusion: (A)waiting – Appropriating – Affiliating

That Lu Xun's residences on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 in Beijing and Dalu xincun No. 9 in Shanghai along with much of his literary and personal estate remained largely intact up to the establishment of the PRC was neither coincidental nor inevitable, to discard either simplistic reading of the museum's histories from the outset. Multiple actors and factors were involved in creating the basis for a large number of Lu Xun museums that would be established throughout the 1950s and beyond. Some of them acted intentional and goal-oriented (e.g. Guo Moruo), some (re)acted to and with a number of historical and structural contingencies (e.g. Wang Yeqiu) and some acted by non-action, in its extreme from through their death (e.g. Zhu An). Each, in their way, paved the way for Lu Xun's institutionalization.

(A)waiting

The value of Lu Xun's personal belongings as objects of collective memory in form of *jinianpin* was envisioned immediately after Lu Xun's death by his close friend Xu Shoushang and the necessity to photograph each of the rooms of his last residence on the day of his passing indicates that later memorial spaces might have been *envisioned* or *anticipated* as well, as we have seen in "Foreshadowed Spaces". At the same time, the spaces that once served as spaces of personal commemoration by Zhu An in the form of a mourning hall (*lingtang*) needed to be left behind in order to create these spaces for a collective memory. With Zhu An's death this was made possible. Her past presence in these spaces was slowly removed from the history of the house, among others also by Xu Guangping, be it by neglecting to mention her in the description of the spaces in later published essays or seeing no necessity in setting up a mourning hall for her in return, as discussed in "Forgotten Spaces". In the years from 1947 to 1949, Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 in Beijing was not accessible to the general public. It was sealed off, inaccessible, arguably waiting in a state of limbo, (a)waiting its later institutionalization. Up to Zhu An's death, the spaces had also been indirectly protected through the support of the (or better a) "public", namely by the readership of the *Global News* in their willingness to support Zhu An financially, after having been made aware that Lu Xun's heritage was at risk of being lost or sold by local journalists. The protection of the residence and the books it contained can thus be seen in

contemporary terms to have relied on a form of "crowd-funding" in its earlier years. The main force, however, had come from individual actors, such as Tang Tao, whose monthly financial support for Zhu An had ultimately stopped Lu Xun's book collection from being sold. Other actors, ranging from close family members (Xu Guangping) to old friends and acquaintances from the political and literary scene (Wang Yeqiu / Tang Tao), made it possible to protect Lu Xun's house and belongings when there was no stable (regulated) contemporary structural support available that recognized (or better valorized) Lu Xun's estate as "heritage". The main actors perceived a threat of *destruction* and threat of *neglect*, but could not protect the estate though their own ability and efforts alone. Instead they (from retrospect, skillfully) drew on the greater structure of then-current institutions, such as using the authoritative name of the Guomindang's National Revolutionary Army as well as the local Beiping Court of Law in order to seal off the building. Wang Yeqiu and Tang Tao are presented as the heroes who actively took the risk to protect Lu Xun's literary heritage in a time when the then-current government saw no value in his houses or literary estate. The threats the former residence in Beijing faced were seen as *external* threats represented by the Japanese and the Guomindang, but also *internal* threats[188] from Lu Xun's family (Zhou Zuoren/ Zhu An), threats which the [underground] comrades of the Communist Party are hailed to have successfully overcome in the museums' historiographies.

Appropriating:

The concept of an author museum in the sense of a writer's former residences which serves as a space in which the writer can be commemorated and venerated as a cultural hero by the "public" at large was appropriated in China through the inspiration Guo Moruo gained in his trip to Moscow in 1945. Through the regulated Sino-Soviet diplomatic and cultural exchange, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun and later also Wang Yeqiu were introduced to the Moscow museum landscape of writers, which under Stalin in the late 1930s and early 1940s had received much attention and support. Through publishing their (throughout) positive visiting experiences at the Mayakovsky, Ostrovsky, Gorky, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Lermontov museums in their diaries and travel notes and, as in Guo Moruo's case, publicly calling for Lu Xun museums in China to be established accordingly, these two actors, who would later become cultural politicians of the highest order, had already begun to lay the political foundations that later benefited the museums' establishments.

[188] Only with the rise of the Cultural Revolution did a new kind of threat become eminent – this time within the structural system of the PRC, which claimed to hold Lu Xun in high esteem.

Affiliating:

The main political "act", however, took place at a later point in time, when the museums were actually established and thus – by necessity – integrated into a larger network of cultural [state] institutions in China. For that which (simply) *remained* of Lu Xun had to begin to *represent* Lu Xun, bringing with it the very political question of what form of residence would be adequately "representative" for Lu Xun. In short, it took form in two factors: a) in the house's number of courtyards or "entries" (*jin* 進) and its level of rank (*jibie* 級別)

a) *Visible* – Appropriate Size

The number of courtyards of a house and the administrative ranking of its resident are, of course, closely linked. Museum researcher Wang Dehou emphasized in an interview that Lu Xun, since he was not a member of the Communist Party and died before the establishment of the PRC, did not have a "Communist Party administrative rank 共產黨級別" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:10:50). While other writers of his time continued to have political careers in the PRC, their later administrative ranks are visible in the large houses they lived in, further indicated by the number of the house's inner courtyards, ranging from one to three (*yijin* 一進, *erjin* 兩進, *sanjin* 三進). This way of connecting the living surroundings to a person's social status is, of course, not a post-1949 phenomenon. Indeed, the imagery of a certain number of entries (e.g. "two entries 兩進") is a particularly vivid image which connects pre-1949 and post-1949 Chinese society, since the "modern" administration implemented by the CPC is hereby directly linked to the "traditional" architecture of the *siheyuan*. This imagery highlights the permanence of the *guan benwei* 官本位-phenomenon, in which the official government post (*guan* 官) of an individual forms the absolute core of the society's metrics of value, that it to say it becomes the only standard according to which success is measured.

The terms for "entries" or "courtyards", however, do not translate easily across cultural borders, since they are closely linked to the immovable Chinese architectural heritage and tradition. Lu Xun himself was made aware of this when his Japanese student and friend Wataru Masuda 增田涉 (1903-1977 from Yatsuka/ Shimane Prefecture),[189] who translated Lu Xun's *Brief History of*

[189] Wataru Masuda first personally met Lu Xun through the Uchiyama Bookstore in Shanghai in March 1931. His translations of Lu Xun's work into Japanese, but also the first biography of Lu Xun published in Japanese were the beginning of a intense scholarship of Lu Xun's work in Japan, where he was barely known before. For more

the Chinese Novel 中國小說史略 (1923) into Japanese in 1931, wrote a letter to Lu Xun after reading in the Chinese novel *The Scholars* 儒林外史 (1750), set in the Ming Dynasty. When reading the following paragraph of the novel, Wataru Masuda wrote to Lu Xun inquiring about the meaning of the so-called "two entries":

> Mr. Ma Er [Ma Chunshang] just saw a wide smooth road. On its left rose a mountain, its street dotted with a few temples. On its right there was a street with one house after the other, each with two "entries" (*liangjin*). The windows of the buildings in the back of and surrounding the second courtyard stood widely open, empty and spacious, through which you could catch a glimpse at Qiantang River in the distance 马二先生 [⋯] 只见平坦的一条大街，左边靠着山，一路有几个庙宇，右边一路，一间一间的房子，都有两进。屋后一进窗子大开着，空空阔阔，一眼隐隐望得见钱塘江 (Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓 1984, 206).[190]

The novel satirizes the relentless wish of scholars to acquire official posts though the official examination system, which took place in the Imperial College 國子監 in Beijing. As common for novels of the Ming and Qing period, the novel opens with a poem. It explains that "generals, statesmen, saints and even immortals begin as ordinary people 将相神仙，也要凡人做". But the narrator quickly reminds the reader that "fame, riches, rank (*gongming*) may vanish without a trace 功名富贵无凭据" thus warning scholars "aspire not for these, wasting your days 费尽心情，总把流光误" (Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓 1984, 1). In the paragraph Wataru Masuda had trouble understanding, the scholar and editor Ma Chunshang visits the mountain Wu, which is located inside the city, walking through streets of beautiful temples and houses. The fact that the houses all have two *jin* is meant to imply the prosperity of this area he leisurely walks through. Lu Xun answered Wataru Masuda in a letter, explaining the multiple entries in a drawing [IC 38 A House's Number of Courtyards].[191] The first courtyard is called "one *jin* 一進", and encompasses three

information on Japanese Lu Xun studies, see: (Zhang Jie 张杰 2001, 327-244); the full manuscripts of the letters that Lu Xun wrote to Wataru Masuda were published in 1975 and thus also include the explanatory drawings by Lu Xun. Reprints of Lu Xun's drawings from various sources (letter, diaries etc.) are collected in (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2006, 56).

[190] *Jin* 進 does not literally mean "courtyard" *yuan* 院, but instead refers to the row of houses in between courtyards through which one enters the next courtyard. I have therefore translated the term with "entries". Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang however chose the term courtyard ("buildings with inner and outer courtyards"), making it easier to understand for the reader in English (Wu Ching-Tzu 1973, 164). However, their translation of "buildings with inner and outer courtyards whose wide open back windows gave a view into the distance of Chientang River" is very vague and does not translate the architectural structure and placement of the buildings which the Chinese text specifies.

[191] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 038.

buildings. Behind the central building there is a second courtyard, into which Lu Xun wrote "two *jin* 兩進" and in a dashed line he implies the possible existence of "three *jin* 三進".

Lu Xun's former residence in Beijing on Xisantiao hutong is only a single courtyard property (one *jin*), with a back yard. Thus, according to Wang Dehou, Lu Xun's last former residence in Beijing was not representative enough in mere size for a man of his "standing 地位" in society, thus the larger number of memorial museums was to make up for this fact. Wang Dehou emphasized that Lu Xun's house on *Xisantiao hutong* which was to be turned into a public museum was quite small in comparison to his contemporary Hu Shi (1891-1962) (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:11:03). For he used to live in a three-courtyard house (*sanjin* 三進). Further comparing Lu Xun's Xisantiao hutong residence to the residences of Mao Dun's and Guo Moruo's Beijing residences, Wang Dehou explained:

> Mao Dun's former residence is also bigger. This is also because Mao Dun was a high-ranking official, he was a minister (*buzhang*). Even though he was not quite as high in rank as Guo Moruo, but he was still a minister. A minister also means that his house is big, this is precisely the issue with the Chinese administrative ranking and special treatment, it is according to your rank. But Lu Xun – he had a former residence too, but before 1949. He did not have a rank in the CPC, the CPC did not give him a rank, so his [former residence] is not in accord with his rank (*jibie*), but with his standing (*diwei*), thus the first thing [to do] was to establish a large number of them. In every place that had a commemorative meaning, a memorial museum or a commemoration room was established. If you want to understand the museums, you first need to know the reasons for their establishment and the circumstances of the different locations – and this is one of them. 茅盾故居就比較大，茅盾也因為他的行政級別高，他是部長級，但是他比郭沫若底，但是他是部長，部長因此他的房子也大，這就是中國級別與待遇的問題，他根據他的級別，但是魯迅，他自己有故居而且是解放前的，他沒有共產黨的級別，所以它不按這個級別來了，而是按他的地位來，所以它第一是建得多，後來呢，初步的，覺得魯迅到過重要的地方，反正有紀念意義的都給他建一個紀念室或者紀念館。你要了解紀念館，你首先要了解魯迅博物館建立的理由，各個地方建立的情況，這是一個 (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:11:03).

This being said, it is of course true that Lu Xun did not have a rank in the Communist Party, but he certainly also once attempted to gain an official post in the Qing Dynasty[192] and would also hold

[192] Growing up before the revolution in 1911 and the establishment of the Republic, Lu Xun was educated in the Confucian classics, an education which ultimately was a preparation for the state civil service examination and mainly focused on reading the Four Books and Five Classics 四書五經 and learning how to write the eight-legged essay (*baguwen* 八股文). Thus he himself also learned to use Confucius "as a brick" to open the doors to a official rank in Chinese society. In his "Preface to Call to Arms 吶喊自序", Lu Xun describes his wish to go to Nanjing to seek a Western education instead and "walk a different path, escape to a different place and find people of a different kind 想走异路，逃异地，去寻求别样的人们", fashioning himself as a courageous onward going young man

official government offices in the Republic, in the Ministry of Education in Nanjing and then in Beijing from 1912 on.[193] Yet his rank and income did not immediately show in his living conditions. His former residence in Badaowan hutong in Beijing, however, in which Lu Xun had lived before moving to Xisantiao hutong was very large and representative, and is a three courtyard (*sanjin* 三進) architecture (Gu Jun 顾军 2004, 112); (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2016, 97). But not only did his brother Zhou Zuoren still live in the building until his death in 1967, as well as his and Zhou Jianren's wives up until the early 1960s, but due to Zhou Zuoren's "collaboration" with the Japanese in the Second World War, the house was associated with Zhou Zuoren's role as a "traitor of the nation" (*hanjian* 漢奸). Lu Xun's former residence at Badaowan hutong No. 11 was therefore popularly called a "Japanese shop" (*riben dian* 日本店) (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015, 201–18), and despite having a larger number of courtyards, was not likely to have been considered an appropriate space for commemorating Lu Xun in the 1950s. Thus, only Xisantiao hutong remained as an option, but with only one courtyard, as Wang Dehou points out, it was necessary to make up for the size of the former residence by establishing a large number of former residences as museums.

b) Invisible – Appropriate Level

It is important to see, however, that not only people can achieve a certain rank, but institutions can too. A former residence of a historic individual thus might show the signs of this person's official post or rank. As soon as this former residence is turned into an institution, it too will gain a specific rank, a level that remains invisible to the eye since it manifests itself in the museum's affiliation to other institutions. At first glance, the museum's ranking seems to be a matter of "chance", or better "contingency". This was the main explanation of former museum director Sun Yu, when asked about the affiliation of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. He replied: "These hierarchical relationships are contingent 隸屬關係是偶然的" (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:05:11). He continued explaining that it was due to the fact that Wang Yeqiu was the director general (*juzhang)*

seeking the new and unfamiliar. He does not mention that, after having left for Nanjing, he returned to Shaoxing in 1898 to take part in the Kuaiji county exam (Pollard 2002, 17); (Gao Putang 高浦棠 2004) or that he also intended to take the next level exam, a plan which due to the sudden death of his younger brother he had to discard.

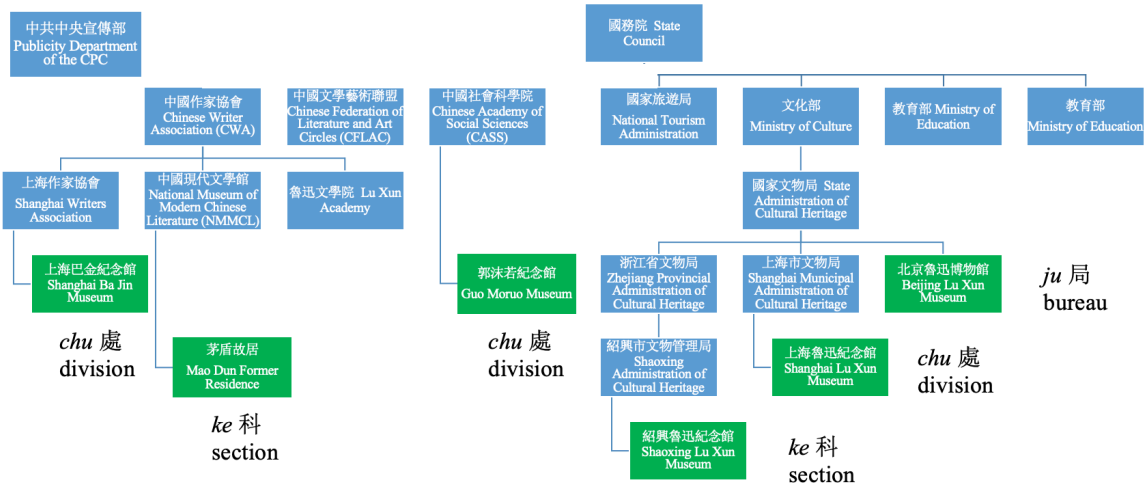
[193] Lu Xun worked for the Ministry of Education first in Nanjing as ministerial staff 教育部部員 (starting in February 1912) and also followed the ministry a few months later to Beijing in May (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005k, 10). Here he was later promoted to Assistant Secretary in 1916, which meant his salary increased, but he continued to live in his first, more affordable residence at the Shaoxing guild house in Beijing until 1919 before moving to Badaowan hutong. The section he headed was the Social Education Division 社會教育司第一科科長 (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005k, 10), responsible for libraries, museums and art galleries (Denton 2002).

of the SACH in the early 1950s that the Beijing Lu Xun Museum gained its high rank (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:02:14). “Because he was Lu Xun’s student, he was very excited at the time to incorporate the Lu Xun Museum and subordinate it to the SACH 他是魯迅的學生，所以當時他很熱情就把魯迅博物館收編到了，隸屬於國家文物局” (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:02:14). Sun elaborated that in those times there were no person museums (*renwu bowuguan* 人物博物館), and it was simply more “convenient” for the SACH to manage the museum: “When [the Beijing Lu Xun Museum] was first established in 1956, it was more convenient (*fangbian*) for it to be managed by the SACH, so from the beginning it belonged to the Ministry of Culture and the SACH is also a part of the Ministry of Culture 五六年成立博物館的時候呢，當時由於由國家文物局來管比較方便，最早隸屬於文化部[…]國家文物局也是文化部的一部份” (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:03:13). In reply to the question in what *way* it had been more convenient, he explained that “it was treated as a museum (*bowuguan*), according to the ways of managing a museum and not, for example, like the [Chinese] Writers’ Association. Author museums that would belong to the CWA would later belong to their author activities, but in Lu Xun’s case, he was treated more like heritage (*wenwu*) 按照博物館的方法來管理，而不是像作家協會，作家協會以前管理的一些博物館都是屬於是和作家活動有關係，那[…]它是魯迅作為人物類的博物館，作為文物來看待” (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:03:32).

The fact that the Lu Xun Museum is a unit directly subordinate to the SACH 文物局 was thus not the result of a well-thought-out strategic decision. But to describe its affiliation as a matter of “chance” diverts the attention away from the obvious importance of Wang Yeqiu’s administrative rank in his efforts of protecting Lu Xun’s former residence. For it was due to his position in the SACH that Lu Xun’s museum became directly affiliated to it, as Sun himself states explicitly. From 1949-1953 Wang Yeqiu would serve as the Deputy Director of the SACH beside Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958 from Wenzhou/ Zhejiang) and from 1953-1966 as its director (Hung 2005, 916). During the Cultural Revolution he would suffer persecution, but later in 1973, would return to his position as the director of the SACH 文物局局長. Thus understanding the biographies and rankings of those individuals who took part in institutionalizing Lu Xun is of utmost importance. It is crucial to recognize the seminal role Wang Yeqiu and also Tang Tao encompassed in the establishments of the Lu Xun museums, for it was due to their later careers

within the PRC that the Lu Xun museums were introduced into the structural landscape of the cultural institutions in the PRC in the present form [**IC 39 An Institution's Level and Rank**]. Here it must be noted that it was also due to this achievement of having protected Lu Xun's former residence that, after the establishment of the PRC in 1949, Wang Yeqiu became the Deputy Director of the SACH in the first place (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 166–69). Again mutual processes of valorization can be detected: the official (Wang Yeqiu) makes the Lu Xun museum, but at the same time facilitating the making of the Lu Xun museum makes the official (Wang Yeqiu). This shows how the relationship of individuals, the offices they hold and the larger structures which shape the offices independently from those who hold them are tightly intertwined.

IC 39 An Institution's Level and Rank: Lu Xun & Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Ba Jin



As for the writers who did gain a CPC administrative rank, such as Guo Moruo and Mao Dun, their museums and former residences were of course established far more recently. The Mao Dun († 1981) Former Residence in the East-District of Beijing opened in 1985 (CCLM 中国博协文学专委会 2012, 124). The Guo Moruo († 1978) Former Residence in the West-District of Beijing was opened in 1988 and was expanded into a memorial museum in 1994 (CCLM 中国博协文学专委会 2012, 72). The official posts of writers who lived during the reign of the CPC become highly relevant for their later institutionalization. In 1949, Guo Moruo became the president of the All-China Representative Congress of Literature and Art Workers 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會 (文代會), which was renamed the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles (CFLAC) 中國全國文學藝術界聯合會 (文聯) in 1953. But more importantly, he also became the first

president of the newly founded Chinese Academy of Sciences 中國科學院, a position which he kept until his death in 1978. It is for this reason that the Guo Moruo's Former Residence and Memorial Museum in Beijing, unlike the Lu Xun Museum, is today affiliated with (yet not directly subordinate to) the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) 中國社會科學院 (which formed a parallel institution to the CAS in 1977), which is a full-ministry (*zhengbuji*) institution. The Guo Moruo Museum is thus ranked a full division-level (*zheng chuji*) institution.[194]

Similarly to Guo, Mao Dun also took many public offices in the PRC. He was the Minister of Culture (1949-1965), acted as Vice President on the side of Guo Moruo at the All-China Representative Congress of Literature and Art Workers 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會 (文代會) (later: CFLAC 文聯) as well as the head of the All-China Representative Congress of Literary Workers 中華全國文學工作者協會, which was renamed the now famous Chinese Writers Association 中國作家協會 (中國作協) in 1953.[195] Similarly to the concept of the author museums, the Chinese Writers Association CWA was modeled on the Writer's Union in the Soviet Union.[196] In their roles as *Kulturpolitiker*, Guo Moruo and Mao Dun thus held crucial government positions in the PRC (*zuoguan* 做官).

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[194] According to my personal correspondence with museum researcher Li Hao 李浩 (06.08.2017), the Guo Moruo Museum is not directly subordinate to the CASS (*zhishu danwe*i 直屬單位) . Had it been directly subordinate to it, it would also have been a bureau-level institution (*juji danwei*), as the CAS 社科院 is a full-ministry institution (*zheng buji*). But as it is only affiliated with the CASS (*xiashu danwei* 下属单位) it is most likely a full-division-level institution (*zheng chuji danwei*). Li Hao further added that the Beijing Guo Moruo Museum specifically belongs to (*shuyu* 屬於) the Institute of Ancient History of the CASS 中國社會科學院古代史研究所 and is most likely under its leadership, an independent judicial personal under the CAS 中國社會科學院下屬獨立法人事業單位 (personal correspondesnce with Li Hao 李浩 07.02.203).

[195] Note on institutional terminology: The Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles (CFLAC) 中國文學藝術界聯合會 (文聯) was originally named the All-China (Representative) Congress of Literature and Art Workers 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會 (文代會) until 1953, when the new name Federation was chosen. The terminology on the website of the CFLAC is however confusing as only after the 5th General Meeting in 1979 the new term is used in the overview (CFLAC 2017). The CWA was originally named the All-China (Representative) Congress Literary Workers 中華全國文學工作者協會 but changed its name into 中國作家協會 （中國作協）CWA in 1953 (CWA 中国作协 2009). The change of their names causes difficulty even for experienced Sinologists, as one can see in Mao Dun's biographical entry by Laughlin who translates the CFLAC with "All-China Federation of Literary and Art *Workers*" instead of "Circles 界" (Laughlin 2007, 174–75). Until 1960, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun and Zhou Yang were the main leading figures in the CFLAC and CWA, during the Cultural Revolution the leading positions were changed however, so that in 1979, when the CFLAC met for the General Meeting in 1979, Guo Moruo had passed away and Mao Dun was only an honorary director.

[196] Perry Link emphasizes the function the Association had for the Party, namely that it provided the Party with a means of monitoring and controlling creative writing and at the same time establishing a clear-cut ladder of success for writers within the socialist literary system. Its structure encompasses a national level, and branches of the association at the provincial levels (including the municipal governments). The membership at the national level resulted in an automatic membership in all provincial and municipal branches. Every branch of the Association was closed during the Cultural Revolution (Aug. 1966-Dec. 1977), yet the author museums affiliated with the CWA

Yet there remains some truth in Sun Yu's initial exclamation that the affiliation is contingent also in the sense that it is based on chance. For while in Guo Moruo's case, his biography seems to have been the crucial factor why his museum is today affiliated with the CASS, in Mao Dun's case, his museum is not affiliated with the Ministry of Culture nor is it directly subordinate to the CWA of which he acted as head 主席. Instead, it became a subordinate unit to the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature (NMMCL) 中國現代文學館. The CWA 作協 and the CFLAC 文聯 are on the same administrative level, thus rank equally to each other. Due to the thematic overlap, the CFLAC 文聯 at times incorporates the CWA 作協 into itself, but they are equals, administratively speaking, as they are both on the full-ministry-level (*zheng buji* 正部級). Sun Yu explained: "They are both independent ministry-level units, but in thought [i.e. ideological] matters, they accept the steering of the Publicity Department 它們都是獨立的部級單位，但是就是思想上接受中宣部的指導".[197] Certainly few would argue with this decision of affiliating the Mao Dun museum with the NMMCL, as it certainly could be explained with regard to convenience and an appropriate relation with regard to content of display. Yet it also raises some questions. While the Guo Moruo museum is a division-level (*chuji*) institution, Mao Dun's museum is but a section-level (*keji*)-institution[198], ranked decidedly lower than Lu Xun's and Guo Moruo's. This becomes more evident when including yet another canonical writer,[199] Ba Jin. The Ba Jin († 2005) Former Residence in the former French Concession in Shanghai was only opened in 2008 (CCLM 中国博

today were all established after the end of the Cultural Revolution. The membership offered symbolical prestige to writers as well as other privileges, such as attending lectures. The CWA was also a provider of professional careers as it had "creative writings funds" (*chuangzuo jijin* 創作基金), and a minority of the writers could even become professional writers, when the CWA would become their work unit. One major difference between the Soviet and the Chinese model was that it was much harder to become a member in the Soviet Union and that all members automatically had professional status (Link 2000, 118–21).

[197] The current head 主席 of CWA, Tie Ning 鐵凝 (1957-), is said to be a full-minister-level cadre 正部級幹部, current head of the CFLAC is Sun Jiazheng 孫家正 (1944-), who used to be the Minister of Culture 文化部部長 (1998-2008), and now continues to be a full-minister-level cadre 正部級幹部 as head of CFLAC. Both cultural institutions, belong to (*shuyu*) the Publicity Department of the PRC 中國中央宣傳部 (which is *zhengbuji* 正部級 and belongs to the Party, not the state).

[198] Sun Yu explained: "The Mao Dun Former Residence is but a small unit, it does not rank up to the division-level (*chuji*) 茅盾故居它是一個小單位，還在達不到處級" (Sun Yu 孫郁 15.03.2014, 00:20:36).

[199] In the mnemonic saying "Lu, Guo, Mao; Ba, Lao, Cao 魯郭茅，巴老曹", which Wang Dehou also used in the interview, their last names are clustered together with Lu Xun's as the most widely known writers of modern Chinese literature and until the redesign of the main exhibition in the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature in 2012, these six authors featured by far most prominently in the exhibition. The Lao She († 1966) Former Residence in the East-District of Beijing was established in 1999 (CCLM 中国博协文学专委会 2012, 93) and the Cao Yu († 1996) Former Residence in Tianjin was opened to the public in 2010 on his 100th birth anniversary (Lei Fengyu 雷风雨 2010).

协文学专委会 2012, 12). Concerning Ba Jin, Sun explained: “Ba Jin was a proponent of the establishment of [the NMMCL 中國現代文學館], and at that time he was the Head of the CWA as well as the Vice Chairman of the CPPC” (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:05:11). The Ba Jin Museum, titled the Shanghai Ba Jin Former Residence 上海巴金故居, located in Shanghai, is thus not subordinate to the Shanghai branch of the SACH, as is the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, but instead belongs to the Shanghai branch of the CWA 上海作家協會. Here thematic and biographical affiliations overlap. Ba Jin’s museum also is ranked as a division-level (*chuji*) institution. Thus Mao Dun’s relatively low rank as a section-level institution, subordinate to the NMMCL thus seems to break with the largely biographical logic underlying the affiliation of prominent writers who held CPC administrative ranks in the PRC. Certainly this could be explained away with the contingencies that often underlie an institutions affiliation, but it might also be a subtle (invisible), but yet within the Chinese museum landscape clearly notable challenge of Mao Dun’s canonical status in the PRC cultural landscape. While this calls for further investigation, it becomes strikingly clear that no other Chinese writer ranks equally to Lu Xun in the administrative landscape of cultural institutions in China.

The Official Birth of the Lu Xun Museum (1950/56-1966): The Revolutionary Lu Xun

Historical Background: The Servitude of Literature and the Narrowing of Memory

In the same year as Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975 from Xikou/ Zhejiang) declared Martial Law in Taiwan in May 1949 and the Guomindang thereby continued its rule over the Republic of China (RoC), which from then on was de facto limited to the island of Taiwan (RoC, Taiwan), Mao Zedong (1893-1976 from Shaoshan/ Hunan) proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) from the top of Tian'anmen on October 1, 1949, a government which was led by the Communist Party of China (CPC) as the sole political party. Three months earlier, in July 1949, the CPC had held a congress in which a Chinese Federation of Literary and Arts Circles (CFLAC), as it was later titled, was approved. Guo Moruo was to be the president of the Federation and Mao Dun together with Zhou Yang the Vice Presidents. In his speech for the event, Premier of the State Council Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (1898-1976 from Huai'an/ Jiangsu) had called on all cultural workers to follow the guidelines established by Mao Zedong in his 1942 "Talks at the Yan'an Forum of Literature and Arts 在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971), namely that "literature was to serve the people" (*wei renmin fuwu* 為人民服務) to use Mao Zedong's words, or as literary historian Michelle Yeh reformulated "literature was to serve the state, and the state would be the sole arbiter of literature" (Yeh 2010, 599). The role model for cultural production in the newly founded PRC was the Soviet Union and writers were not only encouraged to follow the Soviet model but failing to do so was to be punished in various forms.

A first rectification campaign was launched as early as 1951 and many more were to follow. One of the most famous figures who remained outspoken was Hu Feng 胡風 (1902-1985 from Qichun/ Hubei), Lu Xun's protégé, member of Lu Xun's League of Left-Wing writers with ties to Japan where he had joined the Communist Party (G. Benton, pers. comm.). Hu Feng criticized the literary output of the writers in the newly established PRC who he felt were stifled by the establishment and the overall dogmatism that been applied to the literary production by cadres in charge of the cultural field. He even went as far as handing in a report on these issues to Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi 劉少奇 (1898-1969 from Huaiminglou/ Hunan) in 1954.[200] Within months a national campaign titled the "Anti-Hu-Feng Campaign" was launched in 1955,

[200] The report was titled "Report on the Practice of Literature and Art in Recent Years 关于近年来文艺世间情况的报告". For more details on the report and the campaign that followed, see Goldman's contribution "Hu Feng's Conflict with the Communist Literary Authorities" published in *The China Quarterly* in 1962 (Goldman 1962).

criticizing his ideas as "anti-Party, anti-Marxist, bourgeois–idealist, and factionalist" (Yeh 2010, 600). Hu Feng was arrested in May 1956 and would remain imprisoned until 1979. Only after his release would he again gain a voice in the Movement Against a Sacralization of Lu Xun in the early 1980s, discussed later in "New Approaches? (1980s-2000s) History's Cul-de-Sac and the Rejection of Sagehood". However, the campaign was by no means directed solely against Hu Feng, for in the Anti-Hu-Feng Campaign over ten thousand cultural workers were jailed in his name (Yeh 2010, 600) and, as many of the campaigns targeting the cultural field, these campaigns were often also or even primarily campaigns which served political purposes in the competition between different fractions between the highest political actors.[201] Alongside the campaign directed against Hu Feng, six other campaigns were held on national level to cleanse literary production,[202] among them one directed against Hu Shi, or better the "Hu Shi group" initiated by Mao Zedong in 1954 (Hong Zicheng 2007, 43). Since Hu Shi spent these years in the US and would live in Taiwan in his later years, he was not imprisoned. During the first years of the 1950s and up to the Anti-Hu-Shi and Anti-Hu-Feng Campaigns, the Soviet Union was still propagated as the sole positive example along with Mao Zedong's views that should be followed by the writers and artists in China.

The campaigns that were directed against producers in the cultural field in the late 1950s can be seen as the foundations from which the later Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution arose.[203] After Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971) ushered in a period of "thaw" in the literary field in his project of Destalinization in the Soviet Union in 1956, Mao Zedong followed suit with the famous Hundred Flowers Campaign 百花運動 (1956-57) which called for greater pluralism of thought in both the literary and scholarly fields. Mao Zedong had introduced this campaign only to backpedal with the infamous Anti-Rightist Campaign 反右運動 in 1957[204] in which over 300,000

[201] This becomes especially visible in the Hundred Flowers Campaign (1956-1957), see Footnote 189.

[202] Literary historian Hong Zicheng 洪子诚 lists the campaigns in his *A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature* as the following: Criticism of the movie *The Tale of Wu Xun* (1950-51), Criticism of the Work of Xiao Yemu and Others (1951), Criticism of Yu Pingbo's Dream of the Red Chamber Studies and of Hu Shi (1954-55), Critical Attacks on the Hu Feng Clique (1955), the Anti-Rightist Campaign in Literature and Arts Circles, and Critical Attacks on the 'Anti-Party Clique' of Ding Ling, Feng Xuefeng, and Others (1957) (Hong Zicheng 2007, 41–46).

[203] MacFarquhar begins his three-volume work on the *Origins of the Cultural Revolution* in 1956 (MacFarquhar 1974, 9).

[204] The Hundred Flowers and Anti-Rightist Campaign was by no means Mao Zedong's policies alone, but had both supporters and opponents within the highest political leadership and were entangled with contemporary domestic policies. Generally speaking, Mao Zedong, supported by Zhou Enlai, promoted a more "liberal" model of communist rule, both politically and intellectually from the beginning of 1956 until the Anti-Rightist Campaign. While Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi would agree on economic plans in 1957, they were split about concerns of how to deal with the intellectuals under the Communist regime, with Liu Shaoqi holding a skeptical position towards liberalization. The international context of this liberalization leads back to the relationship between China and the SU. Khrushchev's secret speech on February 25th 1956 in which he denounced Stalin resulted in the Chinese having

intellectuals were labeled rightists (Yeh 2010, 602), among them many of the most prominent literary figures such as Ding Ling 丁玲 (1904-1986 from Linli/ Huinan) and also Feng Xuefeng 馮雪峰 (1903-1976 from Yiwu/ Zhejiang), Communist Party member and another close friend of Lu Xun, but whereby others remained, such as Zhou Yang who is described as the "cultural tsar of the CPC" (Yeh 2010, 603).

But not only the then-contemporary literary and artistic production was to "serve the people", the cultural heritage of the past was to be made accessible to and "serve" the people, as well. Thus as the Beiyang Government (1912-25) and the Nationalist Government (1925-1949) had done previously,[205] the PRC gained power over the material cultural past. This meant that by taking over the *responsibility* of cultural preservation and of making this heritage accessible to the people, it also gained the *opportunity* to impart knowledge about it in ways that were to serve the state. With an emphasis on the latter, the museum as an institution would hereby play a key role due to its ability to reach mass audiences and again Soviet models were the main sources of inspiration. Theoretical works were translated into Chinese, such as the *Foundations of Soviet Museology* 苏联博物馆学基础 from 1955 which was translated into Chinese within two years of its publishing (The Soviet Museum Academic Institute 苏联博物馆科学研究所 1955). The practice of building and managing museums in the early 1950s also took the Soviet Union as example. The memorial

to distinguish Mao's role from that of Stalin both domestically and internationally (MacFarquhar 1974, 39). The Chinese political leadership had already seen that this would be the crucial point which had to be dealt with as early as January 1956 and again during the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) which started on February 14, 1956 (MacFarquhar 1974, 39). Politically speaking, the comparison between Mao Zedong and Stalin was not adequate according to MacFarquhar, for while Khrushchev most harshly criticized Stalin's dictatorship in which he imprisoned thousands of other loyal party cadres, Mao Zedong had proved in his last twenty years of leadership in the CPC that he was able to work with former rivals and antagonists (e.g. Zhou Enlai had been an opponent of Mao Zedong in the early 1930s and would assume important offices in their later career but would support or clash with Mao Zedong on various issues over time) (MacFarquhar 1974, 46). This more liberal model or thaw spread in China in 1956 and is based on a the so-called "Hundred Flowers speech" which Mao Zedong gave in May 1956 (MacFarquhar 1974, 51), but the urban bourgeoisie and intelligentsia were slow to respond (MacFarquhar 1974, 83). Four of the most influential politicians involved in the political, economic and cultural campaigns of the late 1950s were Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. In his *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*, MacFarquhar deconstructs the official and simplified explanation of these times as being the result of a rivalry of "two lines" with Mao Zedong and his supporters on the one and Liu Shaoqi and his supporters on the other side. Instead he shows that "many who survived the cultural revolution, notably Premier [Zhou Enlai], had opposed Mao on crucial issues when Liu had stood by the chairman; that some of Liu's supposed supporters, notably [Deng Xiaoping], the party's General Secretary, had been more often on Mao's side than Liu's" (MacFarquhar 1974, 2).

[205] For an analysis of the cultural preservation during the Republican Period, see (Denise Yuet-Shu Ho 2009, 19–89). Ho analyzes how the different governments defined what would be regarded as *wenwu* and the preservation of these "cultural relics" was used by the government to construct a Chinese nation and legitimize its own rule in different ways.

museums built for Lu Xun in 1956 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of his death are examples hereof as is discussed below. Especially during the years of the economic campaign of the Great Leap Forward 大躍進 (1958-1961), even larger museum projects were realized. The erection of the Museum of the Chinese Revolution 中國革命博物館 and the History Museum 中國歷史博物館 (today combined in the National Museum of China 國家博物館) and the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution 中國人民革命軍事博物館 belonged to the Ten Great Buildings (*shida jianzhu* 十大建筑) to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the PRC in 1959 (Hung 2011, 70). The close political relationship between Khrushchev and Mao Zedong however deteriorated continuously since the Destalinization had begun after Stalin's death in 1953 and Khrushchev's secret speech in 1956. By 1960 the Sino-Soviet break was complete. The previous exchange between the SU and China had been emphasized in the early to mid-1950s by both sides, but by 1959 the architects of the Ten Great Buildings are described as attempting to downplay this exchange and presenting the buildings as a first and foremost national project, which disgruntled representatives of the Soviet Union (Hung 2011, 70).[206] While the project of a museum dedicated to the Chinese Revolution took over a decade before its realization in 1961 (a preparatory committee had been founded in 1950 under Wang Yeqiu), the project to museumize Lu Xun was realized far more swiftly. In Lu Xun the PRC had found a cultural hero whose memorial museums were to serve both the state and the people.

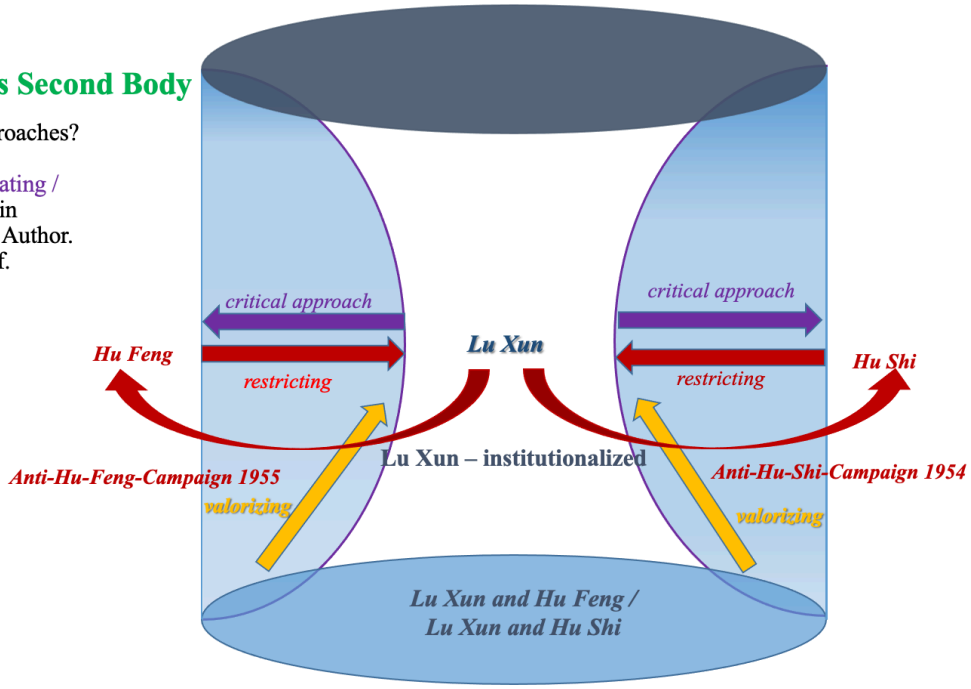
This historical insight into the status-quo of the Chinese literary field in the 1950s shows how tightly politics and literature were entangled at the time in which Lu Xun's memorial museums were established. The extent to which literary production both past and present was to serve "the people" and the state have understandably inspired critical historical studies outside of China, where such an entanglement is seen as highly problematic. Perry Links *The Uses of Literature* (Link 2000) is but one example in which the utilization or instrumentalization of literature has been "unveiled". The restrictive forces that such an entanglement can entail become tangible in the political campaigns directed at individual writers and whose life in exile or prison leave a lasting

[206] Hung explains that "it would have been embarrassing, if not humiliating, to seek direct help from an estranged friend, soon to become a bitter enemy" (Hung 2011, 70). According to his archival sources, Hung shows that Soviet experts were not involved in the major projects, such as the Great Hall of the People, but that in smaller scale museums the Soviet Union still provided technical aid and that Soviet advisers were "very upset" when their contributions were not publicly acknowledged and he cites a source in which Soviet technicians exclaimed "you looked for us when you encountered problems; but we were nowhere to be seen at the opening ceremony." Even though efforts were made to make good for such oversights, these admissions were not made publicly (Hung 2011, 70).

impression on scholars working with materials from this time. They arguably form the extreme form of the "narrowing" (Verengungen) in the commemoration and making of literary heroes like Lu Xun who in such campaigns came to form the opposite spectrum of these writers despite the fact that both Hu Feng and Hu Shi had been greatly entangled with Lu Xun biographically and with regard to his literary production [**IC 40 Lu Xun's Second Body, Restricting Elements**]. To dismiss the Lu Xun museums as mere instrumentalizations of Lu Xun for political purposes alone would result in two major blind spots: Firstly, the state, or in Althusser's terms, the "state apparatus" (Althusser 1999) would become a faceless authority and the importance of the many individual actors involved in the establishment of museums and the interaction between them would be overlooked, turning such a critique into sweeping generalizations. Secondly, it would result in the assumption that state-owned museums of a state with this form of cultural politics would present Lu Xun in their favor, remaining ignorant on *how* exactly various methods of display were used and – more often than not – *whom* exactly certain presentations benefited. Thus this part introduces who was involved in the establishment of Lu Xun's museums and how he was presented in the first decade and a half.

IC 40 Lu Xun's Second Body

Beyond Critical Approaches?
Highlighting
Restricting / Deregulating /
Valorizing Elements in
Institutionalizing the Author.
Figure by Emily Graf.



The Entanglement of Actors and Structures: Xu Guangping, Tang Tao and Feng Xuefeng

Before any Lu Xun museum was established, a first Lu Xun exhibition was held in 1949, in the Beijing Library (later renamed the National Library) (Renmin Ribao 人民日报, October 08, 1949). Among the many visitors was also the writer Ba Jin. After his visit he wrote down his thoughts and published them in a literary journal[207] to share his experience with other intellectuals and writers. Ba Jin described how moved he was by the exhibition. Even though it had only been a small exhibition with a selection of Lu Xun's manuscripts, letters and the photo used at his funeral (*yizhao* 遺照) which he knew well, he nevertheless felt deeply moved. "That place allured my entire heart. I thought it a bit odd: How could such a great and glorious life and such a great spirit be fit into such a small room? 图书馆里一间小小的展览室。那地方吸引了我整个的心。我有点奇怪：那个小小的房间怎么能够容纳下一个巨人的多么光辉的一生和多么伟大的心灵?" (Ba Jin 巴金 1949, 59) After having walked thought the exhibition, Ba Jin was reminded of how greatly he admired Lu Xun and how much he had enjoyed reading his works, especially remembering the comfort he drew from reading Lu Xun's *Call to Arms* 吶喊 when he was a disappointed young man living in Beijing. By reading Lu Xun's works he "came to feel and believe in the power of art for the first time 第一次感到了、相信了艺术的力量" (Ba Jin 巴金 1949, 59).

> After seeing the exhibition about his life and work and then coming out, I now stand under the tree and think: This greatness – this lean, small old man with his big heart! He fought his whole life to teach his compatriots to counter the dark night with resistance and to strive for the light. He predicted a free and independent new China. For this future, he invested all his strength regardless of his own person. He didn't lie. Today, the New China that he predicted has become a reality. But while everyone, the people of the entire nation, was rejoicing, he is not among us to show a smile. 今天看完了关于他的生平和著作的展览会出来，站在树下避风沙的时候，我想起来：这个巨人，这个有着伟大心灵的瘦小的老人，他一生教导同胞反抗黑暗势力，追求光明，他预言着一个自由、独立的新中国的到来，他为着这个前途花尽了他的心血。他忘了自己地为着这个前途铺路。他并没有骗我们，今天他所预言的新中国果然实现了。可是在大家、在全国人民欢欣鼓舞的时候，他却不在我们中间露一下笑脸 (Ba Jin 巴金 1949, 59).

Even though the essay ends on a sad note, Ba Jin's reference to Lu Xun's smile at the spectacle that was the establishment of the PRC recalls Guo Moruo's poem on "Lu Xun's Smile 鲁迅笑了" which he published in the People's Daily on October 1, 1949 (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1983), on the

[207] His article was published in the very first issue of *People's Literature* 人民文學 in 1949.

very day the establishment of the PRC was proclaimed. “Long Live the New China, Long Live Mao Zedong! At this time, I looked at you, and saw you smiling. 新中国万岁，毛泽东万岁！那时候我看见了你，看见你笑了”. Each of the eight stanzas of the poem concludes with a variation of Lu Xun smiling at the establishment of the PRC, a gesture which symbolized Lu Xun’s approval of the Communist Party’s reign post mortem. Today, Ba Jin and Guo Moruo’s optimism immediately after the establishment and their use of Lu Xun’s smile to consecrate the establishment of the PRC as something Lu Xun had envisioned is read with skepticism. In Kirk Denton’s analysis of Ba Jin’s account he holds the opinion that the exhibition was “targeting” intellectuals. The exhibition was “a way of convincing them that the communists would respect and honor them […], a way of enlisting the intelligentsia to join the new regime and promote its political agenda,” adding that “Ba Jin bites the hook” (Denton 2014, 181).

What this critical reading suggests, however, is a clear separation between an “intelligentsia” and Party functionaries aiming to lure the intelligentsia into building trust, trust which in particular the Anti-Hu-Feng Campaign and the Anti-Rightist Campaign 反右運動 later betrayed. The problem with such a separation is, however, that the lines between an intelligentsia and cultural politicians was not as clear as such an analysis would imply. It would necessarily lead to the separation of biographies either temporal as in Guo Moruo (a writer *turned* cultural politician, as discussed in “Moving Spaces” of this thesis) or into divided identities. As the following shows, regarding Lu Xun museums as products of Party functionaries alone would overlook the negotiations that took place between the actors and the fact that the idea of a “hook” overlooks that the presentation of Lu Xun too was by no means always consensually supported by all actors involved. Thus, the first question that arises is: Were the Lu Xun museums as state-owned museums established in the kind of “top-down”-directory which the centralized cultural politics of the PRC would suggest? How was Lu Xun’s estate put on display in these museums? Were Lu Xun’s former residences kept in an “original” state? And who visited these sites in their early years as newly established museums?

In February 1950, only a year after this first Lu Xun exhibition in a “small room” visited by Ba Jin, Xu Guangping 許廣平 (1898-1968) donated Lu Xun’s literary and personal estate in her own name and in that of her son Zhou Haiying 周海嬰 (1929-2011) to the state. The donation included Lu Xun’s former Beijing residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 西三條胡同 21 號, even though the documents do not specify the address but only refer to Lu Xun’s Former Residence 魯

迅故居. The property included seven tiled-roof buildings and seven lime-roofed buildings (*fang* 房). The nine trees on the property also became the property of the state. The books and objects stored in the buildings included 5,195 volumes (*ce* 册), which could be counted as 274 pieces (*jian* 件) (including bound books (*zhang* 張), sets (*bao* 包) and single pieces (*fen* 分)), as well as 4,030 books (*zhang* 張) of ink rubbings of bronze vessels and stone tablets, which where hereby listed separately, along with furniture and artifacts of 393 pieces 件 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 136). All these objects stored in the former residence were included in the donation. In June, the SACH 國家文物局 provided Xu Guangping with a certificate for her donation [IC 41 Certificate of Donation].[208] In September 1950 Xu Guangping traveled to Beijing and visited Lu Xun's former residence to refurnish Lu Xun's house according to its "original" state. Thus, Lu Xun's Beijing residence on Xisantiao hutong had been altered since Lu Xun's departure in 1928 and the death of Lu Rui and Zhu An in the 1940s. Presenting Lu Xun's former residence in a restored "original" state drew many visitors to the site. On October 19, 1950, exactly 14 years after Lu Xun's death, approximately one thousand visitors are reported to have visited Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong – on this day alone (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 150). During this year, Guo Moruo wrote in his calligraphy the words "Lu Xun's Former Residence" (*Lu Xun guju* 鲁迅故居) which were chiseled into a marble plate, filled with gold and hung at the entry of the residence, giving the institution an official name [IC 42 Guo Moruo names Lu Xun's Former Residence, 1–2][209] (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 6-7, 150).

It was also around the same time, namely in June 1950, that Tang Tao 唐弢 (1913-1992 from Zhenhai County/ Zhejiang), who at the time worked as Deputy Director of the Culture Division at the East China Ministry of Culture 華東文化部文化處副處長, and Feng Xuefeng 馮雪峰 (1903-1976 from Yiwu/ Zhejiang), who was a member of the East China Military and Administrative Commission 華東軍委員會委員, asked for permission at the Culture Division of the East China Ministry of Culture 華東文化部文化處 in Shanghai to establish a memorial museum for Lu Xun. Both Tang Tao and Feng Xuefeng were students and admirers of Lu Xun's. Feng Xuefeng is by far the more prominent figure, as he was one of Lu Xun's most famous students along with Hu Feng. Feng Xuefeng was the Deputy Director of the CWA in 1949 and was involved as one of the

[208] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 041.
[209] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 042.

main editors of Lu Xun's collected works in the mid-1950s. He was criticized in 1954 for his views and evaluation of the novel *Dream of a Red Chamber* 紅樓夢, and denunciated as a Rightist in 1957 in the context of the previously mentioned campaigns. Feng Xuefeng was finally put under house arrest in 1966 and only rehabilitated again in 1979 (Klöpsch, E. Müller, and Keen 2004, 73). Tang Tao, however, has been given less attention in scholarly research on Lu Xun outside of China [IC 43 Tang Tao at Dalu xincun, 1-3].[210] In 1934 twenty-one-year-old Tang Tao had met Lu Xun in Shanghai. Tang Tao had written to Lu Xun since he hoped to learn Japanese, but Lu Xun recommended to him to learn Russian instead and they stayed in contact through letters. A year later Tang Tao tried to join the League of Left-Wing Writers of which Feng Xuefeng had been a founding member, but to his disappointment was not accepted, since Lu Xun had decided not to take in any new members due to the instability within the League (Qin Haiqi 秦海琦 2013, 32). Nevertheless, Tang Tao and Lu Xun remained in contact and Tang Tao was one of the few friends who visited Lu Xun's home in Shanghai on Dalu xincun No. 9 shortly after Lu Xun's death, where he stood beside Lu Xun's deathbed and expressed his condolences to Xu Guangping together with Hu Feng (Qin Haiqi 秦海琦 2013, 39).

Tang Tao and Feng Xuefeng received the support from the minister and Vice Minister of culture for their plan of creating a Lu Xun memorial museum in Shanghai. The East China Ministry of Culture then contacted the Central Ministry of Culture in Beijing 中央文化部, which asked Xu Guangping to return to Shanghai for the preparations. The approval came from the Central Ministry of Culture 中央文化部 and also directly from Zhou Enlai 周恩來. Their plans were thus approved by the political elite, but not in the strictest sense established in a top-down line of communication. The final written agreement came to Tang Tao and Feng Xuefeng from the Director of the SACH 中央文化部文物局局長, who at that time was Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 and Vice Director 副局長 Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 1898-1958 [IC 44 Zheng Zhenduo, Wang Yeqiu letter to Xu Guangping].[211]

While over a thousand visitors are reported to have visited Lu Xun's former residence in Xisantiao hutong No. 21 on his death anniversary in 1950, it is the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, which is officially considered to have been the first person museum 人物類博物館 established in the PRC (Duan Yong 段勇 2011). This is due to the fact that on August 1, 1951, Lu Xun's former

[210] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 043.
[211] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 044.

residence in Dalu xincun No. 9 was not only opened as Lu Xun's "former residence" (*guju* 故居), but officially opened as a "memorial museum" (*jinianguan* 紀念館). For Tang Tao was also successful in acquiring the adjacent building Dalu xincun No. 10, in which originally the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry 農林部副部長 Wu Juenong 吳覺農 (1897-1989), who today is known primarily for his research on Chinese tea, resided and could convince him of his plans of changing his residence into a memorial museum (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 4). This adjacent building then served as an exhibition building, with photographs on the walls and objects on display in glass showcases as early as January 1951 [**IC 45 Dalu xincun No. 10**].

IC 45 Shanghai Dalu xincun No.10, ~1950

1. 

2. 

1. Entrance to Dalu xincun; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地博物馆 / Photo 0620290. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Display of Dalu xincun No. 10; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地博物馆 / Photo 0620291. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Yet the seemingly "original" former residence on Dalu xincun No. 9 had not been left untouched since Lu Xun's death in 1936. When Xu Guangping donated Lu Xun's belongings in Beijing to the state, she no longer lived in their shared residence in Dalu xincun No. 9 in Shanghai, but had moved to another residence within the city.[212] Since Xu Guangping planned to donate not only the books that were located in the former residence in Beijing, but also a number of books from Shanghai to the state and planned to send them to Beijing, Tang Tao had to entreat Xu Guangping to leave some of Lu Xun's belongings in Shanghai so that they could be displayed in the museum. In October 1950, Xu Guangping thus brought some of Lu Xun's belongings "back" from her new home to Dalu xincun No. 9, altogether 1,157 objects, leaving Tang Tao in charge of

[212] On Xiafeilu Xiafeifang No. 64 霞飞路霞飞坊 64 号, today's Haizhong Road No. 925 淮中路 925 弄 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 4).

them and offering explanations to the individual objects. In November she then returned to Beijing, still taking the majority of Lu Xun's books (2,691 books stored in 41 book cases) with her to leave in Beijing. Here they were stored in Xisantiao hutong No. 21 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 4). Thus in the early years, a centralization of Lu Xun's heritage in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum took place, yet in the case of Shanghai, the agency of Tang Tao made it possible for some personal objects to remain in Shanghai as well. It was while Xu Guangping was in Beijing that she asked Premier Zhou Enlai to write the characters for the sign titled "Lu Xun Museum" which he wrote that November and which were first placed at the entrance of Dalu xincun road and later on the entry of the newly erected exhibition hall [IC 46 Zhou Enlai naming Lu Xun Museum, 1–3].[213] Two directions of movement can be seen in these processes. Firstly, the majority of Lu Xun's movable material estate was moved north to Beijing. The dryer climate was to help the storage of the books,[214] but the centralization of Lu Xun's heritage in the political center of the nation also sent a political message by accumulating the nation's material heritage in its midst. Secondly, the piece of calligraphy which was sent south was a form of political consecration through the naming of the Shanghai Lu Xun residence in the handwriting of Premier Zhou Enlai, providing the site with a sign to show that this heritage site received the recognition of the highest political order.

This form of political consecration culminated in 1956. On the 20th anniversary of Lu Xun's death, large museums were built adjacent to or near Lu Xun's former residences in Beijing and Shanghai alike. In the newly erected exhibition buildings both in Shanghai and Beijing large-scale exhibitions could be held. Furthermore, the museums were made more accessible to visitors when in the beginning of November 1957 the entrance fee to the museum in Shanghai was dropped. In Shanghai this also came together with moving Lu Xun's grave from its original location in the Universal Public Cemetery 萬國公墓 to the Hongkou Park 虹口公園, which in his honor was renamed the Lu Xun Park 魯迅公園, an act of great symbolical importance, as Mao Zedong wrote the character for Lu Xun's tomb stone [**IC 47 Lu Xun Tombstone, 1956, 1–2**].

[213] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 046.

[214] Xu Guangping would come to explain this decision in 1959 in a text titled "The History of Lu Xun's Manuscripts and Collected Books 鲁迅手迹和藏书的经过" which was included in the internal publication of the Lu Xun Museum in 1959 and first published in 1961 in the magazine *Library* 图书馆 (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 2008).

IC 47 Lu Xun Tombstone, 1956

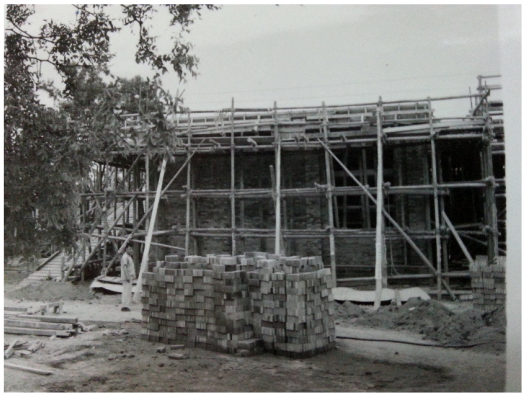
1. 

2. 

1./ 2. Lu Xun's tomb in Shanghai, Lu Xun Park, calligraphy by Mao Zedong; source: Photographed March 13, 2015.

The newly erected museum buildings in Beijing and Shanghai provided space which could be used to display Lu Xun in a more creative manner as it was not restricted to the limited space of Xisantiao hutong No. 21, Dalu xincun No. 9 or even Dalu xincun No. 10, which essentially was the same structure as No. 9 [**IC 48 Beijing Construction**; IC 49 Shanghai Construction].[215] Yet while political support was great and new spaces for exhibiting Lu Xun were created in great speed, two question remained: a) how to inventory the large amount of materials collected in Beijing and

IC 48 Beijing Construction 1955-1956

1. 

2. 

3. 

1. Construction site; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146): Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo: 0620008. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Workers on site; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146): Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo: 0620005. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Building completed; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146): Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo: 062009. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

[215] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 049.

b) how to fill the additional spaces created with the two large-scale exhibition halls and the additional Lu Xun Memorial Rooms that opened in the early 1950s in Shaoxing, Xiamen and Guangzhou?

Indeed, it took almost a decade before a list was published on Lu Xun's collected books. By 1959 Lu Xun's manuscripts and collected books had been "inventoried" and were "listed" in the *Catalogue of Lu Xun's Manuscripts and Collected Books* 鲁迅手迹和藏书目录, an internal publication 內部資料 edited by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. In the "words from the editor", which is signed by the "Beijing Lu Xun Museum" in July 1959, the museum explains that this list of their collection (and partially of that of other institutions such as the Beijing Library, the Shanghai Library and others) is meant to provide materials for those conducting research on Lu Xun. The editors emphasized that the books were donated by Xu Guangping to the state and that the current state of the books has been sufficiently described by Xu Guangping herself, referring to her letter provided at the beginning of the book, thus giving Xu Guangping's voice the authority over the history of the collected books. The museum editors however added that among the collection, some reactionary (*fandong* 反動) books and journals were included:

> Among the collected books are some reactionary books and journals, we have not rejected them any further, because Lu Xun intentionally collected these reactionary books and journals to be the objects of his sarcasm and attacks, so he kept them. In order to see the complete picture of his collected books, we nevertheless printed them all into [this catalogue]. 藏书中有一部分反动的书刊，我们也没有加以剔除原因是这些反动书刊，是鲁迅特意收集，作为讽刺或打击对象而留存的，为了能看出藏书全貌，还是都印进去了.[216]

The editors thanked two individual people by name, namely Feng Zhi 馮至 (1905-1993, from Zhuoxian/Hebei) from Beijing University and the Beijing Library and Chang Hui 常惠 (1894-1985 from Beijing), who helped with the "Western" works provided in this list.[217] In "The History of Lu Xun's Manuscripts and Collected Books" Xu Guangping explained that she decided to send books

[216] Source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1959a, iv). I would like to thank the Beijing Lu Xun Museum for providing me with a digital copy of the catalogue.

[217] Feng Zhi was praised highly by Lu Xun for his poetry which wrote in the years between 1923 and 1927 when he lived in Beijing. Feng Zhi graduated from the German literature department of Beijing University in summer 1927. It was due to his knowledge of the German language that he was given the task of writing the list of Lu Xun's collection of foreign books and prints. Feng Zhi also studied in Berlin and Heidelberg from 1930 to 1935, returning to China only in September 1936. After working in Kunming as a German teacher, he returned to Beijing to teach at Beijing University after the end of WWII and in 1964 he was transferred to work as the director of the Institute of Foreign Literature under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Klöpsch, E. Müller, and Keen 2004, 93).

to Beijing was because of the dryer climate, which was better for the storage of the books and also due to the fact that a collection was already in Beijing, so that bringing some of the books there from Shanghai meant that some of the collected works were thereby made complete. Whether or not the collection of Lu Xun's books is indeed complete must be regarded with caution,[218] but the idea of "completeness" (*quan* 全) was an idea that played an important role in the self-description of Xu Guangping's and the museum's effort to protect Lu Xun's heritage.

With the accumulation of materials in Beijing, arrangements were also being made to provide and create additional materials for display. In May 1956, part of the museum staff in Beijing was sent across the country to take photos of the surroundings of the Lu Xun residences which still remained in Shaoxing, Nanjing and other places were Lu Xun had lived. Thus many photographs that are from the 1950s are likely to have been taken in the mid-1950s in this effort to create new visual materials (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 6-7, 150). The museums also published small booklets and larger photo collections with documentation of their display and of the various "historic sites" connected to Lu Xun.[219] But not only photographs were supposed to be displayed, material objects were also to be included, which meant that replicas of the original objects were made for means of display. For this, in July 1956, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum invited Chen Xinmin 陳新民 from Nanjing, who worked at the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom History Museum, to come and help the museum to make replicas of Lu Xun's belongings (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 6-7, 150). The Shanghai museum would also follow suit in this

[218] Findeisen has pointed out in a discussion on the mailing list of the MCLC (15.09.2016) that the list published by the museum in 1959 was by no means complete. "It is, of course, anything but complete, but reflects the state after many people either familiar with Xu Guangping or others in charge have removed--over a period of more than two decades--certain items from the holdings. The published lists of book acquisitions by Lu Xun are ample evidence. Many translations by Lu Xun provide evidence (either by explicit evidence, or by analysis of their texts) that his private book holdings have included a lot more books" (R. D. Findeisen, pers. comm.).

[219] In September 1959, a little booklet *The Lu Xun Museum* 鲁迅博物馆 was published by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, which featured a description of the display and photos not only of the Lu Xun Museum and former residence at Xisantiao hutong, but also of his birth house in Shaoxing, which are likely to have been made by the museum staff in 1956 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 [1959] 1961). Prior to that a similar booklet, with a photo of each of the house facades of Lu Xun's former residences in Beijing were published, along with an additional chapter on the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. The booklet was titled *The Places Lu Xun Lived in in Bejing* 鲁迅在北京住过的地方 (Sun Shikai 孙世恺 1957). Later Sun Shikai would publish similar materials in the 1990s (Sun Shikai 孙世恺 1994). A far more extensive volume of photographs, including photographs of his former residences, but also of Lu Xun and of his manuscripts, were published in the *Photo Collection on Lu Xun* 鲁迅图片集, which was edited by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物館, the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅紀念館, the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 紹興魯迅紀念館 and published by the Beijing Art Publishing House 北京美術出版社 in 1957 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 et. al. 1957). It is likely that it was on these photos that most of the travelling photo exhibitions were based, as well as the photos that were on display on the museum exhibition halls.

production of replicas a year later in 1957, when the replicas were made after the original artifacts and which were thereafter put on display in their stead, while the original artifacts were stored away (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 17).[220]

How these photographs and objects were displayed is not easy to retrace and only hints can be found about differing opinions on how Lu Xun was to be presented in the museums. Concerning the content of the exhibition in Shanghai, some changes, for example, were made in 1953. After Xu Guangping pointed out in December 1952 that the former residence should not display any objects that were not there during Lu Xun's life time (for example labels, but also his portrait picture which was used to mourn his death), these were removed in mid-1953, according to the museum history.[221] Also the museum history reports that the evaluation of Lu Xun by Mao Zedong and Qu Qiubai was displayed more prominently, and the telegrams which were sent as condolences after Lu Xun's death as well as photographs of his funeral were also added (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 9). From such comments in the museum's history one can see that the suggestions of Lu Xun's descendants concerning his former residence were adhered to, but also that political content was increasingly highlighted within the exhibition spaces in the adjacent memorial museum as early as 1953.

While the main concern of Xu Guangping, Tang Tao, Feng Xuefeng and Wang Yeqiu were Lu Xun's residences in Beijing and Shanghai, his former residence in his hometown Shaoxing was also turned into a museum at a relatively early stage. The Shaoxing museum was first termed a Culture House 文化館 when the site was first established by the government of Jiangsu Province at the beginning of 1950 [**IC 50 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum ~1950s, 3**]. In August 1951, the East China Ministry of Culture provided the financial funds for restoring the relevant buildings (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 4). There is no local actor who is reported to have established the museum, but in the case of Shaoxing, it was mainly due to the instruction of government institutions. As one can see from photographs, on May 8, 1950 the room of Lu Xun's mother in Lu Xun's birth house had already been understood as one room in "Lu Xun's Former Residence 鲁迅故居" [**IC 50 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum ~1950s, 1**]. According to the museum,

[220] On July 19, 1956, Zhu Jiadong 朱嘉棟 and three further people from the Shanghai Art and Design Firm 上海美術設計公司 came to Shaoxing and made a model of Lu Xun's former residence and the Three-Flavor-Studio as well as the wooden desk and chair of Lu Xun's from the Three-Flavor-Studio (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 17).

[221] This suggests that the photograph mentioned in "Foreshadowed Spaces" of this thesis [IC 25 Shanghai Dalu xincun 1936 I, Photo No.20] is likely to have been taken between 1951 and 1953.

IC 50 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum ~1950s



1.



2.



3.



4.

1. Lu Rui's Room in Shaoxing, May 8, 1950; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.
2. A Lu Xun exhibition at the Three-Flavor-Studio in 1949; source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; received September 2014.
3. Entry to the Shaoxing Lu Xun "Culture House" from 1951-72; source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; received September 2014.
4. Exhibition room at the Shaoxing Lu Xun "Culture House" in October 1952; source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; received September 2014.

the class room in which Lu Xun had studied as a child, known as the Three-Flavor-Studio 三味書屋, had been accessible to visitors and a paper print of Lu Xun's portrait along with the calligraphy of some of his works were hung on the wall of the classroom [**IC 50 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum ~1950s, 2**]. Only September 25, 1954, the Lu Xun former residence, the Hundred-Flowers-Garden and the Three-Flavor-Studio were all officially opened to the public. In December 1951, Wang Yeqiu and Xu Guangping had come to Shaoxing to check on the Lu Xun former residence. A first exhibition with photos and some objects were displayed in four separate rooms, which were

IC 51 Xiamen University I Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1952



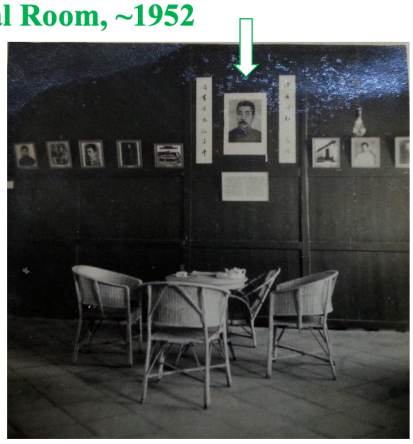
1.



2.



3.



4.

1. Desk in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620337. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lu Xun's bed in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆 / Photo 0620335. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Corner in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620336. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
4. Table and chairs in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620334. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

available [**IC 50 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum ~1950s, 4**]. When reading the history of the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum in contrast to the museums in Shanghai and Beijing, there are many check-ups listed which were conducted by politicians from the city level and above (for example by the mayor of Shaoxing 市長, but also by the Director of Culture Bureau on the Provincial Level 省文化局局長, as well as by family members, such as Lu Xun's brother Zhou Jianren 周建人 (1888-1984)) (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 14-15, 18-19). Their visits are not recorded as visiting the museum (*canguan* 參觀), but as check-ups (*jiancha* 檢查) and inspections (*shicha* 視察). It is in this terminology that the hierarchical relationship between the institutions come to light.

In other places, for example in Xiamen University [**IC 51 Xiamen University I Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1952, 1–4**] where Lu Xun had lived and taught from August 1926 to January 1927, the rooms in which he used to live were turned into a Memorial Room (*jinianshi* 紀念室), which was established on October 19, 1952 around a group of university professors who decided to do more research on Lu Xun. The memorial room, however, was not officially termed a museum, nor was it fully open to the public (interview with Zhuang Zhongqing 莊鐘慶, 2014, October 29). His room was presented with old furniture and photographs. Portraits of Lu Xun and other photographs were hung in one line around all four walls of the room, slightly higher than eye level, so that the visitors had to raise their heads to view the various photographic portraits. Since the photographs were attached to the wall individually and some space was left between the frames and the wall at the upper rim of the frames, the photos were slightly tilted forward, increasing the impression that Lu Xun was looking down to the viewer. One portrait, however, stood out as it was not a photograph, but a drawing or painting which was about twice the size of the other photographs. It was hung slightly higher than the rest of the photographs and flanked by two vertically written pieces of calligraphy, each containing one line of Lu Xun's poem titled "Self-Mockery 自嘲" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ah). He had written the poem in 1932 when he lived in Shanghai, thus after he had left Xiamen, but it was the one poem Mao Zedong had cited in his 1942 "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art". It reads "Fierce browed, I cast a cold glance at the thousand pointing fingers" (*hengmei lengdui qianfuzhi* 横眉冷对千夫指), "Head bowed, I gladly agree, an ox for the children to be" (*fushou gan wei ru zi niu* 俯首甘为孺子牛)" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 148).[222]

[222] For the interpretation of this poem, see "Circulating Praise and Images during the Cultural Revolution" in the chapter on "Hibernating Museums? (1966-1974): Of Crowds and Desolate Spaces".

It is striking that the memorial room included very little text. No introductory texts were included and there are only very small labels added below the photographs, which probably allowed for little more explanation than the place and time during which the photographs were taken. The furniture shows no sign of having labels placed on it in any form. Thus, in these early displays, the visual materials were presented with little textual guidance. Later in 1956, a "Lu Xun Artifacts (*wenwu*) Exhibition Hall" was opened next to the Lu Xun Memorial Room. On October 19, 1956 Wei Ye 韋葉, head of the Liberation Army 解放軍首長, visited the exhibition [**IC 52 Xiamen Univeristy II Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1956**].[223] By then the display had increased, with two rows of photographs now on the wall [**IC 52 Xiamen II Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1956, 1**]. Wei Ye, but also other visitors, are photographed peering intently into the display cases [**IC 52 Xiamen II Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1956, 2–3**]. The display by then also featured a large oil painting of Lu Xun sitting at his desk [**IC 52 Xiamen II Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1956, 4**], and a Lu Xun bust was included instead of the far more modest picture frame with Lu Xun's image [**IC 52 Xiamen II Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1956, 5**]. This bust was again framed with the lines of Lu Xun's "Self-Mockery", but above the bust an additional star was attached. As the comparison of this one Lu Xun Memorial Room at Xiamen University shows, the display not only increased but adopted an aesthetic structure that would be repeated in many slightly divergent ways in other displays, as

IC 52 Xiamen University II Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1956



1-6. Lu Xun exhibition in 1956 in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.

[223] This was not listed in the list of historical events 大事紀要 provided to me by Prof. Su Yongyan 蘇永言 of Xiamen University, but as can be seen by the images, was documented in the photo album kept at Xiamen University, of which Dr. Ge Tao 葛濤 sent me his documentation for which I am very thankful.

the analysis below will show. Similarly, five years after the initial Memorial Room in Xiamen, Lu Xun's former room in the Bell Tower of Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou was turned into a small-scale Lu Xun memorial museum 魯迅紀念館 in 1957 [**IC 53 Guangzhou Sun Yat-sen University, ~1957, 1–6**]. Lu Xun had moved to Guangzhou in 1927 and lived in the Bell Tower for half a year while he was teaching from January to September 1927. From the photographs it is not apparent whether or not his former living rooms were reconstructed or not. Instead there were exhibition rooms which focused solely on the display of materials. Wooden and glass showcases were placed along the walls and in the room so that they were approachable from all sides. Picture frames filled the walls in two or more rows. Unlike in Xiamen, they were grouped according to "chapters" and the textual guidance had visibly increased. The title of the chapter was placed at the left, for example "Chapter 3 Lu Xun at Sun Yat-sen University", or "Chapter 5 Steadily standing on the side of the revolution, he opposed the counter-revolutionary violence 坚定地站在革命这一个边，抗议反革命暴行". The former residence was thus designed to be read as a book and the direction of the visit clearly directed from one chapter to the next. The titles were emphasized through a dark background, followed by one frame with an introductory text and thereafter the relevant materials also framed or below in the showcase. The labels added to the manuscripts, photos and posters were also more extensive. One special exhibit was a Lu Xun bust, most likely

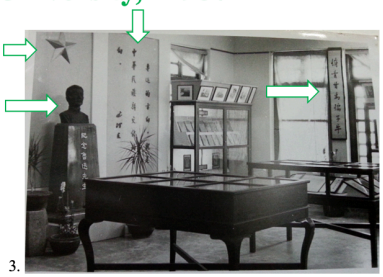
IC 53 Guangzhou Sun Yat-sen University, ~1957



1.



2.

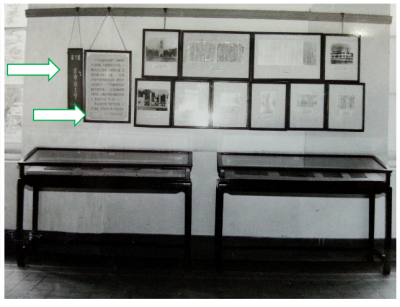


3.

1. Tower with Sign Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620338. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Display with Lu Xun bust; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620343. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Display with Lu Xun bust and star; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620344. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
4. Display with Poster; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620341. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
5. Display about Lu Xun at Sun Yat-sen University; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620340. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.



4.



5.

of bronze, placed on a marble pedestal which read "Remembering Master Lu Xun 纪念鲁迅先生". The two lines of Lu Xun's poem "Self-Mockery" were not behind it. These were featured as well,

but placed on the wall to the right hanging on the narrow wall between the two windows [**IC 53 Guangzhou Sun Yat-sen University, ~1957, 3**]. Flanking Lu Xun's bust were two quotations, one by Lu Xun and one by Mao Zedong which will be discussed in further detail below. For not only Mao Zedong's choice of Lu Xun's poem "Self-Mockery", which he had quoted in his 1942 Yan'an Talks, found their way into this display, but *direct* quotations from other speeches in which he had praised Lu Xun strongly shaped the early display of Lu Xun Museums.

It is difficult to reconstruct the visiting experience of the museums in the early 1950s. The museum histories of the Beijing, Shanghai and Shaoxing museums laid an emphasis on the fact that its visitorship was from its beginning an international one and highlighted the visits of politicians of high rank. Even though visitors from those countries with political allegiances with the PRC were more often mentioned by name, the histories also included those countries which did not. In the year 1956 many notable foreign visitors were reported to have visited the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, for example. They came from countries ranging from both the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany, from Italy, Vietnam, the Soviet Union, England, Austria, Canada, Greece, Argentina, Czechoslovakia, New Zealand, Belgium, Thailand, Japan and many other countries (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 6–7, 150). Among higher politicians were Zhou Enlai, Guo Moruo and others who visited Xisantiao hutong No. 21 in 1955. In the Shanghai museum these visitors included no one less than Chen Yi 陈毅, one of the highest military commanders of the East China Military and Administrative Commission at this time, whom Tang Tao personally guided through the exhibition [return to IC 43 Tang Tao at Dalu xincun No. 9, 2]. In addition to the Chinese military and political elite, many foreign visitors also visited the Shanghai Lu Xun museum in its early years, some of them individual writers, who signed the guest book of the museum, some entire groups or delegations. Among them were groups from the Soviet Union, Finland, Sweden and Iceland, as well as, for example, the Turkish writer and poet Nâzım Hikmet 希克梅特 (1902-1963 from Thessaloniki) who had fled to Moscow in 1950 and the East German writers Jan Petersen 貝特孫 (1906-1969 from Oslo)[224] and Ludwig Renn 路德維希雷恩 (1889-1979 from Dresden)[225] and many more (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 9).

[224] Jan Petersen was the head of the Deutscher Schriftstellerverband Berlin (Ost) from 1953-1955.
[225] Ludwig Renn left Dresden for East Berlin in 1951 and was accepted in the Deutsche Akademie der Künste (Ost) of which he received the honorary presidency from 1969-1975.

It is also striking that numerous persons involved in the film business visited Shaoxing, such as film directors who were working on movie adaptations of Lu Xun's writings and visited these reconstructed sites as the backdrops for their films (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 23). But similar to Beijing and Shanghai, the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum also welcomed foreign delegations, for example from the Deutsche Schrifstellerverband (Ost), a group from the Akademie der Künste (AdK) Ost, including a fellow at the AdK Ost 院士雷恩 Ludwig Renn, as well as an editor of the Aufbau Publishing House,[226] who visited the Lu Xun former residence as well as the Hundred-Flowers-Garden 百草園 and the Three-Flavor-Studio 三味書屋 in 1954 (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 16).

[226] The editor was transcribed into Chinese as Wu Sai 乌塞.

Display: Lu Xun, a Chinese Gorky?

我们苏维埃人热爱和尊敬你们的人民称他为中国的高尔基。
We Soviet people love and respect he who your people call China's Gorky.
24.03.1957
柴卡斯诺夫·娃尼娜[227]

Ein Besuch im Lu-Sun-Museum zeigt, wie Lu Sun vom chinesischen Volk geliebt und verehrt wird. Er lebt im Herzen des Volkes, nicht nur seines Volkes sondern aller Völker der Welt, die wie er für die Freiheit und Menschenwürde kämpfen. Auch das deutsche Volk verehrt Lu Sun, den großen Schriftsteller und Revolutionär, der auch die Sprache von Karl Marx und Goethe meisterhaft beherrschte.
Peking 22.09.1961
H. Brettschneider, DDR

How was Lu Xun displayed in the museums in the 1950s? Which valorizing discourses would translate into the material display? In his contribution to Leo Ou-fan Lee's *Lu Xun and his Legacy*, David Holm analyzes the time period from 1936-1949 in which Lu Xun's legacy was constructed in the political discourse of the Second World War and the following Civil War prior to the establishment of the PRC and his various museums. The two main political actors in this discourse were Mao Zedong and his opponent Wang Ming 王明 (1904-1974 from Jinzhai / Anhui). Wang Ming acted as the director of the CPC's delegation to the Communist International (Comintern) (1919-1943) in Moscow from 1931-1937 and continued to work for the Comintern in Yan'an until its dissolution by Stalin in 1943. By describing Lu Xun as "China's Gorky 中國的的高爾基" (Wang Ming 王明 1938, 1), Wang Ming attempted to appropriate the legacy of Lu Xun to further his political fraction.[228] In his article titled "A Great Loss for the Chinese People 中國人民之重大損失", written in 1936 after learning of Lu Xun's death in Moscow when it was reported in the *Pravda* 真理報, Wang Ming praises Lu Xun as a writer for the proletariat, as a supporter of the Communist Party when harboring known revolutionaries and Party members such as Qu Qiubai in his house during the White Terror of the 1930s, and as a great translator of Soviet literature and literary theory. Holm's critical approach towards these forms of political valorization becomes manifest when he concludes: "This is 1930s vulgar Marxism at its most sentimental" (Holm 1985, 163). It is helpful to start with Holm to recognize that for a few years in the 1930s, the valorizing term "A Chinese Gorky" served as an opposing term to Mao Zedong's view. According to Holm

[227] Russian's female name transcribed phonetically into Chinese by museum staff.
[228] Wang Ming was, however, not the first to have used this metaphor. Lu Xun was frequently referred to as a Chinese Gorky during his lifetime and Bernard Shaw is held to have used this reference as early as 1933 when he first met Lu Xun (Davies 2013, 2); (Wasserstrom 2013).

it is thus important to see Mao Zedong's valorization of Lu Xun as a reaction to Wang Ming's article. He argues: "This effort by the Internationalists to mold Lu Xun in their image was not to go unchallenged by Mao and his supporters," thus regarding Mao Zedong's "On Lu Xun" (1937), "New Democracy" (1940), and finally also "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" (1942) as speeches that claimed Lu Xun for China (Holm 1985, 165).

These rhetorics were separate approaches, but not necessarily mutually exclusive. Wang Ming's 1936 article and Mao Zedong's 1937 speech "On Lu Xun" were published together in Hong Kong in 1938 as a collection of essays of "New Theories on Lu Xun 魯迅新論" (Xinwen chubanshe 新文出版社 1938), as Holm also acknowledges. After Mao Zedong's political triumph over Wang Ming in the Rectification Campaign 整風運動 (1942-44) after which Wang Ming was stripped of any powerful offices,[229] Mao Zedong (re)appropriated the image of "China's Gorky" in combination with his Lu Xun of China's "New Democracy", which meant that this combination of the two Lu Xuns would coexist, yet only as they could be shaped and controlled by Mao Zedong, constituting a desirable and no longer a threating force.

This later political discourse described by Holm manifested itself in the museum display as well. Lu Xun as "China's Gorky" and the collaboration between China and the Soviet Union in their Communist endeavor that this connection between the two writers represented, can be traced visually and materially in the exhibition of the Lu Xun museums of the 1950s through six methods of display.

To list the most forward method first, the museums organized special exhibitions on the topic of Lu Xun and the Soviet Union. The Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, for example, organized special exhibitions on "Lu Xun and the Soviet Union 魯迅与苏联" both in 1957 and 1958 as the museum history records (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 205). Yet other means of conveying this connection more subtly can also be detected when taking a closer look at the displays.

For secondly, the architectural design of the newly established exhibition building in Beijing in 1956 took up a *globale Formsprache* of architecture, an architectural form which was largely introduced into China from the Soviet Union [**IC 54 Architecture: Beijing, 1956**]. With its flat roof, minimal decoration and square pillars, the Beijing museum features more similarity to the Museum of the Chinese Revolution 中國革命博物館 than to the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum

[229] Wang Ming continued to live in China until 1956 after which he would live in the Soviet Union until his death in 1974.

IC 54 Architecture: Beijing Exhibition Hall, 1956



1.



2.

1. Exhibition hall, Beijing; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 06200039. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Exhibition hall and bust, Beijing; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 0620048. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

erected in the same year in the South. The Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum was designed in the "big-roof" (*da wuding* 大屋頂) style [**IC 55 Architecture: Shaoxing's Big-Roof Design**], a style which combined "Chinese" architectural elements (such as the sweeping roof) with newly introduced ferroconcrete structures and which caused much controversy in the 1950s (Rowe and Kuan 2004, 87–107) when architects were appropriating (international) architectural styles learned in the Soviet Union while attempting to include what they claimed to be "national" elements. The Beijing Lu Xun Museum, however, shows no such attempts in displaying Lu Xun in a "Chinese"

IC 55 Architecture: Shaoxing's Big-Roof Design



Shaoxing big-roof architecture, 1972-2003; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo: 0620328. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

architectural design in its 1956 manifestation, but enters into a language of form that was applied across the globe, most prominently in the Soviet Union.

Thirdly, this connection to the Soviet Union becomes even more prominent when looking at one specific object displayed in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in the 1950s. One exhibit had indeed been produced in the Soviet Union and had been sent to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum for the opening of the Museum in 1956 as a gift (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 17). It is a half-body bust of Lu Xun made out of bronze and cast by a Belarusian sculptor. The sculptor, Zair Azgur 薩伊 • 阿茲古爾 (1908-1995 from Mautschany/ Russian Empire) had created it in 1955. One finds his name inscribed into the back lower part of the bust [**IC 56 Sculpture: Bust of Lu Xun 1956, 3**]. The bust shows Lu Xun in a gown (*changpao* 長袍), holding a brush in his right hand, yet drawing his right hand toward his chest with his left in a thoughtful pose, as if pausing to think while in the midst of writing an article or poem. The light on the shiny bronze surface gives his facial features a strong contrast. Old photographs from the museum archive show that the bust was placed at the center of the exhibition hall in the display of the 1950s [**IC 56 Sculpture: Bust of Lu Xun 1956, 1–2**]. Contemporaries recalled the strong impression the bust had made on them at the time: "I still remember, in 1956, on a day when it was snowing heavily, there were many visitors in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. Many stood at the center of the hall, admiring Azgur's bust for a long time. It did not need words to express, I could see from the sparkling in their eyes their deep feelings for and gratitude to this artist who was far away and unknown to them 我还记得，１９５６年，一个大雪纷飞的日子，北京鲁迅纪念馆里有很多参观者。不少人站在大厅中央，久久地欣赏阿兹古尔这座鲁迅雕像。不用语言表达，我从他们那一双双闪光的眼睛中已看出他们对这位远方的、陌生的艺术家的深情与谢忱" (Gao Mang 高莽 1990, 63). Another recalled: "[Lu Xun's] grave and stern looks were filled with a warmth, which gave him the strength and boldness to ponder over things; even his two hands were filled with a strength that wanted to change the old order and old thought 在冷峻中满含着热情, 给予了他沉思的力量与气魄, 就连他的双手, 也充满着一种想要改变旧秩序与旧思想的力度" (Gao Mang 高莽 1990, 63). Through the visual presentation of Lu Xun as a literary hero, the sculptor had achieved (or was held to have achieved) two crucial things: Firstly, his use of a visual medium had succeeded in communicating a message, Lu Xun's determination to change an old system, without the need of expressing himself in the Chinese language. That is to say, it was this message which the visitor believed the sculptor to have wanted to communicate. Secondly, the recipients of this message, the

visitors in the Beijing Lu Xun museum, are believed (by one of the visitors) to have felt a strong connection to the sculptor, a man whom they did not know and would have had no means to communicate with. Nevertheless, the common goal of valorizing Lu Xun as a literary hero had enlarged the *imagined community* including the artist (producer) and visitor (receiver) *across* national borders. Through the process of gift-giving and thereby co-curating Lu Xun's museum space, a spatial narration was co-authored through which the imagined community of the Chinese nation was extended to a larger *supranational community*.[230] This formation was, of course, only possible through the explicit communication that the artist was not Chinese but from Belarus, which is likely to have been included in the small label below the bust or stated by the tour guide. As the recollections of the visitors suggest, they were informed that the bust had been by the Belarusian sculptor, thus Lu Xun's bust came to materialize not only a *Chinese* imaginary, but one that expanded to include China and the Soviet Union, the political center of Beijing as well as the political periphery (yet integral part of the SU) Belarus.

IC 56 Sculpture: Bust of Lu Xun 1956, Old Exhibition Hall, Beijing

1.



2.



3.



1. Lu Xun bust 1950s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (147) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 / Photo 0620084. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Bust 1950s with girl; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620159. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Inscription by sculptor on bust, source: Photographed May 14, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

[230] The curation of museum space can be seen to have a similar potential to both the role of the novel and the newspaper in the formation of imagined communities, which Anderson describes in the change that came about in the "apprehension of time" with the first national imaginaries (Anderson [1983] 1991, 22–36). Novels and newspapers, whose rise coincided with the gradual loss of religious and dynastic authority, made it possible for communities to feel connected, be it through a hero in a plot who is assumed to belong to one's own nation or through the collective ritual (or mass ceremony) of reading the daily newspaper, aware of the fact that one's fellow nationals are following the same "plot" created through the selection of current events. Both mediums created an idea of a "homogenous, empty time", to which the plot would link the reader, thereby linking him to a collective to which he could feel connected in the present (Anderson [1983] 1991, 24). Similarly, the visitors of national museums would follow such plots and enact in collective civic rituals of following the narrative through space. Yet here, the imagined community created in the display went even beyond Anderson's imagined community of the nation.

Fourthly, the discursive tool of naming Lu Xun a "Chinese Gorky" used by Wang Ming and later continued by Mao Zedong also came to materialize in the exhibition through means of *spatial composition*. In the exhibition hall in Beijing Lu Xun's and Gorky's portraits and literary works[231] were hung symmetrically, clearly making a spatial argument [**IC 57 Portraits and Composition, Beijing**]. The Shanghai Lu Xun Museum featured similar exhibition designs [IC 58 Portraits and Composition, Shanghai].[232] Gorky's portrait was thus not only included in the exhibition, it was hung on the wall at the same height as that of Lu Xun, both in perfect symmetry and alignment, arguing that Lu Xun as a writer was comparable to Gorky, that he was indeed "on the same level".

IC 57 Portraits and Composition, Beijing: Lu Xun and Gorky



Lu Xun and Gorky Portraits, 1950s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (174) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620088. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

A fifth method that served to connect the image of Lu Xun to that of the Soviet Union or the larger supranational Communist movement can be found in the display of the smaller-scale memorial museums in Xiamen and Guangzhou, for it was not only in the Beijing that the ties to the Soviet Union become visible in the display. This method included the display of political iconography such as the five-pointed star as a symbol of Communism. In both cases a star was placed above Lu Xun's bust [**IC 59 Political Iconography**]. The red star as a symbol for the Red Army was featured on the Soviet flag in 1924 in combination with the hammer and the sickle and was largely held to be primarily a military symbol. In 1949, the five yellow five-pointed stars were

[231] Unfortunately it is not possible to identify which literary works was placed between them.
[232] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 058.

chosen for the Chinese national flag. It is not possible to discern from the black and white photographs whether the stars placed above Lu Xun were red or yellow, but they clearly connected Lu Xun as a writer to a larger Communist iconography and symbolism which China had appropriated from the Soviet Union. In Guangzhou, the bust and star were further framed by Mao Zedong's quotations from his "New Democracy" (1940) and "On Lu Xun" (1937) while in Xiamen the bust and star were framed by two lines of Lu Xun's poetry quoted by Mao in his Yan'an Talks from 1942, in which he described Lu Xun as an ox for the children, defining the children to be the "proletariat and the masses 无产积极和人民大众"(Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 148). Thus the spatial display of the star in combination to Mao Zedong's words (or Lu Xun's words quoted by Mao Zedong) also presented a means of making the above mentioned discourse on Lu Xun visible in the display of the 1950s.

IC 59 Political Iconography: The Communist Star over Lu Xun

1. 

2. 

1. Bust and star in the Sun Yat-sen University Lu Xun Memorial Room, Guangzhou; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620344. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

2. Bust and star in the Lu Xun Memorial Room 魯迅紀念室, Artifacts exhibition 文物陳列室, October 19, 1956 at the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.

A sixth and final method was the regulated circulation of Lu Xun exhibitions and visitors to the Lu Xun museums. To highlight Lu Xun's connection to the Soviet Union, a travelling Lu Xun exhibition was sent to Moscow in 1956 [**IC 60 Circultation, 1956**]. It consisted mainly of photographs and documents and was held at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory of Music in Moscow. While it is interesting that it was not set up in one of the various author museums in Moscow, the Conservatory was a highly prestigious institution that possibly provided more adequate exhibition

IC 60 Circulation: International Lu Xun Exhibition in Moscow, 1956



Photograph from 1956, taken at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory of Music in Moscow, on display in the permanent exhibition of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

spaces for the display, that from the photograph displayed in the museum today, seems to have drawn many visitors.

It was not only the exhibitions which circulated across national borders. Visitors did so as well, and in a similarly regulated way as the exhibitions. Indeed, the Lu Xun museums in China were spaces in which diplomatic relations between literary institutions took place. A delegation from the Writer's Association of the Soviet Union, for example, visited the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum in 1957, as its museum history records. Their choice of words for their entry into the guestbook is not surprising: "The writer Lu Xun is very familiar to us, because he seems like our Gorky, he describes the life of the workers very well and fought for their happiness", signed by two visitors on January 27, 1957. Another wrote on March 24 of the same year: "We Soviet people love and respect he who your people call China's Gorky 我们苏维埃人热爱和尊敬你们的人民称他为中国的高尔基" (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 30). But not only visitors and delegations from the SU visited the museums, but also some, for example, from the

German Democratic Republic (GDR). One delegation from the East German Writer's Association and the Aufbau Publishing House visited the Lu Xun museum in Shaoxing in 1954, and another GDR visitor wrote into the guestbook of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in 1961: "A visit to the Lu-Xun-Museum shows how Lu Xun is loved and worshiped (*verehrt*) by the Chinese people. He lives in the heart of the people, not only his people but in that of all people of the world who fight for freedom and human dignity. The German people worship Lu Xun as well, the great writer and revolutionary, who also skillfully mastered the language of Karl Marx and Goethe" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 57).[233]

To summarize, in the 1950s Lu Xun's ties to the Soviet Union and his visual and metaphorical presentation as a "Chinese Gorky" materialized in the display in various regulated forms. Special exhibitions titled "Lu Xun and the Soviet Union" were organized and the architectural design of one of the newly built exhibition halls of the Beijing Lu Xun Museums connected it to a global architectural design which Chinese architects appropriated from the Soviet Union. As for the specific manifestations within the exhibitions, a bronze sculpture as a gift from the Soviet Union was included into the display and placed at a central position in the hall, Gorky and Lu Xun constituted a main curatorial theme, and the political iconography such as the Communist star was combined with busts in other museum displays. Furthermore, visitors and exhibitions circulated across national borders, acting as cultural diplomatic exchanges, allowing for Lu Xun not only to become a transnational writer in the imaginaries of the Chinese visitors, but also to enter the imaginaries of visitors outside of China as well, who might not have known or heard of this writer, but whose approach to him was facilitated by his presentation as a "Chinese Gorky".

[233] For the original German quotation see opening quotations at the beginning of this section on "*Display*: Lu Xun, a Chinese Gorky?".

Display: Lu Xun and Mao Zedong

Master Lu Xun, a man of unyielding integrity, he will always be in my heart.
鲁迅先生的骨头是最硬的，他永远活在我们心中。
xXfang, Liu Shuyang 2004.11.2017

XX 芳， 刘树养 2004.11.17
(guestbook entry)

Mr. Shen (male/ ~80/ industrial worker) at Lu Xun's former residence at Xisantiao hutong No. 21.
He last visited this site in the 1960s.

Graf: How was the display in the past?
Shen: [At the old time… it was] Mao Zedong Thought.
Graf: How could you tell it was Mao Zedong Thought? From which aspect could you recognize Mao Zedong Thought?
Shen: [Lu Xun is a friend of Mao Zedong]. […] Because Lu Xun and Mao Zedong flattered each other – elevated each other. Haha. If it was not for Mao Zedong, Lu Xun would not have been this famous. And if Lu Xun had not flattered Mao Zedong, it is hard to say…
Graf: Lu Xun flattered Mao Zedong?
Shen: Of course! Mao Zedong flattered him as being the greatest writer, even to the point that all of our Chinese textbooks include Lu Xun's essay.

Graf: How is the display different from the past? 以前的展覽會怎麼樣？
Shen: At the old time…it was 毛澤東思想。
Graf:怎麼知道那個時候是毛澤東思想? 哪一方面可以看出毛澤東思想?
Shen: Lu Xun is a friend of Mao Zedong. [⋯] Because Lu Xun and Mao Zedong 互相吹捧， 互相抬高。哈哈。如果沒有毛澤東鲁迅沒有這麼有名。 鲁迅不吹捧毛泽东，他也说不出⋯
Graf: 鲁迅吹過毛澤東？
Shen: 那當然，毛澤東吹他是最偉大的文學家，甚至我們中國的正式課本都有魯迅的文章。
(interview with Mr. Shen, 2014, August 15, 00:02:22)

The other prominent method of display was introducing Lu Xun to the visitors with the famous quotations of Mao Zedong praising Lu Xun as an exceptional writer. This was realized, for example, by setting Lu Xun's bust in front of a large Mao Zedong quotation. In 1959, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum had a bronze bust of Lu Xun set on a marble pedestal of minimal decoration, surrounded by a number of potted palm-trees placed each on their own low marble pedestals [**IC 61 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing 1959**]. On the large spacious background wall, a quotation from Mao Zedong's "On New Democracy" read:

> Lu Xun was the chief commander of China's cultural revolution. He was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Xun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semicolonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Xun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front, he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel

in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture (Mao Zedong 2005, 360).

Mao Zedong: On New Democracy

鲁迅是中国文化革命的主将，他不但是伟大的文学家，而且是伟大的思和思想家与伟大的革命家。鲁迅的骨头是最硬的，他没有丝毫的奴颜与媚骨，这是殖民地半殖民地人民最可宝贵的性格。鲁迅是在文化战线上，代表全民族的大多数，向着敌人冲锋陷阵的最正确、最勇敢、最坚决、最忠实、最热忱的空前的民族英雄。鲁迅的方向，就是中华民族新文化的方向 (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1970, 191–92).[234]

毛泽东：新民主主义论

IC 61 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1959



Lu Xun bust with Mao Zedong quote, February 1959; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (147) Beijing Lu Xun Museum: Photo 0620083. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Similar curation designs also appeared in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum [**IC 62 Mao Zedong's Praise, Shanghai, 1950s**]. This quotation has become known as the "five superlatives 五最" and stands for the scale of Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun. It is not surprising that with an evaluation this absolute, Lu Xun's reputation was sacrosanct and beyond criticism. Even today, despite the fact that this quotation is no longer included in the display of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, a guestbook entry shows how much Mao Zedong and Lu Xun were linked in the memory of the visitors. Lu Xun's unyielding integrity, which actually forms a sixth superlative in an expression that literally reads "Master Lu Xun's bones are the hardest" was echoed by two visitors, one named

[234] The quotation is given here according to the photograph of 1959 in traditional characters, even though the source of the quotation is published in simplified characters.

IC 62 Mao Zedong's Praise, Shanghai, 1950s

1.



2.

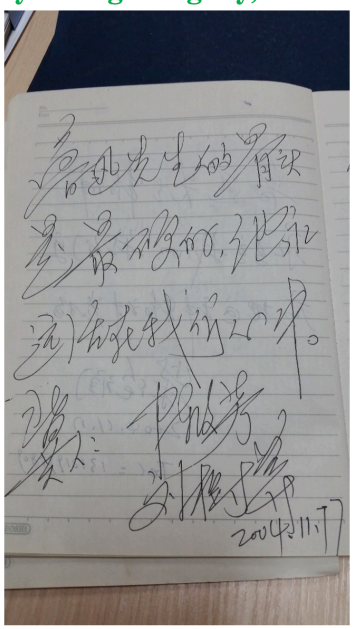


1. Display of Dalu xincun No. 10, Shanghai; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地博物馆 / Photo 0620291. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Presumably display at the Shanghai Lu Xun museum; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.

Liu Shulang 劉樹養, in 2004, who wrote: "Master Lu Xun, a man of unyielding integrity, he will always be in my heart. 鲁迅先生的骨头是最硬的，他永远活在我们心中" [IC 63 Lu Xun's Unyielding Integrity].

The quotation was used in the exhibition in different forms and presentations. In the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, for example, the quotation was written on paper or silk panels which were part of a wooden screen, decorated with carvings and formed as a background of Lu Xun's bust that

IC 63 Lu Xun's Unyielding Integrity, Guestbook Beijing, 2004



Guestbook entry November 17, 2004; source: Photographed August 20, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

was in this case not placed before a wall, but centrally in the large exhibition room [IC 64 Mao Zedong's Praise, Shaoxing, 1962]. According to the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, this photograph was taken in 1962. Written in ink, possibly imitating Mao Zedong's handwriting, the text is the same text passage, however written from left to right, top to bottom, with three lines placed in one panel. Five young children are shown standing in front of the bust regarding it carefully, the one with a serious, almost timid, expression on her face, while other grown-up visitors are walking through the exhibition in the background. While the Beijing example had featured standardized characters set directly on the wall, this design included various aesthetic elements of Chinese art, be it the calligraphy or the wooden screen which in its decoration featured design elements of Qing-Dynasty wooden furniture, along with the two wooden high pedestals for the plants, one of each side of the bust. Both decoration and material allowed for a very different association than the minimal design of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. Here the interior design might also have been intended to harmonize with the overall architecture, with the Beijing exhibition hall in the so-called minimalist "Soviet"-style and the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum in the "big-roof" style discussed above [return to **IC 55 Architecture: Shaoxing's Big-Roof Design**]. Thus even when the same words were chosen, their presentation varied from one Lu Xun museum to another.

IC 64 Mao Zedong's Praise, Shaoxing, 1962



Shaoxing, presumably 1962 (estimated by the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum); source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; received September 2014.

Furthermore, the quotation was not always given in full-length. As the display from the Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum shows, Mao Zedong's praise was sometimes shortened, and instead

of filling the entire background, was placed to the bust's left or right, framing it like Chinese couplets in poetry that can be found as hanging scrolls in interior decoration (*duilian* 對聯) [IC 65 Mao Zedong's Praise, Guangzhou 1950s, 2]. While the quotation does not adhere to the metrical rules of Chinese couplet, the reduced length of the Mao Zedong quotation to "Lu Xun's direction is that of China's New Culture. – Mao Zedong 鲁迅的方向，就是中华民族新文化的方向。毛泽东", written in characters from left to right, top to bottom, might have allowed for such an association. To the right of the bust a quotation of Lu Xun's was chosen, quoting one of his essays called "Random Thoughts No 66: The Road of Life 随想录 66 生命的路" [IC 65 Mao Zedong's Praise, Guangzhou 1950s, 1]. The part chosen reads: "What is a road? It comes of trampling places where no road was before, of opening up wasteland where only brambles grew. There were roads in the past; in future there should also always be roads. 什么是路？就是从没有路的地方践踏出来的从只有荆棘的地方开辟出来。以前早有路了，以后也该永远有路。鲁迅" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005v, 386).[235] This essay was first published in 1919 in the journal *New Youth* 新青年 and it is one of Lu Xun's ambivalent texts. The narrator in the essay looks optimistically, yes even impatiently towards the future, and claims that the sacrifices that have to be made for progress will not amount to much if the larger picture of development is kept in mind. The above quotation reflects the narrator's optimism, utilitarianism and trust in human progress. Indeed, the narrator is

IC 65 Mao Zedong's Praise, Guangzhou, 1950s

1. 

2. 

1. Display of Lu Xun bust, Guangzhou Sun Yat-sen University; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620344. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Display of Lu Xun bust, Guangzhou Sun Yat-sen University; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620343. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

[235] The quotation is given here according to the photograph of the 1950s in traditional characters, even though the source of the quotation is published in simplified characters.

even willing to accept deaths as sacrifice, pointing out that if one kept the progressive development of all in mind, the death of some would not matter to the many. At the end of the essay, the narrator however describes his encounter with his friend Mr. L.

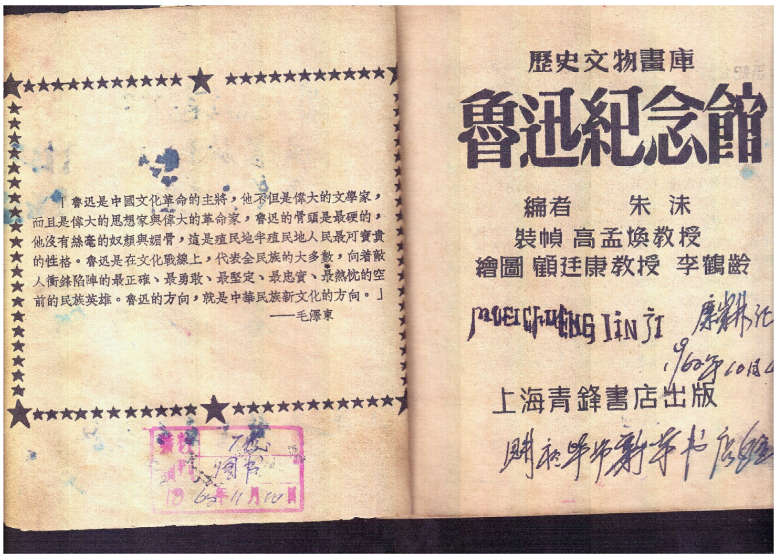
> Yesterday I said to my friend L-, "When a man dies, that is sad for him and for his family, but to his village or town it means nothing. When all the inhabitants of a village or town die, to the whole prefecture of province it means nothing. The same applies to a whole province, country or race." L- rejoined disapprovingly, "You are talking like Nature, not like a man. You ought to be more careful". I think he was correct. 昨天，我对我的朋友 L 说，“一个人死了，在死者自身和他的眷属是悲惨的事，但在一村一镇的人看起来不算什么；就是一省一国一种……”。L 很不高兴，说，“这是 Natur （自然）的话，不是人们的话。你应该小心些。”我想，他的话也不错 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005v, 386).

The story ends on this note, leaving the reader uneasy with the conclusions which the narrator's belief in the inevitable progress had led him to and possibly relieved that at the height of his reasoning a critical voice had made the narrator hesitate. The ambivalence of the essay lies in the fact that Mr. L- can be understood to have stood for Master Lu Xun,[236] thus having the author enter the scene and take up issue with the views of the narrator. When the quote is taken out of its context it seems that Lu Xun had spoken these words. While the short quotation chosen does not yet reveal the radicalism of the narrator's opinion it is nevertheless ironic that Lu Xun is presented as having said exactly those words which Lu Xun – who even had himself enter the stage of the story – actually opposed. The quotation of Mao Zedong's "On New Democracy" and Lu Xun's essay, however, complement each other well as they both speak of the future in similar metaphors of directions and paths to be taken. The middle panel, directly behind the bust, does not feature a quotation but the symbol of the Communist star. With this political iconography, the direction and road towards the future hinted at by Mao Zedong and Lu Xun is clearly that of Communism.

Lu Xun was not only introduced with Mao Zedong's quotation within museum space, but also in outdoor exhibitions. In a number of publications on Lu Xun from this time, Mao Zedong's quotation was often provided as an introductory cover page. The comic book on the Lu Xu museums published in 1951, for example, shows the same quotation set as one of the cover pages, framed with stars (Zhu Mo 朱沫 and Gao Menghuang 高孟煥 1951, ii) [**IC 66 Mao Zedong's**

[236] The earliest publications are claimed to have written "Lu Xun", not "Mr. L.", see Footnote 2 of the 2005 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005v, 386).

IC 66 Mao Zedong's Praise, Comic, 1951



Opening pages of comic book "Lu Xun Museums"; source: (Zhu Mo 朱沫 1951, ii).

Praise, Comic, 1951]. In a similar way, the poster exhibitions would feature Mao Zedong's quotation as the first introductory text after Lu Xun's portrait, at the beginning of a longer exhibition wall [**IC 67 Mao Zedong's Praise, Outdoor Exhibition, 1958**]. These outdoor exhibitions are likely to have expanded the visitor numbers of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. As they were easily accessible, featured electrical lighting by night as shown in the photograph and also a simple roof-construction to serve as a shelter from the rain, these kind of outdoor exhibitions were a means to reach out to workers who could not visit the museum during its opening hours, for example. Mao Zedong's quotation was printed in large letters on the second panel, thus was more

IC 67 Mao Zedong's Praise, Outdoor Exhibition, 1958

1.



2.



1./ 2. Beijing Lu Xun Museum, outdoor exhibition, 1958; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 / Photo 0620115. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

likely to be read in full by visitors when compared to the third introductory panel, which introduced Lu Xun's childhood and youth in Shaoxing. Regardless of whether spatially set *behind* Lu Xun's bust or in the case of this outdoor exhibition appearing *in sequence after* Lu Xun's portrait photograph, Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun as the "bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero" was omnipresent in the Lu Xun exhibitions of the 1950s and early 1960s.

Mao Zedong would remain a central part of Lu Xun exhibitions in the coming decades. Furthermore *the visit to the Lu Xun museum itself* would become an imagined collective performance, an icon of collective memory making. In a later photograph of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum from the early 1960s, or possibly mid-1970s, the bronze bust was exchanged for a white either plaster or marble bust, placed on a marble pedestal. Mao Zedong's words remained behind the bust, now written in simplified characters, white on a large red background, as the color photograph shows [**IC 68 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1960s/70s, Figures**]. Even more so than prior photographs of the 1950s and early 1960s, this image is highly stylized. Instead of the five children of the 1962 Shaoxing photograph, here 19 children make up the first row of the visitors alone, each wearing their red scarves. The red scarf is a "sacred symbol" representing a corner of the national flag stained by the blood of the revolutionary martyrs and a marker of belonging to the Little Red Pioneers (for children aged 7 to 13) (Woronov 2007, 658–59). Even though this symbolical meaning is not always fully understood by children today, the receiving of the scarf remains the highlight of the annual International Children's Day celebrations, with Pioneer organizations having regained in importance since the campaign promoting patriotism in the 1990s with children "performing the nation" in such rituals in a similar way as they had ever since the 1950s (Woronov 2007). Adult national citizens do not require such a visual marker, yet the large number of men in olive green Mao suits with red stars at the front of their hats [**IC 68 Figure a**] and the young women in similar suits with braided hair, also imply a collective identity encouraged by dressing uniformly. Furthermore, standing close to Lu Xun's bust there are representatives of numerous minorities which constitute the Chinese nation, with those belonging to specific minorities or cultural regions recognizable as such through headwear and dress: [**IC 68 Figure b**] a hat with a wide and straight brim often worn by Tibetans, [**IC 68 Figure c**] a doppa worn by Muslim men, for example by Uyghurs, [**IC 68 Figure d**] a velvet and silk hat with its brim turned upward and a pointed crown worn by Mongolians, to name but a few). This image even went beyond the Chinese nation, including women dressed in a Joseon-ot [**IC 68 Figure e**], as this dress

is termed in North Korea. The group of over 50 people is looking up to Lu Xun's bust and Mao Zedong's quotation in the background, listing intently to the museum guide standing before them, identifiable by holding a stick, directing their attention to the bust and Mao's praising words. The image can be understood not so much as serving documentary but symbolical and educational functions: firstly, the group is melted into a collective identity of the Chinese nation *unified in their upward gaze towards Lu Xun*. This national identity was even broadened to include international cooperation, as shown here in the inclusion of North Korean visitors, or in the above section on "Display: Lu Xun, a Chinese Gorky?" of Russian visitors in Moscow. Secondly, it serves to educate the viewer on how a museum visit was to be performed. The image is teaching the viewer by depicting a scene in which viewers are being taught, turning the museum visit into a visual instruction manual. The viewer is allowed to partake in this museum experience no matter where he or she is, thus circulating the museum spaces outside of the museum and acting as a form of out-reach similar to the travelling and outdoor exhibitions, melting the identities of the viewer at home with the visitor of the museum into one.

IC 68 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1960s/70s, Figures



Museum Tour of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, ~1960s/70s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620160. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

The reference of the photograph in this thesis makes no claim of representing reality. Instead it is supposed to show the power of political charisma and political iconography in the making of Lu Xun as a literary hero. Lu Xun was not only connected to Mao Zedong's praise in the exhibitions. In other contexts, such as the annual meetings of the Representative Congress of Literature and Art Workers (CRCoLAW 文代會) in 1949 on national level and of its Shanghai branch in 1950, the

portraits of Lu Xun and Mao Zedong were overlapped, with Mao Zedong presented as following in Lu Xun's footsteps [IC 69 Lu Xun and Mao Zedong Pins, 1–2].[237] The pins were souvenirs of the meetings and similar to the red scarf served as a means of visibly connecting the cultural producers of the Chinese nation into a collective. They were collected by writers in commemoration of the day and, in the case of these two worn by Ba Jin, have now become part of the display in the writer's former residence. A younger Mao Zedong portrait was chosen for the 1949 pin commemorating the inauguration of the first meeting of the CRCoLAW 文代會, possibly encouraging a reading of Lu Xun and Mao Zedong as contemporaries of the mid-1930s, connecting them with their corresponding images. The 1950s pin of the Shanghai branch of the CRCoLAW 文代會 chose a then-current portrait of Mao Zedong, not only making him easily recognizable, but also representing each of them at the peak of their fame from a 1950 perspective.

Similar to well-known depictions of leading left-wing thinkers and politicians, the overlap of portraits such as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong has become an iconographic form that is recognizable across the world and circulated widely as posters in China [IC 70 Portraits of Left-Wing Leaders 1].[238] In its earlier forms, this form of political iconography was introduced into China by no one else than Lu Xun. As the postcard of a drawing of Marx, Engels and Lenin shows, Lu Xun collected this kind of imagery with the help of his friend Cao Jinghua who sent him this postcard during his stay in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s or early 1930s [IC 70 Portraits of Left-Wing Leaders 2]. Thus the power of such iconographic photographs had been recognized by Lu Xun and it was this same method of presentation that had been used to valorize Mao Zedong with his portrait and vice versa after the establishment of the PRC.

The double-portrait was not only depicted on the pins, but also above the large stage set up in Beijing for the inaugural meeting, thus all members of the congress assembled below this symbol [IC 71 Lu Xun and Mao Zedong 1, 3].[239] In 2014 this image is not found in exhibitions on Lu Xun, but a photograph of the inaugural meeting was on display in the permanent exhibition of the NMMCL in the section dedicated to Chinese literature from 1949-1977. The choice not to include it in the Lu Xun exhibitions could be due to the fact that it was a way of Mao Zedong's self-fashioning as a follower of Lu Xun. For Mao Zedong was of course present at the meeting of the CRCoLAW 文代會, alongside Guo Moruo, Mao Dun and Zhou Yang [IC 71 Lu Xun and Mao

[237] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 069.
[238] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 070.
[239] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 071.

Zedong, 2]. Possibly the museums tried to distance themselves from this form of self-fashioning, yet Mao Zedong's praising words of Lu Xun, however, are still included in some.

The exchangeability of such political iconography, however, also becomes apparent in the case of Lu Xun. Prior to the establishment of the PRC, Lu Xun's portrait had been presented in the context of other forms of political iconography as well. At a commemorative ceremony held on October 19, 1939, for example, Lu Xun's protégé Hu Feng can be seen speaking on a stage for the occasion in Chongqing, the wartime capital of the Guomindang from 1937-1945. Here Lu Xun's portrait was surrounded by a wreath. Above his portrait a portrait poster of Sun Yat-sen had been attached, along with the Flag of the Republic of China to his left and the "Blue Sky with White Sun 青天白日旗 " flag of the Guomindang to his right [IC 72 Lu Xun and Sun Yat-sen].[240] For the brief period during World War II and the political cooperation between the Communist Party and the Guomindang, Lu Xun had been presented as a literary hero of both political spectrums, and thus with the state symbol of the flag of the Republic and placed under the one common hero of both Parties, the founder of the Republic of China Sun Yat-sen. This period was especially brief when keeping in mind that Lu Xun as a writer would not be promoted by state structures in the Republic of China, Taiwan after 1949. This photo is rarely displayed, but it was included in the exhibition at the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum. The reason for this was that a part of the exhibition was dedicated to "Lu Xun and Hu Feng", since Hu Feng had been a student at the Middle School Affiliated to the National Central University (Nanjing) 國立中央大學 (南京) 附屬中學, on the former grounds of the Jiangnan Naval Academy and current grounds of the Middle School Affiliated to Nanjing Normal University, where today the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum is located. Paying attention to so-called school alumni (*xiaoyou* 校友) is a means to promote its role as a school steeped in history, therefore the display of Hu Feng who was rehabilitated in the 1980s is acceptable and allows for the display of a political iconography that is divergent from that which had been prominent in the three decades between 1949-1979.[241] These two forms of political iconography in the presentation of Lu Xun, be it underneath the image of Sun Yat-sen in 1939 or a double-portrait of Lu Xun and Mao Zedong in 1949 a decade later, Lu Xun was valorized by being placed visually in the context of these political leaders.

[240] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 072.

[241] Another photograph in which Hu Feng is seen carrying Lu Xun's casket is also on display here. For more information about the importance of the inclusion or exclusion of Hu Feng in the imagery of Lu Xun's funeral, see Interlude on "Lu Xun – embodied" of this thesis.

But it was not always the direct pairing of Lu Xun's portrait with that of political leaders, other political iconography was more subtle. In other images that circulated during the Cultural Revolution, the political iconography of Mao Zedong was *par for par* also adapted to Lu Xun's image [IC 73 Transferable Iconography: Lu Xun as the Sun, 1966-76 1].[242] Lu Xun's portrait was, for example, depicted in a black-and-white woodblock print by Chen Jianxin 陳建新, cut with rough edges and with larger patches of white and black, presenting his portrait in high contrast. Around the portrait fine lines radiate from Lu Xun like an Aureole, implying Lu Xun as the sun in this image. This image shows a direct parallel to how Mao Zedong was presented in images of the time, and that iconographic methods were transferable within a hero genealogy [IC 73 Transferable Iconography: Lu Xun as the Sun, 1966-76, 2, 3].

In the museums, however, it was primarily the use of Mao Zedong's praising words that were chosen over his portrait or other forms of iconographic presentations closely associated with Mao Zedong. The photograph of the collective museums visit was designed to circulate outside of the museums, together with these other materials on Lu Xun such as the woodblock print or, for a smaller circle of chosen artists, the double-portrait pin. By showing how visitors crowded around Lu Xun's bust [**IC 74 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1960s/70s]**, the image makes one further important argument that the other iconographic images do not – or cannot make: It *states* that Lu Xun draws a great audience. With the border between the photograph's documentary and performative character blurring, the viewer is likely to see this image as proof, not merely as an argument of Lu Xun's ability to unify a nation around his image. While the other examples featured a drawn statement or one cut into wood, the staged photograph of the museum visit could further count on the truth claim of its medium, showing Lu Xun as one who could bring this far from spontaneous group of visitors into one shot. As the following section will discuss, the question whether the Lu Xun museums were crowded or desolate places during the Cultural Revolution is not as straightforward as it might seem in this image. Under the critique of its exhibition content by the Red Guards, the Beijing Lu Xun museum was forced to close in the winter of 1966 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 155). The Shanghai Lu Xun Museum closed its doors on January 4, 1967 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 43) and in the same month, the Shaoxing museum staff was forced to stop working (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 16). In Shaoxing, the doors to the museum finally closed on August 6, 1968 and would only reopen to the

[242] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 073.

public again in January 1974. The message of this photograph is likely to have been beyond doubt, however. Lu Xun as a literary hero unified an entire nation in their common gaze towards him, for he "represented the great majority of the nation."

IC 74 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1960s/70s

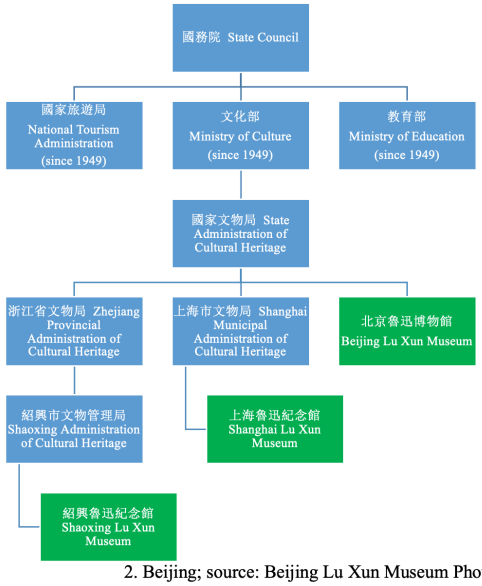


Museum Tour of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, ~1960s/70s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620160. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Hibernating Museums? (1966–74): Of Crowds and Desolate Spaces

During the 1950s a number of Lu Xun memorial museums (*jinianguan* 紀念館) as well as several of his former residences (*guju* 故居) had firmly been established as cultural institutions accessible to the general public in China. Especially in the decade from 1956, when large-scale exhibition buildings were constructed for Lu Xun in Beijing and Shanghai, to 1966, when the first museums started to close their doors to the public, these sites of commemoration were in charge of putting Lu Xun on display. Not all the museums were equal in the landscape of cultural heritage institutions in the PRC [**IC 75 Affiliation, 1950s**]. Due to Wang Yeqiu's 王冶秋 (1898-1958) career at the State Administration of Cultural Heirtage (SACH) 國家文物局 after 1949, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum was affiliated directly with the SACH, resulting in an unusually high administrative ranking of the museum on bureau-level, as discussed above. Due to Tang Tao's 唐弢 (1913-1992) career at the Shanghai Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage (Shanghai Municipal ACH) 上海市文物局, the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum was affiliated with the Shanghai Municipal ACH, positioned on division-level. Accordingly, Lu Xun's birth house, named the Shaoxing Lu Xun Former Residence 紹興魯迅故居, and other sites in its immediate surroundings, including an exhibition room (*chenlieshi* 陳列室) and a culture hall (*wenhuaguan* 文化館), were managed by

IC 75 Affiliation of Lu Xun Museums in the PRC, mid-1950s





2. Beijing ~ 1950/1956



3. Shanghai ~ 1950/ 1956



4. Shaoxing ~ 1950/ 1956



5. Guangzhou ~ 1957



6. Xiamen ~ 1952

1. Figure by Emily Graf. All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Beijing; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146): Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo: 062009.
3. Shanghai; source:(Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 16).
4. Shaoxing; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo: 0620328.
5. Guangzhou; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620338.
6. Xiamen; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620334.

the respective local authorities on section-level.[243] These affiliations differed from the smaller-scale memorial rooms that had been established in Xiamen (est. 1952) and Guangzhou (est. 1957), as they were managed by Xiamen University and Sun Yat-sen University where Lu Xun had taught, thus not affiliated with the local or national government directly. The sixth city that is commonly associated with Lu Xun is Nanjing, where Lu Xun had visited the Jiangnan Naval Academy 江南水師學堂 from 1898-1902. A memorial museum would later be established in a middle school, the Middle School Affiliated to Nanjing Normal University 南京師範大學附屬中學, in the late 1970s, as it was located on the former grounds of the naval academy. [244] In the 1950s and later during the period of the Cultural Revolution, a time during which this middle school was unsubtly named Middle School For the Preparation of World War Three 第三次世界大戰預備軍校 (interview with teacher at the Middle School Affiliated to Nanjing Normal University, 2015, March 12, 00:01:04), no memorial museum had yet been established on this site. But by the early 1960s, Beijing, Shanghai, Shaoxing, Xiamen and Guangzhou, had become spaces in which a collective memory of Lu Xun was being shaped. While little to no documentation is available on the visitor numbers of the Beijing, Shanghai, Xiamen or Guangzhou museums in the 1950s, the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum documented considerable visitor numbers of over 80 thousand visitors in 1957, an average of 220 visitors per day, for example.[245] The museums in Shanghai and Beijing were not as remote as the comparatively small city of Shaoxing and are likely to have drawn and reached more visitors, which photographs of the Beijing Lu Xun museum and its open-air travel exhibition from

[243] The Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum was first managed by the Shaoxing Culture and Education Section (*ke* 科) 紹興市文教科 in the early 1950s. A larger independent exhibition building was only built in the early 1970s. The Lu Xun Former Residence 魯迅故居 which was his birth house, the Hundred-Flower-Garden 百草園, the Three-Flavor-Studio 三味書屋, and an exhibition room 陳列室 were first opened to the public on the September 25, 1954.

[244] The middle school in Nanjing established a Lu Xun Memorial Room 魯迅紀念室 in 1978 and a Lu Xun Museum 魯迅紀念館 in the beginning of the 1980s. The school changed its name frequently in the course of history, also being named Lu Xun Middle School 魯迅中學 for a period of time (interview with teacher at the Middle School Affiliated to Nanjing Normal University, 2015, March 12, 01:04:25).

[245] The memorial room (*jinianshi* 紀念室) in Shaoxing, which existed prior to the exhibition building, documented its visitor numbers. In 1955, 31,842 visitors are reported to have visited these sites, in 1957 a total of 80,270 and in 1958 a total of 57,146 visitors (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 2). This would suggest that somewhere between 87, 220 and 156 visitors would visit the Lu Xun museum in Shaoxing each day. Unfortunately, no visitor numbers were recorded at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum or former residence prior to 1974, see: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 205). However, these numbers, listed in the official histories of the museum history, must be treated with caution, as the circumstances and process of data collection are not transparent, and in the time preceding and especially during the Great Leap Forward, numbers can have been subject to change in order to satisfy prescribed expectations from the authorities (e.g. the SACH).

1958-1962 would support [IC 76 Lu Xun exhibitions Beijing, 1958–62].[246] Thus, in this sense, the museums had indeed become sites of collective commemoration.

The period of the Cultural Revolution is arguably the most intriguing in the history of Lu Xun's museums, as it is the least well documented time in the museums' historiographies. Little material has remained through which the display of those times can be reconstructed. A museum staff member, who had worked at the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum since 1994 (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 234), described her impression of the museum during the Cultural Revolution:

> That time was a period of standstill, basically there was no exhibition. At that time there was only a very simple exhibition on Lu Xun's life. As it mainly aimed at giving [the visitors] an education in form. In a stricter sense, the exhibition of that time did not belong to our museum unit. It was just the introduction of a person who conformed to the environment of that time. When these exhibitions were torn down after the Cultural Revolution, they were not kept. They were very simple biographies, with distortions, for example Lu Xun was made into a person having come from a feudal family, and he was elevated very high, very high, depreciating his environment, his family. [They were] not at all objective, very subjective. Because it had to conform to the form of the time as a form of propaganda (*xuanchuan*), it was different from a museum's purpose, namely to display a great life by "seeking truth from facts". […] The majority consisted of posters and slogans, so we did not keep anything, and basically there were no activities during that time.
> 那個時候是停止的階段，基板上沒有陳列。當時只很簡單地搞一個魯迅生平的很簡單的陳列。因為最主要的還是給他們接受一下形式的教育，從嚴格意義來講的，那個時候的展覽，不是屬於我們博物館系統的展覽。只是一個人物的介紹，符合那個時候的環境。文革以後，陳列拆掉以後也不保存。 […] 很簡單魯迅的一些生平，有一些歪曲了，比如說魯迅作為一個從封建家庭出來的一個人，把魯迅抬的很高很高，把他的環境，家庭，壓得很低。很不客觀，很主觀。因為要符合當時的形式來作為一個宣傳，跟博物館的宗旨不一樣，就實事求是地展示這個人物偉大的一生。[…] 標語性的東西很多，所以我們也沒有留下什麼東西，基本那個時候都沒有什麼活動。
> (interview with museum staff member, Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, 2014, September 16, 00:03:31)

The lack of primary sources is the first challenge this period poses. The second is a certain paradox with which one is faced as a researcher, one that also already shines through the museum staff member's description of the exhibitions that *were* held in the museum, even though they did not, in her opinion, belong to the museum as an institution in the stricter sense. For there is a certain contradiction that occurs in the two conclusions which are frequently drawn about this period. On the one hand, the museums are understood as propaganda tools of their time, promoting a highly

[246] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 076.

distorted (*waiqu*) image of Lu Xun. On the other hand, the museums were understood to have been shut down (*tingzhi*), as many museums during the Cultural Revolution, hibernating through these times of unrest. The second conclusion, however, challenges, if not negates, the first, as a hibernating museum would hardly be recognized as a very helpful tool of propaganda (*xuanchuan*) both in China and abroad. How then, can we understand these memorial spaces? Were they crowded or desolate spaces?

The period of the Cultural Revolution would indeed impact the landscape of the Lu Xun museums crucially, as it would become a period which would be documented as another time in which the museums perceived themselves as being under threat. The Cultural Revolution in terms of a period of cultural production has long been held to have been a period of chaos (*hunluan* 混亂), cultural destruction (*wenhua pohuai* 文化破壞) (CPC 中国共产党 1981) or a "cultural desert" (MacFarquhar and Fairbank 1991, 811). Only in recent scholarship have attempts been made to go beyond a mere critical approach to this time by making sense of how specific works of art, music and literature reached their vast audience(s) and readership(s) instead of discarding them as products of political propaganda alone (Mittler 2012a). This approach is also taken in this chapter dealing with Lu Xun's museum during the Cultural Revolution, by raising the following questions: Can we find clues as to how these exhibitions and spaces were "composed" and "read" during this time? How did "propaganda" (*xuanchuan*) manifest itself in material objects? Was it indeed only to be understood in the sense of slogans and posters? How did visitors react to being denied access to their cultural hero when exhibitions were closed? How did the museum staff react when the display or the collection was threatened, both by leading politicians, as we will learn from an attempt to acquire Lu Xun's literary estate as a weapon in political power struggles, and by visitors, trespassing into the closed-off museum spaces without authorization?

Circulating Praise and Images during the Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution is often seen as the height of Lu Xun's "instrumentalization", in which he was used as a "brick to open doors", to put it in Lu Xun's words (Lu Xun [1960a] 1980, 186). This charge is not only held against the Party and political leaders, but also against individuals closest to him, such as Xu Guangping. An essay which Xu Guangping published in the *People's Daily* 人民日報 on November 1, 1966 is regarded as such an infamous example. It reveals to what extent Lu Xun could be constructed in these times, for Mao Zedong is not only stylized as an ardent follower of Lu Xun, but Lu Xun even stylized as a follower of Mao Zedong, despite the fact that Lu Xun's writing features little indication of this, as he died only shortly after Mao Zedong rose to power after the Long March. In 1966, Xu Guangping nevertheless claimed that: "I deeply feel that no matter if it is in the past or today, the one who cared the most about Lu Xun, understood the most of Lu Xun, had the most correct, the most complete and the deepest evaluation of Lu Xun was no one other than our ever most respected and ever greatest Chairman Mao. 我深深感到，无论在过去和今天，最关心鲁迅，最了解鲁迅，对鲁迅作出最正确、最全面、最深刻的评价的，不是别人，正是我们最最敬爱最最伟大的领袖毛主席". She further added that "Lu Xun felt boundless respect and boundless love for our most respected Chairman Mao 鲁迅对我们最敬爱的毛主席是无限地崇敬和无限地热爱" and that "even though Lu Xun and Mao Zedong lived in different places, Lu Xun's heart yearned for Chairman Mao, followed Chairman Mao, our great leader Chairman Mao was the reddest, reddest sun in Lu Xun's heart 当时鲁迅和毛主席虽然住在天南地北，但鲁迅的心，向往着毛主席，跟随着毛主席，我们伟大的领袖毛主席，是鲁迅心中最红最红的红太阳" (Xu Guangping 许广平, November 01, 1966).

In a recent article published in Taiwan, Xu Guangping is presented as having used her private connection to Lu Xun in order to gain public acknowledgement, thereby giving up her personal experience and memory of Lu Xun to further a grand narrative in which Lu Xun was used as a "political and ideological tool 政治意识形态的工具" by shaping a collective memory of Lu Xun which could serve Party needs. The article indeed concludes with Xu Guangping's statement describing Mao Zedong as the reddest, reddest sun in Lu Xun's heart, thus on an arguably convincing note by letting Xu Guangping have the last word (Cheng Zhenxing 程振興 2014, 158). For this quotation thereby forms the climax of an increasingly ideological instrumentalization of Lu Xun and echoes in the reader's ears when placing aside the article, leaving little doubt of Xu

Guangping's complicity in this instrumentalization. But neither Xu Guangping's influence on Lu Xun's posthumous image nor the often criticized "instrumentalization" of Lu Xun ended at this point of time in 1966, when the relationship between Lu Xun and Mao Zedong had been turned "upside down". When trying to understand Xu Guangping's role in how a collective memory of Lu Xun was shaped, it is important to look before and beyond this 1966 article alone.

For with the rise of the Cultural Revolution, a curious phenomenon occurred: Lu Xun was omnipresent in propaganda posters, slogans and comic books which circulated widely for various purposes. In this poster from 1967 [IC 77 Circulating Images I: Poster 1967][247], Lu Xun embodies an "unyielding revolutionary spirit 革命硬骨头精神", which the people were to learn from. In this particular two-colored print, the enemy is shown to be three foreign imperialists, whom Lu Xun had driven into the lowest right corner of the image with the force of his brush, staring grimly at them. The wood-block is cut to resemble fast and rough brush strokes and the mainly black print is lightened only by the characters of his poem and the two major areas of light on Lu Xun's face and around his brush. The quotation is a line of Lu Xun's poem titled "Self-Mockery 自嘲" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ah) which he wrote in 1932 and reads: "Fierce browed, I cast a cold glance at the thousand pointing fingers. Head bowed, I gladly agree, an ox for the children to be 横眉冷对千夫指，俯首甘为孺子牛."[248] In this case of using Lu Xun's words as a slogan, Mao Zedong provided one interpretation of the poem in the conclusion of his Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art 在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话 (1942) (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 148), stating that the fingers stand for "whatever ferocious enemy 无论什么凶恶的敌人" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 148) while the children symbolize the proletariat and the masses. Literary scholars such as Leo Ou-fan Lee and John E. Kowallis have pointed out that the line is actually embedded in a poem with many ironic twists and turns, especially since the narrating voice in the poem seems less than reliable, providing alternative interpretations to the straightforward political reading of the line by Mao Zedong (Kowallis 1996, 180–81), (Lee 1985b, 21–23). But Mao Zedong's interpretation, in which the narrating voice is taken by its words and in which the fingers could come to stand for any kind of enemy, gave ample opportunity to use this line of poetry in political disputes.

[247] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 077.

[248] For translations of this couplet see: (McDougall 1980, 85), (Kowallis 1996, 180–81), (Lee 1985b, 21–23). The above translation relies mainly on Kowallis' translation, with the change of replacing "eyes askance" with "fierce browed", similar to McDougall's "stern browed", as the focus in the Chinese term lies on the eyebrows, a focus which is crucial in the analysis of visual materials depicting the "Lu Xun spirit", as the eyebrows are the main indicator of a fierce glance.

Apart from posters used for various political campaigns, as will further be elaborated on below, the comic book also played a crucial role in the dissemination of knowledge during the 1970s. While the larger number of comic books were published in the latter half of the 1970s,[249] the Zhejiang Publishing House also published a pictorial biography on Lu Xun in 1972 with drawings by Lu Huanhua 路煥華 (Lu Huanhua 路焕华 1972), in which Lu Xun's life was narrated and his living quarters depicted. The comic book concludes with the sentence: "Lu Xun was steadfast in his stand for the proletariat. His revolutionary spirit for the proletariat and the masses, which spared no effort and for which he was willing to die, will always inspire us to follow the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and to fight for the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the very end 鲁迅坚定的无产阶级立场，为无产阶级和人民大众鞠躬尽瘁死而后已的革命精神，永远激励我们沿着毛出席的革命路线，把无产阶级专政下的继续革命进行到底" (Lu Huanhua 路焕华 1972, 31–32) [IC 78 Circulating Images II: Comic 1972].[250] To visualize this spirit, Lu Xun is depicted in his study, on the second floor of his last residence on Dalu xincun No. 9 in Shanghai. Seated in his wicker chair, in which he could rest lying down, he is covered with a blanket. But with a stern expression on his face, he is straightening himself up with the help of his right hand on the armrest and screwing up a manuscript or piece of paper in his left, holding it in a very tight grip, implying that his writing was strong and fierce.[251] Thus Lu Xun's living spaces continued to circulate in the imagination and visual memory of the comic book readers in the early 1970s and would arguably continue to foster their curiosity in seeing these spaces first-hand.

[249] Later pictorial biographies of Lu Xun as comic books include *Lu Xun in Guangzhou* 鲁迅在广州 published in 1976 and *A Biography of Lu Xun* 鲁迅转 from 1977, both published by the Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum, *Lu Xun in Nanjing* 鲁迅在南京 from 1978 published by Zhejiang People's Publishing House as well as *Lu Xun in Shanghai* 鲁迅在上海 published in 1981 by Jiangsu People's Publishing House, for example.

[250] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 078.

[251] The manuscript stood for the previously mentioned "Letter in Reply to the Trotskyists 答托洛斯基派的信" from 1936 in which he was held to believe to have criticized the Chinese Trotskyists and supporting Mao Zedong's and Stalin's call for a United Front against Japan. Trotsky and his followers in China (among them also Chen Duxiu) were against a "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" and concerning the Communist Parties' practical policies were against the CPC's cooperation with the GMD against the Japanese, which was supported by Stalin and also Mao Zedong (Benton 1996, 43;46). This letter would become an important "proof" used by Mao Zedong to show Lu Xun's Anti-Trotsky-stance and would even be integrated into school books for decades, thus it was a "powerful weapon" (Benton 1994, 102). In the early 1980s, the memoirs of Hu Feng suggested that the letter had not been written by Lu Xun, but by the CPC member Feng Xuefeng. Feng is believed to have written the letter first and foremost to protect himself and also Lu Xun from any attacks from the CPC that they were indeed Trotskyists or had connections to them (Benton 1994, 101). Thus the main proof that Lu Xun saw the Trotskyists as enemies as Mao Zedong had proclaimed in 1937 (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 280) had come undone.

But how were these former living spaces and the exhibition halls built in the 1950s composed and read in the 1960s and 1970s? How could it be guaranteed, that Lu Xun's living spaces would be read in the way they were intended?

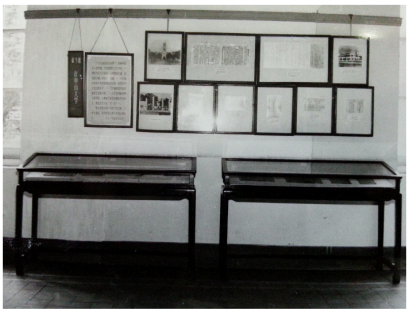
Display: A Museum Manual from Guangzhou (1966)

One method was by giving the visitors a manual to the exhibition. An eight-paged "Short Introduction to the Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum 广州魯迅紀念館簡介"[252] was distributed in October 1966, for example (Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum 广州魯迅紀念館 1966). Previous "chapters" that had been on display in the 1950s in the museum [**IC 79 Guangzhou, 1950s**] had included chapters such as "Chapter 3: At Sun Yat-sen University 在中山大学" or "Chapter 5: Firmly standing on the side of the revolution, protesting counter-revolutionary atrocities 坚定 X 站在革命这一边，抗议反革命暴行", referring to Lu Xun speaking up to the authorities at Sun Yat-

IC 79 Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum, 1950s



1.



2.



3.

1. Tower with museum sign; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620338. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Exhibition chapter 3; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/Photo 0620340. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Exhibition chapter 5 including large poster; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620341. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

sen University in April 1927 after the GMD-CPC alliance had broken and a number of his students were detained. Hereafter Lu Xun resigned from all his posts at university, as the university refused to support him. The new chapters presented on the 1966 manual were reduced to four: 1) Lu Xun's Youth 鲁迅的青少年时代 2) Lu Xun Finds the New Revolutionary Path under the Influence of

[252] Both traditional and simplified Chinese characters were used in this manual, the quotations provided here adhere to the printed version.

the Chinese Communist Party and Marxism 在中国共产党和馬克思主义的影响下，鲁迅找到了革命的新道路 3) Incessant Growth during the Revolutionary Struggle 在革命斗争中不断成长 and 4) Fighting to the End for the Communist Cause 为共产主义事业战斗到底. These titles clearly pointed the visitor to Lu Xun's connection to the Communist Party and his support of the Communist Cause. Again, the conclusion of the pamphlet is an appeal for learning from Lu Xun by acting loyal to Mao Zedong Thought:

> We have to study Lu Xun's unyielding revolutionary spirit and the most important and most crucial part in studying Lu Xun, commemorating Lu Xun, is to always be loyal to Mao Zedong Thought, to dutifully study Mao Zedong Thought, master Mao Zedong Thought. We must always frown at those who oppose Mao Zedong Thought and must pledge our lives to protect the revolutionary road of the proletariat that Chairman Mao represents and carry out the Great Proletarian Revolution until the end! 我们要学习鲁迅的革命硬骨头精神，学习鲁迅，但紀念鲁迅，最重要最根本的，就是要永远忠于毛泽东思想，努力学习毛择东思想，掌握毛泽东思想。我们要永远横眉冷对反对毛泽东思想的人，一定要誓死保卫以毛主席为代表的无产阶級革命路線，將无产阶級文化大革命进行到底！ (Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum 广州鲁迅紀念館 1966, 3)

More important, however, is that the eight-page manual consisted of an over 5 page appendix which presented selected quotations of Mao Zedong and Lu Xun, one quoted after another, entangling their words. This manual functioned both as introductory tool and as a mnemonic device, as the visitor could take the manual home for further study, encouraging a joined reading of Lu Xun and Mao Zedong's quotations. An explanatory note in the manual reads that the quotations of Mao Zedong and Lu Xun, which were also constituent parts of the display, were made available to the visitors in the appendix to this introduction in order to "save the audience time when copying (noting down) [the display], avoiding the site becoming too crowded, improving the usefulness of the exhibition site and aiding the circulation and speed [of the visit] 为了节省观众抄写时间，减少观众拥挤现象, 提高展场使用，流通速率". Here the museum seems to have tried to cope with a large number of visitors and by entangling Mao Zedong's and Lu Xun's words in the memory of the visitor through this manual, the exhibition did seem to serve as a useful tool to construct a Party-beneficial image of Lu Xun [IC 80 Guangzhou 1966 Museum Manual].[253] Like the posters and the comic, this manual circulated outside the museum spaces, but it also provides some (second hand) insights into the actual museum's situation and function at the beginning of the Cultural

[253] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 080.

Revolution: the museum seems to have been a crowded space, in which Lu Xun's and Mao's presentations became increasingly entangled.

In the same year as this manual went into print, the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution also started to pose a threat to Lu Xun's spaces and material literary heritage. Under the critique of its exhibition content by the Red Guards 紅衛兵, the Beijing Lu Xun museum was forced to close in winter 1966 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 155). It had redesigned its exhibition in 1965 to "highlight Lu Xun as a revolutionary 突出鲁迅作为革命家的一面", but without success, as in the following winter of 1966 the exhibition was criticized by the Red Guards. According to its own history, the museum was described as a "great poisonous grass 大毒草", resulting in the museum having to close. The museum officially closed in spring 1967 and the museum histories state that hereafter the museum "sank into chaos in every respect 全面陷入动乱之中" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 155). The Shanghai Lu Xun Museum closed its doors on January 4, 1967 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 43). In the same month, the Shaoxing museum staff was forced to stop operating as well (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 16). In Shaoxing, the doors to the museum finally closed on August 6, 1968 and would only reopen to the public again in January 1974. Thus, starting with Beijing, one Lu Xun museum after another closed its doors to the public. The time of "standstill 停止階段", Xu stated above, had indeed arrived.

Display: Tracing Changes in Lu Xun's Beijing and Shanghai Residences (1969-74)

Apart from manuals, what other methods were used materially to put Lu Xun on display during the Cultural Revolution? Let us take a look at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum and former residence on Dalu xincun No. 9, which would be visualized in the 1972 Lu Xun comic book. Even though the museum had officially closed in January 1967, attempts were made to display Lu Xun "appropriately" in the years that followed. In July 1969, a Revolutionary Small Group of the Arts 文藝革命小組 was formed by members of various museums in Shanghai to collect materials for future exhibitions. Lu Xun's former residence was redesigned according to this Revolutionary Small Group's so-called requirement to "emphasize politics 突出政治" in the exhibition display (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 43).

Three methods were used to comply with these requirements. Firstly, quotations by Mao Zedong were hung in the first floor of Lu Xun's former residence. According to the museum history, these quotations were removed soon after, yet at the time they seemed to have been required (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 43). Secondly, Lu Xun's house needed to shrink. The third floor of the building with Zhou Haiying's bedroom and the guest room were sealed off, not allowing anyone to enter (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 43). This was most likely due to the fact that even though Lu Xun was never criticized, a residence of three floors would not communicate the right image of Lu Xun as a writer who lived in simple conditions, writing for the proletariat. This method was not only used for former residences commemorating writers like Lu Xun, but also for writers and intellectuals who lived through the Cultural Revolution. Ba Jin 巴金, who lived on Wukang Street No.13 武康路 113 號 in Shanghai, for example, was harshly criticized in 1968 and was publicly attacked in rallies and struggle sessions where he was forced to kneel on broken glass (Kaldis 2007, 24). Concerning his house, the upper floors of the building were sealed off, denying him access to them for the next decade to come (Ba Jin 1985, 53). This intrusion into his living spaces is today described in the tour of the house, which was turned into a memorial museum in 2005 after Ba Jin's death (interview with Zhou Limin 周立民, 2013, December 18, 00:25:47). In both cases reducing the living spaces was used as a method to strip the writers of their "bourgeois" background, thereby leaving these spaces to lie idle during these years, neither used as living spaces, nor as spaces commemorating the author.

A third method to materially fulfill the requirements of the Revolutionary Small Group of the Arts was the removal of particular pieces of Lu Xun's personal estate. Some political figures who had been closely connected with Lu Xun during his life, such as Qu Qiubai, were harshly criticized during the Cultural Revolution. Qu was criticized posthumously, despite the fact that he had died before the establishment of the PRC, even at the hands of the GMD. And notwithstanding the fact that from the early 1940s to the early 1960s Qu had been praised very highly, being placed only second to Lu Xun and even described as having died a heroic death at the hands of the enemy by Mao Zedong himself (Pickowicz 1981, 235). Despite all of this, Qu Qiubai was criticized by Zhou Enlai on August 30, 1966 in which Zhou charged that Qu was, according to Pickowicz, a so-called big bureaucrat of bourgeois origin (Pickowicz 1981, 237). In addition, Qu had written "Superfluous Words 多餘的話" during his imprisonment by the GMD in the last year of his life in 1935, a text, or as Paul Pickowicz puts it, a "final statement" which had sparked controversy as it was a

melancholy text in which he realized that he himself was exactly one of those superfluous intellectuals which he had criticized in his earlier work (Pickowicz 1981, 213). During the Cultural Revolution this text was used against him as it lacked the heroic revolutionary spirit which was propagated, or better required at the time. Qu Qiubai would finally be officially rehabilitated in March 1980 (Pickowicz 1981, 241). However, the criticism against him also found expression in Lu Xun's former residence in Shanghai where Qu Qiubai and Lu Xun had often spent time together. Qu Qiubai had repeatedly taken refuge in Lu Xun's home (Pickowicz 1981, 241:192). When the political situation became increasingly tense, Qu left Shanghai to go to the Jiangxi Soviet in January 1934. On the day before his departure he would visit Lu Xun at his residence on Dalu xincun and would even stay there for his last night (Pickowicz 1981, 241:193). He had given Lu Xun his wooden desk for safekeeping when he left. Qu, however, would never be able to return to Shanghai as he was executed by the GMD in 1935 with Chiang Kai-shek personally signing the execution order (Pickowicz 1981, 241:219). In the previous display of the 1950s, the desk had been a material symbol of their close friendship and thus also of Lu Xun's connection to leading figures of the Communist Party [IC 81 Removing/ Restoring Qu Qiubai's desk].[254] In 1969, two years after Qu had been criticized in 1966, the museum spaces were redesigned and Qu Qiubai's desk[255] was removed from the first floor of Lu Xun's residence in September 1969 only to be returned when the museum reopened in the mid-1970s (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 43). Thus, in the late 1960s, negotiations took place behind closed doors on how Lu Xun could be put on display appropriately.

One final consequence that followed the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution and had a major consequence for the Shanghai Lu Xun museum was that in the late 1960s, the museum had to remove its collection from its premises. In 1969, all Grade One and Grade Two Artifacts of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum (*yiji erji wenwu* 一級、二級文物) were moved to a storage in Anhui (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 43), thus leaving the museum stripped off its function to protect and collect. With no collection and an exhibition closed to the public as it did not seem to satisfy the requirements of the Revolutionary Small Group of the Arts, one might ask: Was the Shanghai Lu Xun museum a deserted place?

To see the museums as completely closed-off spaces during the decade of the Cultural Revolution would not be accurate. Individual special guests still visited the former residence, which

[254] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 081.

[255] The desk was photographed on October 19, 1936 on the day of Lu Xun's death (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 27).

explains why the Revolutionary Small Group of the Arts even deemed changes to be necessary in the first place. Visitors from France and the US were shown the former residence, among them international film directors and writers (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 46). Chinese film makers, such as Shen Pengnian 沈鹏年, also came to the former residence in their preparation for a biographical film on Lu Xun filmed in 1972 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 48). [256] Thus even though the spaces were officially closed-off, they were not quite desolate. Their importance for creating a stylized image of Lu Xun, be it in form of film or as sketches for comic books that were to depict his life as a revolutionary, remained and the spaces themselves were maintained.

Furthermore, there was a short interlude in the early 1970s, when the museum first attempted to reopen and immediately struggled to come to terms with the crowds of visitors who came to the museum. In September 1973 the exhibition on Lu Xun's life was reopened to the public and specified groups were allowed to enter. The number of the visitors was controlled to 1,500 people per day, according to the museum history, implying that even larger numbers of visitors were expected (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 49). The Shanghai museum redesigned its exhibition hall in 1973. Especially during the campaign to "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius 批林批孔" in 1974 which is later discussed in detail below, the visitors who "were organized to come 组织起来的观众" reached "shocking numbers 数量惊人", up to some ten thousand a day (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2013, 125). Such exhibitions were designed in cooperation with the Municipal Youth Hall 市青年宫 and the Municipal Worker's Culture Hall 市工人文化宫 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 49). "The effect after the exhibition was not good 展出后，影响不好" (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 49), is the only remark made on the exhibition by its director. The history simply states that therefore the attention was again turned to travelling exhibitions and the exhibition hall was once again officially closed for another year hereafter until December 1975, when it was through "the order of the upper ministries 上级批准", that all Lu Xun museums were reopened again, as will also be discussed below. What the above has shown is that with the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, the Lu Xun museums shut down one by one. Thus while leaving the impression that the former residence and the exhibition display was deserted, behind officially closed doors negotiations took place how Lu Xun could be put on display in accordance to political needs and requirements by making changes

[256] Shen Pengnian has given a detailed account on the history of the film's production, see:(Shen Pengnian 沈鹏年 2013).

in the material display. Furthermore, the museum was facing vast visitor numbers whose interest in visiting these sites of their literary hero which had circulated in posters and comic books by 1974 had arguably gained a sense of urgency, as visitors surged into these sites of commemoration. In the tension-filled times of the Cultural Revolution, the Shanghai LU Xun museum was at the same time a crowded and desolate space.

Let us return to the Beijing Lu Xun museum, the museum with the highest administrative ranking and largest collection of Lu Xun's personal and literary estate. The Beijing museum was officially closed in 1966 and the large square in front of the main exhibition hall became overgrown with bushes and weeds [**IC 82 Mao Zedong Portrait, Beijing**]. Mao Zedong's portrait, a replica of the one also hanging on Tiananmen square, hung over the museum's closed doors. In the case of the Guangzhou Lu Xun museum, Mao Zedong's words had become entangled, inseparable from the words of Lu Xun. In the case of the Beijing museum, Mao Zedong's image had even began to quite literally overtower that of Lu Xun.

IC 82 Mao Zedong Portrait, Beijing, late 1960s



Square in front of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (147) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 0620065. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

From an administrative point of view, one major effect of the Cultural Revolution was that the Ministry of Education was shut down. The Beijing Lu Xun museum had been the highest ranking museum in the mid-1950s and closest to the authorities on national level.[257] The Ministry of Culture

[257] The Shaoxing Lu Xun museum did close its doors with a time delay, but its administrative ranking was already the lowest ranking (*keji*), thus the change in administration was not as visible nor its influence as great as in the case of the Beijing Lu Xun museum (Xu Dongbo 徐東波 16.09.2014, 00:26).

was effectively closed down for several years, reopening only in 1975 (Kraus 1995, 174). Former director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, Sun Yu, explained: "During the Great Proletarian Revolution, from 1966 to 1976, in this period [the museum] was subordinate to the Beijing Municipal Administration of Heritage. Because during the Cultural Revolution, the Ministry of Culture was thrown into chaos, the Ministry of Culture stopped working, so for a period of time it was managed under the Beijing Municipality. 無產階級文化大革命的時候，一九六六年到一九七六年期間，那個期間是隸屬於北京市文物局。因為當時文化大革命的時候，文化部被打亂了，文化部就是工作停職了，有一段時間就是下放到北京市來管 (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:08:39).[258] During the Cultural Revolution, the highly routinized style of hierarchies provided by the Ministry of Culture was criticized. Especially Jiang Qing is given as an example of attacking the regular administration of culture, pressing for mass campaigns in the arts, demanding that amateurs replaced professionals to bring culture closer to the people (Kraus 1995, 174). In May 1967 the Ministry of Culture was "abolished" and its duties and authority transferred to the Arts and Literature Group under the Central Cultural Revolution Group (CCRG), which was led by Jiang Qing. The ministry was "paralyzed" due to fractional struggles between political leaders, and the successful abolishment of the Ministry of Culture was celebrated by a song titled "Smash the Ministry of Culture, overthrow Xiao Wangdong" (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, 159). Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981), close friend and fellow writer of Lu Xun, had stepped down as the Minister of Culture in January 1965. Even though he still held some political offices during the Cultural Revolution, he rarely left his residence on the east side of Beijing for the decade to follow (Laughlin 2007, 175).

From an organizational perspective, the Cultural Revolution is better understood as being *anti-bureaucratic* than anti-traditionalist, xenophobic or iconoclastic, adjectives whose accuracy with regard to cultural production of that time have already been called into question.[259] Harding

[258] According to Zhou Haiying's letter to Mao Zedong in 1975 (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977), the downgrade of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum to the Beijing Municipal-level 北京市 already occurred in 1958, which would assume its downgrade not to have been directly connected with the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. In the description of former director Sun Yu and other museum staff members, however, a causal connection to the downgrade of the museum's administrative ranking and the de-facto closing of the Ministry of Culture during the Cultural Revolution was explicitly made.

[259] Regarding the cultural production during the Cultural Revolution merely as xenophobic and iconoclastic has been questioned in recent years, most prominently by Sinologist Barbara Mittler (Mittler 2012a). In the above, the focus should however be shifted from the work of art to the administrative structures and institutions in which this art was produced.

calls the Cultural Revolution a "radical" period in an organizational sense, as bureaucracy was to be destroyed and a looser structure was envisioned, similar to the organization patterns of the Paris Commune from 1871. However, Mao Zedong only associated himself carefully with this radical critique of bureaucracy and instead Lin Biao was the one who most clearly associated the source of so-called "social revisionism" in bureaucratic characteristics of China (incl. hierarchy, routinization and graduated salary system), while Mao's writings contained surprisingly few strong criticisms of bureaucracy as an organizational form (Harding 1981, 265). Thus when the work of the Ministry of Culture came to a stand-still, this was due to its bureaucratizing role in culture. But with the closing of the Ministry of Education and State Administration of Cultural Heritage, the affiliation of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum also changed. For the Beijing Lu Xun Museum this meant that the museum, which had been directly associated with the SACH, i.e. at the bureau-level (*juji* 局級) under Wang Yeqiu, was "downgraded" to the Beijing Municipal-level (*chuji* 處級) and was at times even managed instead by the West-District 西城區 of Beijing Municipality (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 01:14) [**IC 83 Affiliation by the mid-1960s**]. Its previously high administrative ranking had provided the Beijing Lu Xun Museum with a symbolical power, but also some practical advantages. Former director Sun Yu described it mainly as "an honor, it is symbolical 是一種榮譽, 是象徵性的", but it also provided the museum to appoint cadres on its own accord, for "bureau-level units can appoint their own cadres 局級單位它自己可以任命幹部," he explained. Yet with the downgrading of the museum, the Beijing Lu Xun entered a time in which indeed was rendered powerless in various respects as the following will show. Firstly, it lost power over its collection, as part of its movable heritage was taken away without authorization. Secondly its immovable heritage, namely Lu Xun's former residence came under attack by Red Guards. Thirdly and finally, the museum staff could not hinder a visitor to

trespass into the premise of Lu Xun's former residence, an act to which he felt entitled, even obligated.

Actors: Ye Shusui, the "Gang of Four", the Red Guards and an Unknown Visitor

The extent to which the museum had become powerless in the late 1960s can best be described in a famous and mysterious incident that took place in 1966 when a large amount of Lu Xun's manuscripts were taken from the museum without the museum staff knowing *where* they had been taken. While the manuscripts were taken away in 1966, the incident became widely known only two years later, namely with the death of Xu Guangping in March 1968. For the last letter Xu Guangping wrote in her life had been directed to the central authorities, [260] explaining the following situation to them: "In June 1966 the Ministry of Culture had moved [the manuscripts from the museum] under the claim of 'protecting' the artifacts 文化部以‘保护’文物为名，从博物馆调

IC 83 Affiliation of Lu Xun Museums by the mid-1960s

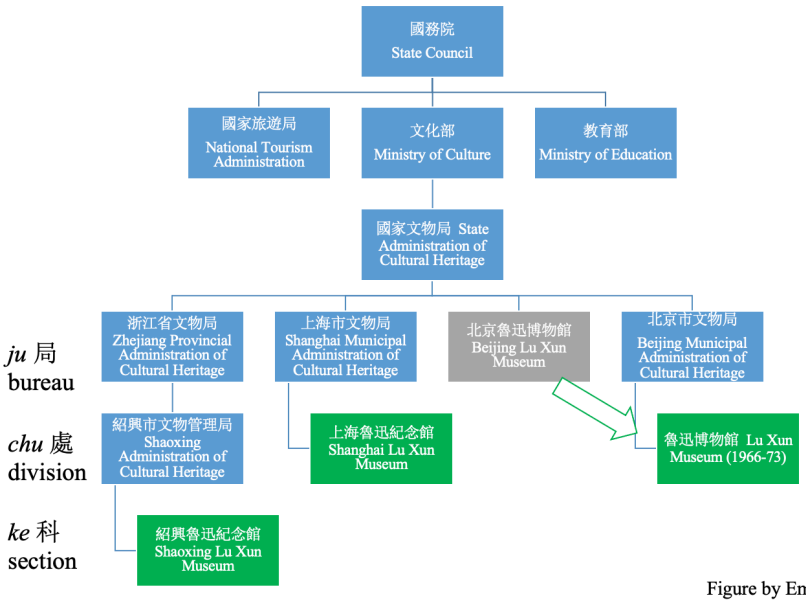


Figure by Emily Graf.

走". Among the manuscripts, she explained, were 1,054 pieces of correspondence containing altogether 1,524 pages along with the 15 page manuscript of the 1936 essay "Answering Xu

[260] For Xu Guangping's letter see (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1998, 39), for an English translation of part of the letter see (J. Yan and Gao 1996, 243). The above quotations all refer to (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1998, 39).

Mayong on the Question of a United Front against Japan 答徐懋庸並關於抗日統一戰線問題” .[261] Xu Guangping's letter concludes her description with the statement: "Now I do not know the whereabouts of these manuscripts, and I am worried. If they were to be lost or destroyed, this would be a loss for the people 现在我不知这些手稿究竟落于何处，甚为担心，如有散失或毁灭，将给人民带来损失". Read after Xu Guangping's infamous article published in the People's Daily in 1966, Xu's role in the "political instrumentalization" of Lu Xun during the Cultural Revolution appears less complicit in light of her critical tone towards the authorities in this letter.

The essay on the question of the United Front against Japan would play an ambivalent role in the political instrumentalization of Lu Xun. On the one hand, it revealed Lu Xun's critique of and previous disagreement with Shanghai Party member Zhou Yang 周揚 (1908-1989 from Yiyang/ Hubei)[262], who too was criticized during the Cultural Revolution.[263] On the other hand, it revealed the highly delicate topic that Lu Xun had not participated as willingly in the Anti-Japanese literature movement (in Form of the Association of Writers and Artists 文藝家協會 and under the slogan "National Defense Literature 國防文學") as official representatives from the Communist Party like Zhou Yang had originally hoped. The exact reasons and motivation for which these manuscripts and letters were taken away are not fully clear. But since the 1990s the details of this occurrence and the individual people claimed to have been involved have come to light, or better have become a subject of open debate, as most aspects remain non-transparent.

Museum researcher Ye Shusui has published on the matter in her recent publications (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 2014); (Chen Guohua 陈国华 2014), since she was close to Xu Guangping and it was she who had been chosen by the museum to contact Xu Guangping about the disappearance of the manuscripts (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1998, 39). In her extensive work on Xu Guangping, McDougall also mentions that in 1968, there was "an incident involving the misappropriation of Lu Xun's manuscripts from the Lu Xun Museum for Jiang Qing's use", and points out that Xu Guangping had also been asked to hand in other papers relating to Lu Xun prior to the incident (McDougall 2002, 79). According to McDougall, Xu Guangping suffered a sudden heart attack on

[261] The essay was written in August 1936 and first published that same year in the journal *Writers* 作家.

[262] For a detailed discussion on Zhou Yang's role in the debate on Lu Xun and the "National Defense Literature" slogan, see: (Holm 1985, 154).

[263] For more information on the methods and rhetoric used to criticize Zhou Yang at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution starting with an article published in *Red Flag* 红旗 on July 1, 1966, see Fokkema's contribution in *The Cambridge History of China* (Fokkema 1991, 595–600).

March 3, 1968, partly due to the stress involving this "incident", but does not explain further. According to Ye Shusui's accounts, Wang Yeqiu, Director of the SACH 文物局 had told Xiao Wangdong 蕭王東, the Acting Minister of Culture 文化代部長 and Party Secretary 黨組書記 at the Ministry of Culture,[264] that Lu Xun's manuscripts ought to be protected. In June 1966, Xiao Wangdong thus sent orders to the museum via three other personnel of the Ministry of Culture and the SACH[265], ordering them to have the manuscripts moved to the Ministry of Culture. But before long, in July 1967, they went missing there as well and hereafter no one allegedly knew where they had been taken. Qi Benyu 戚本禹 (1931-2016),[266] who worked for the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group 中央文革小組 [267], had reportedly signed in and taken the manuscripts with him.

When Xu Guangping died, Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda 陳伯達 (1904-1989), Mao Zedong's wife Jiang Qing 江青 (1914-1991) and Yao Wenyuan 姚文元 (1931-2005) visited Xu Guangping's house to call on her family, especially Lu Xun's son Zhou Haiying (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1998, 39). When Zhou Enlai heard of Xu Guangping's letter, he is reported to have been enraged, scolding Qi Benyu and ordering the matter to be investigated immediately. The investigation was finally led by Fu Chongbi 傅崇碧, who had been ordered by Jiang Qing to investigate the case. During the investigation Fu Chongbi also returned to the Lu Xun Museum, questioning the museum staff on what had happened and what they knew, among them also Ye Shusui, but all to no avail, as the museum staff, according to her account, simply did not know (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1998, 39). In the end, with an enormous ironic twist, Fu Chongbi (chosen by Jiang Qing for the investigation)

[264] In 1966 Xiao Wangdong took over as Acting Minister of Culture (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, 530).

[265] The Deputy Director of the Ministry of Culture Shi Ximin 石西民, the Deputy Director of the SACH Zhang Enqi 張恩起, as well as Deputy Director of the Culture Division of the Ministry of Culture Lei Zhongqing 雷仲平 were sent to the museum with the orders to pick up the manuscripts (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1998, 38).

[266] Qi Benyu was the last of the founding members of the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group to pass away in 2016 in Shanghai. He had become a member of the Cultural Revolution Small Group in 1966 and had worked as the Deputy General Editor 副总编辑 of the *Red Flag* 红旗, one of the crucial media of the CPC during the Cultural Revolution, as well as the Deputy Director of the Secretarial Bureau of the General Office of the CPC 中央辦公廳秘書局副局長. He was arrested and purged as early as January 1968 (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, 472). He was sentenced to prison for 18 years in 1983, but was released in 1986 after which he worked at the Shanghai library for four years before retiring (Ou Yangcheng 欧阳成 2016). In his memoirs he describes that he was ordered to pick up Lu Xun's manuscripts, but offers no new insights into the incidence, see Part 3 Chapter 29 (Qi Benyu 戚本禹 2016).

[267] The group consisted of Mao Zedong, his secretary Chen Boda, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng 康生, Yao Wenyuan and Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋. Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyuan, Zhang Chungqiao and Wang Hongwen 王洪文 would later become known as the so-called Gang of Four, who were made responsible for the consequences of the Cultural Revolution and sentenced in 1981.

revealed that indeed it had been Jiang Qing herself who had ordered Qi Benyu to take the manuscripts out of the Ministry of Culture. While she is described as first having heavily denied this accusation, Fu Chongbi is said to have entered the headquarters of the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group (CCRG) at Diaoyutai 釣魚台[268], the residence of Mao Zedong, Jiang Qing, Chen Boda and Kang Sheng. Here, Fu Chongbi found the manuscripts whereby their discovery resulted in Jiang Qing's "scheme" having been revealed, according to Ye Shusui's account, as well as the descriptions provided in Yan Jiaqi's *Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution* (J. Yan and Gao 1996, 243). Whether or not the events did indeed take place like this is not verifiable. But it is beyond any doubt that Lu Xun's heritage in form of his letters and his manuscript had become the object of a major political power struggle in which Jiang Qing is understood to have been acting against her political competitors. Interpretations of how Jiang Qing's "scheme" was planned vary and can only be speculative. For a short time before the manuscripts were found, Jiang Qing is, for example, said to have worked together with Lin Biao in framing Fu Chongbi, the investigator, for taking the manuscripts (J. Yan and Gao 1996, 243). But in the end, the story concludes with Jiang Qing as the main culprit.

No matter how the misappropriation of Lu Xun's manuscripts took place exactly, Lu Xun's literary heritage was the key in this power struggle in two respects: On the one hand, the manuscripts were considered to have had potential political power by whoever appropriated them, either in the negative sense of posing a possible threat to the person who took them (of being declared a thief) or in the positive sense of potentially serving as a political weapon which could be used against political opponents. On the other hand, the act of removing the manuscripts from the museum and the Ministry of Culture was in the end practically used in the campaign against Jiang Qing and the so-called "Gang of Four", which meant that the fact that the manuscripts had been misappropriated would indeed ultimately again be "instrumentalized" in yet another political campaign to follow.

After this mysterious incident, the manuscripts were moved to the Central Archive 中央檔案館 and it was not until the downfall and trial against the "Gang of Four" in 1981, in which the four were blamed for the consequences of the Cultural Revolution, that the manuscripts returned

[268] The State Guest House at Diaoyutai is one of the Ten Great Buildings (*shida jianzhu* 十大建筑), which were erected or expanded in 1959 for the 10-year commemoration of the establishment of the PRC under the Great Leap Forward. For more information on the Ten Great Buildings, on their constructions, debates that followed and preceded them, and an interpretation of their architectural style, see (Hung 2011, 51–74).

to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in 1982. According to her own accounts, Ye Shusui had only learned of the political power struggle which had taken place around Lu Xun's manuscripts from the newspaper, when the *People's Daily* 人民日報 reported on the matter in 1979. This again shows that the museum staff at the time was not only powerless, but also at loss about what had occurred in the years during which over one thousand letters and a manuscript of Lu Xun's most crucial political essays had been taken away. During the Cultural Revolution, the museum was thus not only officially closed, no longer displaying Lu Xun to the public at large, but it had been powerless in safeguarding Lu Xun's manuscripts from being drawn into political power struggles and for this purpose even drawn out of museum space. The loss of power had previously been symbolized by the museum's administrative downgrading. However it stands to question, whether the museum's higher ranking could have protected it from such an incident, for the ranking always also entails a hierarchical system which entangles cultural and political institutions. In either case, the museum would not have had the authority to refuse the command of the Ministry of Culture to which it was subordinated. Yet the simultaneous loss of power of both the museum and the ministry resulted in the Lu Xun's material heritage to have been particularly susceptible to being drawn into power struggles on the highest level of the Party-State.

Not only the movable literary heritage of Lu Xun's proved to be in danger during the years of the Cultural Revolution, also the immovable heritage of Lu Xun was at risk. The former residence of Lu Xun on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 had been closed along with the exhibition building in 1966. Even though the doors were locked, this did not stop the Red Guards from damaging the former

IC 84 House Number: Attacking Lu Xun's Former Residence in Beijing



Sign with house number of Xisantiao hutong No.21; source: Photographed February 10, 2013. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

residence. In the interview, Ye Shusui remembered that the Red Guards had tried to destroy the house number of the building during the Cultural Revolution [**IC 84 House Number**]. Today, when standing at the entrance of Xisantiao hutong No. 21, the sign is still there, even though it is damaged on the left upper corner and the characters *xisantiao hu* 西三條胡 are only barely legible, while the last character *tong* 同 is no longer visible, covered with rust. According to Ye, young members of the Red Guard "took some instrument and hammered at it 那東西敲". She had run up to them shouting "this is not allowed, not allowed, not allowed 不行不行不行", but to no avail. According to Ye, the reason for the Red Guards wanting to destroy the house number sign was due to the fact that it had been installed during the reign of the Nationalist Party and was therefore blue and not red. Ye described how she ran to "fetch a leader from the SACH, only this finally made them stop 請示文物局的領導， 才制止了這個行動", she recalled (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 01:10:49). This incident reveals that Ye Shusui, at the time a young museum staff at the museum, had no power to stop the Red Guards from taking down the sign. But the remaining authority from a leading figure of the SACH 文物局 did make the Red Guards stop in the process. That the Red Guards intended to destroy the sign, does not mean that they did not value Lu Xun. At first glance this might seem reminiscent of the partial destruction of the Confucius temple in Qufu, Confucius' home town, which took place at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in November 1966. In this case, teachers and students from Beijing Normal University had travelled to the temple in order to attack the "Confucius Family Shop".[269] In Lu Xun's case, the contrary is more likely to be the case. In the attempt to remove the street sign, the Red Guards might have intended to "cleanse" the heroic image of Lu Xun from anything associated with the Nationalist Party, an action which was not supported by the museum staff. Ye Shusui's attempt to reason with the Red Guards from her perspective as a museum staff, had however failed, showing that the museum as an institution of protecting heritage was rendered powerless and with no path of communication left.

Beside this incident of "visitors" of the Red Guard who intended to use force to remove the house number sign, another visitor came to Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 during the years of the Cultural Revolution. Unlike the Red Guards, this visitor *did* attempt to communicate with the museum staff. Thus even though the doors of the exhibition hall and Lu

[269] In this attack over 6,600 artifacts are reported to have been destroyed, among them books and paintings but also stone steels and graves (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, 118–21).

Xun's former residence were officially closed and locked, this did not mean that no one entered the premises. Even when the doors were shut, one incident shows that a visitor would not let anyone stop him or her from entering Lu Xun's former residence. On top of this he or she even left a message written in chalk for the museum staff on the door or brick wall of Lu Xun's former residence from the inside. Ye recalls:

> During the Cultural Revolution [the museum] was closed. One day, I discovered that there was someone who had jumped over from the other buildings, he or she came and wrote a few characters on the door. What did he write? The approximate content was: "A lonely courtyard, no one is looking after it, and it is closed to visitors." He or she had a strong opinion, asking why it had closed its doors, why visitors were refused to visit. So he or she wrote a poem on the wall. I was very sorry that I did not take a photograph of the poem, I recall it was something like "a lonely courtyard, no one is looking after it" […], but later we just had it painted over. He or she had come over the wall, explaining the he or she missed Lu Xun, complaining that no one was taking care of [this place], the house was so messy, the courtyard was so messy. 文化大革命就關起來了。有一天，我還發現，有人從房子上跳下來，在門上寫幾個字兒。他寫什麼？他說，意思大概是，“寂寞庭院，無人看管，謝絕參觀”，很有意見，覺得為什麼要關門，為什麼不讓參觀，他在哪兒寫了一首詩，當時很遺憾沒有照下來，大概記憶說，“寂寞庭院，無人看管”。[…]後來就把它塗掉了。從牆過來，說他懷念魯迅，覺得沒有人管，這個屋裡頭，這麼亂，院子這麼亂 (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 00:55-00:56).

Ye published the poem in an article in 2014 in full as she remembered it:

寂寞庭院杂草生，
一派凄凉凋零景。
紧闭大门无人烟，
愧对先人可知罪。
迅翁在天灵有知，
痛骂尔等败家子。

In a lonely courtyard – weeds are growing,
A desolate scene of decay,
With the doors shut tight – not traces of human life remain,
Ashamed we ought to admit our guilt to the ancestors.
If Elder Master Xun's spirit above in heaven knew of this,
He would scold all you prodigals.

(Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 2014, 86)

In her publication she addresses this incident adding with pathos that "I really admire this nameless person, his scolding was correct, he wrote the common people's innermost feeling 我很佩服这位无名氏，他骂得对，写出了老百姓的心里话", expressing a form of self-criticism but nevertheless continuing to draw authority from the "common people" (*laobaixing*), falling into the usual rhetoric of localizing Lu Xun's value in the his popularity among the masses. This form of self-reflection on the side of the museum workers is slowly surfacing in recent accounts of oral history, personal accounts which have made it possible to address larger issues concerning the

Cultural Revolution and the role of cultural institutions during this time. In 1969, with the support from the "upper level" 上級領導, the Beijing Lu Xun museum slowly started taking up some of its work again. It organized travelling exhibitions, as did the Shanghai Museum, and started writing new outlines for exhibitions (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 156), making plans to reopen in the future. But the main doors of the exhibition hall and Lu Xun's former residence remained closed (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 2014, 86). According to the museum history, the exhibitions of the museums were visited mainly by military representatives in the following years from 1971 to 1972, whereby the exhibition in Beijing attempted to reopen twice, but was not given the permission by the authorities. Even though the museum was not officially opened to the public, official inspectors, but also friends and special guests were shown around the exhibitions in individual tours in all three museums in Beijing, Shanghai and Shaoxing sporadically in these years.[270] Thus it would also be incorrect to see the Beijing museum and former residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 as completely closed or shut down during this time. As the three cases above reveal, the museum's role as an institutional actor in the production of Lu Xun's image in the time of the Cultural Revolution was limited both by the power of individual political leaders and by that of the Red Guards (who might not have succeeded in cleansing Lu Xun's image, but as a potential threat that forced the museum to hibernate behind closed doors). As for the individual visitor who defied the museum's attempt to seal off Lu Xun's former residence in Beijing at the time, he or she has now become the voice of reason representative of the "common people". This visitor represents those who are not presented as the Red Guards, but those from whose criticism the museum history declares itself willing to learn from and redefines itself both as victim and as culprit in Lu Xun's "instrumentalization" during the Cultural Revolution.

[270] See listed visits by individuals and groups in (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 154–57), (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 42–52), (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 50–65).

The Second Birth of the Lu Xun Museum? (1975-80): The Letter

Actors: Mao's Orders: One Word Carries the Weight of Nine Vessels (1975)

On November 1, 1975, a document circulated among all ministries and departments in the central government, a document which would have a major impact on the history of all Lu Xun museums, but most directly on the history of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. It consisted of a letter that Zhou Haiying had addressed to Mao Zedong on October 28, 1975, and along with it Mao's orders that he had given in response to this letter only three days later on November 1, 1975. Both the letter in full as well as Mao's concise orders were directed at and circulated among all Vice Chairmen 副主席 of the CPC (and among all political bureaus 政治局), thus among the highest political actors.[271] Having experienced the major loss of his mother's death and feeling responsible to act on her behalf, Zhou Haiying made three requests which he directed at Mao Zedong directly, opening his letter by addressing him as Chairman and "asking for [his] help 请求您的帮助" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977, 11).

It is difficult to say for sure what motivated Zhou Haiying to send this letter that year and not at an earlier date. According to his own account, his reason to finally write to Mao Zedong on this matter was a private meeting he had with Hu Qiaomu 胡喬木 (1912-1992). Hu Qiaomu had been the secretary of Mao Zedong since 1945 and later was the director of the Xinhua News Agency. He had come under attack immediately after the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution after which he had disappeared from public life until reappearing in public again for the first time in September 1974 (Bartke 1981, 116–17). Thus in 1975, just when he was starting to once again hold public offices,[272] he invited Zhou Haiying to his home on Nanchang Street 南長街 in the West District of Beijing. In his memoirs, which by no means are an unpartisan account of these past events,[273] Zhou

[271] The Vice Chairmen of the CPC 中國共產黨中央委員會副主席 in 1975 were Zhou Enlai (1973-76), Wang Hongwen (1973-76), Kang Sheng (1973-75), Ye Jianying (1973-77) and Li Desheng 李德生 (1916-2011; in office 1973-75). They were elected during the 10th National Congress of the CPC in May 1973. Beside Wang Hongwen's role as the Vice Chairmen, the other three leaders later termed the so-called Gang of Four were in 1973 members of the Politburo, namely Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan (Wang Jianying 王健英 1994, 1081).

[272] In 1975 he was a cadre in a department of the CPC Central Committee and by 1978 became president of the Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), as well as Elected Member of the Standing Committee of the 5th National People's Congress (Bartke 1981, 117).

[273] Zhou Haiying's description of the events is by no means a non-partisan account. Much of his knowledge about what had happened, he had learned in retrospect, meaning that he too did not have first-hand experience on most of the events. Furthermore his account is polemic and loaded with implicit and explicit accusations such as "I slowly realized that they were not really (*zhende*) propagating Lu Xun, learning Lu Xun, but were only acting out of their necessity to 'fight', Lu Xun was only a tool in the hands of Jiangqing and her gang. 我逐渐意识到，他们

Haiying describes his visit to Hu Qiaomu and his anger over how Lu Xun's letters and manuscripts had been treated by the political leadership in the past. Indeed it had been Hu Qiaomu who encouraged him to write a letter which he explained he would hand on to Deng Xiaoping, who again could try to hand it on to Mao Zedong (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 325). Encouraged by this suggestion, Zhou Haiying wrote a letter in which he made three requests.[274]

Firstly, he called for all of Lu Xun's correspondences to be published. In the letter, Zhou Haiying explained that his mother's death in 1968 had been caused by a heart condition. However, shortly before she died, she had experienced additional "stress 刺激", causing her condition to deteriorate. Two days before Xu Guangping passed away, she had been informed that Qi Benyu had used his authority to move over a thousand of Lu Xun's letters out of the safe of the "Old Ministry of Culture 旧文化部", as described above. This had made Xu Guangping very "angry 气愤" and she wrote a letter to Yao Wenyuan 姚文元 to report this. As this stress aggravated her condition, Xu Guangping died only two days later. Zhou Haiying described this incident to Mao Zedong in this letter seven years later, emphasizing that during all these years there had "still been no news 仍然毫无消息" on the publication of a collection of Lu Xun's letters. Zhou Haiying requested that not only should the SACH 文物局 publish and print all (*quanbu* 全部) letters[275] and

并不是在真的宣传鲁迅学习鲁迅，而仅仅出于‘斗争’的需要，鲁迅只不过是江青一伙手中的工具而已" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 323). His accusations are absolute and fully in line with official Party historiography. Yet he still feels the necessity to intervene at times to comment on the degree to which he indeed witnessed most of the events: "Of course, the knowledge of what is described above, I only gained following the gradual process of the events. 当然，上述的认识，我是随着事情的进展一步一步获得的" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 327).

[274] I was given the opportunity to view this document as it had been circulated briefly during my research in Beijing. For the reprint of the full letter, see: (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977). The first and last page of the document which circulated among the ministries is also provided in the Beijing museum history, see: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 32). Parts of this letter are referenced in Wang Dehou's speech held to commemorate Zhou Haiying after his death in 2011 (Wang Dehou 王得后 2011).

[275] In the letter, Zhou Haiying pointed out that Xu Guangping had edited and published Lu Xun's letters as early as 1946 including 855 letters. Later editions of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集, edited with the support of Zhou Yang at the Ministry of Culture, had, according to Zhou Haiying, however only included 334 letters. He thus demanded that publications of Lu Xun's letters should certainly include no less than the 855 letters. Additionally, however, Zhou Haiying was enraged since he claimed to have once seen a list which listed 1,200 letters in total, probably including the 855 previously mentioned, but also about 200 which had never been published. Zhou Haiying emphasized that he himself had never read them (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977, 11), thus he too did not have access to these materials. Even today, the total number of Lu Xun's letters is difficult to estimate. Findeisen gives a short overview over the number of letters published in the different collected works, showing that in the first *Lu Xun's Letters* 鲁迅書簡 published in 1937 it had been 69 letters, in a later edition of the same book published in 1946 a total of 800, in the 1956 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集 1,100, in *Lu Xun's Collected Letters* 鲁迅书籍 from 1979 a total of 1,381 letters and finally in the 1981 edition which Haiying called for in his letter to Mao Zedong 1,445 letters were included. But since letters have been continuously discovered, they are either donated or increasingly sold to the museums, if these can afford them. In 2013 a Lu Xun letter sold

manuscripts for researchers to work with, and that the Ministry of Publication 出版局 (estab. 1973-87) should further edit a selected collection of Lu Xun's better preserved letters "including those he had written to Japanese recipients 包括给日本人的" and publish them and thereby make them "available for a wider readership 供广大阅读者阅读" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977, 11).

To explain why all of the letters without exception should be published, Zhou took the following position: "If it is because some of the recipients of Lu Xun's letters turned into bad people (*huairen*) later on, I think this should not be an obstacle 如果认为鲁迅书信的收信人有的后来成了坏人不能出，我想这不应该成为障碍" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977, 12). To emphasize his point, he referred to the collected works of Marx and Engels. In their case all their correspondences, even those between them and individuals whom they at times had not agreed with, for example Karl Kautsky (1854-1938 from Prague) and others,[276] were nevertheless published. This was why all of Lu Xun's correspondences should be published regardless of whether these figures had developed into "bad people" or not. Thus when it came to accessibility of materials, including a vast number of his father's letters, many of which Zhou Haiying himself had never read, his approach was very liberal and he cautioned against any form of censorship or mere obstruction of access.

Secondly, Zhou Haiying called for a reediting of the commentaries to Lu Xun's works. According to Zhou Haiying, Lu Xun's letters and diary entries should serve as the basis for these commentaries and only a specialized Lu Xun research room (*yanjiushi* 研究室) should be trusted with this work. Furthermore, this work should be accompanied by a group of consultants who had known Lu Xun personally and who should join and advise the researchers in their work. Zhou

to a private collector for more than one million US dollars, for example (D. Kirsten Tatlow 2013). The number of letters included in the museums thus continuously increase. Since Lu Xun always made notes of the letters he wrote, Findeisen estimates Lu Xun to have written at least 5,000 letters, of which one fourth are now preserved (Raoul David Findeisen 2001, 684–85).

[276] Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Karl Kautsky (1854-1938) made acquaintance in 1881 in London and a close friendship between Kautsky and Engels followed. For the correspondence between Marx and Kautsky, see: (Marx 1933). Karl Kautsky would later be critical of the violent nature of the Bolshevik revolution (1917) in Russia, which he expressed in his work *Die Diktatur des Proletariats* (1918), for which Lenin would later accuse him of being a renegade (Lenin 2002). Besides Kautsky, Zhou Haiying gives an additional two examples, namely Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864), who was involved in the early German worker's movement and was a Social Democrat during the Deutsche Bund (1815-1866). His vision of socialism had, unlike Marx's international outlook, a more national-Prussian focus, as well as Eduard Bernstein 伯恩斯坦 (1950-1932), a politician of the SPD, who further distanced himself from Marx's theories of revolution, calling for a more tempered path of reform.

Haiying even suggested three men whom he regarded fitting by name: Cao Jinghua 曹靖華, Li Helin 李何林 and Yang Jiyun 楊霽雲.

Thirdly and finally, Zhou Haiying expressed his worries about Lu Xun research – especially the ways in which it was conducted in Hong Kong and abroad. Unlike with the question of accessibility of materials, Zhou Haiying was less liberal when it came to the pluralism in approaches of interpretation he could accept, expressing anger over the "capitalist" (*zibenzhuyi* 資本主義) interpretation of Lu Xun's life published abroad, which "distorted" (*waiqu* 歪曲) Lu Xun. Giving no further explanations as to what constituted such a "capitalist" interpretation, Zhou Haiying's rhetoric is clearly strongly biased and draws on key ideological terms. While in the question of access Zhou Haiying warned against bias, with regard to the interpretation of these materials he maintained a normative approach. The request that originated from this observation was that all this responsibility should be given to the Lu Xun Museum 魯迅博物館, referring to the Lu Xun Museum in Beijing. A Lu Xun Research Room 魯迅研究室 should be established *within* the museum and only scholars with an in-depth understanding of Lu Xun's work as well as a group of consultants who personally knew him should be sent to work there.

> Practically speaking, this means to return the Lu Xun Museum, which was downgraded to the Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage (ACH) in 1958, to the leadership of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), and to add a Lu Xun Research Room there, to assemble a group of people with a fundamental knowledge of Lu Xun research, and to further invite some of those old comrades who understood Lu Xun well to act as advisers. 具体地说， 就是将一九五八年下方给北京市文物局的鲁迅博物馆重新划归文物局领导，在该馆增设鲁迅研究室，调集对鲁迅研究有相当基础的必要人员，并请一些对鲁迅熟悉了解的老同志做顾问 (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977, 13).

Administratively speaking, this request asked for the museum to be reorganized and once again set under the leadership of the SACH 文物局, thus upgrading it once again to the higher administrative level. While he does not explain what he meant by this re-affiliation with the SACH, he is likely to have been well aware of the political hierarchy of state institutions, knowing that an upgrade of the institution would come with an increased range of authority. The whole letter covered approximately four pages and its wording was at times very emotional. Mao Zedong's reply to the letter was concise and straightforward: "I agree with comrade Zhou Haiying. Please print and distribute Zhou's letter among the political authorities, and discuss it once, make a decision and carry it out immediately. 我赞成周海婴同志的意见。请将周信印发政治局，并讨论一次，作

出决定，立即实行。” According to former Deputy Director of the museum Wang Dehou, the weight of this short reply cannot be overestimated. To be specific, it is indeed the reply in form of the text that must be credited with the most agency. At the time of writing these lines, Mao Zedong was already very weak and he would die not even a year later on September 9, 1976. However, his written orders were nevertheless extremely powerful in late 1975, not least because they provided an opportunity for other political leaders to present themselves as loyally realizing Mao Zedong's wishes and realizing his plans posthumously to gain legitimacy. The fact that his order was given only three days after Zhou Haiying had written his letter further enhanced the force and immediacy of Mao Zedong's reply and so did his demand that the matter should be discussed only "once" (*yici* 一次) and thereafter "immediately" (*liji* 立即) realized, leaving no room for bureaucratic inertia in realizing Zhou Haiying's demands.

In December 1975, the Lu Xun Museum was therefore re-associated as a subordinate unit to the SACH thus realizing Zhou Haiying's request [**IC 85 Upgrade Affiliation, 1975**]. In the same month, Li Helin 李何林 (1904-1988 from Houqiu/ Anhui) the department head of the Chinese Studies Department at Nankai University, became head of the research room and the museum's

IC 85 Upgrade: Affiliation of Lu Xun Museums in the PRC, 1975

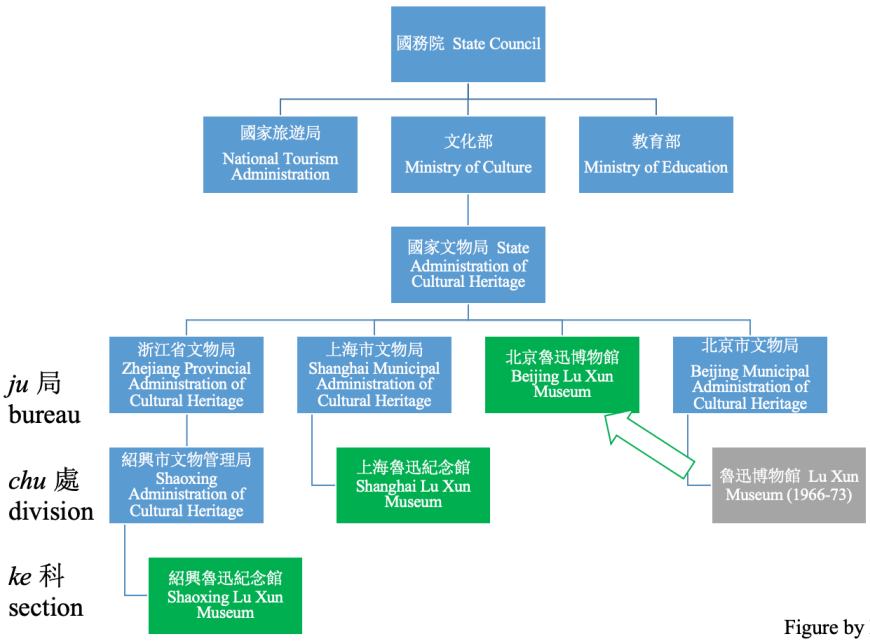


Figure by Emily Graf.

first director, as prior heads of the museum had either been Deputy Directors or party secretaries.[277] As to the first two demands on the collected works and publication of letters, a new edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* (in its 1981 edition) was ordered as a result and the Lu Xun Research Room officially established.[278]

Even though Zhou Haiying did not make any direct requests to be integrated in this realization, his emphasis on the integration of those who had known Lu Xun personally can certainly be seen as an argument made in his own favor with regard to being involved in the research and publishing process on Lu Xun's life and work. Thus it comes as little surprise that Zhou Haiying would become one of the eight consultants who would be associated with the museum and who were to advise the members of the Lu Xun Research Room. All together eight consultants[279] were invited, alongside the researchers who were transferred to the museum by the authorities. Most of the consultants were in their 60s, 70s and even early 80s, with Zhou Haiying as the youngest consultant at only 47 years of age. The consultants consisted of the following eight men:

1. Chang Hui 常惠 (1894-1985) was a consultant at the Palace Museum when he was transferred to the Lu Xun museum. He was a member of Lu Xun's Nameless Society in the 1920s after having been recommended by Lu Xun and later took Lu Xun's class when he studied at Beijing University. During this time Chang assisted Lu Xun in preparing research materials. In the early 1950s, Chang was active in the establishment of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Cao Jinghua 曹靖華 (1897-1987) was a translator and essayist and was one of the co-founders of the Nameless Society. He remained a close friend of Lu Xun and they stayed in close contact through letters, even when Cao Jinghua was abroad. During his trips to the Soviet Union, Cao Jinghua would send Lu Xun prints and postcards, and was thus also an active force in creating Lu Xun's collection of prints through his selection (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 84, 92,250).
3. Yang Jiyun 楊霽雲 (1901-1996) was an editor at the People's Literature Publishing House. In the 1930s he was in contact with Lu Xun over the publication of his collection *A*

[277] Prior to Li Helin's appointment, the museum's leader was Gong Zhuozhi 弓濯之. From 1956 to 1961 his position was the museum's General Secretary 業務秘書 and Party Secretary 黨支部秘書. From 1961 to 1975 his position was first termed the museum's Deputy Director 副館長. From 1964-1981, Yang Yu 杨宇 further acted at his side as co-Deputy Director 副館長, but no museums director was appointed prior to Li Helin. During the Cultural Revolution Liu Fangyou 劉萬有, as the Head of the Revolutionary Committee 革命委員會主任, was appointed head of the museum from August 1972 to February 1974, along with He Limin 和利民, who acted as the Deputy Head of the Committee during the same period (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 156; 125). With Li Helin, the museum was given a first full-position director.

[278] For more information on the numerous editions of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集, see: (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 2009).

[279] For short biographical introductions on the eight consultants, see: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 33–35).

Collection of Writings Previously not Included 集外集 and after Lu Xun's death he had been active in the editorial work of the 1938 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works.*

4. Sun Yong 孫用 (1902-1983) was also an editor at the People's Literature Publishing House and had also been involved in the editorial work of *Lu Xun's Collected Works.*
5. Lin Chen 林辰 (1912-2003) was on the editing and screening committee of the People's Literature Publishing House and had published on Lu Xun since the 1940s. He was involved in the editorial work of the 1938 edition of *Lu Xun Collected Works* as well, with a focus on Lu Xun's ancient Chinese books.
6. Ge Baoquan 戈寶權 (1913-200) was a scholar on foreign literature and translator, who translated Pushkin's and Gorky's works into Chinese and gave Lu Xun a *Pictorial Biography on Gogol* in the 1930s.
7. Tang Tao 唐弢 (1913-1992) had been in correspondence with Lu Xun in the thirties and was one of the key figures in the establishment of the Lu Xun Museum in Shanghai and also involved in the editorial work on *Lu Xun's Collected Works* in 1938.
   Finally, as eighth and final consultant
8. 周海嬰 Zhou Haiying (1929-2011) was included.

It is telling that all three individuals whom Zhou Haiying had suggested by name to be included among the staff were either given the position of a consultant or, in Li Helin's case, were even appointed the museum director. This shows the increased influence Zhou Haiying had gained through Mao Zedong's immediate reply in the process of making Lu Xun. All eight consultants officially joined the Research Room in 1976[280] and would set out to work on the far most comprehensive edition of Lu Xun's collected works to that date, the 1981 edition.[281]

In a purely critical approach to Lu Xun's instrumentalization in which Lu Xun was "used as a brick" by the Communist Party generally or by Mao Zedong specifically, Mao Zedong will be assumed to be a rational-actor who chose to make use of Lu Xun to achieve his own political ends. Especially his earlier references to Lu Xun's literature and life are regarded as simplifying Lu Xun's complex literary oeuvre and heritage, a critique which this chapter does not aim to dismiss. However, Mao's role in the history of the Lu Xun museum was a different and arguably opposing one. Through his written order and following it, the (re-)elevation of the museum within the institutional landscape of the PRC's administrative system, Mao Zedong enabled the first step towards an end to the (over-)simplification of Lu Xun, which had peaked during the Cultural

[280] Li Jiye 李霽野 (1904-1997) joined the Research Room later in 1984. Li Jiye had also been a member of the Nameless Society, editor of its journal *Mangyuan* 莽原 (Grasslands) and had received much support from Lu Xun in his work. Lu Xun describes Li Jiye in his article "Remembering Mr Wei Suyuan 忆韦素园君" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ab).

[281] This is in comparison to the 1938 and 1948 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* published by the Lu Xun Commemoration Committee 魯迅先生紀念委員會 or the 1973 edition published by the People's Literature Publishing House 人民文學出版社.

Revolution and in the years around his death in 1976. While Mao Zedong is mainly remembered for his political interpretation of Lu Xun's works and contribution to Lu Xun's "sacralization" in his speeches "On Lu Xun" (1938), "China's New Democracy" (1940) and "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" (1942), it was his memo to all ministries that made it possible for Lu Xun's letters to be published to a larger degree, for the museum as an institution to regain authority and eventually set the institutional tracks for what later would become known as the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun 反對神化魯迅運動. *Both* Mao Zedong and Zhou Haiying's bearing on Lu Xun's posthumous elevation were *ambivalent,* as their influence on the heritage of Lu Xun was at times restrictive and at other times it was due to their agency and impact on Lu Xun's heritage that this restriction was broken.

The establishment of the Lu Xun Research Room had newly institutionalized the field of research within the museum and a decade after its establishment the research room had already grown to encompass over 45 members (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 40). An evaluation of the work produced by this Research Room is not easily drawn. As the following section will show, especially the initial work of the Lu Xun Research Room which was produced by some of the individual consultants indeed continued to serve political purposes in political power struggles, most notably the purge of the so-called "Gang of Four". However, the debates in the research journal published by the museum beginning in 1980 would also increasingly allow for a more complex Lu Xun to emerge.

Zhou Haiying's letter to Mao Zedong and the following valorization of Lu Xun through his institutionalization *prescribed* through political orders, echoes a similar case in the history of world literary heritage, namely that of Mayakovsky. A few years after Mayakovsky had died in 1930, his wife Lilya Brik turned to Stalin. In her letter from November 24, 1935, she decried the slow process in which Mayakovksy's *Collected Works* were being published and also that the establishment of spaces for commemoration lagged behind, describing the obstacles she faced when attempting to turn Mayakovsky's former living spaces into spaces of public commemoration.[282] Lilya Brik was

[282] In the terminology, some phrases also show similarities to how Lu Xun's former residence was described. Brik, for example, described Mayakovsky's room as "simple" and "unpretentious". Furthermore the danger of buildings being torn down recall the discourses around Lu Xun's former residence on Badaowan hutong No. 11 (or also on Zhuanta hutong No. 61 磚塔胡同 61 號) being torn down, which is discussed in the section "*A Residence Forgotten*: Zhou Zuoren's Badaowan hutong" of this thesis. Brik's letter reads: "Three years ago the Worker's Council in the Proletarian District [of Moscow] commissioned me to restore Mayakovsky's last apartment to its original state and to set up a local branch library there named after Mayakovsky. After a while I discovered that the Moscow Worker's Council had refused to contribute the small sum of money required. It is a small wooden building consisting of four

asked to come to the Kremlin to meet with Nikolay Yezhov (1895-1940 from St. Petersburg/ Russian Empire), then secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Party's Control Commission.[283] He had received a letter from Stalin, in which his decision had been written in red pencil diagonally across her letter [IC 86 Stalin's Reply to Brik][284]: "Comrade Yezhov, I want to draw your attention to Brik's letter. Mayakovsky was and remains the best, most gifted poet of our Soviet epoch. Indifference to his memory and his work is a crime. Brik's complaint is, in my opinion, justified. Contact her or summon her to Moscow. [..] See to it that everything we have left undone is done. If my help is required, I am ready. Greetings! J. Stalin" (Jangfeldt and H. D. Watson 2014, 574). Stalin's praise of Mayakovsky was as absolute as Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun. Zhou Haiying's and Lilya Brik's letters to the political leaders had been successful. While Zhou Haiying's letter was mainly circulated among highest government bodies, Lilya Brik's letter had even been printed in the *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the CPSU, on December 5, 1935.[285] In the publication Stalin's praise of Mayakovsky had been toned down from the "most gifted" to "the gifted", thus Stalin's superlative was not as well known as Mao Zedong's five-fold superlative describing Lu Xun. For Mayakovsky's biographer, it was nevertheless this publication of Stalin's letter in reply to Lilya Brik that led to what the Soviet poet Boris Pasternak (1890-1960 from Moscow) described as Mayakovski's "second death", in which he was "forcibly introduced like the potato under Catherine the Great", and that his role as the Soviet Union's number one poet "demanded that his biography be remodeled according to the norms of Socialist Realism. He was no longer a living poet but a monument" (cited in Jangfeldt and H. D. Watson 2014, 576). The publication of Lilya Brik's letter in the same year as Lu Xun

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rooms (5 Gendrikov Alley). One of the rooms is Mayakovsky's. […] The room is very characteristic of Mayakovsky – simple, unpretentious, clean. The little building may be pulled down any day now. Instead of regretting this in fifty years' time and then trying to collect objects with connection to the great revolutionary poet's life and work – is it not better to put everything back in its original condition while we are still alive? […] There has been a lack of appreciation of the unique degree of interest shown in him by the Young Communists and Soviet youth in general. […] This is why nobody is bothering to collect all the material relating to Mayakovsky before it is too late. No one is thinking about preserving his memory for future generations. I am not able by myself to overcome the lack of interest and the opposition on the part of officialdom, and so after six years I am turning to you, as I see no other possible way of ensuring that Mayakovsky's enormous revolutionary legacy is taken care of. L. Brik" (Jangfeldt and H. D. Watson 2014, 572–74).

[283] Yezhov would become the most prominent represenentative of the Great Purge during his time as head of the secret police. After he too had been purged in 1940, attempts were made to remove him from photographs in which he was shown with Stalin, as described in (A. Assmann 2016, 51) and in the section "*Display*: Reintroducing Lin Yutang into the Display" of this thesis.

[284] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 086.

[285] Jangfeldt mistakenly states that the publication of Stalin's letter was on November 5. For the correct reference to December 5, in which Stalin's response was in part published in *Pravda*, see: (Mayakovsky Museum Музеий В.В. Маяко́вский 2016). I would like to thank Denis Holdeew for guiding me to these materials.

died is nevertheless unlikely to have gone fully unnoticed by cultural politicians such as Guo Moruo or Mao Dun in China, even though no direct references were made to this to my knowledge. While Zhou Haiying might not have necessarily known of this case when he addressed Mao Zedong in 1975, for those familiar with Soviet forms of politically valorizing literary heritage, Mao Zedong's absolute support of Zhou Haiying might still have seemed like a *déjà vu*. The history of world literary heritage is – as most history – a history repeating itself.

Circulation: Lu Xun's *wenwu* in Political Campaigns (1976-77)

Zhou Haiying's letter and the resulting valorization of the museum as a prominent institution gave much momentum to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in particular and has, not surprisingly, been described by its museum history as the museum achieving a "new life 新的生机" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 31). It must be acknowledged, however, that the use of Lu Xun's works and literary heritage in form of newly published manuscripts and letters for political purposes did not end with the establishment of the Lu Xun Research Room in 1976.[286] How the use of the research of this time was still set in line with political campaigns, thus indeed serving as "bricks" in "instrumentalizing" Lu Xun's literary heritage for political ends, can most vividly be seen through a reading of the journal *Revolutionary Relics* 革命文物[287] through the years from 1976 to 1977, thus before a Lu Xun museum research journal was published by the museum directly, starting in 1980.[288]

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[286] Political power struggles would also become manifest in the organization of oversea Lu Xun exhibitions and the actors involved in their realization. In October 1976, for example, a Lu Xun exhibition was organized in Sendai, Japan. This traveling exhibition became the backdrop of an incident between cultural critic Yu Qiuyu 余秋雨 (1946-) and Zhu Yongjia 朱永嘉 (1931-), both of whom attended the exhibition opening. Zhu Yongjia had appointed Yu Qiuyu to join the delegation, yet with the fall of the so-called "Gang of Four", Yu Qiuyu had been responsible for spying on (today Fu Dan University-based) Zhu Yongjia, who was arrested immediately after his return to Shanghai after the trip and was released and rehabilitated only in 1988. Zhu Yongja was a leading figure in the Writer's Small Group of the Shanghai Municipal Committee 上海市委寫作小組 which would provide materials for Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and other leading Party officials (Zhang Aijing 张爱敬 2004); (Zhu Yongjia 朱永嘉 2017). I would like to thank Sun Peidong for pointing me to these materials.

[287] I would like to thank Marc A. Matten for pointing me to these journals. The journal *Cultural Relics* 文物, or to use the Chinese term *Wenwu*, is published by the Cultural Relics Press 文物出版社 and was published without disruption throughout the Cultural Revolution, see: (CNKI 中国知网 2016). In the years 1976-1980, an additional journal named *Revolutionary Relics* 革命文物, i.e. revolutionary *wenwu*, was published by the same publishing house. The translation of "cultural relics" for the term *wenwu* is chosen in this case as it is the official English translation used by the publishing house.

[288] This journal, published by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, was established in 1980 and later renamed *Lu Xun Research Monthly* 鲁迅研究月刊. Editors include: Sun Yu 孫郁 (former Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum), Zhou Changlin 周常林 (main editor), Huang Qiaosheng 黄喬生 (current Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun

The first volume of 1976, published in April, featured an entire section which was dedicated to "Learning from Lu Xun: Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend 學習魯迅，反擊右傾翻案".[289] The section of the journal explicitly featured the name of the political campaign, a campaign which was directed against Deng Xiaoping. In the journal, researchers such as Ge Baoquan 戈寶權 and Tang Tao 唐弢, both belonging to the newly introduced consultants of the Beijing Lu Xun museum listed above, published their findings and interpreted them in a strictly Marxist framework and drawing on Mao Zedong's evaluation of Lu Xun, whereby Mao Zedong's quotes were printed in bold letters throughout the journal. The articles would deal with various topics, some of them with few obvious links to then-contemporary political issues. Among the articles were Ge Baoquan's emphasis on Lu Xun's contribution to the Sino-Japanese friendship and an interpretation of Lu Xun's foreword to the Japanese edition of his "The True Story of AQ" (Ge Baoquan 戈宝权 1976b). Tang Tao would introduce Lu Xun during his stay in Guangzhou and describe this time though a reading of Lu Xun's letter which he had directed at Masayoshi Yamagami 山上正義 (1896-1938 from Kagoshima) while he lived in Guangzhou, along with photographic material of the façade of his former residence (Tang Tao 唐弢 1976).[290] In these two cases neither directed criticism against Deng Xiaoping explicitly. It was, however, featured in this politically charged section of the journal and both concluded their articles by citing Mao Zedong's evaluation of Lu Xun.

In the second volume, published in July 1976, the political functions of the articles became more explicit. One article was written by no individual author, but by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in cooperation with a group of workers from the Beijing Automobile Industry. This article was titled a "A War Proclamation Criticizing Old Education 批判旧教育的战斗檄文" and drew on a letter by Lu Xun to a friend while he was studying abroad in Japan, in which he criticized "past capitalist education 资产阶级旧教育" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 et. al. 1976, 33). The article draws on quotations by Lenin, also printed in bold letters, emphasizing that Lu Xun's letter reveals that he believed in the fact that the educational revolution of the proletariat

Museum), Zhang Jie 張傑, Zhou Nanben 周楠本 (assistant editor) and Liu Siyuan 劉思源 (current research member at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum). In the early 1980s, Lu Xun was such a sensitive topic that according to Jenner, this journal was only accessible to a limited readership (Jenner 1982, 444).

[289] English translation of the political campaign by Jian Guo et. al., see: (Guo 2006, 54).

[290] Masayoshi Yamagami had translated Lu Xun's "True Story of AQ" into Japanese in 1931 (Zhang Jie 张杰 2001, 61).

would have to be followed to the very end, directing this criticism explicitly against Deng Xiaoping, who was considered the person within the Party who supported a "capitalist" education, negating revolutionary education and thereby the principles of Mao Zedong. Due to Deng Xiaoping's shortcomings, Mao Zedong's principles would have to be upheld until a successor for him was found. It was in these very months that the political campaign "Criticize Deng and Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend 批邓反击右倾翻案" (1975-77) was initiated by Hua Guofeng 華國鋒 (1921-2008), but previously also by Mao Zedong (Guo 2006, 54). Viewed in the context of this political campaign it is clear that Lu Xun's letters were indeed used "as bricks" by those in authority who aimed to criticize Deng Xiaoping.

In the following volume number three of 1976, which was published in August, a section was dedicated to "Remembering Lu Xun, Thoroughly Criticizing Deng Xiaoping 纪念鲁迅，深入批邓". Alongside the manuscript of Lu Xun's autobiography, and photographs of Lu Xun, which provided little direct links to the political power-struggle, a further article was published discussing Lu Xun's vernacular short story "My old Home 故乡" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005e), in which the conclusion again resulted in the critique of Deng Xiaoping's capitalist tendencies. This article was published by a representative of the Beijing Normal University in cooperation with a factory, thus not directly from the Lu Xun Museums or those affiliated with it. However, similarly, the Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum published an article in the same section with materials on Lu Xun's activities in Guangzhou, finally also concluding with a critique directed against Deng Xiaoping (The Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum 广州鲁迅纪念馆 1976) and another article by Ge Baoquan on the friendship between Lu Xun and Agnes Smedley also ends with the final conclusion formulated as an explicit criticism against Deng (Ge Baoquan 戈宝权 1976a). The findings of Lu Xun research by members of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and also by the institutions as a whole (the Beijing/ Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum) increasingly used or were required to use the results of their research to express criticism against Deng Xiaoping.

The manner in which these interpretations could be shaped to serve different struggles, directing their criticism from one to another within months, can best be seen by the shift that occurred in the following volume. For in volume four of 1976 published in October, thus shortly after the death of Mao Zedong in September, a new section was introduced titled "Learning from Lu Xun, Criticizing the Anti-Party Gang of Four 学习鲁迅，批判四人帮的反党集团". The political tables had turned, and the so-called "Gang of Four" had come to a downfall. One article

in which the author was not specified, published among other letters a letter Lu Xun had written to Wang Yeqiu (n.a. 1976). In the letter, which Lu Xun wrote to Wang Yeqiu in 1936 amidst the debate of the "Two Slogans" of literature, Lu Xun had distanced himself from the "National Defense Literature 國防文學"-slogan which was meant to emphasize the resistance against Japanese aggression in World War II propagated by Zhou Yang 周揚 and, as this article claims, allegedly also by Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋, one of the members of the so-called "Gang of Four". The publication of the letter thus served the purpose of revealing that Zhang Chunqiao had been at odds with Lu Xun in the two-slogans debate, and thereby attacking his political integrity, which was extended to Wang Hongwen 王洪文, Jiang Qing 江青 and Yao Wenyuan 姚文元. The following volumes, which cannot be further discussed in detail in this chapter, feature similar articles, with the Fourth Volume of 1977 published in August also featuring an essay published by the Lu Xun Research Room on seven letters Lu Xun wrote to Mao Dun which too were used to criticize the "Gang of Four"(The Lu Xun Research Room 鲁迅研究室 1977). Thus the research of the newly established Lu Xun Research Room can certainly be argued to have continued to serve political functions in its early years. However, it also enabled materials, both textual and visual, to be published on Lu Xun which had little straightforward political application.

How this "instrumentalization" effected the readers of this journal, or how the use of Lu Xun's image in political campaigns effected the general readership of Lu Xun's works is not easily traced. In a talk given in April 2016 at Zhengzhi University in Taiwan, Lu Xun researcher Qian Liqun 錢理群 discussed his view on Mao Zedong's perception of Lu Xun and vice versa (Qian Liqun 钱理群 2016). He also touched on the Lu Xun reception during the Cultural Revolution. Qian belongs to one of the major critical scholars in Lu Xun research publishing in China.[291] In his talk he spoke of the Cultural Revolution in which Lu Xun "had been completely distorted 完全地歪曲了". According to Qian Liqun, Lu Xun, once more was turned into a "brick to knock on doors 成了敲门砖", implicitly drawing on Lu Xun's essay on "Confucius in Modern China 在现在中国的孔夫子" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ad), cited at the beginning of this section. His view was that the

[291] Qian Liqun was a long-time professor at Beijing University and published on the Lu Xun reception in China from 1936-2001 in 2004, see: (Qian Liqun 钱理群 2004). Not only Qian's work on Zhou Zuoren, which he published during the 1990s, but also his outreach to lay audiences (especially middle-school students) in the context of his enthusiasm for the critical writings of Lu Xun along with his straightforward addressing of politically sensitive issues revolving Lu Xun which he discusses in his essay collection *Refusing to Forget* 拒绝遗忘 (Qian Liqun 钱理群 1999), make him one of the most well-known representatives of the "critical-approach" to Lu Xun in China.

young readers of the time would "misread Lu Xun 误读鲁迅", and only later would "independently receive Lu Xun 独立地接受鲁迅" (Qian Liqun 钱理群 2016). In the early years of the Cultural Revolution, students would be sent to the countryside to understand the life of the farmers, an experience which was considered crucial to fully understand the fictional figures Lu Xun had created in his work. While Qian Liqun describes this method critically, he stresses that his own personal experiences during this time were also very positive, as he first came into contact with Lu Xun's work in this way. Reading Lu Xun outside of the classroom was, according to Qian Liqun, a very different feeling compared to reading his works inside it. At the time the young people read him with "their eyes brimming with tears 热泪盈眶" and it was in those times that "we felt closely linked to Lu Xun 感到鲁迅和我们息息相关" (Qian Liqun 钱理群 2016).

If one recalls Lu Xun's emphasis on the fact that in modern times the common people, the "ignorant mob" had no feelings for Confucius, the readership of Lu Xun during the Cultural Revolution could – according to Qian's recollections – not be said to have had no feelings for Lu Xun. Quite the contrary was the case: Lu Xun had become a sage outside of the system of official examinations, a sage who was not regarded to only be used by "those in authority". But in Qian Liqun's case, doubts about his own reception of Lu Xun already occurred at the height of an earlier political campaign. After the Lin Biao incident in 1971, doubts emerged among the readership and it was within this time that "everyone 大家" would use skepticism to slowly "cast off the Party's Lu Xun 摆脱了党的鲁迅", as Qian Liqun describes it (Qian Liqun 钱理群 2016). As the propaganda posters from this time show [IC 87 Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius Poster 1973/74, 1, 2],[292] not only Lu Xun's texts, but also Lu Xun's image was used in the political campaign titled "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" in 1974, even prior to the publication of the journal *Revolutionary Relics* 革命文物. While the readership of the journal certainly did not reach a readership or audience as vast as these posters, Qian Liqun's personal memory can be seen as an indication that by 1976 when the articles by the museum were published in *Revolutionary Relics* 革命文物, the readership was likely to have already begun questioning the political claims these articles made with the help of Lu Xun's material literary heritage.

[292] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 087.

Structure: The Research Room: From Maojiawan to Fuchengmen (1975-79)

As one of the major requests of Zhou Haiying, a research room was to be established as part of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. Taking into consideration the fact that the Lu Xun Research Room was approved by Mao Zedong directly in late 1975, it was an institution whose members could be selected at surprising speed, and part of their work was directly published, for example in *Revolutionary Relics* as discussed above. For the institution to materialize, however, it required a space in which researchers and the chosen eight consultants were to work together and edit the newly collected works on Lu Xun, including his letters. As the Beijing Lu Xun Museum consisted of (1) the Lu Xun former residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21, (2) the main exhibition building which had been built in 1956, and (3) a separate building consisting of the offices of the museum staff and the collection of the museum in its storage rooms, there was not enough space to house a Lu Xun Research Room. An additional building needed to be built and this was time-consuming. A temporary solution had to be found. From a historical perspective, however, the solution that was found resulted in a spatially ironic twist in the history of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. Wang Dehou, who would later become the Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum from 1984-1992 had been associated with the museum since 1956, when he was still at the Chinese Department at Beijing Normal University. He too was among those who were transferred to the Research Room in its first year in 1976 as a researcher. Wang explained that in the first year at the Lu Xun Research Room he had not yet been formally transferred to the museum. He emphasized the centralized manner in which jobs were distributed (*tongyi fenpei* 統一分配) before the Reform and Opening Period and that this process would also only occur gradually. He did not have the choice to work at the Lu Xun Museum by applying at the institution, but the universities would give the graduates' information to the "student board of workers 學生工部" and let this board decide which work unit would be best suited for the respective graduate, sending him or her to the respective unit hereafter (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:29:00). Concerning the establishment of the Research Room, Wang recalled:

> [The museum] wanted a Lu Xun Research Room, but there was no building within the [Lu Xun Museum]. So it rented a building, on Xichenggen. This place is very interesting, you might not know or have not been there, its full name is Xihuangchenggen – No.2, I think, I might have forgotten – this place is very interesting because it is right across from Maojiawan. This Maojiawan No. 1 became very famous during the Cultural Revolution. Why? Because Li Biao used to live in Maojiawan, so it was extremely well-known. 它要建

立研究室，但是這個魯迅博物館裡面沒有房子. 它借了房子，在西城根，這個地方很有意思，你可能不知道，你沒去過，他的名字是西皇城根，二號吧，我可能也忘了，這個地方很有意思，它的對面就是毛家灣，這毛家灣在文革大革命的時候，毛家灣一號就是大出名，為什麼？林彪住在毛家灣，所以非常有名.

(interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:29:10)

Wang Dehou described this chuckling, most likely at the irony of the situation. Lin Biao (1907-1971 from Huanggang/ Hubei) had successfully held the Manchuria campaign against Chiang Kai-shek in the Civil War and had been named defense minister in 1959. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao was a central figure in building the personality cult of Mao Zedong and continued to gain power until 1969. His political career went downhill after a fall-out with Mao Zedong in August and September 1970 at Lushan 廬山. In the campaign that was launched hereafter to criticize Lin Biao, in which he became a target alongside Confucius in the infamous "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius 批林批孔" Campaign in August 1973, Lu Xun was frequently depicted in propaganda posters [return to IC 87 Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius Poster 1973/74, 1, 2].

When taking a closer look at the posters, the example with the orange background features three young Chinese figures in the foreground. On the right side, a young man of the Red Army, wearing a uniform and hat with a red star, is holding a rifle in his left hand and papers titled "Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius 批林批孔" in his right. The young man next to him is a steel worker, wearing a construction hat with safety goggles attached to its shield, holding a poster in his left and a writing brush in this right hand. A young girl, with a straw hat hanging around her neck, represents the youth which was sent to the countryside to experience the life of the farmers and is standing next to him, grasping a document titled "speech excerpts of Lu Xun's way of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius 鲁迅批林批孔之道的言论摘录", holding it close to her chest. Their faces shine orange implying the rising sun which they are facing and looking at decidedly, fierce-browed. The three figures are surrounded by a white outline and above them facing the same direction and towering over the three in larger-than-life size is Lu Xun, who with his equally decided and fierce expression seems to lead the three figures representing the educated youth, workers and the Red Guards into the direction of the rising sun, a symbol of Mao Zedong. The caption below the poster reads "study Lu Xun's revolutionary spirit, be the pathbreaker in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius 学习鲁迅的革命精神，做批林批孔的闯将". Similarly, in another poster with a red background, a woman dressed in a blue worker's uniform with her hair

in a hairnet, has taken off her white, thick work glove and is writing with her free hand on a large poster with a writing brush, energetically, with her arm fully outstretched. Again Lu Xun is in the background also holding his writing brush, with his hand placed next to hers, conveying that it is Lu Xun's writing which this female worker is following. In their overall composition, both posters follow a parallel structure, with Lu Xun towering over representatives of the people, directing them into the right direction. Also in the background, a few lines from Lu Xun's 1935 essay on "Confucius in Modern China 在现在中国的孔夫子" read: "No other people in the world know Confucius as well as the so-called ignorant mob in China 能像中国的愚民那样懂得孔夫子的，恐怕世界上是再也没有的了" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ad, 329). It is this paradox – of knowing him, but not being respected by him – against which the youth were incited to rebel against, spurring them on by referring to the common people, with whom the educated youth were meant to unite, in the Confucian terminology as the "ignorant mob" (*yumin* 愚民). When recalling the opening of this chapter, Lu Xun exclaimed: "Not to approach this sage who is unapproachable is only natural 不去亲近那毫不亲密的圣人，正是当然的事" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ad, 329). This essay fit well to present Lu Xun as a critic of Confucius and this was extended to contemporary political enemies such as Lin Biao in this campaign. Lin Biao, who had only become a prominent figure after Lu Xun's death, was simply clustered together with Confucius and became one of the "whatever ferocious enemies 无论什么凶恶的敌人" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 148) against which Lu Xun's words were used as a weapon, when these posters were printed in 1974. The fact that the Lu Xun Research Room, when it was established in 1976, was originally located next to Lin Biao's former living spaces on Maojiawan was, according to Wang, an "interesting" fact, since even today Maojiawan is well known as the former residence of Lin Biao and closely associated with the "Lin Biao Incident" (Li Hao 李洁 2000, 107). In the above mentioned power struggles over Mao Zedong's succession, Maojiawan also formed a point on the spatial map of the capital's power constellation, with Maojiawan as the residence of Lin Biao and his wife Ye Qun 葉群 (1917-1971 Minhou/ Fujian) in the West District of the city center. Their residence was understood as the spatial counterpart to the other political center at the Diaoyutai Guest House complex where Jiang Qing and Mao Zedong resided and the headquarters of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan were located in Haidian District, northwest of the city center (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, 299). In reply to whether Maojiawan still exists, Wang explained:

> It was all torn down, because of Lin Biao. If he had not defected, then a Li Biao former residence would have been preserved, but because he defected and turned into – how to say – a criminal, so it was not at all maintained, but it was torn down. Now there are many [new] buildings there. […] Later, the unit [Beijing Lu Xun Museum] demanded a building and the property was expanded. 全拆下呢，因為林彪，如果林彪不叛逃，那就會保留住林彪故居，因為他叛逃,作為一個，怎麼說，罪犯嘛。所以根本不保留，把它拆掉，現在改了很多房子. [⋯] 後來單位要有房子，就把這個擴大了 (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:30:29).

The application of this expansion of the Beijing Lu Xun museum is kept in the museum's archive [IC 88 Establishment of Lu Xun Research Room][293] and it shows that the permit to establish a research room on the museum grounds was only issued on April 30, 1978, thus two years after the researchers and consultants had already begun their work on Xiguangchenggen beijie No.2 西黃城根北街 2 號 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 159), a building provisionally rented for this purpose. With the expansion of the Lu Xun museum, the Lu Xun former residence was also spatially incorporated into the museum grounds. Prior to 1978, the Lu Xun former residence had been outside of the museum grounds and surrounded by the architectural network of one-story *hutong* buildings. With the expansion, these old hutong buildings were torn down and Xisantiao hutong, which translates as West-Third-Lane, actually ceased to exist as a lane (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:35:02). The former courtyard house (*siheyuan*) was hereby isolated from other buildings and became part of the museum grounds next to the large exhibition hall, the administrative building and the newly built research building. Read as a symbol of how and through which means the museum valorized and controlled the image of Lu Xun in Chinese society, the second birth of the Lu Xun museum had gained a research institution with researchers who were consulted by a group of eight figures, most of whom had known Lu Xun personally, thus "consecrating" the Lu Xun research room with an implied authority through a biographical closeness of the actors to the historical person Lu Xun. Furthermore, the museum had incorporated, or arguably even spatially swallowed the former residence of Lu Xun by removing it

[293] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 088. The official "permit for the usage of the grounds to construct a building 建筑用地许可证" for the Lu Xun Museum (also stating the SACH 文物局 as its "structure of affiliation 所属系统") was issued on April 30, 1978 by the "Beijing Municipal Urban Planning Committee 北京市城市规划管理局". The whole premise was to cover 1,525 m². As for the use of the grounds, the document reads "to newly establish a Lu Xun Research Room and expand the Lu Xun Museum 为了新[建]鲁迅研究室和扩建鲁迅博物馆". Hereby 212 m² which had become the property of the Lu Xun museum in 1955, but which had not been used by the museum and instead used by civil accommodations were reclaimed and the residents resettled. I would like to thank Huang Qiaosheng for providing me with this document.

from its "original" surrounding within a close network of hutong streets and instead integrating it into the spacious museums grounds. While the museum had the authority over the display within the former residence since its opening in 1950, it gained complete authority over the building through this expansion, after having lost control over it in the years of the Cultural Revolution when it had been sealed off and even to a minor degree attacked by the Red Guards.

Concerning the change in the leadership of the museum with the expansion, Wang Dehou explained, that this again had to do with the administrative ranking (xingzheng *jibie* 行政級別). For Wang Yeqiu was a Director General (*juzhang* 局長) of a bureau, namely the SACH. This title "has nothing to do with your work level or work abilities 跟工作能力，工作水平都沒有關係的", but is simply a title Wang stated. "With the expansion of the museum, he no longer could be the head of the museum, despite the fact that the museum was subordinate to his unit 要擴建的時候，他不能做主，雖然魯迅博物館是他屬下的單位." Wang Dehou explained that a new director would be required and that for this the museum needed to "ask for instructions from the level above, so that from this [superior] body the leaders would one after the other come and inspect, because an inspection was also a form of expressing respect. For normal [trivial] things they do not come. 他必須請示上級，上體的頭頭這個領導人要來視察，視察就表示重視了，一般的事他不會來". Instead of Wang Yeqiu, Li Helin was brought in as the museum director. He was known among the museum researchers as "very strict and kept [the researchers] on a short leash 他抓得非常緊，不讓大家有什麼疏忽的" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:39:02). Thus "inspections" which in one sense mean control and censorship were within the cultural network of institutions in China also understood as a form of respect and valorization. To maintain this hierarchical structure of power and valorization required a new museum director in order to reestablish the museum, someone who occupied the full position of a museum director, both independent from the SACH but still occupying a clear position in the network of control and valorization in the hierarchy of cultural institutions in China.

Apart from the museum leadership level, the second birth of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum also brought great change to the role Lu Xun's descendants played in the museum. To include Zhou Haiying as a consultant was a symbol of respect for Lu Xun's descendants. As museum researcher Ye Shusui described, Xu Guangping was not treated with much respect from the museum leadership when she arrived in Beijing in the earlier years of the Lu Xun Museum in the 1950s and 1960s. Ye Shusui recalled:

> At the time, when Xu Guangping came, it was the situation of when our museum had only just been established, and Xu Guangping was a non-Party-member (*minzhu renshi*) and our leader was an old revolutionary (*lao geming*). He would not be very welcoming to these non-Party-members. Often, when Xu Guangping came, it was me, and us museum workers, who accompanied her. He did not come out much, for he, the earliest director Gong Zhuozhi 弓濯之 (1910-1994 from Anping/ Hebei; Deputy Director 1956-75),[294] he was the Deputy Director, at that time there was no museum director. […] He would not really receive her. Actually this is very important, at the time I thought, you run a Lu Xun museum, you should be very kind and welcoming to the Lu Xun family, you should be inquiring about many things, you could learn from her and learn what you should be doing, or things that you should consult with her about. But our former [Deputy-] Director, he just put on the airs of an old revolutionary and did not come out much, so it was mostly us who received Xu Guangping. […] He would do politics and be in charge of management and administration, he did not understand Lu Xun much, but he also was not warm towards Lu Xun's family. 當時，許廣平先生來的時候，我們館，剛剛建的形勢，許廣平就等於是一個民主人士，我們的領導等於是一個老革命，他對這些民主人士當時就是，不是那麼很親切的，經常許廣平來都是我，我們這些工作人員去接待的，他幾乎是不出來，因為他，最早的館長，弓濯之(1956-75)，最早的副館長，那時候還沒有館長，[…] 他不太接待她，其實很重要，當時我就覺得，你搞魯迅博物館，對魯迅的家屬，應該是非常親近，應該很多事情從她那兒，你可能知道很多事情，需要做的，或者需要向她請教的，但是我們這位老館長，就比較，擺著老革命的姿勢，經常不出來，所以就是我們這些人去接待許廣平。[…] 他就是等於搞政治的，搞管理行政領導，他基本不懂魯迅，但是他也對魯迅的親人不怎麼熱情 (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 08:30).

Thus not being a member of the CPC had a strong effect on Xu Guangping's power over Lu Xun's estate. Since she had renounced Zhou Haiying's inheritance rights and ceded her legal ownership over Lu Xun's estate to the state, she had lost her material power over Lu Xun on a practical level. Furthermore, since she was not a Party member, she was not granted symbolical power in form of adequate representation and reception at the museum by the museum leadership. Thus the further the time of her donation moved into the past, the weaker this act of gift-giving became, as it moved further and further into the distance. But Xu Guangping's death had, in a similar way that Zhu An's death before the official birth of the Lu Xun Museum, shone a spotlight on the precarity of Lu Xun's literary estate. One could go as far as to argue that it was indeed Xu Guangping's death that had given Zhou Haiying's letter the urgency that enabled it to reach the highest level of authorities; that it was her powerlessness, that lead to a reactive increase of Zhou Haiying's power through

[294] Gong Zhuozhi first served as Party Branch Secretary 黨支部書記 at the museum in 1956 and then as Deputy Director from 1961-1975. He had previously worked as the head of the Propaganda Department at his home county Anping, see: (Chinese Red Tourism 中红网 2016).

receiving support from the highest political order. With this in mind, Mao's orders agreeing to every request Zhou Haiying had brought before him, played a crucial role in the authority and position of Lu Xun's family in managing the literary heritage of Lu Xun. During the Cultural Revolution, the museum had been rendered powerless and was not respected by the political and cultural (power)-structure of that time. Concerning the re-empowerment of the museum in 1975, Wang explained:

> In China there is an important key, a secret key, and that is Mao Zedong's standing. Because Mao Zedong had given the [written] order, the architecture was expanded and the central authorities were very respectful, and once the central authorities were respectful, then these ministers would not dare take it lightly, neglect or slight [the museum]. They would not position someone carelessly. At that time, one word by Mao Zedong carried the weight of nine ding-vessels. 在中國有一個鑰匙，一個密鑰，就是毛澤東的地位. [⋯] 因為毛澤東批的，建築擴大魯迅博物館，黨中央非常重視，中央一重視，這些部長們就不敢輕易的、疏忽、怠慢, 不敢亂座位. 那個時候毛澤東是一言九鼎 (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 00:35:02).

Mao Zedong's written orders had not only catapulted the Lu Xun museum back up within the institutional network of the PRC, his direct orders were an antidote against any form of bureaucratic inertia and neglect as it earned the museum respect among the highest ministers of the PRC. Wang added that this was "one side of the autocratic system 專職的一面". Even though by the time of the establishment of the Lu Xun Research Room, Mao Zedong had already passed away, his orders still carried weight.

It would be going too far to say that the establishment of the new Research Room did not occur completely without setbacks in the planning. For the expansion of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum also coincided with the expansion of the Beijing Library, which would later become the National Library the late 1990s.[295] Originally titled the Metropolitan Library 北京市圖書館, this library was established at Guanghua Temple 廣化寺 in Beijing in September 1909 and had opened to the public in 1912. Lu Xun himself was one of the prominent figures working in the institution after he had come to Beijing and worked at the Ministry of Education, working alongside with other famous intellectuals such as Liang Qichao and Cai Yuanpei (Li Zhizhong 李致忠 2009, 12). The library and its collection was relocated and renamed various times, before it was named the

[295] The renaming of the library as the National Library in 1998 coincides with the new emphasis of the Lu Xun museums as Sites for Patriotic Education discussed in "Nationalizing Lu Xun: The Chinese National Lu Xun (1990s-2000s)" in this thesis, a change towards a new nationalism which came to sweep over cultural institutions in China in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Beijing Library 北京圖書館 in 1949 after the establishment of the PRC. In 1975 near the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Beijing Library was also to be reopened and expanded, an endeavor for which Zhou Enlai expressed his support (Wang Han 王菡 1998). In March 1975 the construction of the buildings for the library started beside the Cizhu Park 紫竹院. In the years from 1975-79 the new architecture was erected (Wang Han 王菡 1998, 5). It took, however, over a decade for the library's collection to be set up before the building was opened to the public in 1987. The fact that the expansion of the Lu Xun museum and the Beijing Library coincided does not become immediately apparent when referring to the years of their opening. Drawing a connection between the time of their constructions, however, reveals that the museum's "expansion" was meant to happen at the same time as that of the Beijing Library and that due to their direct and indirect affiliation with the Ministry of Culture, these large construction projects would also be competing for financial support by the ministry.

Originally, in addition to the new Research Room, a new exhibition building had also been conceptualized for the Beijing Lu Xun Museum after Mao Zedong's orders to have the Lu Xun museum upgraded. But it is likely that the new building of the Beijing Library and the research room for the Lu Xun museum was in combination too much of a financial burden on the finances of the Ministry of Culture and the SACH. Instead, after the library was given higher priority, the constructions on the new exhibition building for the Lu Xun Museum were delayed and also the Research Room downsized (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 35:02). The project of establishing a library of national importance had priority over the museum, so the Beijing Lu Xun museum would only have a new exhibition hall erected in 1996 and the establishment of the Research Room also was slightly delayed and only realized in 1979, after the construction of the Beijing Library at Cizhu Park had been realized (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 35:10). But while the "upgrading" of the Lu Xun museums was limited with regard to the construction of new buildings, the late 1970s nevertheless saw a new flourishing in exhibition spaces and establishment of Lu Xun Museums in this time.

For this second birth of the Beijing Lu Xun museum also had an effect on the other Lu Xun sites across the country. In December 1975, the Shanghai Lu Xun museum's exhibition hall was reopened. It had not been closed continuously for the last ten years – especially during the "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" campaign in the year 1974 the amount of visitors was even hard to keep under control – but in December 1975 the museum officially reopened. However, this does not

mean that the exhibition space was hereby depoliticized. In November 1976, the museum reports to have added materials in the exhibition to "expose 揭批" the "Gang of Four 四人帮", thus further fulfilling its political function also after Mao's death. However, in other regards, the museum also regained certain powers. With regard to historical accuracy, in October 1977, the changes that had been made in the former residence on Dalu xincun No. 9 during the Cultural Revolution in 1969 were reversed, whereby the museum history does not give details on the changes, but simply states that its "original appearance was restored 恢复原貌" (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 52), implying the return of Qu Qiubai's desk and the removal of Mao Zedong's quotations on the first floor, and stating explicitly that the third floor of the building was also reopened (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 52). Lu Xun's former residence was opened in the days around the death anniversary of Lu Xun, as it had been in the years before, but only for a limited number of days (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 52). Concerning the museum's collection, the Grade One valuable artifacts were also returned to the museum in January 1977, and the museum sent a report on the Grade One artifacts to the Shanghai Municipal ACH (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 52). On July 1978, the museum was finally fully reopened to the public. In January 1979, the museum further received the permit to establish a museum research journal on Lu Xun and as did the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in 1980, and the Shanghai museum's collection in its entirety returned to the museum from its storage in Anhui by April 1979 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 55).

Alongside the regained power in the Beijing and also Shanghai Lu Xun museums, new Lu Xun memorial museums were established and enlarged in the other cities Lu Xun had resided in.[296] While a small-scale memorial room (*jinianshi* 紀念室) had been established in Xiamen University as early as in 1952, the site officially became a memorial museum (*jinianguan* 紀念館) in September 1979 with additional exhibition rooms (Su Yongyan 蘇永延 2014).[297] In an important valorizing practice, Guo Moruo (and in another version Song Qingling) had written the characters for the sign of the museum's entry in 1956, when the main museum buildings had been built in Beijing and Shanghai for the 20th anniversary of Lu Xun's passing. For the renewed upgrade in 1979, the sign was kept, but the character from room (*shi* 室) was replaced with the character for

[296] Only the museum in Guangzhou, which had been established in 1957 (Zhang Jingzhi 张竟执 1982, 3), does not seem to have experienced any expansion or upgrade during the late 1970s.

[297] I would like to thank Su Yongyan and Ge Tao for providing me with his written accounts of the history of Xiamen Lu Xun museum.

hall/museum (*guan* 館), simply borrowing from Guo Moruo's writing (i.e. drawing on previous manuscripts as he had passed away a year earlier). Apart from the additional exhibition space the renaming of the museum was a symbolical valorization. In Nanjing, on the former grounds of the Jiangnan Naval Academy, a middle school had been established and affiliated with Nanjing University in 1949. On the school grounds, a Lu Xun Memorial Room (*jinianshi*) was established in one of the school buildings in 1979 as well. The sign of the research room was written by Lu Xun's youngest brother Zhou Jianren in 1980, another indicator that Lu Xun's family had gained a voice in the presentation of Lu Xun in museum space after the second birth of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in 1975 (interview with teacher at the Middle School Affiliated to Nanjing Normal University, 2015, March 12, 00:12:00). Later in its institutional history, when the Lu Xun memorial room in Nanjing was turned into a Lu Xun memorial museum (*jinianguan*) in 2006, the sign was redesigned and the last character was also replaced by a replication of Zhou Jianren's handwriting, as he had passed away in 1984 (interview with teacher at the Middle School Affiliated to Nanjing Normal University, 2015, March 12, 00:12:00), thus using the same method which had been applied in Xiamen with Guo Moruo's handwriting in 1979.

In the case of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, its name also changed in the late 1970s. Unlike the other memorial museums, the Beijing museum is the only museum that up to this day is termed museum (*bowuguan* 博物館) and not memorial museum (*jinianguan* 紀念館), a difference which is understood possibly in function, but mainly in scale. The name and the seal were successfully applied for at the SACH in September 1956 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 15). In the late 1970s, the museum was renamed the "Beijing Lu Xun Museum", a change of name which apparently was a change that had resulted from a misunderstanding (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 53:58). Prior to 1979, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum was merely termed "The Lu Xun Museum 魯迅博物館". In late 1979, a new sign was supposed to be produced for the main entry of the Lu Xun Museum and in 1980 the inscription of this sign was taken over by no one other than Ye Jianying 葉劍英 (1897-1983 from Meizhou/ Guangdong), who wrote the inscription on March 3, 1980 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 161). Ye Jianying was a military commander whose influence had decreased during Lin Biao's rise to power, but who had regained influence after Lin Biao's fall and was appointed Defense Minister in 1975, officially taking over Lin Biao's post and later acting as a leading figure in the internal power struggle which led to the downfall of the "Gang of Four" in the years after Mao Zedong's death. Wang Dehou

recalled that the renaming of the "Lu Xun Museum" into the "Beijing Lu Xun Museum" had not been an intentional decision, but Ye Jianying had added the characters Beijing when writing the inscription onto the wood, possibly because the wooden board was relatively long. Hereafter, the name "Beijing Lu Xun Museum" was gradually adopted in official documents also (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 53:58) and due to the increase of Lu Xun museums, now including six memorial museums and rooms across the country, including Shanghai, Shaoxing, Guangzhou, Xiamen and Nanjing, this specification might have also had its benefits hereafter.

To conclude, the early 1950s and the late 1970s saw Lu Xun memorial sites, rooms and museums being established across China and their establishments, inaugurations and processes of dis-empowerment and re-empowerment followed similar paths. Their association in the institutional network of cultural institutions in China was closely linked with the biographies and public offices of those who had been involved in the processes of their establishment. On the one hand, the bureaucratic structures in which the institutions were introduced allowed a control over and valorization of Lu Xun's literary heritage, whereby some actors enhanced the restrictive or valorizing function of these structures at different times (Mao Zedong/ Zhou Haiying). Naming rituals by leading personalities from the political realm as well as family (Zhou Enlai in Shanghai, Guo Moruo in Beijing and Xiamen, Zhou Jianren in Nanjing) [**IC 89 Naming the Lu Xun Museums: A Bildakt**] leave traces of this symbolical and partially political power which they held during different times over Lu Xun's heritage.

IC 89 Naming the Lu Xun museums: A Bildakt



1. Zhou Enlai, 1950.



2. Guo Moruo, 1950.



3. Guo Moruo, 1952.



4. Mao Zedong, 1956.



5. Zhou Jianren, 1980.



6. Ye Jianying, 1980.

1. Zhou Enlai naming the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, 1950, source: Photographed December 18, 2013.
2. Guo Moruo naming Lu Xun's Former Residence at Xisantiao hutong No.21 in Beijing, 1950; source: Photographed February 19, 2013.
3. Guo Moruo naming the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum 1952/1979; source: Photographed March 10, 2015.
4. Mao Zedong naming Lu Xun's tomb, 1956; source: Photographed March 13, 2015.
5. Zhou Jianren naming the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum, 1980; source: Photographed March 12, 2015.
6. Ye Jianying naming the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, 1980; source: Photographed February 19, 2013.

New Approaches? (1980-2000s) History's Cul-de-Sac and the Rejection of Sagehood

Sun: To sacralize Lu Xun was when, in Mao Zedong's times, Lu Xun was turned into a god, so Lu Xun's words all were correct (*zhengque*). But in all kinds of political campaigns, people took Lu Xun's words to prove the correctness of any specific movement, mh, for example took Lu Xun's study and turned it into a room in which Lu Xun had secretly studied works on Marxist thought. It was so exaggerated. […] In the Cultural Revolution, people turned Mao Zedong into a god, so they also turned Lu Xun into a god. For Lu Xun research this meant that it was not a kind of academic research, instead it was like researching a religion, researching a god, but in the 80s, 90s with the liberation movement, people started to reject this kind of research – instead a new, an academic research language appeared.

孫：神化魯迅就是在毛澤東的時代把魯迅當成一個神，就魯迅所有的話都是正確的，但是在各種各樣的政治運動裡邊，人們都拿著魯迅的話來印證這個運動的正確性，恩把魯迅的一個書房，變成一個魯迅偷偷地學習馬克思主義著作的房間，就誇大了，恩。[…]文革的時候，人民把毛澤東當成神，同時把魯迅也當成神，那麼這樣的話對魯迅的研究呢它就不是一個學術性的研究，像研究宗教一樣，研究神一樣，那麼八九十年代像解放運動的時候人們開始反對這樣的研究，就出現了一種新的這種學術研究的話語 (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:42:07).

International Redirection and Professionalization

In a recent biography of Russian writer Vladimir Mayakovsky, his institutionalization in museum space with the support of Joseph Stalin is described as his "second" death. This is, however, not the end of his "life story". Mayakovsky's "third" death arrived with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Readers are described as despising him after having been force-fed his poems for many years. Mayakovsky was only remembered for his praise of Lenin and the Revolution and not for his other writings, for example his love poems. After his texts were removed from the school curricular by the Ministry of Education after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, he also gradually vanished from the shelves of bookshops. "Mayakovsky fell with the Soviet Union, "heavily, as monuments do in revolutions" (Jangfeldt and H. D. Watson 2014, 577). The question of what were to happen to Lu Xun if the Communist Party lost its structural and ideological authority over (literary) history in China appears. Would Lu Xun fall as did Mayakovsky? Would he, like Gorky, become an "unread Red"? (Gallagher, August 18, 1993) Or would his monument keep standing as Brecht's did after the dissolution of the GDR, standing firmly both in Berlin and Augsburg yet coming to stand for a very different kind of literary hero?

These of course are hypothetical questions. Unlike in Russia, the Communist Party of China remained in control throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, wielding its authority with force if necessary, which the Tian'anmen Incident on July 4, 1986 showed. The facts that the CPC has remained in power and Lu Xun largely included in the textbooks constituting the nationwide standardized school curriculum up to this present day are surely two reasons why Lu Xun did not

fall heavily like a monument. His timely death before the CPC gained power another, as it made him less susceptible to accusations of self-benefit unlike Brecht who lived and wrote in the GDR in his later years. Yet neither of these reasons can guarantee that the museums dedicated to him would continue to draw visitors, would remain spaces in which this literary hero would indeed be valorized. It had become apparent to the museums that new approaches to Lu Xun's literary heritage were required, Lu Xun's museums could not present Lu Xun in the same manner as they had in the 1950s. This part is thus dedicated to the continuities and changes that occurred with regard to the museum's newly acquired institutional power after 1975. As the above has shown, in the years from 1975-1979, the museum, and especially its Research Room, catered to the ongoing power struggles concerning Mao Zedong's succession. The museum certainly had remained a political actor, arguably even stronger so than it had been in the past. Yet after this struggle had come to an end in 1981 with the trial against the so-called "Gang of Four" and the agreed upon 1981 Party Resolution, the museums attempted new approaches to Lu Xun in order to keep his charisma shining. Of the new activities that the museums encouraged, only a few should be mentioned here, to show two general trends, its professionalization and international reorientation.

The Beijing Lu Xun Museum regained in importance, both nationally and internationally. In October 1980, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum relocated the research room so that it would be integrated into its museum premises, thus the museum featured a research room as an integral part of its institution. Among those who moved to the museum premises in 1980 was Wang Dehou, who was then in his mid-40s. The journal titled *Lu Xun Research Trends* 鲁迅研究动态 was established as an internal monthly journal (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 164) and eventually also published publicly as the *Lu Xun Research Monthly* 鲁迅研究月刊 after 1990. When in November 1981 Lu Xun's letters and manuscripts that had been taken by the Ministry of Culture in 1968 were returned to the museum, the political power struggle, in which the museum had also been involved, officially came to an end (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 162). The museum even developed into an educational institution, as the museum researchers were given the opportunity to supervise students on the MA level in cooperation with Qingdao University. Some of the museum directors and staff members took over this responsibility of supervisors, such as former director Sun Yu, Deputy Director Huang Qiaosheng or museum researcher Chen Shuyu (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 49). After a decade of

little to no regulation in academic career structures in form of degrees, this made the museum as a research institution an important entry point into a higher education and scholarship as a profession.

Beside this professionalization, international organizations acquired a new role, as well. In 1980, the Chinese Museum Association 中國博物館協會 (CMA)[298] was founded and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum became an institutional member. The CMA 中國博協 is by self-definition based on non-governmental organizational structures,[299] which enabled it as ICOM-China 中國國家委員會 to enter the international network of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in 1983 (ICOM China 中国国家委员会 2012). However, the CMA was designed to be closely connected to existing national structures, for example by providing important offices (e.g. honorary directorships) to directors of the SACH, for example (CMA 中国博物馆协会 2012). While this guaranteed the organization's regulation by the Party-state in China, it also provided a path of communication to the international community that had established a firm network in form of the ICOM and its affiliation with UNESCO on a global stage. Already in 1982 the newly appointed director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum Li Helin 李和林 (1904-1988 from Houqiu/ Anhui) published an article titled "Pen of Protest: The Seminal Work of Lu Xun" in *The UNESCO Courier* to an international readership. With Li Helin as director of the Lu Xun Museum and Wang Yeqiu director of the SACH, two widely acknowledged Lu Xun experts were heading major cultural institutions in the national heritage landscape. By the 1990s and especially in the 2000s under director Sun Yu, international academic conferences were organized at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, inviting a large number of scholars from overseas, especially from Japan (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 41–48).

The Shanghai Lu Xun Museum also broadened its activities. New exhibitions, such as a thematic exhibition on Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai in 1980 drew more than 5,000 visitors in the one month that it was on display. After Qu Qiubai's desk had been removed from Lu Xun's living surroundings during the Cultural Revolution, such thematic exhibitions also functioned as a way

[298] In the Beijing Lu Xun Museum history, the association is termed society (*xuehui* 學會) instead of association (*xiehui* 協會). Beijing first was an institutional member and after the structure of the association was personalized in 1983, Li Helin and ten further museums staff members became members of the association as representatives (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 162).

[299] It is a so-called "non-profit organization" (*feiyingli shehui tuanti* 非營利社會團體) . For more information on NGO structures in China, see section on "*Structure*: Beyond a Critical Approach: Understanding the SACH and *guan* as invisible actors".

in which “rehabilitation” took place (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2011, 56). This went together with an emphasis on the professionalization of the museum staff, which first needed the approval of the Shanghai Municipal ACH, which was granted in 1987. In 1988 it then received the opportunity of hiring six additional “high-level 高级” researchers and seven “middle-level 中级” researchers, among them also Wang Xirong , who would become Deputy Director in 1995 and later director of the museum in 2009 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2011, 70).

Continuities existed as well. The birth and death anniversaries of Lu Xun remained the main dates on which major institutional celebrations and projects were celebrated. On Lu Xun’s 100th birth anniversary in September 1981, for example, the bookstore of his former friend Uchiyama Kanzo 内山完造 (1885-1959 from Okoyama Prefecture/ Japan) was turned into an exhibition space as well. Lu Xun’s son Zhou Haiying and six family members of Uchiyama were present at the opening (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2011, 60). Telling of the newly forming (market) economy was that the former bookstore is not a state-run museum, but as the estate belonged to the state-owned commercial bank ICBC, the bank opened the upper floor of its branch office to the public, where until today exhibitions are held and additional office space for special customers of the bank is provided.

The internationalization of these years is also highlighted in the museum’s historiography. Large ceremonies were held on Lu Xun’s 100th anniversary of his birth, with visitors from around the world recorded as having attended, listing representatives from Yugoslavia, Rumania, North Korea, USA, India, France and Switzerland.[300] Again, the exchange between China and Japan received special attention, for example when a delegation of 60 Japanese, among them the son of translator Masayoshi Yamagami 山上正義, who had first translated Lu Xun’s “True Story of AQ”, visited the museum in 1986 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2011, 66). What is more, in August 1987, the Shanghai Lu Xun museum also became a member of the CMA 中國博協 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2011, 69).

[300] On May 15, 1983, a delegation from the BRD Leibniz Culture Center came to the Shanghai Lu Xun museum and introduced the work of woodblock artist Carl Meffert 梅斐爾 (known as Clément Moreau) (1903-1988) (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2011, 62).

Lu Xun in Europe: Mao Zedong on the Sidelines

To better understand the new orientation the Lu Xun museums took on an international stage, one travelling exhibition will be discussed in detail here, because the new approach the museums took is also visible in its search for new audiences. The Beijing Lu Xun museum under director Lin Helin aimed to reach a broader audience by taking Lu Xun abroad. The new focus was now Central Europe. As early as the 1950s there were Lu Xun exhibitions organized abroad, with one of the first large-scale exhibitions held in the Tchaikovsky Conservatory of Music Moscow in 1956 (see: "*Display*: Lu Xun, a Chinese Gorky"). In 1977, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum turned its attention to Europe, organizing an exhibition which was meant to travel through a number of major European cities. To prepare this travelling exhibition, representatives from the Swedish-Chinese Friendship League 瑞中友聯 visited the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in July 1977 and further planning meetings took place in November of that same year (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 160). The museum worked together with a "Company for International Exhibitions including Cultural Artifacts 出國文物展覽公司" which prepared the exhibition from January 1978 onward. Feng Zhi 馮至 (1905-1993, from Zhuoxian/Hebei), who had studied in Germany and had been active in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in the early 1950s when Lu Xun's collected books were first catalogued, was asked to return to the museum for this occasion to prepare the museum for its trip to Northern Europe.[301] Wang Yeqiu in his role as director of the SACH 文物局局長 once again played an important role, this time in the conceptualization and organization of the exhibition. Lin Lin 林林 from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries 中國對外友好協會 (CPAFFC 全國友協) (estab. 1954) and other representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 外交部 were also involved. Besides these individuals and institutions from the political sphere, Zhou Haiying was also invited to view the exhibition for Sweden before it started (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 160), which once again reveals the increased involvement and respect with which the leadership of the museum involved Lu Xun's family. In July 1978, the exhibition began in Sweden, a country which was neither a member of the Warsaw Pact nor of the NATO. On the 28th of September Wang Yeqiu (director of the SACH), Li Helin (director of the BJLXM), Zhou Haiying (Lu Xun's son) formed a delegation and went to Stockholm and attended

[301] Feng Zhi's prominent role in transcultural literary production and his understanding of a socialist cosmopolitanism, see (Volland 2017).

the opening ceremony of the exhibition [IC 90 Lu Xun exhibition in Europe, Sweden]. [302] On October 1, the official opening of the exhibition took place and according to the museum history visitor numbers exceeded 18,000 people during the one-month-long exhibition, which means an average of about 600 visitors a day. In July 1979, the exhibition further moved to Oslo in Norway and then further to West Germany and other larger European cities.

What made this exhibition special was the fact that it included Lu Xun's *wenwu* (cultural artifacts) in the display, thus was not merely a "poster-exhibition" (*tupianzhan* 圖片展) as prior exhibitions had been, but included photographs, manuscripts and paintings (Baqué and Spreitz 1980). Altogether six boxes of Lu Xun's artifacts went abroad to Europe. This was a major change in exhibition method. Huang Qiaosheng explained more generally: "In the future such exhibitions, poster exhibitions, won't work anymore, am I right? People will think it is too simple, so if you take Europe, for example, where we organized an exhibition, they wanted authentic objects 將來這種展覽，圖片，還是不行，對吧！大家都感覺到很簡單，你看歐洲在我們去辦，他們還是要實物" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 02:48:43).[303] But there were continuities as well. Some works of art were especially commissioned for the exhibition, such as large-scale versions of ink paintings of the "The True Story of AQ 阿 Q 正傳" by Cheng Shifa 程十发 (1921-2007 from Fengjing near Shanghai) (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 160) [IC 91 Cheng Shifa 1].[304] Four of his paintings were part of the exhibition display when it arrived in Berlin in 1980 (Baqué and Spreitz 1980, 20); (Baqué and Spreitz 1979, 75; 77; 85; 87). Cheng Shifa was an artist who had long painted watercolor paintings of Lu Xun's short stories, among them paintings of "Kong Yiji 孔乙己" as early as 1956, thus from the time when the museum first opened its exhibition hall to the public [IC 91 Cheng Shifa 2a, 2b] (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1986, 93); (Andrews 1994, Figure 46). Cheng Shifa was first educated in traditional Chinese painting (*guohua* 國畫) in Shanghai from 1938 to 1941. His amply illustrated

[302] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 090. The delegation was accompanied by Michael Schoenhals who interpreted for them. I would like to thank Michael Schoenhals for our discussion of his experience during his stay in Heidelberg (02.011.2016) and for providing me with photographs that he had kept from the visit of the delegation (M. Schoenhals, pers. comm.).

[303] Huang Qiaosheng was here referring to the Europalia exhibition in 2009 in Brussels to which China was invited as guest country and to which the Lu Xun museum had contributed original woodblock prints by left-wing artists of the 1930s for a thematic exhibition on "Shanghai Modern", yet the same request is likely to have been made in 1979, when this seems to have been the first time that "authentic objects" had been part of the travelling exhibition.

[304] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 091.

publications are often categorized as comic books (*lianhuanhua*).[305] Among his most famous were Lu Xun's short stories "The True Story of AQ" and "Kong Yiji", but he also painted illustrations for other major literary works, ranging from *The Scholars* 儒林外史 and Pu Songling's *Strange Stories form the Liao Studio* 聊齋志異 (Dong Fan 董凡 et al. 2007, 17). During his career, Cheng would return to the subject of Lu Xun's literary works, as for example his paintings of "The True Story of A-Q" from the late 1970s for this exhibition (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1986, 95).

Lu Xun and his literary works were depicted by artists of various schools, both by *guohua* ink painters and painters of socialist-realist oil-painting. Even though these illustrations of Lu Xun's works by Cheng Shifa were termed *guohua*, they broke with many prior conventions of Chinese painting. Guohua artists had shifted their focus from landscape painting to close-up figure painting in the mid-1950s. Cheng Shifa continued his skills in brush-technics and his high sensibility to variant tones of ink washes as was common for *guohua* painters. Ink outlines had been part of the repertoire of Chinese figure paintings for centuries and were as a result readily accepted by Chinese readers and viewers (Andrews 1994, 130). But illustrations of architecture would take into consideration perspective, realistic conceptions of space and spatial recession. The figures would feature new degrees of gesture and the use of colored washes would awaken "Western associations" (Andrews 1994, 130; 171).[306] Furthermore, paintings would communicate political, Marxist messages, especially when figures came to stand for certain social classes and specific nations.[307] Thus Cheng Shifa's adoption of both Chinese and Western forms and techniques made his paintings an asset for both domestic and international exhibitions on Lu Xun

[305] Cheng Shifa's *The True Story of A-Q in 108 Illustrations* 阿 Q 正传一零八图 was first published in 1962 (Seifert 2008, 270). It was also in this year that the first national *lianhuanhua* exhibitions were held in China, for which prizes were awarded by the Ministry of Culture. Works produced from 1949 to 1963 were considered and Cheng Shifa was awarded 2nd prize for his illustrations of Lu Xun's "Kong Yiji" from 1956 (Andrews 1994, 130).

[306] Andrew sketches the debates between a traditionalist school of *guohua*-painters and artists more in favor of social realist forms of oil painting introduced from the Soviet Union in the period from 1953 to 1957, as well as their institutionalization in the Chinese Artist Association, which was based on Soviet principles, and the eventual "politicization" of the *guohua*-genre (Andrews 1994, 169–75).

[307] In her recent publication, Eva Shan Chou analyzes the various visual material depicting AQ in her *Memory, Violence, Queues: Lu Xun Interprets China*. She focuses on the painting depicting AQs execution, arguing that the crowd shown in Cheng Shifa's painting differs from the crowd described in Lu Xun's short story. Cheng Shifa depicts several military men, beside them possibly a Westerner in a bowtie and frockcoat holding a cane, and next to him a fat man dressed in a Chinese jacket and hat, who represents the Chinese wealthy and behind them a man with glasses, possibly an intellectual, thus depicting the "class enemies" of Cheng Shifa's time. The painting was first published in *Yancheng Evening News*, November 9, 1961 (Chou 2012, 185; 210).

and his literary oeuvre, a form of artistic practice that was considered an asset both in the 1950s and up to the 1980s alike.

The responses to the traveling exhibition were also telling. The *People's Daily* reported on the exhibition, explaining that the exhibition was not only seen as an opportunity to learn about Lu Xun and China, but also saw it as "an exchange of heart between the two countries China and Germany 而且把它看作中德两国人民一次心灵的交流" (Wu Xingtang 吴兴唐, August 15, 1981). Similar to what Huang Qiaosheng had called the poster exhibitions that had been sent to various countries in the past, he had seen these exhibitions as first and foremost "diplomatic activities 外交活動" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 02:46:57). The Chinese media also highlighted this aspect. Drawing on responses from the audience, the report showed that Lu Xun was newly "discovered 发现" by most German visitors. To explain why Lu Xun was so little known in Germany, a professor was quoted who saw the reasons for Lu Xun's late discovery in Germany's Eurocentrism. The fact that Lu Xun had learned German, read and admired Goethe and was a great supporter of Käthe Kollwitz' artworks naturally offered many points of contact which made Lu Xun as a writer and collector easy to approach for German visitors. The article further referred to a university student who was quoted as seeing many "common characteristics 共同特点" between Lu Xun's thinking and literary work to that of other known writers widely known in Europe such as Goethe, Shaw, Chekov and Brecht.

The German newspapers were far more critical, even though this critique was not directed at Lu Xun as a writer, but at his instrumentalization in the PRC under the CPC – even though this was not sated explicitly. *Der Spiegel* also saw the exhibition as a cultural exchange between China and Germany, emphasizing the *mutual* effort which had been involved, referring to the exhibition's counterpart, an exhibition on Käthe Kollwitz which the Federal Republic of Germany had organized in Beijing the year before (Theobaldy, February 04, 1980, 187). The article was written by the German Writer Jürgen Theobaldy (1944-), who shared his thoughts on the exhibition and Lu Xun's literature with German readers. He saw the metaphors "Chinese Gorky" or a "Chinese Brecht" used by the Foreign Minister Genscher who attended the exhibition as a method to overcome the linguistic and also political obstacles which had resulted from the German public knowing very little of Lu Xun, quickly calling out such cultural political strategies and the political differences the BRD and PRC faced, in addition to their commonalities. Recalling his first encounter with Lu Xun's literary work in his studies of Germanistik in 1968 in West Germany in

the context of literature and revolution, he recalled the Marxist critique which was "applied" to Lu Xun's literary works in his student times. He hereby implied that literary texts were more than their political message: "Often [his] literary works shriveled down to evidences for class analyses; or they triggered a defense, a hidden discomfort, when under these crude grasp of the texts an inextricable rest remained within them, probably that which was poetic in them. (Nicht selten schrumpften dabei die Werke auf Belege von Klassenanalysen zusammen, oder sie lösten Abwehr aus, ein heimliches Unbehagen, wenn unter diesen oft groben Zugriffen die Texte immer noch einen unauflösbaren Rest bei sich behielten, wahrscheinlich das Poetische an ihnen)" (Theobaldy, February 04, 1980, 188). He explicitly pointed to the fact that Lu Xun's essay had, almost immediately after his death, been propagated under Mao Zedong as "exemplary (vorbildlich)", a status which he retained even when "cultural revolutionaries sentenced many other writers to silence for years (Kulturrevolutionäre viele andere Schriftsteller über Jahre hinweg zum Schweigen verurteilten)". As this Lu Xun exhibition had been sent to Europe only a few years after the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, it is not surprising that these restrictions of writers were still very much present in the mind of this West German writer and visitor. Theobaldy, however, seemed to find comfort in the fact that it had been a writer as critical of authority and self-ironic in tone as Lu Xun that had been chosen for this process of sacralization: "At least it remains astonishing, that these lines which were written in an at times coquettishly modest tone, firm in their self-irony and so very undogmatic in their gesture, were chosen as the official dogma (Wenigstens bleibt erstaunlich, daß diese gelegentlich bis zur Koketterie bescheidenen Sätze, verbindlich in ihrer Selbstironie und so undogmatisch im Gestus, zum Dogma erkoren wurden)" (Theobaldy, February 04, 1980, 193). While he did not approve of the Party's sacralization of Lu Xun, he approved of their choice of writer, precisely because this choice ridiculed if not negated the process as such.

The newspaper *Die Zeit* was even more critical and cheeky, reading the work of Lu Xun in a manner that was certainly not in accordance with the wishes of the official PRC cultural policy:

> The great work of this left-wing intellectual triumphed over the stupidity of censors and party dogmatists. His spirit of criticism, which used etching irony as a weapon, did not recognize any differences in social class, even if Mao had wanted it to be otherwise. Besides, Mao is only mentioned on the side of this exhibition. (Das gewaltige Werk dieses Linksintellektuellen hat über die Dummheit von Zensoren und Parteidogmatikern triumphiert. Sein Geist der Kritik, die sich der Waffe ätzender Ironie bediente, kennt keine Klassenunterschiede, auch wenn Mao es gern anders gewollt hätte. Von Mao ist in dieser Ausstellung ohnehin nur am Rande die Rede.) (Janssen, February 08, 1980).

This was a keen observation. The toning-down on Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun in the exhibition that was put together specifically for a (West-)European audience was certainly not a coincidence. Yet the conclusions these writers and journalists drew were unlikely to have been encouraged by those who had designed the exhibition. And yet, the display still *allowed* for such a reading in which Lu Xun's critical spirit was not solely defined as being directed at the warlords and Guomindang of the Republican Period, but could likewise also be directed at the CPC.

This travelling exhibition from 1980, in which Mao Zedong had been placed on the sidelines, is one embodiment of a larger trend or movement that arose in Lu Xun's presentation in museum space, namely that of desacralizing Lu Xun. This desacralization of Lu Xun can be traced in the Berlin exhibition, but also in the exhibition in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, for example. The questioning of past sacralizing ties between Lu Xun and Mao Zedong was one of the shapes this desacralization would take, but, as the following sections show, this movement also went beyond the reevaluation of this particular connection in this hero genealogy that no longer seemed as appropriate or valorizing as it had in the past. Instead new approaches were sought.

Desacralizing Lu Xun: The "Historical" Lu Xun (1980s)

> I do not tell the story of a god, [….] there is a feeling of distance, when you let him lead the way. In this kind of a setting, he is the same kind of person as me, he too has all four types of human emotions of happiness, anger, sorrow and joy. But even though he is like me in this way, he does some extraordinary things, but I still feel very close to him (*qinqie*), maybe this makes him easier to accept. Everyone says, if we write him [his story] like Jesus or Buddha, high, high above us, then he is used for worship (*mobai*), he is not used to be approached (*qinjin*), so we hope to engage in a normal dialogue with him here. 我講的不是一個神［…］這就是一個距離感，就是說，我讓他帶路了，這樣一個情景 。他是和我一樣的人，他有他的喜怒哀樂。但是這樣和我一樣的人，他做出一些不平凡的事兒的時候，我們會覺得很親切，可能會更容易接受。大家都說，我們如果把它寫成一個耶穌或者佛祖這個高高在上，［…］那個就是用來膜拜的, 不是用來親近的，就是說我們希望和他能夠很正常的一個對話。
>
> Tour guide of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in private museum tour
> (interview with tour guide at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, 2015, March 21, 00:01:36)

After Mao Zedong's death on September 9, 1976, a memorial hall (*jiniantang* 紀念堂) was built for his commemoration on Tian'anmen Square. In its symbolical implications this memorial hall has fascinated scholars (Ledderose 1988); (R. G. Wagner 1992). While most of its symbolical value is seen in the political iconography which can be discerned from in the building's architecture and interior design, so can its administrative ranking reveal its high value in China's institutional landscape.[308] Due to the fact that Beijing was chosen as the appropriate location, the administrative

[308] Wagner explains that the "pilgrimages of the Cultural Revolution led to Peking not because the city boasted holy sites from the history of the Revolution – there were none – but because the chairman himself resided there and

ranking of the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall is on the bureau-level (*juji* 局級). It is not associated with SACH 文物局 but with the General Office of the CPC 中共中央辦公廳. Despite this difference in affiliation it is striking that the Lu Xun Museum is on the same administrative level as the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall, namely on bureau-level (*juji*) as well. That is today, Lu Xun's institutional commemoration experiences the same valorization as Mao Zedong's in administrative terms, as has been pointed out at the beginning of this section [**IC 92 Administrative Ranking Lu Xun and Mao**]. As the research by Lothar Ledderose and Rudolf Wagner has shown, the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall 毛澤東紀念堂, which also functions as a mausoleum, was kept as a memorial site throughout periods of great political and ideological changes, which is why the

IC 92 Hierarchy of Affiliation: Lu Xun & Mao Zedong

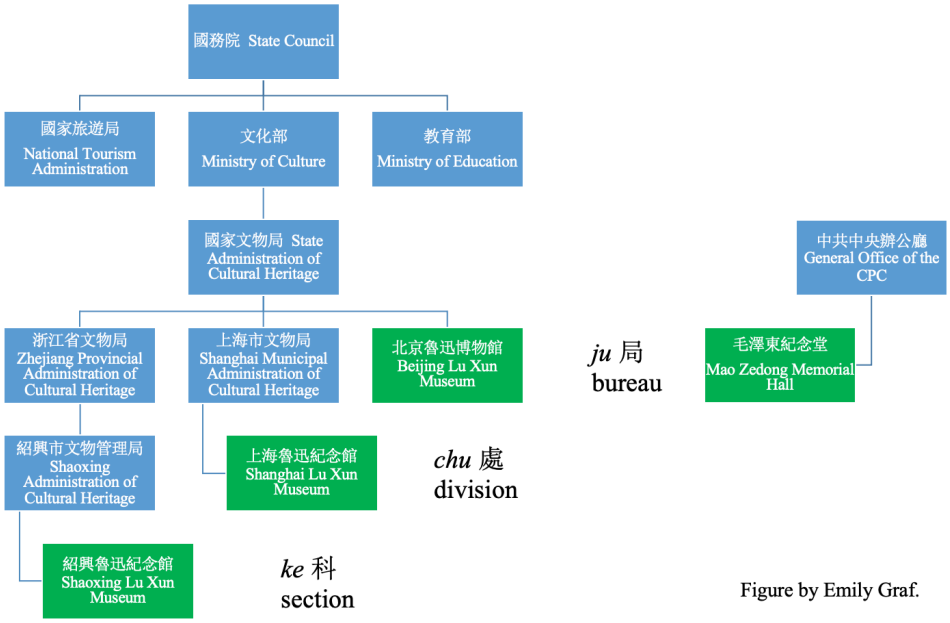


Figure by Emily Graf.

received them in the public mass rallies." It could, however, be argued that Lu Xun's former residence and the Beijing Lu Xun museum were indeed such "holy revolutionary sites". But similarly to Mao Zedong, it was due to the fact that Lu Xun had resided there that the site was created. As to the important role of the city, Wagner emphasizes the location of the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall in Beijing and its administrative implications with regard to its drawing power on Red Guard pilgrims: "With Mao's death in 1976 the administrative center was in danger of losing its standing at the top of the religious hierarchy. The building of the hall with the body of the chairman enshrined there kept intact the hierarchy that had made Peking the center during the Cultural Revolution. The chairman would continue to receive the pilgrims visiting the capital. The building of the hall was intended to reestablish the hierarchy of religious sites. By the time of Lin Biao's death in 1971, some sites printed in the 1966 map had fallen into disrepute. With the reestablishment of the Center came the authorized redefinition of the other sites" (R. G. Wagner 1992, 410).

memorial hall's presentations needed to be changed and adapted continuously.[309] This also holds true for the Lu Xun museums. Since Lu Xun's display in museum space was interwoven with that of many other political, literary and historical figures, his presentation needed to be adapted in the early 1980s as well, most prominently in regard to his relationship with no other than Mao Zedong, but also in regard to many of his contemporaries.

The reopening of the museums after 1975 brought back the museums as actors in the production of Lu Xun. As the above has shown, in the years from 1974 to 1980, Lu Xun's image and heritage nevertheless continued to be used in political power struggles, especially over the succession of Mao Zedong, in articles published by the Lu Xun Research Room associated with the Lu Xun Museum and also within the Lu Xun-exhibitions themselves.[310] Due to the fact that Lu Xun was used to combat prior friends and later foes of Mao Zedong within only short periods of time, this "instrumentalization" of Lu Xun is likely to have seemed stretched by readers and visitors alike. Indeed, Beijing University-based literary critic Qian Liqun 錢理群 (1939-) referred to this instrumentalization in his first-hand experience of the campaign against Lin Biao, describing how it influenced how he personally saw Lu Xun hereafter (Qian Liqun 钱理群 2016). It was then that he first doubted the way in which Lu Xun was being presented to him, feeling that he was being instrumentalized. Similar reconsiderations are likely to have been provoked by the criticism against Deng Xiaoping, which was replaced by criticism against the so-called "Gang of Four" within only months in 1976,[311] all drawing on Lu Xun's works and letters as sources and as proof of his "political far-sightedness 政治远见", the first characteristic of the Lu Xun spirit as defined by Mao Zedong in 1937 (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 280).[312]

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[309] This is not only the case for the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall/ mausoleum, but also for the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing and his Memorial Hall in Guangzhou. For an in depth analysis of Sun Yat-sen worship (*chongbai* 崇拜) as a form of personality cult, see: (Chen Yunqian 陈蕴茜 2009). In chapter seven, Chen analyzes the spatial politics of the Sun Yat-sen worship, taking a closer look at the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum termed *Zhongshanling* 中山陵 (estab. 1926-1929), the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall 中山紀念堂 (estab. 1929-31) in Guangzhou, as well as the various former residences and historical sites connected to Sun Yat-sen.

[310] According to the museum directors, little to no photographic material of the exhibition spaces of these times exist, as the materials were simply thrown out after they were taken down.

[311] The journal *Revolutionary Relics* 革命文物 published research results on Lu Xun's material heritage (*wenwu* 文物) featuring a segment on "Remembering Lu Xun, Thoroughly Criticizing Deng Xiaoping 纪念鲁迅，深入批邓" in August 1976 which was replaced with a segment on "Learning from Lu Xun, Criticizing the Anti-Party Gang of Four 学习鲁迅，批判四人帮的反党集团"in October 1976 (as an example for the first, see The Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum 广州鲁迅纪念馆 1976, for the latter see The Lu Xun Research Room 鲁迅研究室 1977).

[312] The other two characteristics were Lu Xun's fighting spirit (*zhanduo jingshen* 戰鬥精神) and his willingness to sacrifice [himself] (*xisheng jingshen* 犧牲精神).

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, a Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun 反對神化魯迅運動 took place in China, a movement which in its opposition created an understanding of a "sacralization of Lu Xun 神化魯迅" in the first place and addressed this instrumentalization of Lu Xun for political purposes directly. Among the first voices in this movement was Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981 from Jiaxing/ Zhejiang). In an article from 1979, he took a stance on some of the issues that he regarded as the "sacralization of Lu Xun 神化魯迅", which he ultimately defined as "the distortion of the real Lu Xun 把真正的鲁迅歪曲了" (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 93).[313] According to Mao Dun, the main issue in Lu Xun research was that the "Two Whatevers" (*liangge fanshi* 兩個凡是) had also been applied to Lu Xun, in a similar manner as they had been applied to Mao Zedong by Hua Guofeng. The "Two Whatevers" referred to a statement made in the People's Daily 人民日報 in February 1977 under the leadership of Hua Guofeng: "We will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave 凡是毛主席作出的决策，我们都坚决维护；凡是毛主席的指示，我们都始终不渝地遵循" (Renmin Ribao 人民日报, February 07, 1977, 1). For Lu Xun this meant that "those who Lu Xun once criticized are certainly terrible, those who Lu Xun appreciated were good through and through 凡是鲁迅骂过的人就一定糟糕，凡是鲁迅赏识的人就好到底" (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 93). Mao Dun rejected this approach and called for a treatment of Lu Xun that "searched for the truth from facts 实事求是" (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 93), echoing a slogan which Mao Zedong had propagated and which Deng Xiaoping had again introduced with the beginning of the Reform and Opening Period in 1978 in the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC in December.[314] Mao Dun had been silent on the topic of the Cultural Revolution while it was taking place,[315] but with its end

[313] The article was a reply to an interviewer from the *Annual Collection of Lu Xun Research* 鲁迅研究年刊, published by Xibei University 西北大學 and the Song Qingling Research Society 宋慶齡基金會 in 1979.

[314] "Searching for the truth from facts" (s*hishi qiushi* 實事求是) also became one of the fundamental elements of Mao Zedong Thought propagated in the 1981 Party Resolution, titled "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" (CPC 中国共产党 1981).

[315] During the Cultural Revolution, Mao Dun was not harshly criticized as he enjoyed the protection of leading political figures. He resided in Beijing secluded form public life, but in private he would express concern and disdain over the worsening situation during the Cultural Revolution, according to his son's memoirs which were published in 1998. After the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, he made public appearances at conferences and published essays and poems again, as well as supervising the publication of his own collected works. Mao Dun died only two years after publishing the article against the sacralization of Lu Xun in 1981 (Laughlin 2007, 175).

Mao Dun criticized this "distortion" of Lu Xun openly, even though he located the source of this instrumentalization first and foremost in the politics of the so-called "Gang of Four".

Mao Dun hereby opened the floor for a larger debate on the "distortion" of Lu Xun, but indeed this "instrumentalization" of Lu Xun also continued after the time period associated with the reign of the so-called "Gang of Four" in as far as the "Gang of Four" too was criticized by using Lu Xun's heritage to reveal their politics of taking a "counterrevolutionary revisionist path 反革命修正主义路线" (The Lu Xun Research Room 鲁迅研究室 1977, 39). This must have been known to Mao Dun since one example in which Lu Xun's literary heritage was used as a "weapon" against the so-called "Gang of Four" also included letters which Lu Xun had allegedly written to Mao Dun. These had been published in the journal *Revolutionary Relics* 革命文物 to "criticize the Gang of Four 揭批四人帮", letters which allegedly had been found and "withheld 扣压" by Yao Wenyuan (The Lu Xun Research Room 鲁迅研究室 1977, 38). Mao Dun even addressed these findings in the same article from 1979 by simply stating that he and Lu Xun had both promised to burn all of their correspondences. They had made this decision as they wanted to make sure that no one they had mentioned in their letters could get into trouble later on for having been in contact with them. How these seven letters that had come to light in 1977 could have been preserved, he did not know, Mao Dun stated (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 94). He, however, refrained from including this finding as one of the forms in which Lu Xun was "instrumentalized" in Lu Xun research, thereby implicitly limiting the practice of "sacralizing Lu Xun" to something that had occurred under the reign of the so-called "Gang of Four". Thus, in the late 1970s a discussion arose in which the "sacralization", "political instrumentalization" and "distortion" of Lu Xun were first addressed and indeed these terms were used almost interchangeably. While at first glance the debate seems to address a political instrumentalization of Lu Xun openly, those involved remained cautious with regard to which contexts and directed at which actors they used the term "political instrumentalization" and similar terms. In its earliest forms, this criticism was only directed straightforwardly against the so-called "Gang of Four", not yet, however, against Mao Zedong's appraisal of Lu Xun.

Display: Questioning Sacralizing Ties? – The Telegram to Mao Zedong

Even though Mao Dun only termed the use of Lu Xun in the period of the so-called "Gang of Four" a form of sacralization and distortion, the examples he chose to clarify retrospectively at the end of the Cultural Revolution also included the connections that had been drawn between Lu Xun and

Mao Zedong during and prior to the Cultural Revolution, and hereby – to a certain degree – even calling them into question, which again resulted in heated debates between scholars starting in the late 1970s and continuing until this day.[316] The link which will be focused on here refers to a telegram which Lu Xun is said to have written to Mao Zedong and/or the Red Army more generally after they had arrived in North Shaanxi from the Long March in 1935/36.[317] Concerning the telegram, Mao Dun explained in 1979 that it was "not complete/intact 不完整" (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 94). He further emphasized that neither Mao Zedong nor Zhou Enlai had ever mentioned this document and that even when Mao Dun had discussed Lu Xun with Mao Zedong in person, this telegram never came up in conversation. For at the time it was "not necessary to prove that Lu Xun was a great Communist from this [thing] 没必要从这一件事证明鲁迅是伟大的共产主义者" (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 94). Even though Mao Dun never explicitly questioned that Lu Xun had written the telegram, his comments gave rise to a debate between those who argued that the telegram had once existed, but had been lost, and those who argued for the possibility that it had never existed and might have been constructed retrospectively. The telegram was also referred to by Zhou Haiying at the end of his letter to Mao Zedong in 1975, which had led to the "second birth" of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. In his plea for Mao Zedong's support, Zhou highlighted this past connection between the two, describing how in the past he had heard from his mother Xu Guangping and other comrades who knew Lu Xun well, that his father had once sent him [Mao Zedong] a congratulatory telegram (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977, 14).

[316] In Harriet Mill's article on "Lu Xun and the Communist Party" published in the *China Quarterly* in 1960, the telegram which is discussed in this part is listed as the main link between Lu Xun and the Party, relying on Feng Xuefeng's recollections (Mills 1960, 22). But also in the 1985 article in the *China Quarterly* by Goldman on "The Political Use of Lu Xun in the Cultural Revolution and After", the telegram is still mentioned as the main link. Goldman hereby does not take into account Mao Dun's publications on the matter from the late 1970s nor does she give the source of this link, but simply states that this is the "only direct contact [Lu Xun] is known to have with Mao" (Goldman 1985, 196).

[317] Another link Mao Dun refers to is the question whether or not Mao Zedong had been part of Lu Xun's Funeral Committee. Mao Dun explained that Mao Zedong had not officially been on the list of the Funeral Committee which prepared Lu Xun's funeral in Shanghai in 1936 and that indeed it had been Feng Xuefeng, who was the head of the funeral committee, not Mao Zedong as later sources during the Cultural Revolution had claimed (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 94). Feng Xuefeng had been criticized in 1954 for one of his studies on the Qing-Dynasty novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢, denunciated as a Rightist in 1957 and finally put under house arrest in 1966, only to be rehabilitated again in 1979 (Klöpsch, E. Müller, and Keen 2004, 73). In the mid-1930s, the Funeral Committee had decided against putting Mao Zedong's name on the list, because they were worried that under the rule of the Guomindang, the funeral could not be realized smoothly, Mao Dun explained. The list that was announced publicly at the time included Cai Yuanpei, Uchiyama Kanzo, Song Qingling, Agnes Smedley, Shen Junru, Xiao San 蕭三 (1896-1983), Cao Jinghua, Xi Jifu, Mao Dun, Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之 (1986-1986), Hu Feng, Zhou Zuoren and Zhou Jianren, and the head of the committee Feng Xuefeng (Jenner 1982, 436).

After Mao Dun's remarks were published four years later in 1979, this "fact" became a matter of debate. Two of the main voices questioning the existence of the telegram were by writer and editor Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 (1933-2013) in his 2007 article "On the Debate about Lu Xun's and Mao Dun's Letter to the Red Army 关于'鲁迅茅盾致红军信'的探讨" (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 6–15) and – already a decade earlier – editor, writer and Beijing Lu Xun Museum research staff member Zhou Nanben 周楠本 (1949-) in his 1997 article "On Lu Xun's and Mao Dun's Congratulatory Letter to the Red Army 关于鲁迅茅盾至红军的贺信" (Zhou Nanben 周楠本 1977). Ni Moyan's essay is most provocative in his evaluation of the telegram and the conclusions he draws, highlighting that the main questions not only arose from the loss of the "original draft/ manuscript" (*yuangao* 原稿) of this letter or telegram but also from the contradictions that emerge when reading most sources which refer to its existence more closely.

The first contradictions already appeared as early as the 1950s when the telegram was first mentioned by Feng Xuefeng 馮雪峰 (1903-1976) in 1951. For Feng Xuefeng's account is not congruent with the newspaper report which first reported its existence in 1947. They differ on 1) whether it is a letter (*xin* 信) or a telegram (*dian* 電), 2) on whether it was directed at the Red Army (*hongjun* 紅軍) or specifically addressed to Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, 3) on what exactly it congratulated them for (i.e. the success of the Long March in general or the crossing of the Yellow River more specifically)[318] and 4) whether it was Lu Xun or Lu Xun together with Mao Dun who had sent this letter/telegram (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 6). From today's perspective both sources (the newspaper report and the personal memory of Feng Xuefeng) are important but by no means fully reliable sources. In his article, however, it is not so much the manipulability of both the journalistic work during the Civil War period and personal memory more generally that is highlighted. Instead, Ni Moyan focuses on the contradictions that exist in the earliest materials on the telegram's/letter's existence.

When learning of later accounts, such as that of Mao Dun in the mid- to late-1970s, they add even further to the confusion. Mao Dun's recollections include Agnes Smedley as an additional important actor in the matter. Mao Dun explained in a private letter he wrote on April 8, 1977, which was published posthumously in 1985 (Sun Zhongtian 孙中田 and Zhou Ming 周明 1985),

[318] This reference to the river crossing which took place only in 1936 was reported in the *Wenyi bao* 文艺报 in 1956 and referred to the 1947 version of the news report (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 6).

that in 1936, when the news of the success of the Long March was held back by the GMD in Shanghai, it had been Smedley who had suggested to send a telegram to congratulate on its success. Lu Xun had explained to Mao Dun that he (i.e. Lu Xun) said "let Smedley take care of it 这就要史沫特莱办了". Mao Dun also tried to imagine the different scenarios in which a telegram could have been sent to North Shaanxi, arguing that this would have been nearby impossible from Shanghai or generally from within China, but that indeed a connection might have existed between North Shaanxi and Moscow. While he discards the idea that it would have been possible for Smedley to send a telegram to Shaanxi via the French Underground Communists in Paris, he wonders whether Smedley might have sent it via Paris to Moscow and from there further to North Shaanxi. But even a telegram connection between the SU and North Shaanxi was "only something we guessed might have existed at the time 也只是我们当时的猜想而已" (Zhang Yibei 张贻贝 2013, 35); (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 11). While Mao Dun's statement that it was "only a few short sentences 短短几句" that Smedley wanted to send was in accordance with the later reports on its existence, Mao Dun continued to emphasize during his lifetime that he never saw the original draft, reiterating this not only in the private letter, but also in another essay he wrote in 1975 titled "My Contact with Lu Xun 我和鲁迅的接触"[319] (Mao Dun 茅盾 1976, 73), (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 9).

In his essay, Ni Moyan not only directs the reader's attention to the contradictions in the early materials and the "clarifications" made by Mao Dun on the issue, but also points to the surprising lack of information provided in other sources. Ni emphasizes the fact that Agnes Smedley herself never reportedly spoke of or wrote about the existence of this telegram, despite the fact that she did write about the time she spent in Shanghai together with Lu Xun in which she describes how she, during a visit at Lu Xun's house, met a leftist writer who had witnessed the Long March, describing how fascinated she had been by his accounts. That Lu Xun, Mao Dun or herself had written a telegram or letter to the Red Army to congratulate on its success is not mentioned in her memoirs (Smedley [1943] 1984, 96); (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 11).[320] Furthermore, even though Xu

[319] This article was published in the first volume of *Lu Xun Research Materials* 鲁迅研究资料 (1) from 1976, which was published by an editorial committee of the Lu Xun Research Room, which was at the time located at Beijing Xihuangchenggen beijie No. 2 北京西皇城根北街 2 號 beside Maojiawan. For more information, see section on "*Structure*: The Research Room: From Maojiawan to Fuchengmen (1975-1979)" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

[320] Agnes Smedley describes her time at Lu Xun's house in 1936 in her piece on the "Sian [Xi'an] Incident", in which she begins: "One evening in the spring of 1936 at the Shanghai home of my friend Lu Hsün I met a writer who had

Guangping did mention the telegram in her memoirs, her description seems to Ni little more than a reiteration of Feng Xuefeng's account as she gives no further information on the issue.[321]

Over the last decades, many voices emerged in favor of the congratulatory letter's existence, arguing that its loss by no means implied that it never existed. Yan Yuxin 閻愈新 from Xibei University published his findings from the Central Archive 中央檔案館 in 1996 which featured a quotation from the official Party newspaper of the Northwest Bureau of the CPC's Central Committee 中共西北中央局 called *The Fight* 鬥爭 which reported that on April 17, 1936 – thus later than the alleged telegram – "A letter from leaders XX and XX of the Chinese Cultural Circle arrived 中国文化界领袖 XX XX 来信" (Yan Yuxin 阎愈新 1996, 8). Yan Chunde 閻純德, Professor at Beijing Language and Culture University, published an article in 2012 emphatically arguing in favor of the letter's authenticity and in support of Yan Yuxing's findings (Yan Chunde 阎纯德 2012). His main arguments for it having existed range from 1) the fact that the original letter having been lost in the chaotic times after the Long March was not at all surprising, 2) arguing that it was in accordance with Lu Xun's character to speak up on major political issues, thus it would have been more surprising if he had remained silent on the success of the Long March, 3) that Mao Zedong's and others' silence on the letter could not prove its non-existence, 4) that Mao Dun never rejected its existence, even when editors of Lu Xun's collected works had consulted with Mao Dun (through his secretary and daughter-in-law Chen Xiaoman) about the letter before it was included in the Lu Xun's collected works and he had not raised any objection and 5) that despite various processes of proof-reading none of the many writers and scholars involved in the editing process ever raised the question of its authenticity. In the end, he insists that the findings of Yan Yuxin were the closest one could come to historically prove the letter's existence and that the findings were sufficiently convincing. With his position, Yan Chunde strengthens the ground for a possible tie between Mao Zedong and Lu Xun, insisting on the existence of a material link between the two. Even though the alleged letter (unlike the telegram) was not directly addressed to Mao Zedong, at the end of his 2012-essay Yan Chunde falls back on quoting Mao Zedong's evaluation

just come from the northwest as representative of the Chinese Red Army. He had made the epic Long March, that historic trek made by an entire army across twelve thousand miles of plains and rivers and mountains. Every evening for weeks I sat with him, taking notes of his conversation. Though calm and factual, his recital was filled with pictures of incredible suffering and perseverance". In her account she continues to speak only about the accounts of the writer, not mentioning any telegram or letter to the Red Army (Smedley [1943] 1984, 96).

[321] Ni Moyan only gives sporadic or only general information on his sources, which makes it difficult to retrace all his references. In the case of his reference to Xu Guangping, he does not give a bibliographical source.

of Lu Xun, by drawing on his 1940 praise in his "On New Democracy" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1970, 191–92). With this change of focus, however, Yan diverges from his initial starting point. Having attempted to argue in favor of the existence of the congratulatory letter being written in 1936, this reference to Mao Zedong's posthumous praise of Lu Xun not only fails to support his argument, but reveals that the letter's existence is still seen as a means to materially connect Lu Xun and Mao Zedong, in order to prove a mutual respect and appreciation (Yan Chunde 阎纯德 2012, 4).

In the end, neither side can fully prove the telegram's or even the later letter's existence, but only list factors, memories and hints speaking for and against it, either highlighting the contradictions between them or attempting to explain them, but mainly insisting on the insufficient proof brought forward by the opposing side of the debate. The debate in both cases remains within the binaries of truthful/real (*zhen* 真) and false/fake (*jia* 假). Yan Chunde, on the one hand, concludes his list arguing that "the congratulatory letter is real/ truthful/ authentic 贺信是真实的" despite the loss of the authentic object, i.e. the "original draft 原稿" (Yan Chunde 阎纯德 2012, 5). Ni Moyan, on the other hand, concludes that its existence is in part the "imagination 设想" of Feng Xuefeng (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 11). In Ni Moyan's search for the "historical truth 历史真相" he, too, holds on to a black-and-white differentiation, which already comes to light in his publications title, reading *A Debate on the Real and Fake Lu Xun* 真假鲁迅辩, in which his essay was published as a chapter in 2010. While this debate has continued over decades, it is unlikely to be fully resolved when remaining within the categories of *zhen/ jia*.

One way to go beyond these binary categories is by approaching the telegram with regard to its role in communicating Lu Xun in museum space and acknowledging the very real (*zhen*) "life" it assumed regardless of whether it was *zhen* or *jia*. The connection between Lu Xun and Mao Zedong had served various functions and had indeed been communicated through various media. In one case, for example, it had served as a special rhetorical device, as the addressee was no one else than Mao Zedong himself. This had been the case in Zhou Haiying's letter to Mao Zedong mentioned above, in which he had requested a Lu Xun Research Room to be established in the Lu Xun Museum in 1975, thus achieving the "upgrade" of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in the landscape of cultural institutions in China. After making his requests, Zhou Haiying concluded his letter with a paragraph in which he referred to the telegram. In his plea for Mao Zedong's support, Zhou highlighted this past connection between his father and Mao Zedong, most likely to gain Mao Zedong's favor for his requests. As cited above, he described how in the past he had heard from

his mother Xu Guangping and other comrades who knew Lu Xun well, that "My father, in the last year of his life, so exactly in that year in which you successfully led the Red Army to North Shanxi after Long March of 25,000 li, missed you from the bottom of his heart. He once sent you a telegram to express his congratulations. 父亲在他生命的最后一年，也就是您率领红军过二万五千里的长征胜利到达陕北后的那一年，心中是深深想念您。他曾打电报给您表示祝贺" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 1977, 14). The paragraph continues with further descriptions of Lu Xun's interest and even enthusiasm for Mao Zedong, finally wishing Mao Zedong the best of health. Surely, the reference to the telegram served to link Mao Zedong to Lu Xun and hereby move and persuade Mao Zedong to take action on the matter of Lu Xun's manuscripts, the creation of commentaries for his collected works, the state of Lu Xun research in general and the situation of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in particular, for which Zhou Haiying sought his help and had addressed in his letter.

But the telegram did not only function as a rhetorical device. For even though it was beyond the grasp of the material and visual world due to its loss (if it ever existed), it entered both worlds during its "lifetime". The material trace that came to connect Lu Xun with Mao Zedong became part of the larger imagination of Lu Xun and his home communicated through the use of comic books and also oil paintings. In a comic book on Lu Xun published during the Cultural Revolution in 1972, Lu Xun is shown standing at his desk in Dalu xincun No. 9, where he lived from 1933-36, holding a piece of paper in the one hand and a cigarette in the other (Lu Huanhua 路焕华 1972, 29) [IC 93 Comic 1972].[322]

The visual markers which indicate that Lu Xun is indeed in his former residence in Dalu xincun No. 9 (and not any other, thus turning the generic into a specific "authentic" space which was then presented as a museum) are first and foremost the position of his desk, which is aligned to the window. The other markers include the electric desk lamp (unlike the oil lamp which would be used to show Lu Xun at his desk in Xisantiao hutong in Beijing), and the cupboard on which a miniature-globe and collection of seal prints is placed. The text on the opposite page explains the scene to the viewer: When the Red Army victoriously arrived in North Shaanxi, Lu Xun, despite being sick, immediately wrote a telegram to Mao Zedong and the Party Central Committee which read "It is on you that China and human kind place their hope 在你们身上，寄托着中国与人类的希望." As the text beside the comic reads, this telegram was an expression of Lu Xun's "deep

[322] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 093.

proletarian compassion for Chairman Mao and the CPC 对毛主席、党中央最深厚的无产阶级感情" (Lu Huanhua 路焕华 1972, 28).[323] By depicting a particular residence, this moment was not only localized in an "authentic" place, but also localized temporally in the mid-1930s. In 1974, a further sketch, which shows Lu Xun standing at his desk, was drawn by Zhang Wenxin 張文新, who had once received training in Soviet oil painting.[324] While the image does not immediately make this obvious, the title of the drawing explains the scene the viewer has before him/her: "Lu Xun's Telegram Congratulating the Success of the Great March 鲁迅电贺长征胜利" [IC 94 Sketch 1974].[325] The setting of the scene again depicts Lu Xun's last study in Dalu xincun No. 9, which is indicated once again by the positioning of the desk to the window, by the dresser with a mirror attached which was located at the right side of the desk, and the reappearance of the miniature globe, this time placed on the commode [IC 95 Lu Xun's Last Study].[326] Concerning their compositions, the drawings are different. While in the one image, Lu Xun is looking directly at the viewer, in the other he is looking towards the light, shining onto his desk from the window, showing his profile. What the two images have in common is that both require the text in form of a narration or title to clarify what manuscript Lu Xun is holding in his hand or is presented as lying before him. The second drawing by Zhang Wenxin remains in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum's collection up to today, but is not featured in the display any longer.

These images had circulated among readers of the comic book and in poster form. Thus, the telegram had materialized in the imagined spaces of Lu Xun's study on Dalu xincun in Shanghai in the minds of the readers. But the telegram also made its way into the physical exhibition halls of the Shanghai Lu Xun museum. A booklet titled *A Selection of Exhibition Materials* 陈列资料选编 published by the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum in 1974 features the telegram, which implies that it was also part of the museum display in 1974 (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1974). This was the year in which the official museum history states that the exhibition had been reopened for some time.

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[323] The comic book (*lianhuanhua*) does not contain page numbers, the pages 28-29 are counted starting at the inside title page.

[324] Zhang Wenxin had been a student of the Soviet portrait painter, Konstantin M. Maksimov (1913-1993), who had come to Beijing to teach in 1955. He was the first artist sent by the Soviet government to China and he became a consultant in the Central Academy of Fine Arts 中央美術學院 (CAFA). Wang Wenxin took part in a two-year postgraduate course on Soviet academic oil painting organized by the Ministry of Culture and the CAFA (Andrews 1994, 151–52), thus learning Soviet painting techniques.

[325] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 094.

[326] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 095.

The booklet describes the general outline of the exhibition on one page. The booklet from 1974 contains no pictures and is printed on simple paper unlike a previous publication of the museum from 1965 (Shanghai Lu Xun Memorial Museum 1965). But the exhibition is described in detail. It was arranged in four parts: The first ranges from 1881-1918 and displays Lu Xun's "search for a reason to save the nation and the people 寻求救国救民的真理". The second part ranges from 1918-1927 and describes Lu Xun's "development from a revolutionary democrat to a communist 从革命民主主义者像共产主义者转变". The third displays him as a "great communist 伟大的共产主义者" in the years 1927-1936 and the fourth is dedicated to "fostering the Lu Xun Spirit 发扬鲁迅精神" (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1974, 0). Thus the spatial biography that was created in the arrangement of the exhibition display is very much in line with the deterministic biographies Lu Xun scholars such as Kirk Denton have observed (Denton 2002). But in addition, the last exhibition hall aims not only to introduce the visitors to Lu Xun's life, but also to "foster" the Lu Xun spirit, meaning that the attention is turned to the visitor, explicit in its educational or instrumental function.

But most interestingly, beside its short description of the overall order of the display, it includes a selection of excerpts of Lu Xun's work [IC 96 Museum Booklet, 1974].[327] At the very top of the list is this telegram, which reads "It is on you that human kind and China place their hope 在你们身上，寄托着人类和中国的将来" (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1974, 8). The line differs slightly from the quotation used in the comic of 1972, as one speaks of "China and human kind" and the other the other way around which – if both are known to the reader – could undermine its credibility. Unlike the comic and the poster, however, the museum booklet provides its reader with the sources of the excerpts, in the case of the telegram a newspaper article from July 27, 1947, which supported its authority.[328] But even more striking is the quotation's placement as it is the very first "quotation/abstract 文摘" of Lu Xun listed, which shows how important this telegram was for the museum display.

Following it on third place is Lu Xun's letter in reply to the Trotskyists, a further letter which also proved lacking in authenticity in Lu Xun research in the 1980s. In this case Hu Feng 胡風 (1901-1985), instead of Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981), had spoken up after being silenced during the

[327] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 096.

[328] The newspaper which first published this telegram/ letter is argued to be the *Xinhua Daily* 新华日报 at the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan (*Jin-Ji-Yu-Lu*) Liberated Zone 晉冀魯豫解放區.

Cultural Revolution and revealed in his memoirs published in 1985 that this letter, in which Lu Xun allegedly distanced himself from and even harshly criticized the Chinese Trotskyists, had indeed not been written by Lu Xun but by his friend and Party member Feng Xuefeng.[329] With this Hu Feng, too, had taken part in the so-called Movement Against a Sacralization of Lu Xun. Thus

[329] The "political farsightedness" (*zhengzhi yuanjian* 政治遠見) for which Mao Zedong praised Lu Xun in 1938 when defining the "Lu Xun Spirit" (*Lu Xun jingshen* 魯迅精神) (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 280) originally referred to Lu Xun having anticipated the dangerous tendencies of the Trotskyists (*tuopai* 托派), however Lu Xun's "intellectual bond" with Trotsky has since been reevaluated most prominently by Gregor Benton (Benton 1994). In contrast to his presentation as an opponent of the Trotskyists by Mao Zedong, Benton points out that Lu Xun read Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution* in Japanese translation and translated it into Chinese in 1926 with his colleagues from the Nameless Society (Benton 1994, 39). This, however, predated Trotsky's break with Stalin in 1929. Apart from this, the debate on how Lu Xun was related to the Chinese Trotskyists is ultimately entangled with the so-called "battle of two slogans" (*liangge kouhao de lunzheng* 兩個口號的論證), which took place after the League of Left Wing writers was dissolved in 1936 (D. D. Wang 2010, 500). The one slogan was termed (1) National Defense Literature (*guofang wenxue* 國防文學), pushed by Zhou Yang and Tian Han, and the other (2) Mass Literature of the National Revolutionary War (*minzu geming zhanzheng de dazhong wenxue* 民族革命戰爭的大眾文學). With the dissolution of the League of Left Wing Writers, Lu Xun was expected by members of the CPC such as Zhou Yang to join the first slogan of (1) National Defense Literature which can be seen as the equivalent of the second united front (1937-1945) in the field of literature, as it focused all its attention to the cause against Japanese aggression. However, Lu Xun scholars have argued that Lu Xun did not want to join such a group as he believed it would neglect the importance of mass literature and the pain his friends had suffered from the GMD, with whose supporters he then would be expected to work together (Jenner 1982, 433). Instead, Lu Xun, together with Mao Dun, his protégé Hu Feng and others, created their own slogan, the second one. Lu Xun was not willing to fully be in line with the Party in this matter and clashed with some of the Party members, such as Zhou Yang. Indeed, this battle jeopardized the image of the left-wing writer's solidarity. Finally, in October 1936, the CPC, then based in Yan'an, intervened and a declaration was signed by Lu Xun, Mao Dun and Guo Moruo for a united front of all writers (D. D. Wang 2010, 501). This past conflict was played down in publications after the establishment of the PRC (Goldman 1985, 183). The conflict was not paid much attention to at first, but during the 1957 Anti-Rightist Campaign it provided material for heated debates and could serve as a weapon to attack so-called reactionaries (Goldman 1985, 183). This certainly was also true for the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Concerning Lu Xun's relationship to the Chinese Trotskyists, the following came to light in the mid-1990s described by Gregor Benton: In 1935, Trotskyist Chen Qichang 陈其昌 had written a letter to Lu Xun as he had heard of the two slogan debate. Seeing that Lu Xun did not fear to clash with individual CPC members, he was impressed by Lu Xun and wanted to establish contact (Benton 1994, 96). In 1936, Chen received a letter *signed by* Lu Xun called "Reply to a Letter form the Chinese Trotskyists" (Lu Xun [1960b] 1980). In this letter Lu Xun allegedly defended Stalin and took a clear stance against the Trotskyists. This letter would become an important "proof" used by Mao Zedong to show Lu Xun's Anti-Trotsky-stance and would even be integrated into school books for decades, thus it was a "powerful weapon" (Benton 1994, 102). According to Benton, this weapon would, however, turn into a "grave embarrassment", even turning the regime's literary establishment into a "clownish heap" (Benton 1994, 103). For in 1985, the memoirs of Hu Feng, Lu Xun's student, were published after his death. In his memoirs he explained that the letter had not been written by Lu Xun, but by the CPC member Feng Xuefeng, because Lu Xun was too weak at the time in which the letter was sent and would die later that same year. Before he died, Lu Xun *had* publicly claimed that it was *his* letter. But, according to Benton, this was something Lu Xun did to protect Feng Xuefeng, and indeed Feng Xuefeng is believed to have written the letter first and foremost to protect himself and also Lu Xun from any attacks from the CPC that they were indeed Trotskyists or had connections to them (Benton 1994, 101). Thus the main proof that Lu Xun saw the Trotskyists as enemies as Mao Zedong had proclaimed in 1938 had come undone. Furthermore, Lu Xun's friendship with US Trotskyist Harold Issacs (who would later be erased from the photographs that depicted him with Lu Xun, see "*Display*: Reintroducing Lin Yutang into the Display" of this part) also showed that in his later life, in 1934, Lu Xun refused to live by any political proscriptions (Benton 1994, 101). For more information, see "Chinese Trotskyism and the World of Letters" (Benton 1996, 91–109).

firstly the document "proving" Lu Xun's direct contact with Mao Zedong was questioned in the early 1980s and, secondly, the document "proving" Lu Xun's critical stance towards the Chinese Trotskyists also lost some of its authority in the mid-1980s. This museum booklet of only 26 pages reveals intriguing insights into the museum display of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum in 1974 before the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun and shows how the "authenticity" of historic materials in the material world and authorship in the literary world could be altered, either by Lu Xun's contemporaries (Feng Xuefeng) or by later figures (working for the *Xinhua Daily* who first published the congratulatory telegram), and how these altered materials shaped how the museum displayed Lu Xun. The museum, by using these materials, further contributed to the so-called "sacralization" of Lu Xun's image in Chinese society until the mid-1980s when these debates sparked.[330]

In Mao Dun's private letter from April 8, 1979, he revealed further intriguing details of how he had encountered the congratulatory telegram in Lu Xun's museum space. Mao Dun indeed did not reject its existence, but explained that at the time it was "not necessary to prove that Lu Xun was a great Communist from this kind of thing 没必要从这一件事证明鲁迅是伟大的共产主义者" (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 94) as mentioned previously. While this might have been the case in the 1930s and possibly beyond, by the mid-1970s, after the years of the Cultural Revolution and arguably before (as the publication of the telegram in 1946 would imply), it *had* become a necessity to prove Mao Zedong's connection to Lu Xun through material traces. And, in addition to their existence, they needed to be included into the exhibition space, adding to their authority as a historical and approved document or event. Not only was the telegram featured in the quotations which were used in the museum display, prioritizing the telegram above all other quotes by Lu Xun from his essays, short stories, letters and poems, but it also entered the museum space visually through the medium of paintings. In the letter Mao Dun wrote on April 8, 1977 to a man named Gao Heyun 高鶴雲 which in part has already been described above, Mao Dun described his very "astounding" (*jingyi* 驚異) museum visit:

> After the Liberation [i.e. 1949], the Lu Xun Museum was established. In a preview of the exhibition, I saw an image showing me and Lu Xun drafting a telegram "Congratulating the Success of the Long March", I was greatly astounded, and told them at once, in reality it was not the two of us who drafted it, but Lu Xun alone drafted it. Furthermore, I did not see

[330] The telegram was not only included in the Lu Xun exhibitions in Shanghai, but continued to circulate beyond cultural boarders even after the publication of Mao Dun's essay. In the travelling exhibition which moved through Europe in 1979 and 1980, the telegraph was included in the exhibition texts (Baqué and Spreitz 1980, 19).

> the original draft of the telegram, and I also do not know who (apart from Lu Xun) signed it at the end. […] At the time, the Lu Xun Museum could not come up with the whole draft or copy of the telegram text, but only said that before the Liberation [i.e. 1949] a newspaper of some base area (apparently the *Jinjicha Daily*) featured such a news piece which contained this sentence – namely the one that was printed in the 1976-edition of the *Collection of Lu Xun's Letters*. 解放后，成立鲁迅博物馆，预展时我看到有一幅画是我与鲁迅在拟电文《贺长征胜利》，大为惊异，当即告诉他们，事实不是两人合拟而是鲁迅一人拟的，且我那时未见电文原稿，也不知有哪些人（除鲁迅外）在电尾署名。[…] 当时鲁迅博物馆拿不出电文全稿或其抄件，只说是解放前某根据地的报上(似是晋冀察日报)载的一条消息有此一句—一 即1976年版鲁迅书信集上所载的.[331]

Even though Mao Dun did not directly explain that the authenticity of the telegram was questionable, he did emphasize that he had never seen the telegram and that he was not involved in drafting it. All the same, Mao Dun was standing in the museum, facing himself in the image which depicted exactly this. Not only had the telegram come to life in the exhibition display by entering the visual world, it had *added* a contemporary of Lu Xun, even though, according to his own accounts, he had not been standing at Lu Xun's side. It was presumably due to Mao Dun's objections that this image was removed from the exhibition and possibly replaced with a painting/image similar to those that circulated in the early 1970s in the comic book or by Zhang Wenxin's drawing, which remains in the museum's collection until this day.

But has the congratulatory letter/telegram vanished from publications and the museum display today? In his more recent book published in 2007, Zhou Nanben once again raised his voice on the debate on the letter's existence, arguing that the letter should not have been included in the 2005 edited *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集 published by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. He argues that while it was understandable that the letter was included in the 1976 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Letters* 鲁迅书信集, this was no longer the case in the 1981 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works*, in which Lu Xun had already been "restored" (*huanyuan* 还原), meaning that in the 1981 edition this congratulatory telegram was no longer included in the collection (Zhou Nanben 周楠本 2006, 29); (Zhang Yibei 张贻贝 2013, 35). Even though the 2005 edition did not include the by now "overthrown 推翻" congratulatory telegram (Zhou Nanben 周楠本 2006, 29–42), but the congratulatory letter which was found in the 1990s by Yan Yuxin (and arguably signed by both Lu

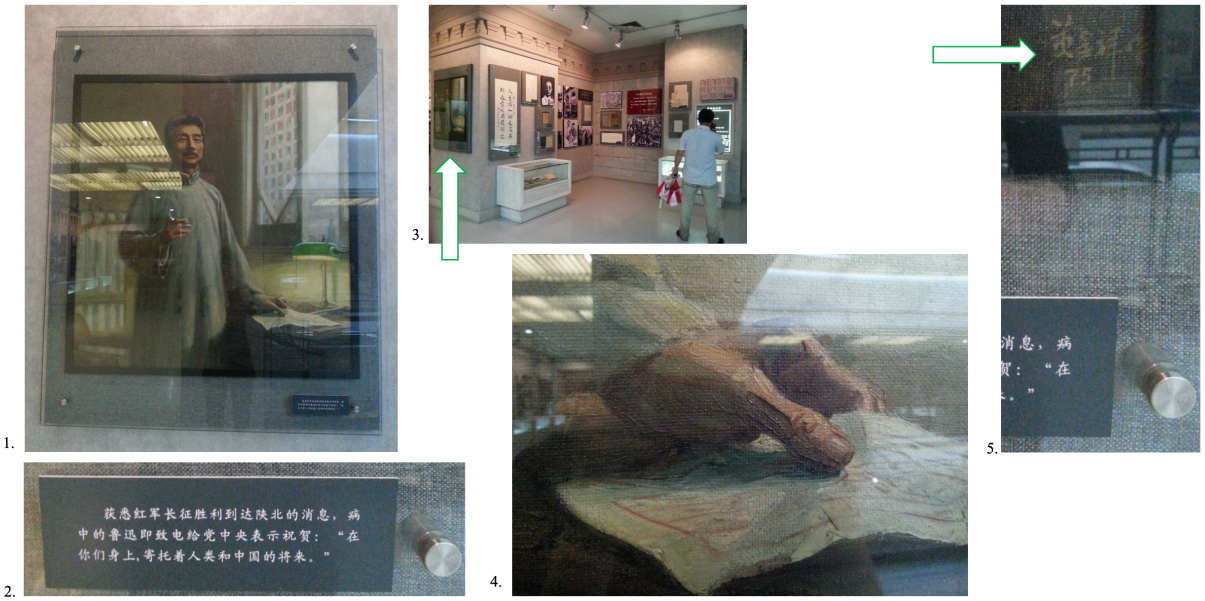
[331] Mao Dun's letters were first published in 1984 in *Selected Letters by Mao Dun* 茅盾书简 (Sun Zhongtian 孙中田 and Zhou Ming 周明 1985) and this particular letter is cited in full in (Zhang Yibei 张贻贝 2013, 35) and (Zhou Nanben 周楠本 2006, 34).

Xun and Mao Dun, marked by four times the letter X) was now included again. Thus the logic of rejecting the telegram/letter in the 1981 edition once again had changed, arguing that this letter was not "more authentic than the 'congratulatory telegram' included in 1976, but [merely] more believable 真实性不比 1976 年 […] 的 "贺电" 要大，可信程度要高" (Zhou Nanben 周楠本 2006, 29). Zhou Nanben expresses his astonishment that the letter nevertheless was included in the 2005-edition and thereby has – once again – "become 'reality' 成为 '事实'" (Zhou Nanben 周楠本 2006, 29). Even though Zhou Nanben does not fully reject the existence of the 1990s version (i.e. not arguing it to be false), he continues his article, highlighting the remaining uncertainties that continue to exist inherently within the congratulatory letter which had been allegedly written by Lu Xun and Mao Dun in 1936 and rediscovered sixty years later in 1996 (Zhou Nanben 周楠本 2006, 39–42). Due to these remaining uncertainties, which exist both with regard to the congratulatory telegram by Lu Xun and the congratulatory letter by Lu Xun and Mao Dun, some scholars believe that future collections should no longer include these documents (Zhang Yibei 张贻贝 2013, 36).

Has the congratulatory telegram/letter vanished from the museum display today? Here too, the answer is no. While the permanent exhibition in Shanghai did not include it in its display in the year 2014, both the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum still featured the telegram/letter in their display. Both displays were designed in the mid-2000s, but while they both draw on the same theme of the congratulatory letter/telegram, they do this in two very different modes of display. The Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum featured a large oil painting labeled: "When he learned the news of the Red Army's successful arrival in North Shaanxi, Lu Xun, who was sick, sent a telegram to the Communist Party Central Committee at once to express his congratulations: 'It is on you that human kind and China place their future' 获悉红军长征胜利到达陕北的消息，病中的鲁迅即致电给党中央表示祝贺：'在你们身上，寄托着人类和中国的将来'" [**IC 97 Shaoxing Oil Painting 1-3**]. The label-text does not use Marxist terminology to present Lu Xun as expressing his deep proletarian sentiment with the telegram as did the comic book, but the painting nevertheless echoes the visual materials that circulated in the early 1970s, with Lu Xun again standing at his desk holding a cigarette in his right hand and the [never/ no-longer existent] "original draft" (*yuangao* 原稿) in his left. His desk is set facing the window which leads to Dalu xincun lane. The oil paint is applied in relatively rough brushstrokes making the telegram appear

out of focus [**IC 97 Shaoxing Oil Painting 4**]. Thus, even though the electric desk light shines on the draft and the draft is painted in lighter colors, the viewer cannot make out what the manuscript says. The painting is a larger format than most of the photographs and materials on display in the museum and covers the whole of a corner wall. It encompasses a relatively dominant spatial position in the museum display, which becomes clear when comparing it to the Beijing exhibition described below. In this painting the "original draft" continues to be "alive" – or, as Zhou Nanben claimed, continues "to be reality" – in as much that its moment of authorship is captured by the medium of painting – a moment otherwise no longer retraceable.

IC 97 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum Oil Painting: The "Congratulatory Telegram 賀電", 2014



1-5. Oil Painting in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 18, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

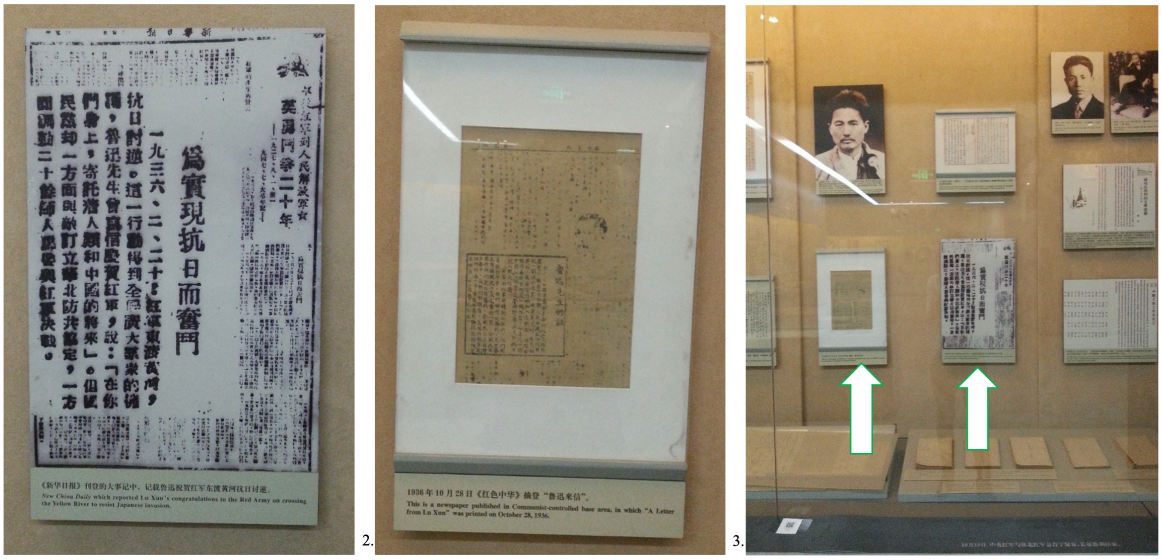
The Beijing Lu Xun Museum also features the telegram in its display until today [**IC 98 Beijing Congratulatory Letter**]. Unlike the Shaoxing museum which draws more prominently on colorful paintings, the Beijing museum's display draws mostly on monochrome photographs and texts in its display. Thus instead of a similar oil painting, the Beijing display (designed by Prof. Sun Yun and others in 2006 (-2016)) features the notification about the telegram in the *Xinhua Daily*, which reports on Lu Xun having written a letter to the Red Army. The caption, however, does not include the date on which this article was published, namely on July 27, 1947, thus glossing over the fact that the publication of this notification was indeed ten years later than the alleged sending of the letter.[332] For the viewer this notification might therefore seem temporally

[332] The full report displayed reads: "Fighting for Realizing Anti-Japanese Aggression: February 12, 1936: The Red Army crossed the Yellow River, to resist the Japanese and crush the rebellion. This operation received nation-wide

"closer" to the day in February 1936 when Lu Xun allegedly wrote the letter, since this is the only date provided to the viewer as it is stated in the text of the report itself. Also, the "documentary" character of this exhibit is enhanced as it does not attempt to show the moment of authorship by Lu Xun via the means of artistic representation, but instead presents this link through the lens of the report. Concerning its spatial context, to its left a further report is displayed which mentions the fact that a letter by Lu Xun had arrived. It was published in the newspaper *Red Army China* 紅色中華, which had printed the report as early as October 28, 1936. The printed text of the report is not clear enough to be legible to the visitor, but it nevertheless provides a second source to the *Xinhua Daily* report and one temporally much closer to the moment of authorship. Both of these reports are drawn on as sources by writers who argue in favor of the letters/ telegrams past existence. The skeptical camp, however, emphasizes the oddity that the *Red Army China* would not publish the report in February after receiving the letter by Lu Xun, but wait until his passing on October 19, 1936 before publishing it nine days later on October 28 (Zhang Yibei 张贻贝 2013, 34).

IC 98 Beijing Lu Xun Museum Reports on the "Congratulatory Letter 賀信", 2014

1. 2. 3.



1-3. Reports on display at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 24, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

support from the people. Mater Lu Xun once wrote a congratulatory letter to the Red Army, saying: 'It is on you that human kind and China place their future.' But the Guomindang instead concluded the contract on Defending the Communists of North China on the one hand, while on the other hand moved over 20 military units to [illegible] engage in battle with the Red Army 一九三六年二月二十日, 紅軍東渡黃河，抗日討逆，這一行動得到全國廣大群眾的擁護，魯迅先生曾寫信慶祝紅軍，說: '在你們身上，寄託著人類和中國的將來'。但國民黨卻一方面與敵訂立華北防共協定，一方面調動二十余師人 XX 與紅軍決戰" [**IC 98 Beijing Congratulatory Letter, 1**].

Concerning the recipient of the letter, neither Beijing exhibits – through the lens of the reports – nor the painting in the Shaoxing museum claim a direct link between Lu Xun and Mao Zedong, but rather state the recipient of the telegram/ letter to be the Red Army more generally. Regarding the authorship it is noteworthy that neither of the two Beijing reports mention Mao Dun as a co-author of the letter and – possibly because of this – the more recent finding from the Central Archive in the mid-1990s by Yan Yuxing was not included in the exhibition, as it suggests that indeed it had been Lu Xun together with Mao Dun who had written the letter.[333] Also, by restricting the display to the two earliest sources on the issue, the Beijing museum draws on none of the published recollections/memoirs of Lu Xun's contemporaries such as Mao Dun and Feng Xuefeng, nor does it include newer sources in the debate. Instead, the additional spatial context is supplemented by a portrait photograph of Fang Zhimin 方志敏 (1899-1935 from Yixian/Jiangxi) who was a military leader of the Red Army and was captured and executed by the Guomindang in 1935. His portrait is displayed together with the replicas of two of the letters he had written to Lu Xun from prison in which he requested Lu Xun's help in transmitting his writings to organizations of the CPC. The display thus focuses on a specific member of the Red Army and his contact to Lu Xun to supplement and historicize this one – controversial or at the very least highly debated – contact between Lu Xun and the Red Army. A less prolific case was chosen to historically contextualize the "congratulatory letter" with other links, thus also those directed from members of the Red Army to Lu Xun.[334] Apart from the historical context, the two reports on Lu Xun's congratulatory letter occupy a less prominent position in the Beijing museum display than in Shaoxing and the exhibits as such are also not as large in size in comparison to the other exhibits displayed.

To sum up, the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun in the late 1970s and early 1980s allowed close friends of Lu Xun who had been silent on the issue of a so-called "sacralization" of Lu Xun during the years of the Cultural Revolution to publicly raise questions about individual pieces of Lu Xun's heritage. Notably the newly published recollections and personal memories of Lu Xun's contemporaries including Mao Dun, Feng Xuefeng and Hu Feng revealed contradictions

[333] The four Xs are understood to stand for the characters Lu Xun and Mao Dun: "A letter from leaders XX and XX of the Chinese Cultural Circle arrived 中国文化界领袖 XX XX 来信" (Yan Yuxin 阎愈新 1996, 8).

[334] This is by far the earliest documentation of a letter from Lu Xun having arrived in Shaanxi, however the report does not give any accounts on the letters content or to whom it was addressed (Yan Yuxin 阎愈新 1996, 6). The first report including the sentence "It is on you that human kind and China place their future"-is first recorded in the *Xinhua Daily* a decade later.

between their personal memory on the one hand and the historical documents and reports as well as the artistic representations displayed in the museums and circulating in the collected works and in comic books on the other hand. In the past these contradictions had surfaced before, for example during Mao Dun's visit to the Beijing Lu Xun museum in the 1950s when he voiced objection to the painting in the museum which depicted him and Lu Xun writing the congratulatory letter together. He had, however, not voiced this objection publicly, but had expressed it within the liminal space of the exhibition preview. Thus, the exhibition preview and the right/honor to have the role of visiting the display beforehand gave some of Lu Xun's contemporaries the possibility to communicate with the museum staff and – as this example shows- even negotiate over the museum display. With the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, these negotiations became "public" in the sense that they were discussed among scholars in research journals, among others also in the *Lu Xun Research Monthly* published by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. Up to today, Lu Xun scholars have not been able to settle the debate on the existence or "authenticity" of the congratulatory letter and due to the loss of the "original draft" this debate is not likely to be settled. Even though doubts have been raised about its existence, the museums in Beijing and in Shaoxing both still include the letter in their display, without making any references to the debates that have arisen through this conflict of personal memory and historical documents.

The museums use different techniques to communicate the same topic. While the Beijing Lu Xun Museum attempts to display it in its "historical" context relying on the first documents which claim the letters existence, the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum continues to communicate it though means of representation and in a visual language which shows little to no change from the display of the topic during the Cultural Revolution. The reason for this can be threefold: Firstly, one can read the space as an intentional communication, which could mean that the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum tries to reach its very diverse audience of general tourists and students through the means of an "easier" and more "accessible" display, thus arguing a) *apologetically* – and/or secondly b) arguing *critically* that the museum intends to communicate an image of Lu Xun which is ideologically affirmative and asserts what the visitors learned in the past. Thirdly, if read in a less intentional manner and taking into account the limited resources of the state museums and the element of *institutional inertia*, thus arguing c) *pragmatically,* it could also simply be the case that the painting is one of the "remaining" exhibits from past exhibitions which was simply "recycled" in the present exhibition – without any straightforward political agenda. Whichever way it may be read, it stands in contrast to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum's display, which attempts to communicate

the same message by different means, attempting to "convince" the visitor of the "factuality" of Lu Xun's congratulatory letter by displaying its *documentation* instead of its *moment of creation*. For a by and large more specialized audience, this method might still be "intended", consequently could be argued *b) critically against*, as it attempts to convince the visitor of its existence by avoiding the display of any contradictory materials or discourses.

When trying to understand the motivation of displaying the oil painting featuring Lu Xun's "congratulatory telegram", the museum director of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum Xu Dongbo 徐東波 (1958-, museum staff since 1981, (Deputy) Director 1994-today)[335] provided an insight into the method of display, revealing that actually it was a combination of all three factors that resulted in this painting being included in the exhibition design i.e. A) that the lack of complexity was intended as he believed it to make the display accessible for a broad audience general. This lack of complexity, in the case of this particular exhibit, could be equated with taking the existence of the letter/telegram for granted, B) that the lack of complexity also was intended to affirm ideology but also C) that lack of complexity was to a certain degree unintended, as it was the result of recycling past materials in the contemporary displays.

A) Director Xu Dongbo explained that concerning the content of the display, the museum took the more "smooth and steady path 走得比較平穩" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 01:00:00). The main group of visitors Xu argued to be students, mostly minors (*weichengnianren* 未成年人), which was why the display was not designed to be very "advanced or profound 高深". Unlike the Shanghai display which Xu Dongbo believed to be more difficult to understand, the Shaoxing display was meant to be easily accessible, thus "when an average person comes in, when a student comes in, the display is more superficial, easier to understand, it stays on the surface, everyone will understand it, this is the result we are aiming for 如果普通的一個人進來，學生進來，它比較淺, 比較淺顯，比較平面化，大家都看得懂，我們想達到這麼一個效果" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:01:02). The chronological structure of the display was also something that "was not something advanced or profound, but something everyone could accept, everyone could understand 沒有弄得很高深，大家都能夠接受，容易理解" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:01:05).

[335] (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 231–33).

B) Concerning the fact that the lack of complexity could be intended as a means to affirm ideology, Xu Dongbo's responses also provide some insights into how the contemporary museum display is regarded by the director himself. For Xu Dongbo openly addressed the affirmative narrative which the museum display constructed through its objects, images and texts, even though he located this phenomenon primarily in the period of the Cultural Revolution:

> When Lu Xun was sacralized, the exhibitions of Lu Xun's life in our museums were also sacralizing, this is something we do not dodge away from, because exhibitions also are ideological, you see, [but] we went along with the whole revolutionary period at the time, we kept a high consistency with the ideology. 神化魯迅的時候我們博物館裡面的魯迅生平展覽也是神化的，這個我們不回避，因為展覽也是意識形態嘛，但是我們當時跟整個那個文革期間， 我們就跟意識形態保持高度一致的 (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:01:10).

Concerning today's display, Xu explained that there were no taboos on political issues any longer and that researchers were free to express "different opinions 不同的說法", but that "the museum is not a research institution, the museum still primarily encompasses the role of propagating (*chuanbo*) Lu Xun 不是一個研究機構，他有研究的功能，他更多的是一個傳播者的角色" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 1:46). Unlike in the times of the Cultural Revolution, there has been a "strong decrease of voluntary ideology 意識形態的自願少了很多" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 1:43). However, it had not completely disappeared either and that, for example, a focus on specific political figures (*zhengzhi renwu* 政治人物) would still remain even today. Even though Xu Dongbo did not specifically refer to the oil painting of Lu Xun sending the "congratulatory telegram" at this time, it certainly would have fallen under this category of highlighting Lu Xun's connection to political figures and groups through the display which continues in the exhibition design until this day. As common practice, when the exhibition was designed in the mid-2000s, the content of the exhibition had been checked (*shencha* 審查) by the municipal Shaoxing Administration of Cultural Heritage 紹興市文物局, Xu explained. Even though it was "much better now 好了不少了", in the past the display was always checked on whether it contained the "correct political terminology 政治術語", on whether it was "oriented towards politics 政治導向" and on "how well [the museum] grasped the political system, how well it fit with the things the government was propagating (*tichang* 提倡) at the time 政治體系把握的怎麼樣， 跟當時的政府提倡的這個東西能不能溫和" (interview with Xu

Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 1:48). This shows that up to today, the same structural mechanisms monitor the content of the museum's display and a focus on political figures continues to be regarded favorably or is even encouraged by the government, i.e. in this case the municipal Shaoxing Administration of Cultural Heritage.

C) Concerning the oil painting more specifically, Xu revealed, however, that its inclusion in the display was a combination of the educative and ideologically affirmative with the pragmatic motivations sketched above. When viewing the painting in the larger museum display, it becomes apparent that the labeling of the images in the museums is often very scarce. The paintings are often presented without the names of the painters or the date of creation marked on the label, which makes the contextualization for viewers extremely difficult. When looking very closely, however, the artist's name and date are marked at the lower part of the painting, reading 黄金祥安 X 75[336] [**IC 97 Shaoxing Oil Painting 5**], with the prior characters most likely referring to the artist's name and 75 to the year of the painting's creation, implying that the painting was painted at the end of the Cultural Revolution. Xu Dongbo explained that the paintings displayed in the exhibition come from a number of different artists. While some were donated by artists after they had come to Shaoxing, others were painted specifically for the exhibition, commissioned by the museum and by those who conceptualized the exhibition (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 1:20). Also, many art works that were painted by local Shaoxing artists were given to the museum as a donation, so that the museum would keep them in their collection. Generally speaking, the paintings chosen for the display or created specifically for it were aimed at making up for "those scenes [of Lu Xun's life] of which no photographs remain 場景沒有留下照片" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 1:21), such as, for example, the moment of authorship when Lu Xun wrote the "congratulatory telegram".

Concerning this specific oil painting, Xu Dongbo further explained it was painted by an art worker (*meigong* 美工) of the museum. The painting had thus been created specifically for the display. Xu Dongbo could not recall in what year the painting had been made, but explained that the artist was retired by now and that it had been painted for a past exhibition, "it is not newly painted, it was made for an old exhibition, we just took it and reused it. This was a painting made by us 不是現在畫得，以前的展覽做的，我們就拿出來用. 這是我們自己創作的" (interview

[336] The last character is illegible, thus marked with an X.

with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:01:21). In response to my question to what extent materials from past exhibitions were reused in newer exhibitions and whether or not it affected the modes of expression of the display, Xu replied:

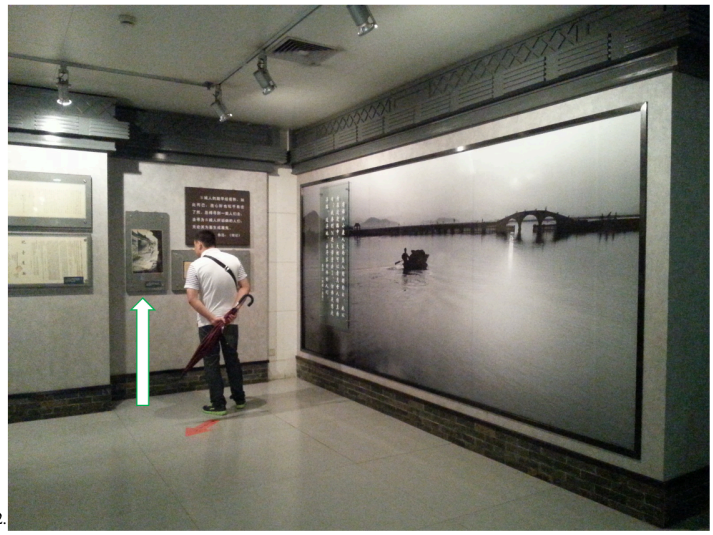
> It will certainly influence it. There are some good classical works. To put these into the museum is certainly appropriate. But if there are those that at the time were simply made do with for the display and painted in a hurry, these certainly do not fit as a mode of expression any more, this also exists. All we can do is just to do our best to avoid this kind of content appearing, but there really is nothing we can do; a painting like that, if everyone looks it over and it does not pass, then we don't usually put it back. This phenomenon also occurs. 一定會影響的，好的那些經典的作品，放在博物館裡面也是恰當的 ， 但是如果那個當時為了應付表現， 匆匆畫的那些，到現在肯定不適合現在的表現方式的，這個也存在，我們只能儘量避免這一方面內容出現，但實在沒辦法，那一幅，大家看看過不去的，然後我們不太放回去的。這個現象也是有的 (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:01:21).

In the end, the selection was often a combination of all three factors which resulted in a compromise. When asked for an example of a "good, classical 好的，經典的" work, Xu referred to a woodblock print on the first floor, which he titled "Leaving Home 離家" [**IC 99 Leaving Home, 1**]. It depicts the young Lu Xun with a queue, a stick with a bundle over his shoulder, carrying a food basket, leaving his hometown Shaoxing to study in Nanjing. The artist was a local artist from Zhejiang and Xu Dongbo believed this work to be "very appropriate" (*hen qiadang* 很恰當) for the display. The only respect in which it was not "appropriate" was its size. Since it was not made specifically for the museum display it was too small [**IC 99 Leaving Home, 2**] in comparison to the other images on display, but while the form had not been as appropriate, the content, Xu believed, was. After further inquiring which painting or print would not be considered appropriate in content, Xu Dongbo explained the following, however without referring to any specific painting or print on display:

> Those that were considered not appropriate in content have been taken down, there are many that no longer are on display, those that are more revolutionary, […] those which showed his fighting spirit (*douzheng jingshen*), this content is not appropriate anymore 內容不恰當我們就拿掉了，不上去了也很多了，革命性比較強的，表示魯迅鬥爭精神的這些油畫作品，版畫作品 ［…］ 內容上是不適合了，所以把他去掉 (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:01:27).

IC 99 "Leaving Home 离家"-Woodblock Print on Display, "Appropriate", 2014

1. 

2. 

Print included in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 17, 2016. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

One of the images which would be representative for the visual capturing of Lu Xun's fighting spirit could, for example, be the woodblock print of Lu Xun from 1968 discussed previously when referring to the omnipresence of Lu Xun's image in comic books and posters during the Cultural Revolution as opposed to the officially closed doors of the museum [IC 100 Lu Xun's 1968 Image].[337] Not only does the caption of the image say that it is Lu Xun's "unyielding revolutionary spirit" (*geming yinggutou jingshen* 革命硬頭精神) which is depicted there. His facial expression alone conveys the so-called "fighting spirit" (*douzheng jingshen*) Xu Dongbo is referring to, as Lu Xun is depicted with fierce eyebrows as he is looking askance at the enemy below him in the corner. This facial expression is further highlighted through a line of his poetry that indeed reads "fierce-browed (*hengmei* 横眉) I cast a cold glance at the thousand pointing fingers 横眉冷對千夫指"[338], thus conveying the message of the image through three channels: The caption, the image and the literary quotation. This mode of depicting Lu Xun which circulated in the early Cultural Revolution (1968) is no longer as present in the museum display as they are not considered "appropriate".

The oil painting of Lu Xun sending the "congratulatory telegram" to the Red Army had, however, made the cut. It was a painting from a past exhibition, painted in 1975, which had been recycled in the current display. At the time of its creation, the museum had only recently been reopened after

[337] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 100.
[338] These lines refer to Lu Xun's poem "Self-Mockery 自嘲" from 1932 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ah).

having been only "open internally 内部开放" during the early 1970s,[339] yet the opening of a new exhibition in a new exhibition building had been planned since early 1970. Unlike images which circulated during the early Cultural Revolution which aimed to capture Lu Xun's fighting spirit, this painting presents Lu Xun in a far calmer posture and expression. He is standing upright, not leaning forward towards the light, but standing erect with his hand placed on the desk. His hands holding the "original draft" (*yuangao*) and a cigarette are depicted in a relaxed manner, not gripping the page. While this posture can be found in depictions of Lu Xun throughout the decades, his facial expressions differ more strongly, with this oil painting depicting a comparably calm Lu Xun. This painting had made the cut as it was fitting in a) size to be displayed, due to the fact that it had been painted precisely for this purpose, but also in its b) painting style, as it did not depict Lu Xun's so-called "fighting spirit" through the visual grammar applied in images of the early Cultural Revolution. While size and style were considered appropriate, its c) content, too, was considered appropriate, despite the fact that it depicts a moment in Lu Xun's life which had caused a great stir in the scholarly Lu Xun community, not only in the late 1970s, but also again in the mid-1990s and even today. Thus concerning the three motivations listed above, this painting was included for a number of reasons, among them the fact that it is A) "easily accessible" to a general and young audience, B) that its content is affirmative in its political/ ideological message (i.e. connecting Lu Xun to political figures, in this case the Red Army). However, this purposefulness of including the object in the exhibition in the sense that it was a decision made by rational actors who are led by political goals and regard this act as beneficial to themselves would also be overstating the case. The selection process of the images from the perspective of director Xu Dongbo implies that the reusing of old images, including images created during the Cultural Revolution, occurs by not excluding it as inappropriate, but by including it, and not necessarily due to its political function or message.

Huang Qiaosheng 黄乔生, Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, also referred to the debate on the congratulatory letter when he was asked about sensitive topics that the museum had to take into consideration in curating the display today:

> **Graf:** Can sensitive topics of a personal or political nature, such as Lu Xun's critical view on the Communist Party in Shanghai, his marriage to Zhu An or his depressions, for example, be raised in the exhibition? Why/ Why not?

[339] The Lu Xun Life Exhibition was opened internally from 1970-1974. In the year 1972 a new exhibition hall had been built, which would be opened to the general public in 1974 (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 54;61).

Huang: Yes, the political always exists, this relationship to the Communist Party, this we emphasize. But now this has become a bit less. Originally didn't it say he and the Red Army, liked that congratulatory telegram? Later everyone debated whether or not it was real/authentic (*zhende*), so now in our exhibition this no longer appears. So we no longer use this material, because we are afraid that the academic circles are still debating it. There are some who are of the opinion that it was not him who wrote it, that someone used his name to write it. So in the *Collected Works* this is included as an appendix (*fulu*), it is not included as the regular (*zhengshi*) [text]. Now, on the whole, there are fewer taboos, […] you accord to historical facts (*shishi*), strictly accord to historical facts, you do not fabricate (*bianzao*) and you do not painstakingly cover up.
艾：魯博的展覽中是否能提及政治敏感的題目（比如，魯迅對共產黨的批評）或者私人敏感的題目（比如，朱安的婚姻或魯迅的憂郁症）？為什麼（不）可以？
黃：嗯，政治的一直都有啊，這個對共產黨的關係，這個是我們強調的，但是現在稍微有點淡化，原來不是說他跟那個紅軍喜歡那個賀信嗎？後來大家有爭論，就這個信是不是真的，現在我們的展覽裡頭就沒有體現這個，就沒有用這個材料，因為怕學術界還要爭論這個。就有人認為可能這個不是他寫的，有人用他的名字寫的。所以全集這個就作附錄，不是作為這個正式的。現在總體來說忌諱少了，[…] 就是收錄這個。[…] 你還是按照史實，嚴格按照史實，不要編造，也不要刻意地去掩蓋 (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 02:12:26).

Huang Qiaosheng did not choose to discuss Lu Xun's critique of the policies of the Communist Party in the realm of cultural production which goes unmentioned in the exhibitions, but instead uses a counter-example, namely the example of the congratulatory letter, which, according to Huang, was no longer featured in the exhibition. Thus while the museum must highlight Lu Xun's relationship to the Party and does not discuss his critical stance towards it, it also no longer "fabricates" positive links to the Party which have become controversial in academic circles. But accordingly, it has not completely vanished – the display of the reports of the congratulatory letter are still included in the exhibition, which Huang Qiaosheng did not mention in the interview and the reference to the telegram in the Appendix of the 2005 edition of Lu Xun's *Collected Works*[340]

[340] The congratulatory letter is mentioned in Volume 18 of the 2005 edition of Lu Xun's *Collected Works* in the "List of Lu Xun's Life and Works 鲁迅生平著译简表". It states: "On March 29, [Lu Xun] and Mao Dun jointly signed and sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, expressing: '[we] enthusiastically support' 'the national program to Resist Japan and Save the Nation of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese and Soviet Governments'; praising the 'great victory' of the Red Army in its journey East which was 'the most glorious page in the history of the Liberation of the Chinese People!' (according to the report published in the official newspaper of the Northwest Bureau of the CPC's Central Committee *The Fight* 鬥爭 Vol. 95, which published Lu Xun's and Mao Dun's congratulatory letter). 三月二十九日与茅盾联名致函中共中央，表示"热烈拥护""中共、中国苏维埃政府"的"抗日救国大计"；赞扬红军东征的"伟大胜利"是"中华民族解放史上最光荣的一页！"（据 1936 年 4 月 17 日出版的中国共产党西北中央局机关报《斗争》第九十五期所刊鲁迅、茅盾的贺信）" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005k, 41–42).

has, as discussed above, been received as once again legitimizing its existence (Zhou Nanben 周楠本 2006, 29).

Until this day, the telegram remains an exceptionally intriguing object. Sources have claimed it to have been written by Lu Xun in 1936. It "came to life" only after Lu Xun's death when it was first reported on in late 1936 and in more detail again in 1947, and took on different forms and shapes in the memories of Lu Xun's contemporaries. It even entered museum space, both in form of text and images. However, starting with the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun in the late 1970s and early 1980, doubts were raised about its "authenticity" (or prior existence). Even though Mao Dun once had explained that in the mid-1930s, it had not been necessary to prove Mao Zedong's or the Party's connection to Lu Xun through material traces, it had in some form become necessary after the establishment of the PRC. If this necessity still exists today is debatable. However, the Beijing and Shaoxing museum nevertheless continue to include it in their displays without referring to the surrounding debates, contradictions and negotiations which their objects entail, thus continuing – intentionally or not – to communicate a "*guanfang*/ orthodox" reading of Lu Xun. The writing of the congratulatory telegram/letter was and remains invisible to the eye, however. The museum used different means, namely through visual representations and documentary sources, to add this moment of Lu Xun's life to the display, as it was an important positive way, to "sacralize" Lu Xun after his death and continues to do so even today, decades after the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun.

Display: Reintroducing Lin Yutang into the Display

One form in which the so-called Sacralization of Lu Xun (*shenhua Lu Xun* 神化魯迅) took place in museum space was by adding visual materials to Lu Xun's life in order to present him as having had close ties to politicians, or, in the case of the telegram, to the Red Army. In the latter case, not only the material object of the telegram was added to Lu Xun's heritage featured in paintings, but his contemporary and fellow writer Mao Dun was also added to this moment of creation. Through commissioned art work, the museum had the power to (re-)construct those moments of Lu Xun's life that highlighted (or outright constructed) Lu Xun in a specific manner which was considered valorizing at the time. When Mao Dun stood before a painting of himself and Lu Xun writing a telegram to the Red Army, a telegram of which he had never seen the original and insisted had not been part of writing, this method of positively adding objects and contemporaries to the museum

display, even locating them in places where according to their own accounts they had never been, becomes especially evident. The painting with Mao Dun and Lu Xun co-authoring a letter to the Red Army was meant to go on display in the 1950s. Thereby it would not only have linked Lu Xun to the political success of the Long March, one of the founding myths of the CPC, but also would have emphasized Lu Xun's close connection to Mao Dun, who after the establishment of the PRC took over the public office of Minister of Culture (1949-1965), thus consecrating Mao Dun and indirectly the post of the Minister of Culture of a newly established government by emphasizing his close relationship with Lu Xun in the past.

As the following section will show, the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun 反對神化魯迅運動 which took place in the late 1970s and early 1980s, not only brought these positive (additive) changes that had been made in the past exhibitions to light, but also the negative (eliminative) changes. For while Mao Dun had been *added* to images at Lu Xun's side, other contemporaries of Lu Xun were *removed* from Lu Xun's side, despite the fact that they had been present, literally standing at this side. In Aleida Assman's recent study on *Forms of Forgetting* (*Formen des Vergessens*), such eliminative changes in the display of cultural heroes would be considered a form of *damnatio meomoriae* (punitive forgetting) (A. Assmann 2016, 49–53). Assmann hereby sees the most radical form in the elimination or manipulation of political and historical archives, making reference to a photograph of Josef Stalin with Nikolai Yezhov, head of the secret police in form of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and the leading figure in Stalin's Great Purge. Yezhov, who had fallen from grace in 1938, was removed from Stalin's side by retouching the photographs (A. Assmann 2016, 51). But Assmann also points to the potential return of individuals who were subject to such a form of punitive forgetting: After the Second World War, writers whose books had been burnt in front of libraries in Germany, who were punished and then removed from collective memory, were called back into memory as soon as the NS regime had ended, turning "banned writers into respected writers (aus geächteten wurden geachtete Autoren)" (A. Assmann 2016, 51). The cases that came to light in the production of Lu Xun differ slightly from the above two: The writers discussed did experience a change in valorization, while Yezhov was not positively reevaluated after the images had been restored. Yet their reevaluation was also not as absolute as the writers who experienced oppression during the German NS-regime and whose former removal from collective memory can be one of the main reasons for their current value in a society, a society aiming to distance itself to the highest possible

degree from its NS past. In the Chinese case, writers such as Lin Yutang were reevaluated and today belong to a canon of Chinese writers also officially propagated in the PRC, yet the museums commemorating him today are the same that removed him in the past, thus a certain unease and reservation commemorating him and acknowledging him as having been subject to such a form of punitive forgetting remains until today.

In the exhibitions, one method of removing a number of Lu Xun's contemporaries from museum space was realized by omitting their portraits in the display. Wang Dehou, former Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum (1984-1992), explained that Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879-1942 from Anqing/ Anhui), who was criticized as belonging to the "Trotskyists 托派",[341] Hu Shi (1891-1962 from Shanghai), who was criticized as a "reformist 改良主義者" especially in the mid-1950s but also during the Cultural Revolution,[342] Zhou Zuoren, who was criticized as a "traitor to

[341] In the early 1930s under Chiang Kai-shek's rule and again in 1952 under Mao Zedong's rule, nationwide raids against Chinese Trotskyists and their supporters were organized in China. Chen Duxiu, founder of the CPC became one of the best known leaders of the Chinese Left Opposition of the so-called Trotskyists. Trotsky – unlike Stalin – was against the first United Front (1923-27) between the CPC and the GMD, a view Chen Duxiu supported. Chen was therefore expelled from the CPC in 1929, despite having acted as its first General Secretary from its founding in 1921 to 1927. Hereafter he became the General Secretary of the Chinese Left Opposition between its founding in May 1931 and his 5-year imprisonment by the GMD starting in 1932. In his research, Gregor Benton presents Chen Duxiu not so much as a follower of Trotsky, but an equal (they were the same age), showing how Chen dealt with Trotsky's ideas critically. However, they agreed on many important issues: Concerning their ideal of a Socialist state, both Trotsky and Chen Duxiu were against a "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" and concerning the Communist Parties' practical policies both were against their collaboration with the GMD against the Japanese (Benton 1996, 43;46). After his imprisonment by the GMD, a trial awaited Chen instead of an execution, which was largely due to his fame and popularity, his many friends among the GMD and due to the fact that he was not considered a real political threat to the regime. Chen was released during the Second United Front (1937-1946) (Benton 1996, 48). This was also made possible through Chen's statement that he did not represent Trotskyism, which he had made not so much because he disagreed with Trotsky, but because he had had a falling out with other Chinese Trotskyists of the so-called "ultra-left" (among them Peng Shuzhi 彭述之 (1895-1983)) (Benton 1996, 49). After 1937, Chen was willing to support the GMD against the Japanese in the Second United Front, but continued to be hostile to Stalin and kept his distance towards GMD campaigns (Benton 1996, 50). Scholarship on the Trotskyists including Chen Duxiu's relationship to Trotsky became possible within China in the early 1990s (Benton 1996, 2). After the break with Moscow in the late 1950s and especially with his rehabilitation in 1979, Chen Duxiu was regarded more favorably again, a change in tone which was made possible by expressing doubt on whether indeed he had been a Trotskyist in the first place, but also by allowing for a more diverse scholarly research on Chen Duxiu's thought (Benton 1996, 42). Lu Xun however did not exchange attacks with Chen Duxiu as he did with Lin Yutang or Hu Shi, for example.

[342] Beside Lin Yutang, Xu Zhimo, Liang Shiqiu and Hu Shi are other prominent writers with whom Lu Xun had engaged in public debates. Hu Shi, for example, had differences in opinion with Lu Xun starting in the mid-1920s when he wrote articles in *Modern Review* 現代評論 and in 1928 in *New Moon* 新月, the mouthpiece of the Crescent Moon Society published by Xu Zhimo, Wen Yiduo and Hu Shi. After the establishment of the PRC, 1954/55 a campaign was organized in the PRC against Hu Shi's ideas (Klöpsch, E. Müller, and Keen 2004, 358, 126), (Hu Xiao 胡晓 2009). The campaign was initiated by Mao Zedong in order to attack the "Hu Shi Group bourgeois idealism struggle" (Hong Zicheng 2007, 43). Mao Zedong's writings which brought about this campaign were not published in full in the 1950s, but in 1967 during the Cultural Revolution these writings were published in the *People's Daily*, thus once again presenting Hu Shi as an enemy even posthumously, as Hu Shi had died in Taiwan in 1962 (Hong Zicheng 2007, 43).

the nation 漢奸" after his collaboration with the Japanese during WWII (as will be discussed below) and also Qian Xuantong 錢玄同 (1887-1939) and Liu Bannong 劉半農 (1891-1934) due to their close connection to the previously mentioned were not shown in form of photographs in the exhibition displays prior to the early 1980s (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20). This was especially troublesome according to Wang, since they were all involved in the Journal *New Youth* 新青年 as editors or contributors together with Lu Xun, a journal which came to be the mouthpiece of the New Culture Movement. The omission of their photographs in the display was a method of selection. If they were to be mentioned this was only possible by making them "wear hats 戴帽子", thus adding the derogative term of Trotskyist, Reformist, or Traitor to the Nation to their names when they were referred to in the texts within the exhibitions (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20). Through this method their names would be preceded by a "political determination 政治之定性", thus if they were to be mentioned, it was simultaneously "necessary to negate them 要否定他們" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20).

Other individual figures who had been in close contact with Lu Xun were similarly subjected to criticism after the establishment of the PRC. In the case of Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 this was limited to the time of the Cultural Revolution. His "removal" from Lu Xun's museum space was relatively difficult to uphold (i.e. requiring the removal of his desk from Lu Xun's former living spaces in Dalu xincun No. 9) since their relationship had been a particularly close and friendly one. In other cases, an ideological separation between Lu Xun and other figures was easier. Sometimes, Lu Xun was presented as opposing critical figures in public debates published in journals while he was still alive, thus legitimizing a critique of those individuals with Lu Xun's rhetorical attacks towards them. This is exactly what Mao Dun explained as "those who Lu Xun once criticized are certainly terrible 凡是鲁迅骂过的人就一定糟糕" (Mao Dun 茅盾 2002, 93). The fact that Lu Xun stayed in contact with many of them regardless of their differences and past exchange of attacks on political and literary issues was glossed over.

In the exhibitions, this "glossing over" found expression in a second method of forgetting which went beyond omitting their portraits in the display. This second method would become particularly visible in the case of Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895-1976 from Longxi/Fujian). While Lu Xun is known to have had disagreements with many of his contemporary writers of the May Fourth Period and beyond, the exchange of rhetorical attacks between him and Lin Yutang are among the

most well-known.[343] Lu Xun's and Lin Yutang's first public fight took place in 1925/1926 when Lu Xun replied to Lin Yutang's call for "fair play" with his famous essay "On Deferring 'Fair Play' 论‘费厄泼赖’应该缓行" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005l); (Lu Xun [1957b] 1980), published in *Grasslands* 莽原 in 1926 in response to Lin Yutang's article published in *Threads of Conversation* 語絲 in 1925. Here he declared that 'fair play' would have to be postponed, using the famous image of the dog that had fallen into the water (*luo shuigou* 落水狗). Such a dog should not be pitied, as he would return to bite even harder. Thus a dog – if he bites men – must be beaten no matter if he is ashore or if he has fallen into the water, coining the expression "beating a dog that has fallen into the water" (*da luoshuigou* 打落水狗), a metaphor which would frequently be referred to with regard to Lu Xun's "fighting spirit 战斗精神" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 280). For Lu Xun, the dogs who returned from the water to bite men again and even more fiercely than before referred to past and contemporary figures. First he pointed to those in authority prior to the 1911 revolution who were treated "fairly" by the revolutionaries and who hereafter would support Yuan Shikai in his attempt to establish himself as a new emperor and therefore once again stopping change. Secondly he referred to those in authority in the Beijing Women's Normal College 北京女子師範大學 who in 1924, under the Beiyang government, had young female students beaten after organizing a protest. Typical for his style, Lu Xun only took up Lin Yutang's term of "fair play" (*fei'e polai* 費厄波賴) in the beginning of his essay and continued his argument against "fair play" with references to past and then-current events.

Over the years, Lu Xun and Lin Yutang would disagree on many issues, ranging from their understanding of what role humor was to play in literature, over their different approaches in translation, to the very fundamental issue of what function literature was to serve in society more generally. But they stayed in contact nevertheless, collaborating in certain projects and continuing to refer to each other's works in the literary field.[344] Their second major falling-out occurred a decade later in 1935/36, when Lu Xun again wrote in response to Lin Yutang's essay that he neither agreed with the idea that "scholars scorn each other" (*wenren xiangqing* 文人相輕), simply because they – by nature – like to disagree with each other, nor that they should be too

[343] For an overview over the friendship and discordance between Lin Yutang and Lu Xun, see (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 1994).

[344] Lu Xun and Lin Yutang criticized each other publicly beginning in 1925, but continued to refer to each other's works in the years to follow and also worked together in the China League for the Protection of Civil Rights 中國民權保障同盟 from 1933-1934 (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 1994, 32).

"accommodating" (*suihe* 隨和). Lu Xun encouraged debates and fights between scholars, writing in his 1935 essay "Scholars Scorn Each Other (2 [of 7]) 再论 '文人相轻'" published in *Literature* 文學 that "a writer should attack what he despises just as fervently as he should praise what he approves. Even more fervently than he embraces what he loves he should embrace what he hates, just as Hercules clasped the giant Anataeus tightly in order to break his ribs 他得像热烈地主张着所是一样，热烈地攻击着所非，像热烈地拥抱着所爱一样，更热烈地拥抱着所憎——恰如赫尔库来斯 (Hercules) 的紧抱了巨人安太乌斯 (Anataeus) 一样，因为要折断他的肋骨"(Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ac, 348); (Lu Xun [1960c] 1980, 200). After Lu Xun's death, Lin Yutang would respond to Lu Xun's criticism by writing an almost satirical commemoration of Lu Xun, which was published in January 1937 when he lived abroad. In his essay he wondered how Lu Xun would be commemorated after having criticized so many of his contemporaries so harshly, claiming that he had left a legacy of "scolding people" (*maren* 罵人). Indeed, it is this concept of "Lu Xun's way of scolding" (*Lu ma* 魯罵) which would be taken up in the critical debate on Lu Xun's legacy and again spark in the Chinese literary and scholarly field in the early 2000s (Zhong Xueping 2010, 273). But despite Lin Yutang's and Lu Xun's differences, their literary and intellectual developments were deeply entangled, certainly not merely in form of opposition, and both in their professional and personal lives their paths frequently crossed, a fact which was – in the spatial biography of Lu Xun in museum space – "glossed over".

In the case of Lin Yutang's image, his portraits were not only omitted in past exhibitions, but he was removed from photographs in which he appeared together with Lu Xun. In this way he was removed not merely by selection, but by altering and arguably falsifying of photographic material, which is the second method by which Lu Xun's contemporaries were removed from the museum display. The juxtaposition of the real and altered photographs is vividly shown among others in Findeisen's publication on *Lu Xun: Texte, Chronik, Bilder, Dokumente* [IC 101 The Return of Lin Yutang][345] (Raoul David Findeisen 2001, 309, 375).[346] The juxtaposition of these materials highlights most vividly and persuasively Lu Xun's "instrumentalization", even though most sources do not go into detail whom exactly this instrumentalization benefited and how. In the first photograph taken in 1927 during a visit in Shanghai, Lin Yutang and Sun Fuxi 孫福熙 (1898-1962,

[345] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 101.
[346] Other scholars who have compared the altering of the photographic images, see: (Benton 1994, 100–101), (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 159, 164), (Davies 2013, Image 7).

from Shaoxing/Zhejiang), the younger brother of editor and colleague of Lu Xun's Sun Fuyuan 孫伏園, who became an artist and studied in France, were removed from the group photo and the background instead replaced with the pattern of a curtain.[347] Findeisen further juxtaposes two versions of the photograph, comparing two pictorial biographies of Lu Xun, the one published in 1978 by the Wenwu Publishing House with a later publication from 1981 by the Renmin Meishu Publishing House, in which the two figures reappeared. The reasons for their removal Findeisen sees in Lin Yutang and Sun Fuxi promoting a call for an apolitical or politically abstinent literature and art and were thus "politically and ideologically unpopular figures (politisch-ideologisch mißliebige Personen)" (Raoul David Findeisen 2001, 311). In another example, a photograph taken at Song Qingling's home in 1933 in Shanghai,[348] the same method is used to once again remove Lin Yutang and along with him the American journalist Harold Isaacs (1910-1986 from New York) from the photograph. By the time of his departure from China in 1934, Isaacs is understood to have become a Trotskyist, however Lu Xun continued to be friends with him and even organized a farewell dinner for Isaacs before his departure (Benton 1994, 100–101).[349] And in another photograph taken in 1927 during Lu Xun's time in Xiamen,[350] Lin Yutang again was removed, replacing him with three stones. In the recent display of the museum from 2014, Lin Yutang is again visible on the photograph, which is a result of Lin Yutang's return to Lu Xun's museum space in the early 1980s. It is noteworthy that the altered photograph in which Lin Yutang was replaced with three stones was included in a pictorial biography on Lu Xun published in 1977 by no other institution than the Beijing Lu Xun Museum itself (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1976, 42). Thus, Lin Yutang, along with other contemporaries, had disappeared from Lu Xun's side by seemingly vanishing from photographic material, leaving behind inanimate objects serving as background, such as a fence, a curtain or three stones lying in the grass. Pointing to a

[347] The photo shows Lu Xun sitting with Xu Guangping and his brother Zhou Jianren, while in the back row only Sun Fuyuan remains.

[348] The photo shows from left to right: The American journalist Agnes Smedley, George Bernard Shaw, Song Qingling, Cai Yuanpei, behind him Harold Isaacs and Lin Yutang, and finally Lu Xun.

[349] Benton points out that according to Wang Fanxi 王凡西 (1907-2002) it is not clear whether or not Lu Xun knew at the time that Isaacs had become a Trotskyist, which somewhat weakens Benton's initial reason to refer to the photograph, as he was trying to show Lu Xun's "refusal to live by political proscriptions" (Benton 1994, 100–101). Wang Fanxi was a member of the CPC since 1925. He became a Trotskyist in Moscow in 1928 and was active as a Trotskyist with Chen Duxiu from 1930 to 1931. He was arrested in 1931 and 1937, expelled from the CPC (Benton 1994, 94) and lived in exile from 1949 to his death in England in 2002.

[350] The photo shows from left to right Lin Yutang, Lu Xun, and other members from the Surging Flood Society 泱泱社.

political instrumentalization of Lu Xun in this context is at times so obvious that it results in researchers lacking further explanation of whom this instrumentalization benefited in particular, turning this critique into a knockout argument that leaves no space for further questions. It makes an approach to Lu Xun's museum spaces in the spirit of a hermeneutics of suspicion seem the only valid approach left for analysis.

It is important to see that these images were not merely a result of the Cultural Revolution, but circulated in China soon after the establishment of the PRC. Findeisen acknowledges this when pointing out that these images circulated widely between the 1950s and 1970s, and Gloria Davies more specifically explains that the photograph at Song Qingling's home in 1933 was "airbrushed" already as early as 1951 when the image was published in the Shanghai-based journal *New Literary Land* 文艺新地 in September of that year (Davies 2013, Image 7)[351]. As to the role of the museum as an institution, it is difficult to pinpoint who or which institution was responsible for these alterations and what exactly the motivations behind these methods were. The conclusion which can be drawn is that the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, as well as the other Lu Xun museums, played a crucial role in circulating these altered or "cleansed" images in a) publications, as the Beijing Lu Xun Museum encompassed a publishing house b) in form of moving exhibitions whose materials were largely based on the photographs included in the publications, and c) through the large number of visitors who saw these photographs on display during their museum visits.

Interestingly, the visual materials from which these contemporaries of Lu Xun were removed were not paintings or prints which could be designed freely according to the artist's composition, as I have discussed above in the context of the telegram Lu Xun allegedly wrote to Mao Zedong, but were photographic materials, which – unlike paintings and prints – have the capacity to communicate a far stronger degree of "authenticity" and "objectivity" than other art forms, as they were often understood as "representing reality". Surely this "truth claim" of photography, restated, for example, in 1960 in André Bazin's "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" (Bazin and Gray 1960), has rightfully been questioned. The doubts raised about the objectivity of photography drew on previous structuralist theories from the field of linguistics by semioticians. They were represented by Ferdinand Saussure, Charles Peirce and Charles Morris who, between the 1910s and 1930s, highlighted the disconnection between the signifier (words/signs) which a community

[351] However, they were not consistently altered in all publications. The photograph in which Lin Yutang had been turned into three stones, for example, was published in its original including Lin Yutang in the edited book commemorating Lu Xun published by the Renmin Wenxue Publishing House in 1956.

uses to describe or represent objects and the mental concept these signs evoke in us, the signified (concept).[352] These ideas were further shaken to their core in the post-structural theories, as in Jacques Derrida's critic that the signified could only be understood though describing it with the help of other signifiers, which results in anything signified as being but an endless stringing together of signifiers, thus further questioning any truth claim – be it linguistically or visually[353] (A. Assmann 2008a, 37). In the realm of photography it was Pierre Bourdieu's[354] voice in 1965, Ronald Barthes' voice in 1973 (Bourdieu 1999) and Susan Sontag's voice also in 1973 (Sontag 2013) which pointed out the weaknesses of an ontological understanding of a truthful photography representing reality. Sontag acknowledges that photography is often understood in juxtaposition to painting, a juxtaposition from which photography draws its authority of conveyed truthfulness: "While a painting or a prose description can never be other than a narrowly selective interpretation, a photograph can be treated as a narrowly selective transparency. But despite the presumption of veracity that gives all photographs authority, interest, seductiveness, the work that photographers do is no generic exception to the usually shady commerce between art and truth" (Sontag 2013, 531). Especially when photographs are framed, be it in albums, newspapers or museums, it is their ascribed veracity which enables them to function as proof, Sontag argues. "Photographs furnish evidence. Something we hear about, but doubt, seems proven when we're shown a photograph of it" (Sontag 2013, 531). And indeed, this truthfulness is what Bazin's views proclaim and they

[352] The terms *signifiant* (signifier) and *signifié* (signified) were coined in 1916 by Ferdinand de Saussure, who is recognized as the founding father of French structuralism (Merten 1983, 61). According to Saussure, there always is a difference between an object on display and the interpretation which it embodies. Their connection has been proven to be more complex even after the linguistic turn around 1900 (A. Assmann 2008a, 33–35), which revealed this difference between words and things, between signifier and signified. Saussure's theories were further developed by Peirce in 1931, who argued that at least three relations were important in the signifying process and Morris, writing in 1938, who extended the structure to four relations, leading to a differentiation between *Zeichenträger* (sign-vehicle/signifier), *Designat* (desgnatum/signified), *Interpretant* (interpretant) and finally *Interpret* (interpreter) (Merten 1983, 62).

[353] It is precisely this logic which Ronald Barthes also takes this up in his dealing with how myths are constructed in his 1973 article "Myth Today", arguing that every myth is a sign which is composed of signifier and signified, and that every sign again becomes a new signifier (a), which in relation to a new signified (a) turns into a new sign (b), and so on, showing how myths are ultimately a semiological system, as is language (Barthes 1999, 53).

[354] In his 1965 essay "On the Social Function of Photography", Bourdieu also deconstructs the idea of photography being a form of realistic and objective recording not by deconstructing its semiotic structure but by pointing to its social use and function, highlighting different ways of reading photography by representatives of the working class presented in contrast to understandings of photography by the intellectual elite (Bourdieu 1999, 164–76). Bourdieu's deliberates over how "peasants" and the "city-dwellers" (Bourdieu 1999, 166) regard photographs. Bourdieu's writings on photography feature the same curiosity and critical distance as Lu Xun's deliberations on his fellow Shaoxing contemporaries' attitudes towards photography. Bourdieu, however, continues to look at the social function of photography as connecting the "lower-brow" genres (e.g. Fashion) with the hierarchically higher positioned "high-brow" genres of art (e.g. painting), thus looking at photography as a genre of art and its functions for social distinction up to the 1960s more generally.

remain not easily shaken even today. Especially in comparison to painting, photography claims an authority of objectivity which no other art form claims. “All the arts are based on the presence of man, only photography derives an advantage from his absence,” Bazin argues, which accordingly gives photography “a quality of credibility absent from all other picture-making”. Thus “[p]hotography enjoys a certain advantage in virtue of this transference of reality from the thing to its reproduction” (Bazin and Gray 1960, 7–8). The fact that the eliminative changes were made in the photographic materials of Lu Xun thus seems like an encroachment into the authority of photography and a severe instrumentalization of photography’s “truth claim”.

As Sontag pointed out, the “framing” of the photograph can further increase its veracity, also referring to the museum space (Sontag 2013, 531). How important the museum as a frame to communicate photographs is even today was suggested in an interview with one of the visitors, visiting the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum. Mr. Pan (male, 44, middle school education) who was self-employed, visited the museum with his family including his 19-year-old daughter, who was fascinated by Lu Xun’s manuscripts and school notes. When asking him about which exhibit had made the strongest impression on him, he referred to a photograph.

> **Graf:** Which object on display left the strongest impression on you?
> **Pan:** I seem to have only looked at his photographs, his manuscripts I did not read much.
> **Graf:** So, which photograph left the strongest impression on you then?
> **Pan:** The three-person family photo, the one with Xu Guangping when the child was one month old, it seems to have been when the child was just 100 days old, that photo.
> **Graf:** Did you see this photo for the first time?
> **Pan:** I’ve seen it in the past, but to come to the museum to see it is different, I think.
> **Graf:** In what way different? Different from [seeing it] in a book?
> **Pan:** [Yes], different from in a book.
> **Graf:** In what way different?
> **Pan:** When I think back, it really is a bit more authentic (*zhenshi*), yes.
> **Graf：** 您對哪一個展品印像最深刻?
> **Pan：** 我好想只看到他的照片, 他的文稿就沒有什麼讀。
> **Graf：** 你對哪一個照片印像比較深刻呢？
> **Pan：** 三口之家吧，跟許廣平滿月的，好像是兒子滿百日，那張照片。
> **Graf：** 是第一次看到這張照片?
> **Pan：** 以前看過，但到博物館來看不一樣，我覺得。
> **Graf：** 哪一方面不一樣? 跟書上不一樣嗎？
> **Pan：** 跟書上不一樣。
> **Graf：** 哪一方面不一樣？
> **Pan：** 回想真的是真實一點巴。對。
>
> (interview with Mr. Pan, 2014, August 19, 00:02:10)

Zhang had remembered this photograph not because it was new to him, but seeing this familiar photo in the context of the museum left a strong impression on him, as it gave the photograph additional authority, made it more "truthful/ real/ authentic" (*zhenshi* 真實), a term he actively introduced into our conversation. Even though many paintings were also on display in Shaoxing, Zhang had remembered the family photograph, thus having a better memory of the medium of photography not only in comparison to the manuscripts, which he claimed he did not look at, but also over the paintings and prints on display, which had not made a strong enough impression on him to remember and actively refer to them in the interview afterwards. Even though the family photograph is not one of the more controversial photographs in the display, it is one of the most well-known and frequently circulated images of Lu Xun. Due to the power which the photographic image gains by being included in the exhibition in comparison to including it in books and magazines, it is also clear that the exclusion of some photos (portraits of Lu Xun's contemporaries) and even the alteration of other photographic material on display (removing Lin Yutang and other contemporaries) would have a strong impact on how the image of Lu Xun was communicated within museum space.

But another aspect of the deconstruction of photography's truth claim should be mentioned here, namely the author's self-fashioning and the museum's fashioning of the author [IC 102 Family Photo 1, 3].[355] This photograph, as most photographs of Lu Xun, is highly stylized. The photograph was taken on September 13, 1933 at the Wangguan Photo Studio 王冠照相館 (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 27). The family is sitting in a "roomless" space, with the only indication of a spatial background being the back of Xu Guangping's chair. The background is left completely white and at the bottom, the outlines of the parents' laps and Zhou Haiying's legs fade into the white background. It is likely that these decisions with regard to form and minimalism of attributes were based on Lu Xun's requests, as he "self-fashioned" (Greenblatt [1980] 2005) himself in a manner to distance himself from those in his rural hometown Shaoxing, which he described in his essay "On Photography 论照相之类" in 1924 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005m); (Lu Xun 1996). If they did belong to the few who did not fear the technology of photography as a "daemon-like art/technique 妖术" and were willing to have their pictures taken, they would nevertheless prefer full-body photographs as half-body photography reminded them of form of

[355] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 102.

capital punishment during the Qing-Dynasty, which had people parted in two by the waist (termed *yaozhan* 腰斬) (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005m, 193). Secondly, they had a tendency to set up a tea table with objects to be included in the photograph, a habit which he poked fun at, saying that they must have had much mucus to be in need of so many spittoons that were put on display in such photographs (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005m, 193) [IC 102 Family Photo 2]. Lu Xun's family photograph shows neither of these practices – all three are shown in half-body portraits and no attributes are added to the composition. Even though in the photograph itself there are no visible markers or attributes of "social distinction" and even though photography had become a common practice in urban circles, especially in the treaty ports, the practice of commercial family-photography in the early 1930s in Shanghai can nevertheless be argued to have been a "bourgeois" practice which was available mainly to the urban (intellectual) elite.[356] The awareness for the "social use" of this photograph reveals Lu Xun's self-fashioning.

In addition, the "fashioning" of Lu Xun by the museum can also be seen by the museum's arrangement of the photographs together with photographs of Lu Xun's home [IC 102 Family Photo 3]. As in most publications, the photographs are commonly included without references to the dates on which they were taken and the museum also does not refer to these dates in the display. The photographs showing the rooms of Lu Xun's house were taken on the day of his death on October 19, 1936. The outside façade of the house of Dalu xincun No. 9, on the other hand was taken in the 1950s, when the house had already been turned into a memorial museum and probably even after 1961, after it had been designated as a cultural heritage site. This can be seen from the sign at the front of the façade, for example. Thus the museum mixes contemporary photographs with the photographs which were taken after Lu Xun's death. In a similar way we have seen this in edited volumes of photographs of Lu Xun's life described in the section on "Foreshadowed Spaces" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis, here this method is now used in the spatial display of the museum. Through this, Lu Xun and his family are placed into their "home" in

[356] Photography was introduced into China through the treaty ports. While photography as a technological invention was announced in Europe in 1839, the first foreign photographers came to China already in the 1840s. By the 1850s, Chinese photographers became familiar with the process and opened their own studios (Thiriez 1999, 81). While the production was limited to urban areas and the treaty ports in the first decades of production, photographs of Lu Xun's childhood in Shaoxing and his references to the photographic practices in Shaoxing show that by 1900 photography had also become more common in smaller towns such as Shaoxing, even though the skeptical attitude towards the technology described in his essay reveals that it was still feared and considered foreign. Thiriez also addresses the attributes included by those who were photographed, see [IC 102 Family Photo 2], also pointing out that the inclusion of nature (either in form of natural scenery or miniature trees and plants in the background) as an additional attribute of the scholar (Thiriez 1999, 84).

Shanghai instead of in a Photo Studio. This is also one form through which Lu Xun could be presented as being a more "approachable saint 亲密的圣人" than Lu Xun had described Confucius (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ad, 329).

Photography, from its very beginnings in Europe in the 1830s and after its appropriation by commercial photographers in China of the 1850s could indeed never be called "objective" or "truthful" as it is influenced by the photographer (who is far from absent in the image), by the subject, who can use this medium for purposes of self-fashioning, and also by the framing, in this case by the museum curators, who choose to display the photographs in a particular spatial context and in a particular arrangement with other photographs. Nevertheless, the altering of the photographs in the early 1950s and their display in the museum over the next three decades, reintroduces the photograph's truth claim in two ways: It highlights the limits to the photograph's social constructedness as proposed in the cultural criticism of the 1960s and 1970s. Through their juxtaposition in Lu Xun studies since the early 1980s, they have become a persuasive tool, as they once again serve in scholarship as "proof" of Lu Xun's instrumentalization by the state-owned museum.

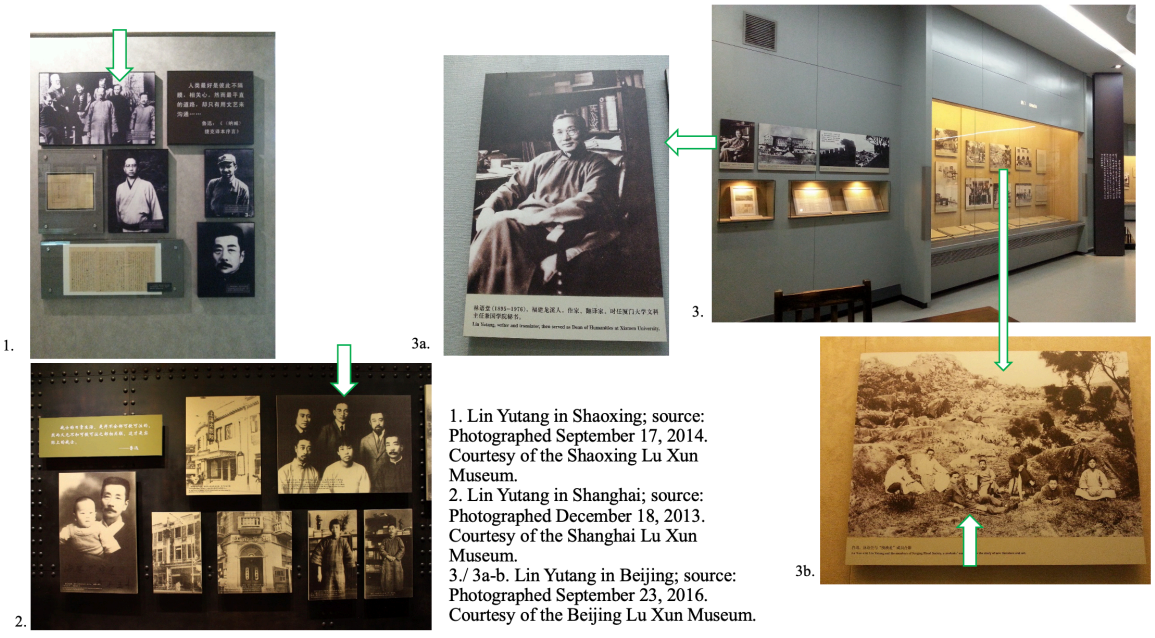
The Lu Xun Museum's re-opening with a newly designed exhibition in 1981 was a turning point in the history of the Lu Xun museums in China, as even the official Party newspaper, the *People's Daily*, announced in September 1981:

> Concerning the content of the exhibition there have been many additions compared to the past. This exhibition added and restored photos of Li Dazho, Cai Yuanpei, Chen Duxiu, Qian Xuantong, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Yu Dafu, Qu Qiubai, Feng Xuefeng, Zheng Zhenduo and others, introducing their relationship with Lu Xun and their achievements in their common fight. 展出的内容比过去有不少增加。这次展览增加和恢复了李大钊、蔡元培、陈独秀、钱玄同、郭沫若、茅盾、郁达夫、瞿秋白、冯雪峰、郑振铎等人的照片，介绍了他们与鲁迅的交往、共同的战斗业绩 (Renmin Ribao 人民日报, September 20, 1981).

This newspaper announcement which describes the newly designed Lu Xun exhibition shows how the "literary thaw" had also arrived in museum space. In the years from 1979 to 1981, many of Lu Xun's contemporaries experienced such a "rehabilitation" during a time which is often referred to as "thaw" in the literary scene in China which set in after the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress in December 1978 (Yeh 2010, 647). However, Lin Yutang is not specifically mentioned and those whom Wang Dehou had spontaneously listed as having been omitted, such as Zhou

Zuoren and Hu Shi, are also not included in the list published by the *People's Daily*. They were considered to be the more controversial figures, together with Hu Feng for example, which is why they might have been referred to in the phrase "and others 等人". Also, the list does not show that indeed the time period in which these individuals had been "removed" from museum space varied strongly, with Qu Qiubai[357], Mao Dun and Guo Moruo having been removed only within the years of the Cultural Revolution, althought they had previously served as biographical links between Lu Xun and the Party. Chen Duxiu due to his ties to the Trotskyist most likely had been absent for the previous decades as well, as is the case for Lin Yutang, who had not been included from as early as 1951 to 1981, thus over a period of three decades. Yet in the display in 2014, Lin Yutang appears in all major Lu Xun museums, be it in Beijing, Shanghai or Shaoxing, and is represented by precisely those images that had previously been altered [**IC 103 Lin Yutang in the Lu Xun Exhibitions, 1–3**].

IC 103 Lin Yutang in the Lu Xun Exhibitions



1. Lin Yutang in Shaoxing; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lin Yutang in Shanghai; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.
3./ 3a-b. Lin Yutang in Beijing; source: Photographed September 23, 2016. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

However, the "literary thaw" only went so far. Even today, Wang Dehou's opinion of the regained presence of those individuals who had been excluded either by selection or alteration in past exhibitions is critical. For even though "the images are allowed to appear and have come out,

[357] Qu Qiubai's desk had been removed from Lu Xun's former residence in Shanghai for the decade of the Cultural Revolution, being removed in 1966 and most likely restored in 1977 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 52).

the degree to which they are conveyed is far from enough 雖然允許圖片，雖然都出來了，但表達的程度永遠不夠" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20). The reasons for this Wang sees in the fact that the representatives of the journal *New Youth*, especially Qian Xuantong, had to entreat Lu Xun for a long time to join their journal[358] and that, when he finally agreed, it was also due to the success of the journal that Lu Xun became such a successful writer later on (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20). This takes away much of Lu Xun's agency and determinism in becoming the "standard bearer 旗手" of the New Culture Movement (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1970, 191). Even though their contribution to the New Culture Movement is, according to Wang, a "common understanding 共識" today in China and "the leaders 領導們" say that their role must also be analyzed, Wang expressed impatience with the scarcity of information on them in the exhibition spaces, pointing out that a more in depth discussion of their work "would not be too much to ask 也不為過啦 (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20). The inclusion of their portrait photographs into the exhibitions during and after the 1980s even had a counterproductive effect [**IC 104 The Portraits of Chen Duxiu**]. By including them visually, by adding their portraits, the museum no longer needs to elaborate on them, Wang explained. The question that should not be raised is what would have happened to the New Culture Movement without Chen Duxiu or Hu Shi. Even though the situation is more open today in comparison to the past, "it has been opened a little, but by far not thoroughly 開放一點，但並不徹底" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20). It is thus not surprising that Shanghai Lu Xun Museum director Wang Xirong explained that even though Chen Duxiu could certainly be shown in the museums today, "Lu Xun and the Trotskyists 魯迅與托派" was still a "taboo 忌諱", which could not be discussed in the museum display (interview with Wang Xirong 王錫榮, 2013, December 18). These comments made by Wang Dehou and Wang Xirong show the limits to the "reintroduction" of Lin Yutang, Chen Duxiu, Zhou Zuoren and others in the exhibition in the 21st century, for their *inclusion* has not led to an adequate *representation*, according to Wang.

[358] The fact that Lu Xun only contributed his short story to New Youth reluctantly is described in Lu Xun's "Foreword to 'Call to Arms'" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005p, 440–41).

IC 104 The Portraits of Chen Duxiu



1. Chen Duxiu



2.



3a. Chen Duxiu Li Dazhao Hu Shi



3.



3b. Zhou Zuoren Qian Xuantong Liu Bannong

1. Chen Duxiu in Shaoxing; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Chen Duxiu in Shanghai; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.
3./ 3a-b. Chen Duxiu in Beijing; source: Photographed September 23, 2016. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Structure: Diversifying the Museum Landscape? – Rehabilitated Writers

Apart from zooming in to the exhibition and inquiring to what extent Lu Xun's contemporaries were represented in the exhibitions, another method of understanding the changes that took place during this time is to zoom out and look at their representation within the wider national context of memorial museums in China. It is thus important to inquire: How did the landscape of literary museums at large change over time? Did it really become more diverse in representing a greater number of writers? These limits to how "open 開放" the politics of commemoration are in China is also visible in the representation contemporaries of Lu Xun[359] have received in the wider museum field in China up to today. In the field of publishing, the literary thaw in the late 1970s and early 1980s meant that writers who had been silent during the Cultural Revolution could publish again. Mao Dun, for example, started publishing again in 1978 and continued until his death in 1981. In some cases, the rehabilitated writers would also be given prominent positions in

[359] Even though Lao She is a contemporary of Lu Xun's they never personally met (Sun Yu 孙郁 2009, 25). Ba Jin did not see himself as a close friend of Lu Xun, but as his reader and student. The time they had direct contact was in the last three years of Lu Xun's life (1933-1936), when Ba Jin and Lu Xun both lived in Shanghai. Ba Jin had lived in Shanghai since 1925. He was, however, in danger as one of the major anarchist thinkers of his time, which is why he travelled to Japan in the years 1933 and 1934. Unlike Mao Dun, Ba Jin never joined the League of Left-Wing Writers. The only time he had been to Lu Xun's residence in Shanghai was on the day of Lu Xun's death, all prior meetings had taken place in restaurants and hotels (Ba Jin 巴金 1956, 105). Yet Ba Jin was one of the bearers of Lu Xun's casket during the funeral, see "Lu Xun embodied" of this thesis.

literary establishments. Mao Dun was reintroduced as the head of the CWA 中國作協 in 1979 and was replaced by Ba Jin[360] from 1984 until his replacement after his death in 2005. Ba Jin would further be a driving force in the foundation of the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature 中國現代文學館 (NMMCL 文學館), which opened in 1985, thus becoming a major actor in the institutionalization of Chinese literature himself, finding inspiration from similar institutions in Japan.[361]

But how were these "rehabilitated" writers themselves commemorated in the museum field? Some writers who had died before the end of the Cultural Revolution, such as Guo Moruo, were quickly rehabilitated and institutionalized. Guo Moruo's former residence was opened as a state-owned museum in 1988 and Mao Dun's even as early as 1985. Both writers had been very much in line with Party politics ever since the establishment of the PRC, encompassing high government positions in the cultural field, and neither had suffered extremely before or had addressed the Cultural Revolution vehemently after their rehabilitation. Other writers, however, were more difficult to be commemorated in museum space after their rehabilitation. Surely, apart from Lu Xun, nearly all prominent writers and intellectuals had suffered in one form or another during the years of the Cultural Revolution. But in comparison to Guo Moruo and Mao Dun, other writers were institutionalized much later. In the case of Ba Jin (1995-2005 from Chendu/ Sichuan) and Cao Yu (1910-1996 from Qianjiang/ Hubei) this certainly had to do with their late death, thus the Cao Yu Memorial Museum was established in 2010 and the Ba Jin Memorial Museum in 2008. In Lao She's (1899-1966 from Beijing) case, however, his death at the beginning of the Cultural

[360] The homepage of the CWA, gives a brief institutional history (CWA 中国作家协会). Ba Jin called for an archive of modern Chinese literature in 1981 in his "Random Thoughts 随想录" (Ba Jin 1985, 88).

[361] Ba Jin did not become the director of the NMMCL, however. The museum opened as early as 1985, not in 2000 as stated in (Kaldis 2007, 24). Ba Jin found the inspiration to establish a literary archive from Japan: "Ich habe an einigen berühmten Orten der Welt Museen und Gedenkstätten besichtigt und konnte mir durch das kulturelle oder historische Material, das ich dort präsentiert fand, die Vergangenheit und das gegenwärtige Leben des jeweiligen Volks vorstellen. Jedes Volk und jede Nation hat eine eigene glorreiche Geschichte. Es ist dumm und vergeblich, Material, das die Vergangenheit belegt, zu vernichten und den eigenen Ahnen die Anerkennung zu verweigern. Was du nicht haben willst, nehmen andere gern; was du wegwirfst, hebt ein anderer auf. Unser Nachbarland Japan besitzt neben kleineren Museen für einzelne Schriftsteller ein ziemlich komplettes Archiv der modernen japanischen Literatur" (Ba Jin 1985, 91). Concerning the affiliation of literary museums in Japan, Ba Jin noticed: "Ich habe gehört, daß das Archiv für zeitgenössische Literatur in Japan von den Autoren selbst gegründet und finanziert wurde, es waren keine staatlichen Mittel dazu notwendig. Ob wir chinesische Schriftsteller nicht auch zustandebringen sollten, was die Japaner geschafft haben? Meine Kräfte sind zwar begrenzt, aber entschlossen wie ich bin, reichen sie allemal, um den Anfang zu machen. Die Gründung und Leitung des Archivs sollte dem chinesischen Schriftstellerverband obliegen; der Staat müßte lediglich ein Gebäude zur Verfügung stellen. Ich selbst bin bereit, mein eigenes Material und die Bücher, die ich besitze, sowie einen Teil meines Einkommens zur Verfügung zu stellen. Ich hoffe sehr, daß ich die Gründung und Eröffnung des Archivs noch erlebe" (Ba Jin 1985, 92).

Revolution made it more difficult to narrate his biography in museum space. His former residence was finally turned into a museum on this 100th birthday in 1999. In Lao She's case his death was addressed in the last room of the chronological display, which also exhibited his tear-off calendar which was still the date of the day before he, as the exhibition describes, committed suicide (August 23, 1966).[362] Furthermore, a stone which the exhibition claimed had once been placed at the Taiping Lake in southwest Beijing in which he had drowned himself was included in the exhibition. But its indexical function as a gravestone became obsolete when the Taiping lake, a man-made lake which had been made in 1958, was filled for construction in 1971 at the height of the Cultural Revolution.[363] Even though Lao She's residence was not directly connected to his death, it arguably could have been his tragic fate during the Cultural Revolution that caused his memorial museum to be established only at the turn of the twenty-first century, despite him having been a canonical left-wing writer before 1966.

The Cultural Revolution remains a subject which is often left untouched in major national museums in China. The most well-known example hereof remains the "Great Revival"-exhibition (*fuxingzhilu* 復興之路) in the National Museum of China 中國國家博物館 (NAMoC) (2011-) which famously jumps over the entire decade of the Cultural Revolution in its otherwise chronologically arranged display[364] as the exhibition on the upper floor ends with the 1960s and continues with the late 1970s and early 1980s on the lower floor, with the flight of stairs conveniently distracting from this temporal jump.[365] In the exhibition of the NMMCL 文學館, which was redesigned in 2012, the Cultural Revolution is only mentioned within the text written in the door frame leading from the literature beginning with the establishment of the PRC (1949-1977) to the literature of the "new era" (*xin shiqi* 新時期) (1978-1999), thus giving no further information on the suffering of intellectuals and writers during the Cultural Revolution.[366] The

[362] For a photograph of the calendar, see: (Lao She 老舍 1997, 952).

[363] I could not verify whether this stone had indeed been placed at the lake. No photographs were allowed in the Lao She Museum in March 2013. For an analysis on the oral history of Lao She's death, see: (Fu Guangming 傅光明 2009), for a short biography on Lao She, see: (Lyell 2007).

[364] The Cultural Revolution is reduced to one photo and described in the exhibition as a "project which suffered severe complications" (Varutti 2014, 117).

[365] Based on my observations from visiting the exhibition on December 8, 2013.

[366] The text reads "After undergoing ten years of silence during the 'Cultural Revolution', China's literature was resuscitated in 1978 around the third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. After having been stripped of their right to write for over ten years, the old and middle-aged writers once again started radiating youthfulness, and at the same time a great number of young writers, aware of the need for change, surged forward and let the previously silenced literary world florish once again. 中国文学经过"文革"十年的沉默，在 1978 年党的十一届三中全会前后出现了复苏。十多年被剥夺写作权利的老作家和中年作

exhibitions of the individual lives of authors, such as Lao She and also Ba Jin, however, make it possible for the Cultural Revolution to be addressed in these museum spaces more concretely, both with regard to its devastating effect on the writers lives, in the case of Lao She for example, but also the concrete effect on the writers home. For in Ba Jin's case the second floor in Ba Jin's former residence had been sealed off for most of the Cultural Revolution, which is described in the museum tour, because two floors were considered inappropriate and too bourgeois for only one family to live in.

In the interview with director Zhou Limin 周立民 of the Ba Jin Former Residence, he also addressed the possibilities and limitations as to how the topic of the Cultural Revolution could be discussed in museum space: "We have no chance to avoid that topic [i.e. the Cultural Revolution] 我們沒有辦法繞過" (interview with Zhou Limin 周立民, 2013, December 18, 00:25:01). He described that the display addressed the topic from the history of the house. On the second floor the display features a box which was left by Ba Jin, which includes "strips of paper used by the Red Guards to seal off [the boxes or the doors]…. 有紅衛兵的封條". It is interesting to see how the paper seals on doors and boxes have a negative connotation in Ba Jin's case while they had a positive connotation in Lu Xun's museum history, when Wang Yeqiu used seals of the Beiping court to protect Lu Xun's estate during the Civil War. In Ba Jin's case, the seals are a visual marker of the restrictions writers suffered under the Cultural Revolution, a time in which the Communist Party failed to protect that which it had previously and later considered its literary heritage. This shortcoming can thus subtly be addressed by describing the past paper seals and how they had reduced the house in size. Furthermore, on the first floor the museum had included some materials which criticized Ba Jin during the Cultural Revolution. In the future, the museum plans to even arrange a special exhibition on this topic in the museum, as the museum staff has been in contact with many citizens, who would contribute their collections of objects and materials from the Cultural Revolution for such a special exhibition. Nevertheless, the museum would not take up of the cause of the Cultural Revolution on a big scale either, Zhou explained. "We will not make a splash, you know the environment in China, we will not say the Cultural Revolution was this or that, we will probably use a different method, but still put the same content on display 我們不會大張旗鼓的，有中國這個環境妳知道，我們不會說文革怎麼樣，我們可能會用另一種方式，

家重新焕发了青春， 同时又涌现出一大批具有变革意识的青年作家他们使沉寂的文坛重新走向繁荣. Display viewed on August 5, 2014.

但把同樣的內容展示出來" (interview with Zhou Limin 周立民, 2013, December 18, 00:25:47). Historically speaking, Ba Jin played an active role in the debate on the commemoration of the Cultural Revolution as he was the first to advocate a Museum to Commemorate the Cultural Revolution in the mid-1980s.[367] While his attempts failed at the time, it appears that through the history of his former residence, the subject can at least be addressed on a smaller scale.

It goes without saying that the process of institutionalization proved more difficult for those writers (such as Lin Yutang) and political and cultural figures (such as Chen Duxiu) who had *not* been considered canonical before the Cultural Revolution. This difficulty was further enhanced by the institutionalization of Lin Yutang on the other side of the Taiwan Strait, where he had lived the last years of his life. Before a Lin Yutang Museum was established in the PRC, a Lin Yutang Memorial Library had been established in his former residence in Taiwan in 1985 [**IC 105 Lin Yutang Former Residence, Taibei 1**].[368] On the mainland, however, it was over a quarter of a century later that a state-owned memorial was established in his hometown Zhangzhou in Fujian. This "reintroduction" in the case of Lin Yutang (1895-1976) is especially salient, because even though he was subject to being erased from memory or literally "erased" from "Lu Xun's side" more radically than others, having been deleted from altogether three of the photographs which circulated widely in the 1950s, Lin was not only "restored" within the spaces of Lu Xun's memorial museums, but in 2001 was even granted his own state-owned memorial museum on the Mainland in his home-town Zhangzhou in Fujian Province [IC 106 Lin Yutang Museum, Fujian][369] (CCLM 中国博协文学专委会 2012, 113).[370]

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[367] His advocacy for such a museum is included in his "Random Thoughts 随想录", which were published from 1979-1985. A German translation was published by Helmut Martin as soon as 1985, see: (Ba Jin 1985). For a discussion of Ba Jin's argumentative reasoning in regard to cultural memory, see (J. Li 2016, 319–25).

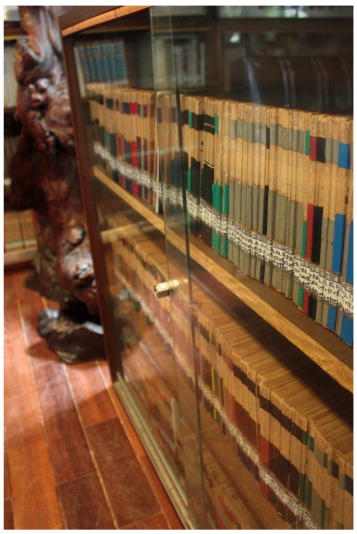
[368] In 1985 [or year 74 of the Minguo calender], Lin Yutang's former residence on Mt. Yangmin near Taibei in Taiwan, where he had lived for the last 10 years before his passing in 1976, had been turned into a "Lin Yutang Memorial Library 紀念圖書館" and later into a "Lin Yutang Former Residence 林語堂故居" by the Taibei Municipal Government. The People's Daily on the Mainland also informed about the establishment of this memorial library. (Renmin Ribao 人民日报, June 24, 1985) The previous library allowed for the collected books of Lin Yutang to be "borrowed" by visitors/ readers and even taken home to be read. Traces of this are still visible by the fact that the collected books of Lin Yutang feature signatures [**IC 105 Lin Yutang Former Residence, Taibei 2**]. Only after many books had gone missing did the library stop lending books and adopted the methods of other memorial museums of writers, which put the books on display behind marked-off spaces (interview with tour guide at the Lin Yutang Former Residence, 2014, August 23). In later years, the Taipei Municipal Administration for Cultural Heritage changed the function of the memorial into a "Former Residence of Famous People 名人故居" and "Museums of Literary Lives 文學生活館" and in 2005 delegated the management of the memorial museum to the privately-run Soochow University 東吳大學 in Taibei.

[369] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 106.

[370] I would like to thank Swift for the photograph of the Lin Yutang Memorial Museum.

IC 105 Lin Yutang Memorial Library/ Former Residence in Taibei, estab. 1985

1. 

2. 

1./ 2. Lin Yutang Former Residence, Taibei; source: Photographed August 23, 2014. Courtesy of the Lin Yutang Former Residence.

This change reveals a fundamental issue concerning memorial museums dedicated to historical persons and the change in their evaluation by the Communist Party. In the academic conference in 2011 in Shanghai, Ma Zishu 馬自樹, council member of the China Foundation for Cultural Heritage Conservation 中國文物保護基金會理事長, a public foundation managed by the SACH (estab. in 1990), gave an opening speech, in which he looked back at the history of memorial museums dedicated to historic persons. From their beginnings in the early 1950s, "the establishment of person museums [in the PRC] had only one standard: politics are number one, [the museums] must serve politics 建立人物博物馆的表标准就是一个，政治第一，为政治服务" (Ma Zishu 马自树 2011, 2). Ma however saw the period after 1978 as a new era for these museums in which "political preaching had been watered down 政治说教淡化了". Nevertheless, he emphasized that today, no matter if cultural or political figures were displayed, there remain two main streams: those that were considered mainstream (*zhuliu* 主流), meaning orthodox, and those that were not mainstream (*fei zhuliu* 非主流).[371] According to Ma, the non-mainstream included politicians such as Yuan Shikai and Chiang Kai-shek and also cultural figures such as Hu Shi and others. He argued that the contributions these non-mainstream groups made to "Chinese culture 中国文化" should also be considered. In addition to including their contributions, Ma also gave two

[371] Strictly speaking, Ma differentiates between three groups: 1) the *zhuliu* figures 2) cultural figures and the 3) *fei-zhuliu* figures (including both politicians and some cultural figures).

further reasons that called for their institutionalization. Firstly, he implied a degree of completeness that should be achieved. “If our museums only reflect the *correct* direction, but not the *opposite direction*, not the opponents, then history is not complete 如果我们博物馆只反映正方，不反映反方，不反映对手，那么历史就是不完整了” [my emphasis] (Ma Zishu 马自树 2011, 2). Secondly, he implies the existence of a level of fairness which is measured in relation to the level of which other figures have gained representation within the museum field. For he pointed out that still no historic house of Chen Duxiu’s existed (*guju*) and that at the time of his talk in 2011 no Chen Duxiu museum or memorial museum (*bowuguan*, *jinianguan*) existed either.[372] “Even Chiang Kai-shek has a [former residence turned into a memorial museum], but Chen Duxiu has none, this is really not fair. 蒋介石都有了（故居纪念馆），就是没有陈独秀的，实在有失公平”, he exclaimed (Ma Zishu 马自树 2011, 2). Despite his call to reflect on the person’s “complex multifacetedness 复杂的果面形”, Ma nevertheless stays within the binaries of *zhuliu* and *fei-zhuliu*, or *zhengfang* and *fanfang*. Two years later in 2013, Duan Yong 段勇, Head of the Department of Museum- and Social- Artifacts of the SACH 國家文物局博物館與社會文物司司長, gave a similar speech at an academic conference on the art of exhibition design in Chinese person museums, pointing out that the main principle of these museums was the museum’s responsibility towards the person as a person “belonging to history 是历史的”, meaning that one must respect his originality (*yuanzhengxing* 原征性), individuality (*dutexing* 獨特性), and complexity (*fuzaxing* 複雜性). This must be respected, he emphasized, no matter if it is a “good/correct person” (*zhengmian renwu* 正面的人物), or a “so-called bad/ person” (*suowei de fanmian de renwu* 所谓的反面的人物) (Duan Yong 段勇 2013, 2). Despite their ability and willingness to point out these issues, no concrete methods are given as to how this complexity of a historical person ought to be addressed and both speakers *address* but do not *go beyond* the separation of historical figures into binary groups of *zheng* and *fei* or *zhuliu* and *feizhuliu*. The

[372] A Chen Duxiu Memorial Museum 陳獨秀紀念館 was established in 2004 under the management of the company titled the “Red Crag Circuit” (*hongyan lianxian* 紅岩聯線) in Chongqing, see: (Chongqing news.net 华龙网 2016). For an introduction to the “Red Crag Circuit”, see: (Denton 2014, 221). Denton argues that despite the fact that Red Tourism is promoted on national level, it is mainly a local economic strategy. Denton draws on the case of Chongqing and its Red Crag Circuit as a local marketing device to increase domestic tourism in the Chongqing area (Denton 2014, 221). Chen Duxiu also has his own exhibition room in the New Culture Memorial Museum 新文化紀念館 in Beijing, however no reference is made to his connections to the Trotskyists or to him having been expelled from the Communist Party.

problem inherent in the concept of "rehabilitation" lies in the fact that it allows for individual historic figures to cross these boundaries, but does not touch on the integrity of these boundaries.

Indeed, after the end of the Cultural Revolution, many prominent historical figures had to be reevaluated, among them no one less than Mao Zedong, whose memorial museum was discussed shortly at the beginning of "The Historical Lu Xun". In the Party Resolution of 1981, Mao Zedong was reevaluated by stating that he too had made mistakes in the period of the Cultural Revolution, but that ultimately his achievements by far outweighed his faults.[373] To put a number on his achievements and faults, Deng Xiaoping is often cited to have quantified Mao Zedong as having been 30 % bad and 70% good, a translation of the term (*sanfen guo, qifen gong* 三分過，七分功), even though Deng himself had explicitly questioned such a quantification before the publication of the resolution (Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 1981).[374] As for Lu Xun, no such quantifications are given. Instead of admitting any personal or political "faults", the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun in the late 1970s did not re-evaluate him, but merely addressed his so-called "sacralization" or "deification", admitted the use of his words and his image in political campaigns (directed against Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping, yet not critically when used in the campaign against the so-called "Gang of Four") and in the attack of his "enemies" (such as Lin Yutang). But the re-evaluation of his "enemies" did not show immediately in the larger museum landscape and up to today has by no means been fully "opened".

Unlike Lin Yutang, one contemporary writer even more closely and also spatially connected to Lu Xun, remained forgotten for an even longer period: Zhou Zuoren. In Zhou Zuoren's case his commemoration was especially, or doubly, problematic, as we will see below. He embodies the horror of the shameful period or the Cultural Revolution marked by a "defensive silence" (A. Assmann 2016, 53–57) in Chinese historiography. When walking through the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, former museum researcher Ye Shusui pointed out a photograph of Zhou Zuoren with

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373 "It is true that he made gross mistakes during the 'cultural revolution', but, if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. His merits are primary and his errors second. 他虽然在"文化大革命"中犯了严重错误，但是就他的一生来看，他对中国革命的功绩远远大于他的过失。他的功绩是第一位的，错误是第二位的" (CPC 中国共产党 1981).

374 Deng explained that "[f]or example, when evaluating the 'Cultural Revolution', to use the 'thirty percent mistakes – seventy percent achievements', would mean that to the thirty percent mistakes would belong to 'smash everything, a complete civil war'. But how are you to line this statement up with seventy percent of achievements? 比如評價'文化大革命'，說三分錯誤、七分成績，三分錯誤就是打倒一切、全面內戰。這八個字和七分成績怎麼能聯系起來呢？" (Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 1981). On how the reevaluation of Mao Zedong was discussed in the field of political science in the US in the mid-1980s, see: (Starr 1986), who also deconstructs the "30% bad, 70% good" reference.

Zhou Jianren and their wives. She remembered: “This is such a new photo, this is Nobuko, Zhou Zuoren’s wife and Yoshiko, Zhou Jianren’s wife. This was displayed for the first time, at the time when these were first put up here, there even was a debate (*zhenglun*) 這就是新展覽，新出現，信子，周作人的老婆和方子，周建人的老婆，這就是第一次出現，當時擺著個照片還有爭論的” (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 02:10:31) [**IC 107 Zhou Zuoren in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum**].

IC 107 Zhou Zuoren in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum



Group Photograph on display at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 23, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Similar to Wang Dehou and Ye Shusui, former director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum Sun Yu (2005-2009) also explained that Zhou Zuoren 周作人, Lin Yutang 林語堂 and Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋 (1903-1987 from Beijing) were all included in the museum exhibition today, which meant that they “were restored in the historical setting 把他們還原到歷史的那個場景” (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:45:10). Today, Sun explained, it was

> not like in the past exhibitions in which Zhou Zuoren and Lin Yutang had disappeared, simply taken out of the images, as in the pictorial biography published during the Cultural Revolution, Lin Yutang and Zhou Zuoren[375] were taken out, but now they are restored, it is more objective. 不像過去那個展覽裡面出現了周作人和林語堂都消失了，就圖片裡面都處理掉了，文化大革命出版的那個魯迅的那個畫傳的時候，林語堂和周作人都處

[375] I have not come across any image which shows that Zhou Zuoren was removed from the images included in the 1957 or 1976 publication of the pictorial biography of Lu Xun through means of altering the photographs. However, further persons were airbrushed out of images by cropping the images. For more information on the falsification of Lu Xun’s photographic materials, see: (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 154–65), which was published a decade after Benton’s and Findeisen’s findings, but gives a good overview over the different methods of altering Lu Xun’s photographic images.

理掉了，現在都還原了，就是比較客觀了 (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:45:21).

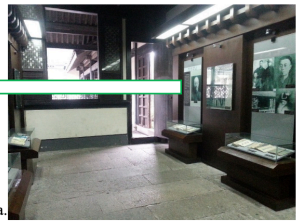
And indeed, not only in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, also in the Shaoxing and Shanghai Museums does Zhou Zuoren appear in photographs in the display [**IC 108 Zhou Zuoren in Shaoxing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museums**]. Even though Sun referred to these figures as being "restored" (*huanyuan* 還原), his conclusion that the exhibitions were "more objective 比較客觀" already reveals that he quickly put his statement into perspective, as he did not claim the display to be objective, but "more" objective than in the past, intentionally or unwittingly deconstructing the museum's claim or capacity of objectivity by way of comparison. In response to my follow-up question why even today some famous writers did not have their own memorial museums, referring to the non-existence of an official Zhou Zuoren [or a Zhang Ailing] memorial museum in China, Sun responded:

> Mh [indicating his approval], that is ideology, with Zhou Zuoren it is because he is a Traitor of the Nation (*hanjian*), and with Zhang Ailing, her husband too was a Traitor of the Nation, so it has to do with ideology. I am sure one day people will raise questions about this and I hope that private museums will take up this task, but for public state museums this is more difficult. 嗯，意識形態，恩周作人就是因為他是一個漢奸，張愛玲她丈夫也是漢奸，所以就是意識形態，嗯。那我相信有一天會有人會去問問，希望私人博物館來完成這個任務，公家就比較困難 (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:48:03).

IC 108 Zhou Zuoren in the Shaoxing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museums



1a.



1b.

1a./ 1b. Zhou Zuoren on display in Shaoxing; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

2.



2. Zhou Zuoren on display in Shanghai; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

Zhang Ailing's case is in itself a curious case of literary display, as her site of commemoration in Shanghai is a site of cultural heritage not designated as such by the government due to the writer's canonicity, but a site of commemoration that does not present itself as a memorial museum, but functions as a commercial Café, thereby circumventing the restrictions that remain imposed on private and state-run museums in China. Due to the scope of this thesis, her case cannot be discussed in detail at this point. What is noteworthy, however, is that despite the great number of newly established private museums since the 1980s, Sun Yu acknowledged the difficulties these faced in that they could not exist fully independently from the main state cultural institutions in China, such as the SACH. He explained: "The administrative system in China influences the agency of the private people establishing museums, but there are many private museums today, but in order to apply for a museum they too have to go to the SACH to apply. 中國的行政制度它影響了這個地方的這個私人辦理博物館的積極性，可是現在私人的博物館也很多很多了，但是他們要申請博物館也要找文物局去申請" (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:48:40). Thus in his replies, the achievements of a "more objective" museum display is quickly relativized by the continuing influence of "ideology" (*yishi xingtai* 意識形態), a term he himself introduced into our conversation. The statement of general improvement thus quickly proved subject to crucial exceptions as soon as the handling of particular authors was addressed.

Ideology certainly plays a large part in this method of *adding and eliminating relationships* between writers with political and other cultural figures. This form of representing Lu Xun's relationship to his contemporaries is always ideological, whereby ideology can be understood in Louis Althusser's sense when he wrote in 1969 that ideology is itself "a 'representation' of the *imaginary* relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" [my emphasis] (Althusser 1999, 318). On the most practical level, within this imaginary the two writers Lu Xun and Lin Yutang could exchange rhetorical attacks through journals but could not have continued to meet throughout their life. To become an adequate representation of the ideology of the PRC from the 1950s to the 1980s, some of the real relationships between Lu Xun and his contemporaries had to be *reimagined* by the museums. Hereby the Lu Xun museums can be viewed as the material existence of ideology, since "ideology always exists in an aparatus, and its practices" (Althusser 1999, 318). Certainly, Lu Xun, Lin Yutang and Zhou Zuoren were themselves individuals whose relationship can be regarded as being constructed by an ideological apparatus, the museum.

But on the theoretical level it is often harder to grasps *which ideologies* gained power and currency over time and became this abstract force of "ideology" which former director Sun Yu referred to above. Certainly, all individuals are potentially "subjects" [of the ideology] and indeed everyone is a potential museum visitor. But which Subject do these subjects subject themselves to during their museum visit? (Althusser 1999, 323). What is the name of this ideology which shaped the image of Lu Xun over the period of these three decades? Not the Subjects, but their opposing Others are indeed in the foreground, and these are manifold: Lin Yutang's disappearance leads us to Aestheticism in the 1920s and 30s, Chen Duxiu's to Trotskyism of the early 1930s, and Zhou Zuoren's to Nationalism in the late 1930s and well into the 1940s. However, in the background lies the Subject which "acted" from the 1950s to the 1980s, and "acts" even up to the present day. When generalizing, this Subject can be lumped together out of all these Others and regarded as Communism as practiced by the CPC from when it assumed the reins of government in 1949, but this Subject indeed has undergone many changes in the course of the past half century that it is not tangible and thus remains impalpable, out of our reach. For there is no *one* Ideology with a capital "I" which had a bearing on the Lu Xun museums. But seeing the Lu Xun museums as microcosms of cultural reproduction in China reveals some insights into this positive Subject, or more adequately shows how the state museums in which Lu Xun, namely the official (*guanfang*) Lu Xun, became the Subject (the Second Body of Lu Xun transformed into Ideology with a capital "I"), a Subject that starting from the 1980s could steer farther and farther away from the other Subjects (Anti-Aestheticism, Orthodox-Marxism, Chinese Nationalism) of which Lu Xun was mostly seen as a mere instrument. The museum's histories covering over six decades created a Second Body of Lu Xun, a body which transformed into Ideology, yet never existing fully embodied, but only as fragments in the different historical contexts, coming face-to-face with numerous Others.

A Residence Forgotten: Zhou Zuoren's Badaowan hutong

One particular house proved an extremely sensitive site of memory in China, for it contained both that which was to be remembered and that which was to be forgotten. Memory and Counter-Memory share a common physical space and cannot fully be detached from each other. It is the house on Badaowan hutong No. 11 八道灣胡同 11 號, in which Lu Xun once lived in Beijing with

this brother Zhou Zuoren and other members of their family from November 1919 to August 1923 [IC 109 Badaowan hutong Groundplan].[376]

The house regained visibility in China when in 2009 the houses in its immediate surrounding featured information letters taped to the doors which read "Announcement of the Removal of Beijing City Housing 北京市房屋拆迁公告", requesting any inhabitants to move house in the period between June 26 and August 10 as the buildings in the area were going to be torn down.

On June 13, the *Beijing Times* 京華時報 reported on these events, referring to government statements that the Badaowan hutong former residence of Lu Xun would be maintained and would not be affected by the surrounding housing removals. The building would be incorporated into the planned "new campus of No. 35 Middle School 北京 35 中的新址" (Chen Qiao 陈荞 2009), a Beijing city public school (established as a private school in the Republican Period in 1923). Yet the worries that the building would undergo many changes or might still be demolished remained. On July 9, Journalist Zheng Ruiyue 鄒瑞玥 published an article on "The Debate on Lu Xun's Former Residence in Beijing Badaowan hutong No. 11 Facing Removal 北京八道湾十一号 '鲁迅故居' 面临拆迁引争议", which informed that the house was still "facing the possibility of being demolished (*chaihui*) 面临行将拆毁的可能" (Zheng Ruiyue 邹瑞玥, July 09, 2009). In his article published in October 2009, Huang Qiaosheng, Deputy Director of the Lu Xun Museum, also addressed the future of the Badaowan residence, still ending the paper with a question mark, as the future of the building remained uncertain.

> Lu Xun's elevated standing has long been affirmed, Zhou Zuoren's tragic fate has been settled. But what will be the fate of Badaowan hutong No. 11, the place where these two great writers (*da wenhao*) lived, the place that carries the weight of two brother's gratitude and resentment towards each other, the courtyard that witnessed the development of Modern Chinese Literature? 鲁迅的崇高地位早已确立，周作人的凄惨结局也已定格。可是，八道湾 11 号，这所两个大文豪居住过的、承载了兄弟恩怨、见证了中国现代文化发展的四合院的结局将会怎样呢？(Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2009)

Why then was this building not maintained as a Lu Xun or Zhou Zuoren museum since the establishment of the PRC? Why had it never been designated a cultural heritage site? Lu Xun bought the house in 1919 and moved there with his mother Lu Rui, his wife Zhu An, his two brothers Zhou Jianren and Zhou Zuoren, their two wives and Hata Yoshiko 羽太芳子 and Hata

[376] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 109.

Nobuko 羽太信子 and their children. Lu Xun would live in the house for three years before moving out of the estate with his mother and Zhu An. The house was left it to his brother Zhou Zuoren, who continued to live there until his death in 1967, accompanied by Hata Nobuko until her death in 1962 and Hata Yoshiko's in 1964, and hereafter in his later years accompanied only by his children (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2009, 340).

The house is an important site, as it was here that Lu Xun wrote one of his most famous short stories, "The True Story of Ah-Q 阿 Q 正传" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005a), which he published in 1921 when turning into a major figure of the New Culture Movement of the May Fourth Period. As for Zhou Zuoren, he wrote his "miscellany" (*biji* 筆記) here. His language was often described as "bitter" (*ku* 苦), which does not have the negative connotation which the English term conveys, but is used to describe a flavor which might have an unpalatable taste in the beginning but improves in taste once you get used to it, like bitter tea. Zhou Zuoren encouraged this assessment and not only named his books accordingly (Yeh 2010, 581), but also his study (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2009), terming his study in Badaowan hutong "the bitter room 苦房 (*kufang*)" or "the bitter rain study (*kuyuzhai*) 苦雨齋"[377], turning it into an well-known physical and imagined space of literary production of the May Forth Period acquiring similar fame to Lu Xun's so-called "Tigers Tail 老虎尾巴". The house became famous not only for its studies of individual writers, but also as a site where meetings of international literary societies[378], thus of collective transcultural literary production. Writers from around the world met up in these societies and groups that paid no regard to national boarders in their understanding of literature, even actively attempting to demolishing linguistic national boarders by encouraging Esperanto, or as it is called in Chinese "World Language 世界語", with writers such as anarchist writer Vasili Eroshenko (1890-1952 from Obukhovka/ Russian) visiting Badaowan hutong (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015, 69).

[377] For the etymology of Zhou Zuoren's study being termed a "bitter rain study", see (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015, 171–87). It was mainly a combination of the terms Zhou Zuoren chose for his writings, namely *Bitter Tea Miscellaneous Writings* 苦茶隨筆 and *A Book for Rainy Days* 雨天書, arguing that even though bitter tea and rain might be hard to bear at times, they also had a healing effect, which is why he encouraged the description of his study as a "Bitter Rain Study 苦雨齋".

[378] The Bitter Rain Study Society 苦雨齋会 included writers such as Qian Xuantong, Liu Bannong and others (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015, 54–75). Liang Shiqiu frequently visited Zhou Zuoren and also described his house and study in commemorative texts, see: (Liang Shiqiu 梁实秋 1998).

Despite these positive associations, the building also carried a number of less welcome memories. Firstly, it was here that a major falling-out between the two brothers Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren had taken place, for reasons that up to this day remain unclear and have led to much speculation in Chinese literary studies. Even more recent and critical biographies, such as by David Pollard could not help informing his readers about the speculation of an "improper act" committed by Lu Xun or even a "longstanding improper relationship" between Lu Xun and Hata Nobuko, Zhou Zuoren's wife (Pollard 2002, 79). His reviewer John Eugene von Kowallis scolded him as there is "no evidence for it, documentary or otherwise" (Jon Kowallis 2005, 152). Pointing to the improper behavior coming from Lu Xun sets Pollards narrative apart from the commonly held past views, supported by Xu Guangping and Zhou Haiying, that Hata Nobuko was to be blamed for this falling-out (Song Jianhua 宋建华 and Mai Linfang 买琳芳 2016, 96). Yet, this call against a speculation seems not to silence the debate that has been ongoing for decades, as it continues into recent publications demanding researchers to stick to the "historical facts 歷史真相" (Song Jianhua 宋建华 and Mai Linfang 买琳芳 2016, 99–100), arguing against pushing the blame onto Hata Nobuko. Yet, while the reasons for this abrupt cooling-down of their relationship cannot certainly be defined, there is no doubt that it was in the time during which the family lived together in Badaowan hutong that the close private relationship between Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren came to an abrupt end and turned into a relatively distant professional one, as well as resulting in Lu Xun's decision to leave the family house and move house with his mother and wife Zhu An. The many question marks that this event posed made the house a sensitive place for memory making.

But arguably, the more prominent reason was that the building was strongly associated with Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren, who continued to live there until his death during the Cultural Revolution in 1967. His fate touches upon two sensitive topics in Chinese history: Firstly, the fact that in the Second World War not all Chinese were willing to die or suffer for their nation, but were willing to some degree or other to work together with the Japanese.[379] Secondly, the brutality with which Red Guards tortured such collaborationists during the Cultural Revolution when the CPC lost control over the power of their nationalist-discourse on the young population more than willing to resort to violence in the name of Mao Zedong. The one a shameful past that took the shape in the *lack of willingness* to sacrifice one's life for the Chinese nation (especially uncomfortable when

[379] For an analysis of Zhou Zuoren's reasons for choosing to accept his position working for the Nanjing government in the north, see (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015, 203–18).

refusal was voiced by famous and respected individuals in society), the other *an over eagerness* to sacrifice lives of Chinese comrades for the Chinese nation, a willingness that in retrospect could not be justified in the master narrative of the CPC and thus had to be disassociated from the doing of CPC leadership.

Zhou Zuoren is one of the most famous cultural figures who were criticized for having collaborated with the Japanese, thus being labeled a "traitor to China" (*hanjian* 漢奸). This collaboration mainly referred to him acting as dean of the literature department at Beijing University in 1939 and later as Minister of Education in Beijing in 1941 for the Japanese-controlled Nanjing Government under Wang Jingwei 王靜韋 (1883-1944, from Sanshui/ Guangdong), making a comfortable living in times in which other Chinese citizens who refused such collaborative efforts suffered hardship. The (large) house in which he lived was consequently labeled and attacked as a "Japanese shop 日本店" (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015). After the war, Zhou Zuoren was convicted as a collaborationist and was sentenced to 14 years in prison, a sentence which was later reduced to ten. After the establishment of the PRC, Badaowan was sealed off as an "estate of the enemy 敌产" (Ni Moyan 倪墨炎 2010, 136). While he was greatly criticized, his fate took a turn for the worst with the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. He finally died during the brutal beatings by Red Guards on May 6, 1967. Lu Xun's son Zhou Haiying did not attend his funeral, only his close family was present (Qian Liqun 钱理群 1990, 834). Shortly before his death, it had been the Beijing Lu Xun Museum researcher Ye Shusui who had visited Zhou Zuoren at his house one last time in Badaowan hutong. She described her memory of the scene that played out in front of her in an article in 1988, which revealed Zhou Zuoren's miserable state. Her recollection of the scene had a strong impact, especially after it was quoted by Qian Liqun's authoritative biography of Zhou Zuoren in 1990 (Qian Liqun 钱理群 1990, 834). Zhou Zuoren had been moved into a "small shed 小棚子", where he was lying on a wooden board on the ground, wearing a black cotton shirt and trousers, with a white banner on his arm on which had his name "Zhou Zuoren" written on it. Lying on the ground he was moaning and visibly in pain, which was worsened when a Red Guard demanded him to rise by whipping him with a belt (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1988, 50). Badaowan hutong had turned into a "prison" (*lingyu* 囹圄) for Zhou Zuoren (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2009). Ye Shusui describes herself as a helpless witness to the scene, ending her short article with the rhetorical question "Seeing this situation, what could we say? All we could do is leave,

and not long after we heard that he had died. 看到这种情景, 我们还能说什么呢? 只好赶快离开, 没过多久就听说他去世了" (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1988, 50). Zhou Zuoren died at the age of 82.

Publishing her article in 1988, Ye Shusui thus also contributed to reintroducing Zhou Zuoren into academic circles. While other pieces of her work describe him as a corruptive force (see section on "Forgotten Spaces"), here she describes him in a more positive light. She emphasizes how much help Zhou Zuoren had been giving to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, be it in donating (or at times selling) many of his letters and diaries to the museum, but also by providing the museum staff and researchers with valuable information from his memory regarding obscure materials or anecdotes connected to Lu Xun's life (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1988, 49). Published in the late 1980s, this official expression of gratitude and the empathic description of Zhou Zuoren's tragic state was in its own way a contribution to the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun, even though it did not reference it directly. Yet it also did not go beyond such a contribution. The museum staffer simply stated her powerlessness, as her final call "what could we say?" clearly rejects any form of responsibility or ability on the side of the museum to support Zhou Zuoren in this dire situation.

Along with the new resolution of the CPC in 1981 and the new design of the Lu Xun museums, Zhou Zuoren, as one of many writers, was rehabilitated in the early 1980s in scholarly circles, most prominently through the writings of Lu Xun specialist Qian Liqun's work. Yet, acknowledging his value outside the academic world still is not a consensus.

For many years following his rehabilitation, Badaowan hutong was not considered appropriate for a museum commemorating Lu Xun, an opinion most prominently upheld by Lu Xun's son Zhou Haiying. The Badaowan hutong estate always was a thorn in the eyes of many who did not consider it a site of cultural heritage. In his memoirs on Lu Xun published in 2006, two years before the house was again discussed in the media due to the planned construction work, Zhou Haiying gave his view on this issue. He raised the following question rhetorically: "Well, could it be that the former residence of a 'traitor to the nation' would be worthy of the state's protection? This of course is [just] my opinion, it will be decided by the respective ministries. 那么，汉奸的旧居难道是值得国家保护吗？ 这当然是我个人的看法，仅供有关部门参考" (Zhou Haiying 周海婴 2006, 72). The positon from the academic and museum circles clearly differs here. Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum Huang Qiaosheng took a clear position against Zhou Haiying's judgment:

Graf: Has Zhou Haiying's evaluation of Badaowan hutong had a big influence?

Huang: Zhou Haiying's influence is not big, his opinion is incorrect (*cuowu de*), so no one approves of it (*renke*).
Graf: They don't approve of it…no one does?
Huang: No one does, including Director Sun, and us, we all don't approve of it. For [Haiying] it is because of his own personal grudges, but, it [mainly] is because it is Zhou Zuoren's [house], so he is against it.
Graf: And the visitors?
Huang: The visitors also do not approve, very few approve, yes.
Graf: Do you know any who approve of his view?
Huang: They too exist, [but] those who approve do not use his kind of reasoning, there are some who are of the opinion that there need not be another memorial museum. That would be their opinion, but the motivation for that opinion is different from that of [Zhou Haiying].
艾：周海嬰對八道灣胡同的評價的影響是否大?
黃：周海嬰對它的影響不大，他那個的意見是錯誤的，所以大家不認可。
艾：不認可. . . 大家不認可?
黃：大家不認可，包括孫館長那個，我們都不認可。他是因為他個人的恩怨，但是因為是周作人的，所以他反對。
艾：那觀眾會不會. . .
黃：觀眾也不會認可的，很少認可，對。
艾：您知道有認可的人嗎?
黃：也會有，因為有人認可他不是用他的那種理由，有人認可他是，認可什麼就是，魯迅的紀念已經很多了，不需要再辦丨個了。他也是這個意見，但他這個意見的動機跟別人不一樣。
(interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 02:04:14)

Here a clear discrepancy can be seen in the values communicated by the museum leadership and staff and by the descendants of the authors. The possible demolition of Badaowan hutong two years later once again sparked a debate in public on the importance of keeping it as a site of memory, possibly also as a site of heritage. The critical voices, could however be silenced quickly as soon as the government informed the residents that Badaowan hutong No. 11 would not be completely torn down, but as Huang put it "kept in a new way of protecting it 一種新的方式保護了". "Originally it was to be torn down, this tearing down raised more voices of opposition. But this time they said they will not tear it down, we will retain it (*baohu qilai*), so everyone fell silent, but actually this is also great damage to the outer appearance actually, yes, because none of the hutong surrounding it were kept, only this one courtyard was left. 原來是拆掉，就是拆掉引起的反應比較大。但是這次他說我們沒有拆掉你，我們是把你這個保護起來，所以大家也就沒有什麼話說了，其實這完全也是一種外邊面貌的一個破壞，對吧，因為它周圍的胡同都沒有，只是留下來這個院 (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 01:59:11). The

three-courtyard building was to be isolated and maintained within the new campus of No. 35 Middle School.

The museum staff was included in the planning of the construction by the school, even though sources have indicated that it was only after the museums had actively established contact with the school. Hurriedly director Sun had contacted the SACH and the respective Beijing Municipal ministries (Zheng Ruiyue 邹瑞玥, July 09, 2009), after having heard of the planned construction via hearsay. In the end, the museum staff was invited to give their recommendations on some of the issues that arose in the realization of turning Badaowan hutong into a memorial site. Talks were held between the Vice Chairman Cheng Gang 程剛 of the Political Consultative Conference representing the East District of Beijing 北京市東城區政協副主席, the School Director Zhu Jianmin 朱建民 of 35 Beijing Middle School and Lu Xun scholars, such as Huang Qiaosheng, the current Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. In these and similar meetings, it was discussed in which manner the former residence should be "reconstructed". It was also in this context, for example, in which Huang recommended that the site should not be named "Former Residence of Lu Xun 魯迅故居", but instead "the Old Residence of the Brothers Zhou 周氏兄弟舊居".[380] The Old Residence of the Brothers Zhou seemed to all a good compromise [IC 110 Badaowan Sign].[381] The choice of a famous calligrapher Shen Peng 沈鵬 (1931- Jiangyin/ Jiangsu) [382] instead of a leading politician as had been the case in other Lu Xun residences and museums (e.g. Guo Moruo's calligraphy for Xisantiao hutong or Zhou Enlai's calligraphy for the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum) also distanced the new site from the "political picture acts" of the past.[383] With the name based on the brothers Zhou, the overemphasis of Lu Xun was avoided – yet a Zhou Zuoren Memorial Museum clearly also remains but an envisioned site of memory, as Sun Yu has pointed out before.

It was while these talks were still being held, that I could accompany a number of museum staffers including Huang Qiaosheng to view the construction site [**IC 111 Badaowan Construction Site 2014, 1–2**]. In the end, "all but one of the buildings had been torn down and built up a new 一個

[380] I would like to thank Huang Qiaosheng for making his correspondences available to me and for allowing me to accompany the museum researchers during their visit to the construction site on August 14, 2014.

[381] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 110.

[382] Shen Peng was an honorary member of the 10th Plenum of the CFLAC and Head of the Chinese Calligraphers Association 中國書法家協會主席 (CCA), see (CCA 中国书法家协会 2015).

[383] As discussed in the section on "Brecht re-institutionalized: The Second Birth of the Gedenkstätte" in "Lu Xun – worlded" of this thesis.

IC 111 Badaowan Construction Site, August 2014

1. 

2. 

1-2. Badaowan hutong No.11, source: Photographed August 14, 2014.

建築是保留，其他的都把它拆掉了重建" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黄乔生, 2014, August 13, 02:04:54). In the interview a day earlier, Huang explained that the one building that was kept in its original state was Zhou Zuoren's Bitter Rain Study (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黄乔生, 2014, August 13, 02:04:54). When visiting the construction site, however, the school representative explained that only the house in which Lu Xun had lived with his mother and Zhu An had been kept in its "original" state. This building contained the first "Tiger's Tail", a study attached at the back of the building where Lu Xun wrote his "True Story of AQ". To prove the buildings "authenticity", the representative from the school pointed to the difference in the bricks. Lu Xun's building still featured brick stones that showed an uneven surface structure [**IC 112 Badaowan Building surface, 2, 3**], while the newly erected buildings all had an absolutely even surface [**IC 112 Badaowan Building surface, 1**]. From my observation it seemed that the museum staff was informed about which decisions had been made retrospectively, confronting them with faits accomplis. While their opinion was inquired, it seemed that it was only after the alterations had been made that the museum staff learned whether its consultation had been considered or not.

The way in which this process took place was not to the full satisfaction of the museum staff. Ideally speaking, they had hoped to incorporate Badaowan hutong No. 11 as a branch museum into the museum under Sun Yu's leadership. Huang explained that for this the lack of funding was the main obstacle, be it the costs of maintaining the buildings or of hiring additional museum staff. He

IC 112 Badaowan Building Surface, August 2014

1.  2.  3. 

1-3. Badaowan Hutong No. 11; source: Photographed August 14, 2014.

summarized that the "ideal situation would have been to turn it into a cultural institution 我們把它完全变成一個文化機構", finally concluding "this was not something we could control, and it [now] is not the ideal state we had wanted 不是我們能夠控制的，也不是我們要的理想狀態" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 02:01:57). Today, two statements stand in opposition. The unit in charge of the reconstruction of the Badaowan residence insists in its communication with the museum that it was the "original architecture 原建筑" that was "kept 保留". The museum Deputy Director Huang Qiaosheng, however, explained: "I think this is just a concept, actually it is not very likely, because the original architecture had not been repaired for many years, and would hardly stand any severe test 我想这只是一种理念，实际上不大可能，因为原来的建筑年久失修，很难再经风吹雨打", so "the buildings were torn down and reconstructed, of course according to their original appearance 拆掉重建的，当然是按照原样". Photographs of the building's appearance are kept in the photo archive of the museum. No date is given on when these photographs were taken, yet they are likely to have been taken in mid-1950s as most of the other photographs collected in the albums [**IC 113 Badaowan recorded**]. Huang further explained that the reconstructed buildings, "when you visit them now, seem very new, so some people were not satisfied and were of the opinion that this was not the original appearance

现在去看到的，显得很新，有的人不满意，认为不是原貌了”.[384] Since the reconstruction is completed, the discussion between the parties has come to an end, and the claim of authenticity and the suspicion of that same claim are that which remains of Badaowan hutong. Since responsibility was deflected, the degree of change can no longer be sufficiently validated and the lack of trust between the institutions left acceptance as one way out for the museum staff.

To conclude, in recent years two new manifestations of Badaowan hutong No. 11 have emerged. The one is a 2015 monograph by Huang Qiaosheng, a micro history of the building which takes the history of the building as a starting point to discuss the impact that those who resided in it had on Chinese (literary) history. He concludes this history on a diplomatic tone, arguing that “From now on we need not again start the debate about the entanglement of “original” and “changed”, instead we should focus on how this courtyard can be [re]constructed and managed well. 今后可以不必再纠缠于“原” 与“变”的争论，而应该专注于如何把这个院落建好

IC 113 Badaowan hutong recorded



1.



2.

1. Architecture, Badaowan hutong No. 11; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (30): Beijing Shaoxing huiguan, Badaowan, Zhuanta hutong 北京绍兴会馆，八道湾，砖塔胡同/ Photo 0350022. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Entrance, Badaowan hutong No. 11; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (30): Beijing Shaoxing huiguan, Badaowan, Zhuanta hutong 北京绍兴会馆，八道湾，砖塔胡同/ Photo 0350021. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

管好” (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015, 325).

The other is the “Old Residence 舊居” as it exists today, a three *jin siheyuan* building integrated into the campus of a Beijing middle school. This spatial constellation brings two consequences for the residence as a site of memory. On the one hand, it is the school that covers

[384] I would like to thank Huang Qiaosheng for our correspondence (14.08.2017) from which I quote directly, in which he clarified those questions which remained after our interview and visit to the site.

the costs of renovating and maintaining the buildings and the institution. Huang explained, "once you establish a museum, you need people to maintain it, you need a lot of funding, you have to fund it year after year, once you give it to the middle school, they take over the maintenance for you. 因為就是你建一個館，要有人維護，你就是需要很多經費，也是每年都要維護的，現在你給那個中學管，他就給你管" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 02:02:08). On the other hand, the site is no longer as accessible to the public as it could have been as a branch museum. The memorial museum is now affiliated with (*lishu yu* 隸屬於) the school, which means it is only "half open to the public 半開放". If a researcher wants to visit the site, an appointment can be made with the school and access will be granted. "But it will not be open to the public, because this would affect the teaching. 但是呢，他不會對這個公眾開放，因為公眾開放就影響它的教學了" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 02:03:01). Once responsibilities are deflected, access is lost.

In an article in 2016, Huang explained that it was good that the building had "more fully been restored to its old appearance and renovated 较为完整地恢复旧貌并予以了修繕" (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2016, 97). By then some of the rooms had been turned into exhibition spaces, with posters set up along the inside walls of the building, also addressing the contribution Zhou Zuoren made to the literary field of the May Fourth Period [IC 114 Badaowan Old Residence of Brothers Zhou Display].[385] Huang explained that it was a shame that no other material exhibits were included, no objects were put on display. But possibly more telling is the fact that even though the space had been turned into a memorial site which clearly pointed to that which was to be remembered (the contribution the Zhou brothers had made to Chinese literature), other moments of history do not seem to fully (or successfully) be removed from memory. When Huang Qiaosheng described how he and others walked through the exhibition, there were a number of questions that especially aroused the curiosity of the visitors. Among them one person raised the following question, sighing (*hanxi* 歎息): "In which room did Zhou Zuoren pass away grieved and distressed in the end? 周作人到底是在哪个房间里惨然离世的？" (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2016, 97) The school museum might not encourage these memories of Badaowan in the display they created, but it is a question that is likely to resurface again and again.

[385] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 114.

A Residence Remembered Anew: Rectifying Xisantiao hutong

How did the display of Lu Xun and resulting from it, his production as a literary hero, change over time? The changes that were brought about through the Desacralization debate manifested themselves in an attempt to return to a "historically authentic", "real" Lu Xun, also with regard to his former residence at Xisantiao hutong No. 21 西三條胡同 21 號 as a historical building, whose transformation this section investigates. Three major changes show this transformation very vividly. The restoration of Lu Xun's study, the so-called "Tiger's Tail", the return of Zhu An and the revelation of competing authentic displays embodied by the photograph of Russian writer Leonid Andreyev. I will show the continuous negotiation between various actors that took place in this transformation process and present not only multiple readings of the same space (reading the Tiger's Tail with and against the grain), but also call for the importance of accepting the possibility of multiple authenticities without discarding the immense contribution of the critical historical approaches, but making us aware of their pitfalls.

In 1986, researchers of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and Wang Dehou, who had by then become appointed Deputy Director of the museum (*fu guanzhang* 副館長), which was a position equivalent to a Deputy Director of a government bureau (*fu juzhang* 副局長), handed in an application at the SACH 文物局. The application contained a project titled "Restoring the Original Appearance of Lu Xun's Former Residence 恢复故居的原貌", which was aimed to be realized in time for the 80th anniversary of Lu Xun's death in 1986. The application was readily granted, which was possibly also connected to the institution's high administrative ranking, which directors of Lu Xun museums from various ranks, such as the Beijing (*juji* 局級) and Shaoxing (*keji* 科級) museums, indicated can be a beneficial factor for such applications (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:43:59)[386]; (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:31:39). In the interview, Wang Dehou explained that the application intentionally did not specify *which* "original appearance" (*yuanmao* 原貌) of the former residence was supposed to be restored (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:36). From today's perspective, this might, at first glance, imply that Wang Dehou and the researchers did not have a

[386] For a reflection on the possible benefits of an institution's high ranking, see section on "*Structure*: Beyond a Critical Approach: Understanding the SACH and *guan* as invisible actors" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

static understanding of an "original" status or appearance, but were aware of the concept's flexibility and fluidity. But in the interview, Wang Dehou was quick to specify that only two versions could be understood as being "the original", firstly the appearance the building had had when it was first constructed, thus before Lu Xun had moved in, and secondly the version of the building when Lu Xun resided in it from 1923 to 1926, with the common consensus among his colleagues that this second appearance should be achieved.

Lu Xun had lived in various locations in Beijing (incl. the Shaoxing guild house, Badaowan hutong No. 11 and Zhuanta hutong No. 61), but the most well-known residence was his last residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21.[387] Lu Xun lived here from April 1923 to August 1926. In early 1923, the property consisted of two main buildings on Xisantiao hutong. Since the buildings were in bad condition and needed to be restored or possibly even rebuilt, Lu Xun deliberated over how he would like to arrange the individual buildings, letting his mind run free in sketches he drew in his diary (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 478). Lu Xun acquired a sketch of the status-quo of the property which was drawn by the person who was in charge of measuring the property when Lu Xun bought it, a so-called measurer (*zhangliang zhe* 丈量者) (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 479). The setting at that time included six rooms (*jian* 間), three in the north, three in the center, and a small kitchen in the east corner of the property [IC 115 Sketches Xisantiao 1923, 1].[388] The entry, as is common for Beijing *siheyuan*, was at the south-east corner, including an *yingqiang* 影牆, which is a wall directly after the entrance of a building which hinders those passing by to gaze into the property. The appearance of this construction thus was one possible "original appearance", which a restoration of the building could restore.

However, it was Lu Xun's former residence which should be restored according to Wang Dehou and Lu Xun's residence had one main feature, which alluded to Lu Xun and whose making can be traced in the sketches. When Lu Xun first designed the groundplan of this home at Xisantiao hutong No. 21, he first copied the original arrangement provided by the measurer into his diary [IC 115 Sketches Xisantiao 1923, 2]. Then he continued to make two rougher sketches, considering different arrangements of the buildings. The first change concerned the number and arrangements of the main buildings [IC 115 Sketches Xisantiao 1923, 3] (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2006, 43). One can see that Lu Xun considered adding an extra main building in the south of the property while

[387] Sun Fuyan described how the Tiger's Tail had turned into a "shrine" after Lu Xun's death (Jenner 1982, 435).
[388] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 115.

keeping the original two main buildings in the center and the north (shaded). It is possible that this arrangement might have felt too cramped or that the building in the north needed to be torn down due to its poor condition. In any case, the north building was finally taken down, leaving a spacious back yard while the main central building remained and a new building was constructed in the south of the property. The second change, which came to constitute the main feature of Lu Xun's former residence was the extra room that was added to the central building and it is this change that came to be most significant and characteristic. His final sketch [IC 115 Sketches Xisantiao 1923, 4] comes closest to how Lu Xun finally realized his plan and already in the previous sketch [IC 115 Sketches Xisantiao 1923, 3] Lu Xun had added this additional backroom to the central building.[389] This part of the building would become known as the "Tiger's Tail" (*laohu weiba* 老虎尾巴), as Lu Xun's contemporaries such as his friend Xu Shoushang remembered him having called his "work room" (*gongzuoshi* 工作室) (Xu Shoushang 许寿裳 1999, 260). This kind of small study in houses in Shanghai would be termed a *tingzijian* 亭子間, as one of Lu Xun's students recalled (Xu Qinwen 許欽文 1999). These were often located in the rooms under the stairs in the two- or three-story houses with staircases. In the one-story siheyuan buildings, the studies however protruded from the main building. Lu Xun had enjoyed a protruding additional room in his previous house at Badaowan hutong No. 11, when he lived together with both his brothers [return to IC 109 Badaowan Hutong No. 11 Groundplan] see section on "A Residence Forgotten: Zhou Zuoren's Badaowan hutong"). He must have appreciated this additional private space for living and writing, as he recreated it on his property on Xisantiao hutong. When Lu Xun left for Xiamen University in August 1927, Zhu An and his mother Lu Rui continued to live in this building until their deaths in 1943 and 1947.[390] In 1928, after Lu Xun had left Beijing, his mother, who probably preferred a more spacious room, however, decided to have her room expanded, thus taking down the south wall of her room and extending it until it was in line with the north wall of the Tiger's Tail [**IC 116 Restoring the Original Appearance**] (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 485). Thus, the Tiger's Tail had already vanished as a material space already in 1928.[391]

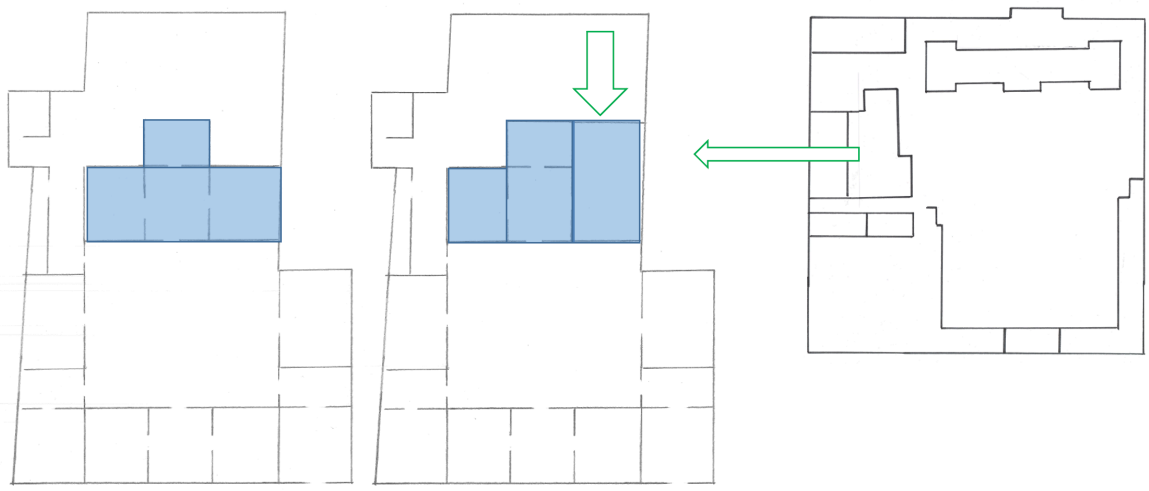
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[389] A third minor divergence can be seen in the courtyard, which in his sketch was divided by fine lines which might have stood for a lattice wall for flowers. This however was not realized, possibly because the yard was not large enough.

[390] See chapter "Before the Birth of the Lu Xun Museum (1936-49): Lu Xun in Limbo".

[391] Also see Lu Xun's student Xu Qinwen's impressions of visiting Xisantiao hutong in 1956 after the establishment of the Lu Xun museum. He explicitly points out that the shape of the building had been changed by Lu Xun's mother, thus having changed in appearance (Xu Qinwen 許欽文 1999, 1258). Having returned to the house after

IC 116 Restoring the Original Appearance of the Former Residence 1986



Groundplan of Xisantiao hutong No.21 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum premise, sketched by Emily Graf.

It is clear that Lu Xun paid much attention to the environment in which he lived and wrote, which is why researchers have attempted to decipher the significance of Lu Xun's study for his writing and his overall aesthetic orientation. One such example is museum researcher Ye Shusui's reading of his study from the late 1990s. She connects the decision to have fewer rooms and a more spacious backyard to Lu Xun's concept of "leaving space" (*liuyou yudi* 留有餘地) which he describes in his "Sudden Notions 2 忽然想到 2", which he published in 1925 while he lived on Xisantiao hutong.[392] Lu Xun had a very particular taste when it came to materiality and designs of books, and often designed and drew the covers of the magazines he wrote for. In this short essay, Lu Xun explains that he especially appreciated additional empty space (*kongbai* 空白) before and after chapter titles in the layout of books and that in "better" Chinese and Western books, one or two empty pages would be added at the beginning and end of each book. "If a book is filled densely with black characters, layer for layer […], it will make you feel oppressed and ill at ease, not only is it rarely a 'pleasure to read', it also feels like in life, nothing is "enough and to spare", with "no spare space" left. 满本是密密层层的黑子 […]，使人发生一种压迫和窘促之感，不特很少

29 years, Xu Qinwen was thus nevertheless very touched and published a number of articles about his memories of the Tiger's Tail (Xu Qinwen 許欽文 1999); (Xu Qinwen 許欽文 1956).

[392] Lu Xun published the essays "Sudden Notions 1-4" between January 17 and February 20 in the *Beijing News Supplement* 京報副刊 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005f).

‘读书之乐’，且觉得仿佛人生已没有‘余裕’，‘不留余地’了” (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005f, 15). In his essay Lu Xun warns about losing this attitude of allowing for something to be “enough and to spare”. At the end he even explicitly speaks of architecture (*jianzhu* 建筑), arguing further that the lack of this mindset leads to buildings being built with “sloppy work and stint material 偷工减料” (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005f, 16). When such tasks are fulfilled only just good enough to get by, with “no regard to whether they are aesthetically appealing or long lasting 不要‘好看’，不想‘持久’”, this has worrisome consequences for a people, Lu Xun warned (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005f, 16).

In his essay, Lu Xun self-fashions himself as an aestheticist – someone who not only values the written word, but who further sees the importance of how these words are presented. Bridging the topics of book design or the aesthetics of texts, with the question of the aesthetic appeal and the endurance of architecture, certainly encourages Ye Shusui’s reading of Lu Xun’s eventual architectural arrangement on Xisantiao hutong. Ye Shusui does not speak of Lu Xun’s self-fashioning, but simply describes Lu Xun as an aestheticist. Yet, she does not conclude on this note. To this analysis she adds oral accounts, recalling that Lu Xun’s study would not be heated, but instead the middle room of the central building would be heated with one fire, which would suffice to warm his study as well (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 485). Lu Xun is thus presented by Ye Shusui as a writer who paid much attention to the aesthetic appeal of his living surroundings – but she would always point to the harmony he struck when bringing together the “aesthetic appeal 美观” with the “economically appropriate 经济适用” (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 485). In his living surroundings Ye Shusui thus finds the two crucial elements of what made Lu Xun a great leftist writer in her view.

If the material space of the “Tiger’s Tail” no longer existed after 1928, how then was this study of Lu Xun imagined and produced prior to its “reconstruction” in 1986? One example is that it continued to exist in the imagination of readers, for example, in comic books which visualized Lu Xun’s biography in the late 1970s. One comic book produced by the Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum in 1978 shows different images of the so-called “Tiger’s Tail” [IC 117 Tiger’s Tail in Comic 1978][393] (Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum 广州鲁迅纪念馆 1978, 45-47, 61). The drawings of the comic are line drawings (*baimiao* 白描), fine ink outline drawings that have long been a part of the repertoire of Chinese painting, thus a familiar art form which was included in the medium

[393] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 117.

of the comic book both prior to and after the establishment of the PRC (Seifert 2008, 19–24). The room as a whole is presented to the viewer from the bird's-eye perspective from the west wall of the room [IC 117 Tiger's Tail in Comic 1978, 1]. Lu Xun is depicted at the other end of the room, leaning over his desk, lighting his oil lamp. The lamp is the main source of light in the room, leaving the back of the chairs dark and lighting up Lu Xun's face and the area around his desk. The strong shadows that result from the single source of light emphasize the depth of the room and the corporality of the furniture through the strong contrast of their lit-up and shaded sides. Lu Xun's desk is placed against the east wall, his bed along the north wall under the window and below the viewer two chairs and a small table in between are set against the west wall. The rattan armchair in front of the desk already fills out most of the room. In the upper right corner of the image, part of the inner door is depicted with a small stool placed in front of it, while showing the spatial limits to three sides of Lu Xun's bedroom and study, thus including both the north-east and south-east corner of the room. This image differs from other depictions of Lu Xun and the spaces he lived in in that it is not a close-up scene in which his living surroundings are only indicated at by certain objects in the background. In this image it is the study which is the main subject of visualization. In other images, Lu Xu is sitting in his rattan armchair, holding a cigarette, looking out of the window into the backyard which is implied by the tree indicated outside [IC 117 Tiger's Tail in Comic 1978, 2]. Thus the armchair, the window and the implied backyard are the only three visual indications made to where Lu Xun is sitting. In another, Lu Xun is depicted sitting with his friends from the Nameless Society (one of them Sun Fuyuan 孫伏園 (1894-1966 from Shaoxing/Zhejiang)) in his study, Lu Xun sitting in his armchair moved to the side of his desk and his friends sitting next to him [IC 117 Tiger's Tail in Comic 1978, 3]. The desk in the background and the door to his right indicate that the three men are sitting in the south-east corner of his study. But only in the birds-eye perspective of the first image is an attempt made to capture the study as a whole and even Lu Xun himself is not the main focus of the image. Instead the reader is given a peek into the study.

The text below the image explains that Lu Xun and his family (without mentioning Zhu An) lived in three small (*buda* 不大) single-story houses and that behind the main building a small room protruded from the main building, which "was commonly referred to as the "Tiger's Tail". Inside there was only a bed consisting of a hard wooden board and a simple (*jianpu* 簡樸) table and chair as the text explains to the viewer. Furthermore, Lu Xun is quoted as having believed that "when life is too comfortable and easy, then work will be exhausted by life 生活太安逸了，工作就被生

活累了”.[394] The term simple (*jianpu*) is indeed repeated again and again in the museum’s self-descriptions from its establishment up to the present day. In museum booklets from 1961, the Tiger’s Tail is presented as the room of a revolutionary: “When we look at the former residence of Lu Xun and every artifact in it, all will make us feel moved and enlightened, make us come to understand this heroic and great revolutionary writer and understand his very simple and modest (*jianpu*) lifestyle 看了鲁迅故居， 看了故居里的每一件遗物，都会使我们受到深深的感动和启示，使我们了解到了一位英雄而伟大的革命作家, 并且也了解到了他的非常简朴的生活.” (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 [1959] 1961, 3). Likewise, the booklets published in the early 1980s, which in many aspects rectified oversimplifications and distortions of Lu Xun which were prevalent during the Cultural Revolution, nevertheless read: “The strongest impression the former residence leaves is its simplicity (*jianpu*), be it the architecture or the furnishing, all are ever so common (*pingfan*), simple (*jiandan*) and modest (*pusu*) 故居给人最深的影像是简朴，不论是建筑，还是陈设，是那样的平凡，简单，朴素”(Han Linli 韩蔼丽 1982, 13). Until today this interpretation of these living spaces is accepted or even echoed by visitors. One visitor, Mr. Shen (male/ age ~80/ from Hunan/ industrial worker), an elderly man in his early 80s, explained to me, even using the English term, that this was a “simple place” (interview with Mr. Shen, 2014, August 15, 00:08:30). When I asked him further what he meant by this, he explained that life was much better now than it was in the past. That there was no light or air-conditioning then, and that there was no excessive decorating in the way that he saw with young people today. Lu Xun’s surroundings were “very simple 很簡樸”, which is why it really was “not easy for him 並不簡單” to write all the essays he wrote, the visitor explained (interview with Mr. Shen, 2014, August 15, 00:08:30). Thus the narrative of the left-wing writer writing in simple and modest conditions is readily accepted by the audience as well. That Lu Xun’s previous home at Badaowan hutong had been a three-jin courtyard house[395] and that in his later years in Shanghai he would live in a three-story house in the Foreign concession on Dalu xincun that would not likely be described as “simple” is of course not included in this narrative.

The narrative, however, goes further, as it not only presents Lu Xun as modest, but also as forward-looking and optimistic. The caption under the other image with Lu Xun sitting at the

[394] Lu Xun did not write this in his diary or his notes, but is remembered to have said this by his friend Sun Fuyuan from the Nameless Society writing in commemoration of Lu Xun in 1942 (Sun Fuyuan 孙伏园 1999, 73).

[395] See: “*Display*: A Residence Forgotten: Zhou Zuoren’s Badaowan hutong” of this thesis.

window looking into the backyard further states that the Tiger's Tail, which remains in quotation marks, was a quiet place at night [IC 117 Tiger's Tail in Comic 1978, 2]. The branches of the trees outside are described as piercing the dark sky, and this image is followed by a quote from Lu Xun's prose poem "Autumn Nights 秋叶": "Even though fall has come, even though winter has come, following after them is spring 秋虽然来，冬虽然来，而此后接着还是春" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005s, 166). This quote is followed by a dash and the description that on Lu Xun's face there appeared a pleased and comforting smile. The atmosphere created here is that of a calm, thoughtful and – above all – optimistic Lu Xun. This image of Lu Xun is carefully crafted and it draws its authority from the historical fact that Lu Xun lived on Xisantiao hutong when he wrote this poem "Autumn Nights" on September 15, 1924, thereby legitimizing its authority with the help of Lu Xun's words.

This production of Lu Xun's image, however, can also be read critically against the grain through a close reading of his writing, because the image this comic book conveys differs strongly from the overall scene conveyed in his poem "Autumn Night". The quotation could even be argued to be not only selective, which a quotation is by nature, but unrepresentative, since for Lu Xun's *Wild Grass* collection of prose poems this isolated line is indeed unusually optimistic. When reading his literary work against the image which is created in the comic book, it becomes clear that indeed the narrator of the poem (who is taken to be Lu Xun in the comic book) does not make this statement, but instead it is a statement made by a poet, whom the narrator describes as addressing the "pink flower blossoms 粉红花" in his backyard, which are personalized not only as freezing in the cold autumn night but also as merely "dreaming of this poet 梦见的诗人", thus distancing the author doubly from the optimistic statement this poet makes. Connecting this optimistic statement with the image of Lu Xun smiling not only makes the assumption that the poem is indeed written autobiographically and inspired by the author's living surroundings, but also the more strained connection between the optimistic statement by the poet and the narrator, a connection which the poem clearly separates. This poet's optimism further goes beyond the reminder that spring follows winter, but draws on a scenery of butterflies and bees which the poet claims will be surrounding the blossoms in the future, an even greater contrast to the cold dark autumn night, a contrast so great that it highlights that the poet is indeed only a dream dreamt by the blossoms.[396] While both of these interpretations (i.e. equating Lu Xun with the narrator and

[396] The passage reads in full: "Shivering in the cold night air [the minute pink flowers] dream of the coming of spring, of the coming of autumn, of the lean poet wiping his tears upon their last petals, who tells them autumn will come and winter will come, yet spring will follow when butterflies flit to and fro, and all the bees start humming songs

even further equating the narrator with the poet) can be justifiable,[397] the positive image of Lu Xun which is sketched in the comic book becomes most strained when juxtaposing the images of Lu Xun's smile and the narrator's laughter. For following the poet's optimistic statement towards the freezing blossoms comes the description of an increasingly uneasy and uncomfortable scenery. The sky becomes "uneasy 不安" and the narrator hears a stifled laugh which seems to be unwilling to disturb those asleep, but continues to echo, thus filling the air. Suddenly the narrator realizes that it is he himself who is laughing and he is driven back into his study to avoid the sound of this laughter, but even within his study he has to force himself not to continue thinking of this midnight laughter which he knows will return. Thus the unwittingly and audibly laughing narrator featured in "Autumn Night" offers a very different (i.e. far more disturbing) image from the optimistic and quietly smiling Lu Xun depicted in the comic book. The poem the comic book uses to construct Lu Xun as an optimistic writer (the kind that would find confidence in a teleological world view, for example) and his study as a peaceful place, can *equally* be used to *deconstruct* such an image and instead present Lu Xun as a cynical and haunted writer, whose study provides little shelter from the haunting laughter over the poet's optimism and the blossoms' gullibility. After all, it is his own laughter, which he will be forced to carry along when seeking refuge in the Tiger's Tail. Lu Xun's long period of depression and resignation which he experienced when he lived in Xisantiao hutong, also belonged to one of the aspects in which Lu Xun's flawless image was put into perspective only after the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun, for example by the study by former director and literary scholar Sun Yu in his monograph *Records of Lu Xun's Troubled Thoughts* 鲁迅忧思忧思录 (Sun Yu 孙郁 2012) drawing on previous research on this topic by prominent Japanese Sinologists (Sun Yu 孙郁 2017). In the comic book depicting Lu Xun's Tiger's Tail in

of spring. [极细小的粉红花]在冷的夜气中，瑟缩地做梦，梦见春的到来，梦见秋的到来，梦见瘦的诗人将眼泪擦在她最末的花瓣上，告诉她秋虽然来，冬虽然来，而此后接着还是春，胡蝶乱飞，蜜蜂都唱起春词来了" (Lu Xun [1956a] 1980, 317); (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005s, 166).

[397] An autobiographical reading of Lu Xun's "Autumn Night" is supported by the many references made to the narrator's living surrounding which show parallels to those of the Lu Xun's living surrounding during the poems production even though these can be understood to be almost generic (the two date trees, the garden behind the window of his study, the lamp on his desk). Furthermore, some of Lu Xun's writings encourage such a reading, as not only the date on which the poem was written is provided by Lu Xun, but in the case of the forword to the collection which Lu Xun wrote when he lived in Guangzhou, he also added the date and place (written in the White-Cloud-Pavilion in Guangzhou) after his writing. Concerning the connection of the narrator to the poet he describes, this disconnection of the two by the narrator could be argued to be artificially created by the narrator. For later in the poem, the narrator also realizes that the laughter which he perceived to be external came from himself, thus one could argue that when the narrator describes the poet who offers comfort and hope to the blossoms, this poet could also have been the narrator himself, something the narrator however fails to acknowledge.

1978, however, this was still unthinkable. The Lu Xun living in the simple surroundings of the Tiger's Tail was at ease and optimistic.

To return to the constructed image of the study, the Tiger's Tail is not only presented as a quiet place, but also as a place in which Lu Xun met with his students and like-minded colleagues and friends, a place of collective left-wing literary production. In the text accompanying the image of Lu Xun meeting with his students, holding his oil lamp and leading four of his students out of the dark and into his house [IC 117 Tiger's Tail in Comic 1978, 3], Xisantiao hutong is described as a secluded and desolate alley. This is juxtaposed to Lu Xun's study where the stillness of the alley was broken. On the following page [IC 117 Tiger's Tail in Comic 1978, 4], Lu Xun is depicted as sitting in his study with two young men of the Nameless Society, among them Sun Fuyuan. The caption explains that this "progressive 进步" literary group indeed was formed in this study and that the establishment of its Journal *Threads of Conversation* 語絲 (edited by Sun Fuyuan) was made possible through Lu Xun. Thus Lu Xun's collaboration with other "progressive" writers and his mentorship of young students was localized within the work space of Lu Xun's home. The Tiger's Tail as an imaginative space, circulated in this way as a visual space during the late 1970s, even when the architectural construction of the Tiger's Tail as a protruding piece of architecture from which its name derived no longer existed.

As one can see from the photographs of the museum's archive [**IC 118 Restoring the Original Appearance, comparison pre-1986 and 2015, 1, 2**], the architecture of the main central building on Xisantiao hutong had indeed been changed, with the groundplan no longer in the shape similar to the Chinese character "to protrude" (*tu* 凸). Instead, the expansion of the bedroom of Lu Xun's mother towards the backyard in the north resulted in the groundplan changing and the symbolical space of the "Tiger's Tail" losing its material counterpart. With Wang Dehou's successful application with the upper ministries in 1986, this material space was restored. This restoration seems rather straightforward and it is surprising that this attempt to restore the Tiger's Tail was not made earlier, for example after the residence was opened to the public in 1950. The most likely reason would be that the architectural spaces as they had been available in 1950 sufficed to produce Lu Xun as a revolutionary writer in similar methods as the comic book did. Lu Xun's small study was, after all, available, and only those who had visited Lu Xun during his lifetime would indeed be able to tell the difference of the overall architectural structure or only those especially curious would raise the question why Lu Xun had called his study a Tiger's Tail. Yet in

the 1980s, the demand for a reconstruction of an "original appearance" was voiced, which is why it was almost five decades after Lu Xun had first designed his Tiger's Tail in 1923, that this question of an authentic display of Lu Xun residence was raised in 1986.

IC 118 Restoring the Original Appearance, comparison pre-1986 and 2015

1.



2.



1. View from backyard onto the Tiger's Tail (before 1986); source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (31) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0350088. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. View from backyard onto "restored" Tiger's Tail in 2015; source: Photographed March 21, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Looking back to the process of the application, the recognition of the importance of the building as a historical site by governmental institutions also brought an unwanted side-effect, Wang Dehou recalled. When writing the application, he had hoped that the building would be opened to the public in the sense that visitors would still have the chance to physically enter the buildings and step into Lu Xun's home. Since the building had, however, been valorized as a major heritage site as early as 1979 by the Beijing Municipal ACH and since the "reconstruction" of the Tiger's Tail now additionally attributed "authenticity" to the display, the buildings' doors were required to be shut and glass was added to the windows, making it only possible for visitors to peer into the individual buildings, but no longer enter them. Wang Dehou explained sighing: "Like this you can barely see anything, we really let the visitors down 這樣什麼都也看不見，真對不起觀眾 (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20)."

But according to Wang, other main achievements were made through this call for a historically accurate reconstruction of the Tiger's Tail. While one had certainly also been architectural, the main change had been ideological, or better gender-historical. For the second change which was undertaken in Wang Dehou's application to "Restore the Original Appearance of Lu Xun's Former Residence" on Xisantiao hutong touched upon a more sensitive topic than Lu

Xun's study, namely the fate of Lu Xun's wife Zhu An who had lived adjacent to it. For it was in the same application that Zhu An as a historical figure was also to be "restored" by being reintroduced in Lu Xun's former living spaces, which was the main reason why the application did not go into details with regard to how specifically Xisantiao hutong No. 21 was to be restored. Wang Dehou explained that Zhu An had been a "taboo 忌諱" in the decades after the establishment of the PRC, for the fact that Lu Xun had a legal wife and simultaneously was in a relationship with his later partner Xu Guangping would be considered as "harming Lu Xun's character 有損魯迅的人格" for it was considered "improper morals 道德不正確" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:35:00). Wang emphasized that the Chinese traditional concept of polygamy in form of "one-husband-many-wives 一夫多妻"[398] was a widespread phenomenon in Lu Xun's times. From Wang's perspective, Lu Xun was "very determined to firmly advocate the equal rights of men and women 魯迅堅決徹底地扶植男女平等的" arguing that his essays strongly supported this.[399] As to Lu Xun's relationship to Zhu An, Wang Dehou simply described the situation as a "phenomenon that history created 歷史造成的現像", removing any agency or blame from Lu Xun – but allowing for a paradox between the realities of Lu Xun's life and the (past) expectations towards it to exist. To overcome this paradox, Wang explained that "there is nothing we can do about that. But in China there is a way: To conceal it. 沒辦法。但中國有一個辦法是隱瞞" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 1:36:20). Thus, in the past Zhu An's room was named the "Book Storage Room 藏書室", a method of concealing which Wang considered particular to China.[400] This was also highlighted by the fact that Wang Dehou remembered that it

[398] For an analysis of the legal history of the term "one husband one wife", see (Tran 2013). Tran shows that the Chinese concept of "one husband one wife" is often translated with the English term "monogamy", yet Chinese discourses surrounding the term are lost in this translation, since the English term carries Western assumptions about marriage and sex which need to be historicized. Tran differentiates between the term as it was used in promulgation of the GMD civil code in 1930 and the marriage regulations of the CPC in 1931, in which having multiple husbands or multiple wives was prohibited by law for both sexes, and the implicit presence of "one husband one wife" in Qing-law, in which "one husband (*fu* 夫), one wife (*qi* 妻), many concubines (*qie* 妾)" did feature the concept of "one husband one wife", but in which having multiple husbands was considered a sex crime and having multiple concubines was sheltered as a semi-marital arrangement (Tran 2013, 107).

[399] One of Lu Xun's most famous works understood as propagating women's economic independence is "What Happens when Nora Leaves Home 娜拉走后怎样" (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005q), which was first published in 1924, drawing on Ibsen's play *A Dollhouse* from 1879, in which the protagonist Nora leaves her husband at the end of the play. Lu Xun reflects on this play arguing that the only way in which Nora could ever leave her husband was the guarantee of women's financial independence in society, which was not guaranteed to women in China at the time, thus shifting the attention onto the economic structures which hindered women in China to realize the play's crucial act, namely to leave.

[400] It must be taken into consideration that Wang Dehou was addressing me as a European Sinologist in the interview, an aspect which could have triggered this emphasis. However, in addition to this factor, he also drew on Lu Xun's

was foreign visitors who would notice and address this concealment, especially visitors from Japan (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:37:00). With the application for the restoration, this aspect however was easily changed. "Change the label! 變個牌子!", Wang exclaimed. Thus, after 1986, the labels in Lu Xun's former residence were changed and Zhu An hereby reintroduced into Lu Xun's museum space. But with this change, the issue was not thoroughly resolved and Wang Dehou never came to see it fully resolved in his remaining time as Deputy Director at the museum, he explained. For the new label used in the late 1980s read "The Bedroom of Ms. Zhu An 朱安女士的卧室". This label still remains visible inside the building on the top of the door frame into her room, however now no longer accessible to visitors [**IC 119 The Return of Zhu An 1**]. The reason for this title was that the change "experienced Zhou Haiying's, Lu Xun's son's, resistance 受到周海嬰魯迅的兒子的阻止" for he did not allow the term "Wife Zhu An 朱安夫人" to be used in the display (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:38:53). In Wang's opinion the label ought to have addressed Zhu An in this way, thus there continued to be a difference of opinion between the Deputy Director of the museum and the members of Lu Xun's close family. Zhou Haiying's influence on the museum had increased since 1975 after Mao Zedong's direct response to his letter,[401] and on this issue a compromise was made to accord to Zhou Haiying's wishes on this matter. Thus the main obstructing force in this case came from Lu Xun's close family. In addition to Zhou Haiying's influence, Wang however further explained that the "common people 老百姓" were also another reason why Zhu An had been concealed. "Even though we knew it in the past, we did not say anything, we were not allowed to say it, if we did we were criticized 我們過去雖然知道，但是我們不說，不讓說，說了還被批評的" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:39:30), implying that the criticism was not one that stemmed from superior (political) bodies, but from the visitors, and even more generally, the so-termed common people. By referring to these two external forces on the museum (opinions of Lu Xun's close family and the opinion of "the public"), Wang Dehou's shifted the agency away from the museum, presenting the museum as an institution which continued to face certain restrictions, which did not result from superior institutions.

critique of the "Chinese" method of "concealing and cheating 盲與偏", thus echoing Lu Xun's critique of his contemporary society, which Lu Xun had emphasized as being Chinese.

[401] See chapter "The Second Birth of the Lu Xun Museum? (1975-1980): The Letter" of this part.

Regardless of whether the museum staff is regarded as silent and silenced, Wang Dehou emphasized that this situation changed greatly with the Reform and Opening Period. By 2015, the label of Zhu An's former bedroom within Xisantiao hutong included a sign which reads "The bedroom of Lu Xun's original companion Zhu An 鲁迅原配朱安卧室" and the English below reading: "Bedroom of Lu Xun's wife" [**IC 119 The Return of Zhu An 2a-b**]. Two aspects are striking when reflecting on the implications of this label. Firstly, the term which is used today is no longer merely "Ms. Zhu An", but the Chinese term *yuanpei* 原配, literally translated as original match and which does imply that Lu Xun and Zhu An were married. The term *yuanpei*, however, also communicates that Zhu An was indeed his *first* wife, thus in the choice of terminology pointing towards the fact that later in his life Lu Xun and Xu Guangping would be partners. Secondly, the English translation does not mention Zhu An's name, nor does it make any references to Xu Guangping, but simply states "Lu Xun's wife". Since Lu Xun and Xu Guangping never married, the term Lu Xun's wife is indeed correct. However, by leaving out her name the room is simply turned into the bedroom of Lu Xun's wife – thus not of any particular individual. The intentions behind this are not clear. It could aim for a labeling which is more easily understood by visitors not able to read Chinese and with possible troubles of remembering additional names in the Hanyu-

IC 119 The Return of Zhu An, 1986



1. Inside description "Ms. Zhu An's Bedroom 朱安女士的卧室"; source: Photographed August 20, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2./ 2a. Front view of the main central building, main sign outside; source: Photographed March 21, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2b. Additional sign inside behind window; source: Photographed March 21, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Pinyin-Romanization. However, even with this being the case, the result of this labeling is that Zhu

An as an individual is not named, thus reducing her to her role as the wife within this historical place of commemoration.

The large emphasis Wang Dehou gives to the "liberation of thought 思想解放" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:40:00) that resulted from the Reform and Opening period must be put into perspective. In a later on-site interview, Wang came back to the Japanese visitors and their insistence on asking where Zhu An had lived in the former residence during their visits. Indeed, it was not quite as simple as Wang expressed above, stating that Zhu An was not spoken of ("We did not say anything 我們不說"). Indeed, when walking through the exhibition, Wang had stated that the Japanese visitors were "not happy 不高興" about the display of Lu Xun's former residence and had often inquired about Zhu An. In the end, Wang explained, he would just tell them directly, explaining that "it was here 在這裡". These conversations, however, had always been one-on-one discussions. Thus, even in the times in which the labels claimed differently, Zhu An still held a presence in the former residence. Both on the production side, by the museum staff who "knew" but could not "speak" and at times also on the reception side by visitors who challenged the staff to speak. The one-on-one discussions meant that even before the so-called "Reform and Opening-Period", the former living spaces of Lu Xun triggered discussions about the relationships of the author and his family relations, revealing the limitations of the power of labelling. And even though Wang emphasized Zhou Haiying's obstructing role in the display of Lu Xun's former residence with regard to Zhu An, he simultaneously pointed out that with regard to the publishing of Lu Xun's letters and manuscripts, Zhou Haiying's support was crucial to the "restoration" of Lu Xun in the 1980s. Zhou Haiying had supported publishing Lu Xun's works, letters and diaries as completely as possible in his letter to Mao Zedong, a "point in which Zhou Haiying is really worth commemorating 在這一點周海嬰是很值得紀念的" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 1:41:30). By this, Wang once again revealed Zhou Haiying's ambivalent role in his power over Lu Xun's former living spaces. In the later interview, Wang Dehou concluded this ambivalence with regard to his role as Deputy Director by explaining that "while I respect Zhou Haiying, it does not stand for my endorsement, it is a kind of compromise 尊重海嬰的意見，不代表我認同，是一個妥協" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:41:41). This statement reveals the negotiating function museum directors serve when they are required to respond to ideological political requirements from upper ministries, requests from descendants and contemporary societal norms by society at large.

Wang Dehou repeatedly addressed the gained freedom which resulted from the Movement against the Sacralization of Lu Xun, but in the latter interview also the limited direct and immediate consequences of the movement on the display, due to the fact that "museums are stable 博物館是穩定的" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20). As the above has shown, however, museums are not "stable" institutions, they do change over time, even though their inertia results in a temporal lag in the realization of said changes. But the museums do not change automatically or naturally, but rely on the initiative of individual actors within the museum system, as the active application of the museum with the upper ministries to restore the "Original Appearance of Lu Xun's Former Residence" by Wang Dehou and other museum staff has shown. The power of the museums is that it is in control of the display and that remains its main authority over the production of Lu Xun. It is this power which Wang boiled down to: "What it wants you to see, it gives you too look at 要你看什麼，就給你看什麼", a power which is particularly vivid in the case of Zhu An's disappearance from and reintroduction into Lu Xun's museum space.

The above described achievement of the restoration of Lu Xun's Tiger's Tail should be acknowledged. And yet this part on the "Desacralization of Lu Xun" will nevertheless end on a call for caution. For the call and (partial) return to a historical Lu Xun automatically has us return to the lure of the First Body which was addressed in the section on "Lu Xun's Two Bodies" in "Zooming Out: Lu Xun on Display" of this thesis. This call to return to a historical Lu Xun necessarily also faces the danger of arguing for an objective history and objective truths, implying a retrievability of an "authentic" past. One discussion came to the heart of this problem: The Disappearance of Leonid Nikolaievich Andreyev (1871-1919 from Oryol/ Russian Empire). With the restoration of a historically accurate display of the Tiger's Tail, one and only one particular "original" state of Lu Xun's study had been restored, with multiple other "original" states automatically being removed from memory. For the Tiger's Tail as it was reconstructed in 1986 is but merely a snapshot in time.

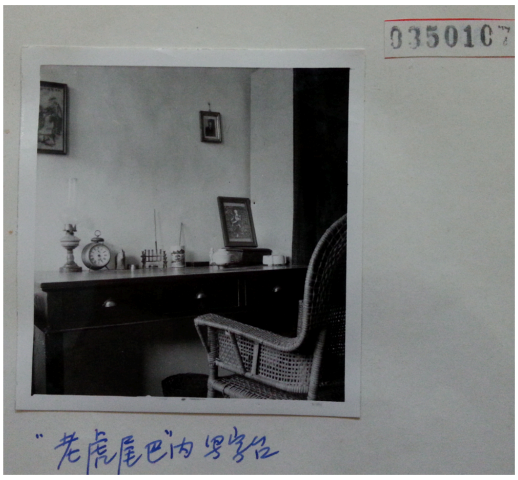
A writer's study is an intriguing place also because in many cases it can reveal information about a writer's own personal heroes and imagery which he drew inspiration from. This, similar to his writer's study as a whole, can be read with and against the grain of Lu Xun as a particular kind of literary hero constructed in the display. In Lu Xun's case it is well known that the portrait of his Japanese medicine teacher, Mr. Fujino 藤野先生, was placed above his desk, indicating that Lu Xun greatly admired this individual. As a matter of fact, Lu Xun explicitly elaborates on his

fondness for his teacher in a literary essay named after him in 1926 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005w).[402] Looking back to his studies in Japan, he felt most grateful towards this particular teacher, as he had given him the most encouragement. Even though he had been made fun of by Lu Xun's fellow students for dressing carelessly at times, Lu Xun explained that his "personality was that of a great man 他的行为是伟大的", for Lu Xun admired his hope that "modern medical knowledge 新医学" would spread to China, one of the reasons why he had encouraged Lu Xun during his medical studies in Sendai (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005w, 318). In his essay, Lu Xun even described his study:

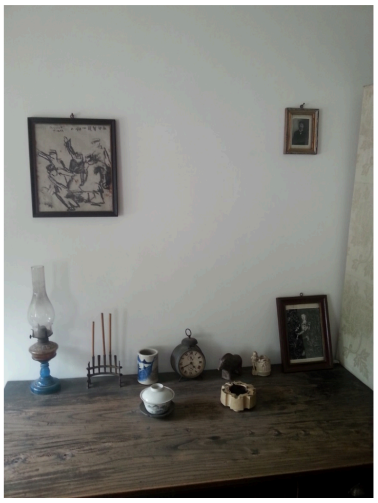
> All I have left is his photograph which hangs on the east wall of my Beijing lodging, opposite my desk. At night if I am tired and want to take it easy, when I look up and see his thin, dark face in the lamplight, as if about to speak to me in a measured tone, my better nature asserts itself and my courage returns. Then I light a cigarette, and write some more of those articles so hated and detested by so-called men of honor.[403] 他的照相至今还挂在我北京寓居的东墙上，书桌对面。每当夜间疲倦，正想偷懒时，仰面在灯光中瞥见他黑瘦的面貌，似乎正要说出抑扬顿挫的话来，便使我忽又良心发现，而且增加勇气了，于是点上一枝烟，再继续写些为"正人君子"之流所深恶痛疾的文字 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005w, 318–19).

Old photographs from the museum archive feature Lu Xun's study with Mr. Fujino's photograph on this wall [**IC 120 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 1a**]. When visiting Lu Xun's Tiger's

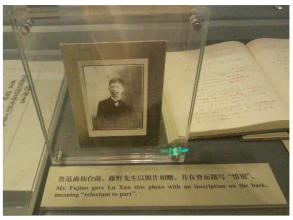
IC 120 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 1a-1c



1a.



1b.



1c.

1a. Desk in Tiger's Tail; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0350107.
1b. Desk in Tiger's Tail, 2014; source: Photographed May 14, 2014.
1c. Photograph of Mr. Fujino on display, 2014; source: Photographed September 23, 2014.
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

[402] Lu Xun published this essay in the Journal *Grasslands* 莽原 on December 10, 1926.

[403] I have largely relied on Gladys and Xinyi Yang's translation (Lu Xun [1956c] 1980, 410–11), yet changing "to speak in measured tones" into "speak to me in a measured tone". I have further translated *zhengren junzi* simply as "so-called men of honor" instead of "just minds and gentlemen" as Yang's choice of words is dated.

Tail as it was on display in 2014, his photograph is visible as a replica when peering into his study [**IC 120 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 1b**] and the original photograph is further on display in the permanent exhibition in the adjacent (new) exhibition building [**IC 120 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 1c**].

Besides Mr. Fujino, a coal drawing of Lu Xun's friend Si Tuqiao 司徒橋 (1902-1958 from Kaiping/ Guangdong) hung on the wall, along with an image of a Buddha, which was set onto the desk titled against the wall, and individual pieces of stationary, such brush holders, a water container, a teacup, a clock, an oil lamp and some figurines. Certainly, the setting with the image of his Japanese teacher has come to form the iconized and authorized space of Lu Xun's study. In the past, authoritative texts in which Lu Xun's study circulated outside of China in the official English translation by Foreign Language Press 外文出版社, such as Gladys and Xinyi Yang's 1956 translation, included a photograph that was most likely taken from the same display but from a different angle (Illustration [1957] 1980, 224) [IC 121 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 2a].[404] Here, Si Tuqiao's drawing and the Buddhist imagery can still be detected.

However, this authoritative space also touched on some sensitive issues. In the 2005 and 1981/1989 editions of *Lu Xun's Collected Work*s that were directed at a domestic readership, *similar* photographs were chosen but each with slightly altered angles. They are all directed at the window, thus facing north (Illustration 图 2005, vi); (Illustration 图 [1981] 1989, iv) [IC 121 Tiger's Tail, East wall, authorized 2b, 2c]. It is noteworthy, that here slight changes were made or slightly different photographs were chosen. For only one of the three picture frames which are visible in the display today is clearly visible in these photographs. It is Si Tuqiao's painting. This drawing fit well into the image of a writer as a social critic, as it depicted five police men beating a pregnant women for having begged for a bowl of rice to feed her child. Lu Xun purchased it from his student Si Tuqiao in 1926, supporting this young left-wing writer and artist in his early career (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 111). Mr. Fujino is not visible as he would have been on the far right corner of the setting displayed today, in each case covered by the wooden door frame. Possibly for this reason, both the 2005 and 1981/89 editions of L*u Xun's Collected Works* thus feature an additional illustration of Mr. Fujino in the illustrations at the beginning of the volume next to the study [IC 122 Tiger's Tail, East wall, authorized 3].[405]

[404] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 121.
[405] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 122.

Most eye-catching, however, when returning to the prior images is the fact that the image of the Buddha [IC 121 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 2d] placed on his desk is not visible in either photograph chosen for the 2005 and 1981/1989 editions of *Lu Xun's Collected Works*. A long shadow of the oil lamp is cast onto the wall where in other photographs the picture frame is tilted against it. This is not to say that this photograph used in the 2005 edition does not have its counterpart in the collection of the museum archive. It seems straightforward that the photograph printed in the 2005 edition is based on the archive photograph No. 0350092 [IC 123 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 4a–4b].[406] The Buddhist imagery on Lu Xun's desk required some form of explanation, for example by the museum guide, as it did not fit as smoothly into the production of an image of Lu Xun as a Marxist writer which his study was to communicate from 1950 onward. Other forms of explanations, such as him being only interested in the images' aesthetic, not their religious meanings made this guidance in interpretation possible (see section on "*Display, a quick glance*: Irreconcilable Pairings?" in "Brecht – embodied" of this thesis). The illustrations at the beginning of his collected works did not offer such a space for guidance, which is possibly why the photograph was altered or a different (equally authentic) photograph was chosen for the domestic audience. As for the English readership of the edition published by the Foreign Language Press, such a guidance might have not seemed as pressing, especially as the Buddhist imagery was not really decipherable in that quality of print.

But not only the angle of photograph (and as a result the selection of visible objects) varied. The Tiger's Tail is an interesting example of a writer's study, especially due to the fact that the display which one can behold in the Lu Xun Museum today, is indeed only *one* snapshot in time. Another photograph of his study shows that Lu Xun's Tiger's Tail also had at least one additional "authentic" version, which not only featured his Japanese teacher, but also the Russian writer Leonid Andreyev above his desk as inspiration. In the commemorative writings of his student Xu Qinwen 許欽文 (1897-1984 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang), who described in detail his memory of the Tiger's Tail, this fact was also addressed. His writing published in 1979 after the museum had long been established:

> It was on the East Wall on which Mr. Fujino's photograph was hung, where once also a photograph of Andreyev had hung, along with images that Chun Tai and others had sent by mail from Paris and other places. Below the west wall, a stone in the shape of a hedgehog was placed, which was used as a paper weight to flatten paper rubbings. Images and journals that were in an arched shape since they had been sent by mail, and other books that had just

[406] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 123.

been repaired and freshly stapled, [were pressed beneath it]. Its position never changed, but that which was pressed underneath the thing constantly changed. 在挂藤野李先生照相的东墙上，也曾经挂过安特烈夫的相片，和由春台 等从巴黎等处级来的画片。在西墙下，经常摆着块有刺猬头型的石子，是用以压平拓片。图片和因邮寄而被卷成了弧形的书刊，还有刚修补重钉过的书籍，位置老是不动，而被压在那下面的东西，却是常常变换的 (Xu Qinwen 許欽文 1999, 1268–69).

Old Photographs of the museum archive show the placement of the stone hedgehog placed next to the West wall of the room, even though the display in 2014 only featured the stone hedgehog in the display of the exhibition building, but not in the display of the former residence [**IC 124 Tiger's Tail, West Wall, authorized 5a–5c**].[407]

IC 124 Tiger's Tail, West Wall, authorized 5a-5c

5a.



5.b.



5c.



5a. Stone hedgehog in Tiger's Tail; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0332111.
5b. Stone hedgehog on display in the exhibition hall of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, 2014; source: Photographed September 23, 2014.
5c. Tiger's Tail display, 2015; Photographed July 24, 2015.
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

[407] In the photographs chosen for the 2005 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* and the 1956 English translation, the hedgehog was placed on a small table next to the window in the north of the room, possibly to simply include it in the photograph.

But more importantly, the photo archive of the museum also contains two photographs of the Tiger's Tail which feature Andreyev's photograph on the wall of the study [IC 125 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1a, 1b],[408] as Xu Qinwen remembered it in his 1979 text, as well as in another text from 1940 in which he mentions the photograph as well (Ge Tao 葛涛 2013). While a larger picture frame is indicated at the upper end of the photograph, one cannot see which image it contained. Clearly visible are the photograph of Mr. Fujino, a smaller empty picture frame and a photograph of Andreyev [**IC 126 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1a**]. This portrait photograph of Andreyev remains in the collection of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, museum researcher Ge Tao explained (Ge Tao 葛涛 2013) and based on it is a reproduction included in the exhibition hall of the permanent display in the exhibition hall in 2014 [IC 125 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1c, 1d]. When one consults *Lu Xun's Collected Works* published prior to the establishment of the PRC, namely the 1938 and 1948 editions, it is telling that it is *this* photograph including Andreyev that was included as an illustration at the beginning of the 9th Volume (Illustration 圖 [1938] 1948, iii) [IC 125 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1e]. Thus it was only in later editions that it was exchanged by the setting that has by now become authoritative. From the example of Andreyev's photograph, one can learn that that which today is considered the authoritative setting and put on display at Lu Xun's residence in Xisantiao hutong, can clearly differ from that which prior to the PRC would have been considered authoritative and authentic.

IC 126 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1a



1a. Andreyev over desk in the Tiger's Tail; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0352119. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

[408] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 125.

The existence of two possibly equally "authentic" arrangements of the Tiger's Tail has caused some debate within the Lu Xun Museum. One of the museum's researchers published a paper on "Why did a Photograph disappear from Lu Xun's Study? 鲁迅书房中的照片为何消失了？" in *Chinese Readers News* 中华读书报 in 2013. Here, researcher Ge Tao criticizes the museum's directorate for failing to address this interference and encroachment of past museum directors when they "removed 撤下" Andreyev's photograph in 1956, because "some people considered [Andreyev] to be a 'decadent' writer 被某一些人视为‘颓废’注意的作家" (Ge Tao 葛涛 2013). Photographs (allegedly) taken by Xu Shoushang in 1937, which unfortunately Ge Tao does not include as visual material into his essay, proved in his opinion that Andreyev's photograph had hung on Lu Xun's wall in the past. Ge Tao presumes that when Wang Yeqiu wrote to Xu Guangping in a letter in 1947 that the Tiger's Tail had remained unchanged, that the original setting (including Andreyev) was then still intact. Most likely, Ge Tao is referencing the above mentioned photographs of the museum archive [IC 125 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1a, 1b].

Ge Tao thereafter retraces Andreyev's reception history, arguing that even though his works had fallen into oblivion in the Soviet Union between 1930 to 1956, before and after he had actually been hailed as an exceptional writer. Indeed, Andreyev was a very controversial figure in the Russian Empire and arguably even more so in the early Soviet Union. He had been one of the most widely-read authors in the early 1900s. He became famous for short stories that dealt explicitly with prostitution and the torment of young men as victims of their sexual urges, possibly one of the reasons why he was criticized as a decadent writer in PRC China. While his broad variety of works drew on many topics, from the then-contemporary Russo-Japanese War to historical topics, his works mainly came to stand for post-1905 intelligentsia demoralization, both loved by readers and initially praised, for example, by Gorky, as well as harshly criticized, for example by Sofia Anreevana Tolstaia (Brown 2004, 25). This controversy continued, yet with decreasing support from left-wing literary circles. Criticized by the government under the Tsar, placed on the hit-list of the monarchist Black Hundred List of works deemed unpatriotic, but also vituperated by left-wing writers such as his past mentor Gorky, his work continued to be the subject of both praise and attack. However, since he neither had a party affiliation nor a consistent political philosophy and in 1905 voiced his doubts about the transformative power of the revolution to Gorky, it does not come as a surprise that his biographer Avram Brown points to the fact that "in general Andreyev decisively opposed Soviet power" (Brown 2004, 32). When the Bolshevists took over power in

1917, Andreyev left Russia once again for Finland (where he had lived for some time a decade earlier), even planning to go on an Anti-Bolshevik lecture tour in the United States shortly before his death in 1919. According to Brown, Andreyev's reputation only improved in the 1960s (Brown 2004, 30) through more nuanced scholarship and most likely to the literary thaw encouraged by Khrushchev in which Andreyev was hailed as a representative writer of Russian literature of the Silver Age (1890-1925).[409]

Thus the reasons why Andreyev was labeled a "decadent 颓废" (Chen Shuyu 陈漱渝 2006) writer in the PRC could be manifold. Andreyev had in his "reactionary years 反动年代" fled to the "decadent camp 颓废阵营", Russian literary theorists explained in an essay titled "Lenin's Fight Against Decadent Literature 列宁反对颓废主义文学的斗争" in 1984, published in Chinese translation (Fu Luo Xieerbinna 弗·罗·谢尔宾纳 and Mei Xiquan 梅希泉 1984, 97). Only one of his works, namely his play "To the Stars (К звёздам)" (1906) had remained acceptable for its optimism and its focus on workers as his protagonists, yet the rest of his literary oeuvre was, even in the mid-1980s, still considered the kind of decadence Lenin rejected. Be it his apt and detailed description of what was perceived as "demoralization", a focus on the darkness and hopelessness of human existence, or his later refusal to approve of the Bolshevik revolution, both literary and biographical motivation can be found for the critical reception of Andreyev and his works in the PRC. Yet, it is likely that it was the first that had intrigued Lu Xun and motivated him to translate his works in the early 1920s. In the postscript of his 1921 translation of Andreyev's 1900 short story "Into the Dark Distance", Lu Xun believed Andreyev to skillfully depict the "mental depression 心理的煩悶" and "life's dreariness 生活的黯淡" experienced by Russians towards the end of the nineteenth century (Lu Xun 魯迅 [1938a] 1948, 259). The same would certainly also have sufficed as a reason why Andreyev needed to be disassociated from Lu Xun, as Lu Xun's presentation as a forward-looking optimistic young man (depicted in the 1978 comic book mentioned above, for example) could hardly incorporate his interest for the dreariness and mental depression which fascinated him in Andreyev's work. But the second, namely the biographical, is even more likely to have contributed to Andreyev's removal from Lu Xun's Tiger's Tail, as one had (from Soviet examples) learned the great importance of the power a writer's biography can have on visitors when displayed in museum space.

[409] Today a literary museum dedicated to Andreyev can be found as part of the Ivan Turgenev State Literary Museum near the city of Oryol in Western Russia (Museum Leonid Andreyev Музей Леонида Андреева 1997).

Further proof of this, is that Ge Tao also points to the initial close friendship and later break between Andreev and Gorky in his critical essay, emphasizing the fact that Gorky highly praised Andreyev's literary contribution when he gave a speech for his commemoration after Andreyev had passed away. Thus by trying to put Gorky's prior criticism of Andreyev into perspective, he aims to emphasize Andreyev's literary value, thus continuing to accept Gorky's evaluation as a main value criterion. Ge Tao explains that Andreyev had been translated and well received in China of the 1920s and 1930s, but precisely in the time in which Andreyev was reintroduced as a great writer in the Soviet Union in the late 1950s, early 1960s, Andreyev was increasingly labeled a decadent writer in China. Ge Tao ends his essay with a call: "So summarize, we ought to respect history, […], and restore Andreyev's photograph in the 'Tiger's Tail' study, and thereby we can objectively display the real image of Lu Xun. 总而言之，我们应当尊重历史，在"老虎尾巴"书房中恢复安特莱夫的照片，从而能客观地展示出鲁迅的真实形象" (Ge Tao 葛涛 2013). In his call, Ge Tao's essay can be seen as writing in the tradition of the Movement against a Sacralization of Lu Xun. Clearly, the call that would allow for a more complex Lu Xun – one that distances itself from a Lu Xun smiling optimistically in his modest study in Xisantiao hutong, but of a Lu Xun tormented by his own depression, finding inspiration in the dark and gloomy existentialist writings of Andreyev – is without a doubt an important contribution. Yet, it too brings with it a claim of a historical truth (*zhenshi*), an achievability of an objective display (*keguan*) and the retrievability of a "real Lu Xun" (*zhenshi* Lu Xun).

Ge Tao argues in his essay that the photograph of Andreyev had *always* been on the wall of Lu Xun's study up to the 1950s and thereafter had been removed. His critical essay thus presents a competing display that is not only an alternative, but the true display. To complicate the matter however, old photographs of the current setting of the Tiger's Tail also exist, thus, if authentic, they show that the study without Andreyev's portrait is equally "authentic". Thus the materials available are more complex than Ge Tao leads his readers to believe. Furthermore, other facts defy his explanations. The 1973 edition of Lu Xun's *Collected Works* still included the setting with Andreyev [IC 127 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1f][410]; (Illustration 图 1973, i). Thus still during the Cultural Revolution and prior to Zhou Haiying's letter to Mao Zedong in 1975, the official publication of his works included this "decadent" writer. Only in the 1981 edition (published far more comprehensively after the Second Birth of the Lu Xun Museum including the

[410] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 127.

research room) was the new "orthodox" imagery featuring Si Tuqiao's coal drawing included, thereby replacing Andreyev. Ge Tao's reference to Andreyev's perceived "decadence" in China cannot fully explain the timing of this change as it would be a countermovement to what was a time that would increasingly allow for deregulating forces to be heard (see "Conclusion: Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this part).

Thus Ge Tao's call voiced in 2013 to "rectify" Lu Xun's Tiger's Tail is not without inconsistencies. What this thesis argues is that Ge Tao, like many of the deregulating forces or "new" approaches to Lu Xun after the Second Birth of the Museum, fails to take into account the possible coexistence of multiple authenticities. In other words, it reveals that the museum, in either case, would have to make a decision on which of Lu Xun's heroes it prefers to present within this iconic space to the public. This decision is likely to have come easy, since Andreyev was considered a controversial hero by some and changes in the display of the study would draw much attention to this past more convenient snapshot of the Tiger's Tail frozen in time, which has long proliferated across China. Thus, this particular hero of Lu Xun's was removed from the genealogy of heroes which becomes manifest in the present living surroundings of the writer. The question remains, whether an exchange of one display for an alternative display would not just provide further ground for the museum's claim over Lu Xun's First Body and avoid acknowledging its past role in the production of his Second.

Conclusion Desacralization: History's Cul-de-Sac and the Rejection of Sagehood

When looking back at the changes that occurred in the museum display since the reopening of the Lu Xun museum in 1975, one can detect a tendency to – in one form or other – express critique of a "sacralization of Lu Xun". As an alternative the return to a "historically truthful" Lu Xun was demanded. This analysis has shown that a certain form of sacralization and political instrumentalization had reached an impasse and was replaced by this call for a "historical" Lu Xun. I argue however, that this critical/ historical approach despite its contributions has also come to a dead-end, with Lu Xun's sagehood and Lu Xun's historic person currently locked in stalemate.

The earlier moderate (or even conservative) approach of the critique of Lu Xun's sacralization was that voiced by Mao Dun, who – in accord with official Party historiography – blamed past distortions and (unscientific) forms of sacralization and worship first and foremost on the so-called "Gang of Four". Even though it was explicitly critical of a "political

instrumentalization" of Lu Xun, this critique, of course, also served political purposes. The possibility to label Mao Zedong's praise of the late 1930s and early 1940s a "sacralization" or "political instrumentalization" in China remained limited. And even today, an absolute separation of Lu Xun and Mao Zedong is not acceptable in museum space, as Sun Yu's attempt to remove Mao Zedong from the Beijing exhibition hall and the inclusion of his praise in both the Shanghai and Shaoxing museums has shown. In academic circles it has become possible to question constructed links between the two which remained increasingly difficult to prove. Lu Xun's alleged telegram to Mao Zedong in 1936 is such an example. Material links had become necessary to connect the two convincingly and the Lu Xun museums played a seminal role in attributing authenticity to these materials (paintings and documents), thereby creating (or as Huang Qiaosheng called it – fabricating) evidence, *and additive method*. Yet since their authenticity has been called in question, the museums have become cautious of how they present materials claiming the existence of such a telegram, but in the end both the Shaoxing and the Beijing Lu Xun museum display it nevertheless. This continuity in display shows that Lu Xun museums still construct positive links between Lu Xun and Mao Zedong, not least because a debate on the telegram's authenticity has reached an impasse, with both parties, calling it either "true" or "false", running short of indisputable evidence.

The example of Lin Yutang's return into the display in the Lu Xun museums and his own eventual institutionalization in the PRC stands representative for the *eliminative methods* used in museum space, which also were subsumed under a form of distortion and "sacralization". Lu Xun was "cleansed" from other cultural and political figures that acquired negative associations, be it Lin Yutang (l'art pour l'art), Chen Duxiu (Trotskyism) or Zhou Zuoren (Japanese collaboration) etc. The alteration of photographic imagery, along with a utilization of photography's truth claim that made these eliminative changes so effective, justified critical approaches to Lu Xun's museums as necessary and encouraged a hermeneutics of suspicion. The return of so-called "rehabilitated writers" within Lu Xun's displays, but also in form of additional author museums dedicated to these writers after the end of the Cultural Revolution, convey a possible plurality of literary heroes since the 1980s. However, the rhetoric of museum representatives continuing the separation between writers of correct direction (*zhengfang* 正方) and opposite direction (*fanfang* 反方) show that writers can move from one to the other group, but that the integrity of the boundary between them ultimately cannot be touched. Even for those writers that were considered *zhengfang* for the largest part of PRC history (Ba Jin, Lao She), their biographical suffering under the Cultural

Revolution rendered their institutionalization a balancing act, as no official cultural politics on how the Cultural Revolution was to be evaluated was provided by large-scale state museums.

Zhou Zuoren's residence at Badaowan hutong No. 11 was thus a site of memory that proved doubly problematic, as Zhou Zuoren remains a cultural figure who embodies an unwillingness to sacrifice one's life for the Chinese nation, transforming his house into a "Japanese shop" (*fanfeng*) and at the same time, the over-eagerness to sacrifice lives of Chinese comrades for the Chinese nation during the Cultural Revolution, turning his house into a "prison", the site of his death, and national guilt. In the end the house was not turned into a state-owned museum, but was managed by a school which neither fully guaranteed safeguarding its authenticity nor allowing full accessibility.

Xisantiao hutong No. 21 functions as Badaowan's counterpart. In 1986, in the spirit of seeking a historically authentic Lu Xun, it underwent a process of being "rectified": Reading against the grain of a past "orthodox" presentation of the Tiger's Tail with Lu Xun's prose poem "Autumn Night" showed that Lu Xun's study had long been used to construct a certain kind of valorizing image of Lu Xun as an optimistic, modest and forward-looking left-wing writer. The material space of Lu Xun's study, however, was no longer congruent with what he had once designed, which encouraged its architectural "rectification" to present the space as historically accurate. Along with this architectural change, the museum also inconspicuously supported gender-historical "rectifications", such as the return of Zhu An. Yet the final rectification, the return of Andreyev, once again shows the limitations of such "historical rectifications". On the one hand, the limitations remain set by the authorities, as it seems that such a display might encourage contradictive readings (Lu Xun's fascination for Andreyev's gloomy writing while being presented as optimistic and forward-looking) which *remain* unwelcome. On the other hand, the critical approaches towards these "narrowings" (Verhärtungen) break down, as I would argue, due to their insistence on a historical truthful Lu Xun (i.e. Ge Tao' critical approach), as such a historical and critical approach also cannot accept the coexistence of multiple authenticities.

This conclusion thus points to the current dilemma that the historical critical approach has arrived at an impasse, in a similar (if opposite) way as Lu Xun's sacralization in form of a "modern sage" had in the past. The crucial problem lies in the fact that the historical ('scientific') approach cannot guarantee or claim truth for itself either (a claim that Lu Xun's sacralization arguably not even made). Lu Xun as a sage can from today's perspective be readily acknowledged as the making

of a Second Body. But the problem of the historical approach is that it does not acknowledge that its Lu Xun, the "historical Lu Xun" is also a Second Body.

I therefore argue that we will not be able to work out how to continue as long as museums continue to claim the retrievability of the First Body, a claim which critical academics not only encourage, but even demand. Instead museums should *acknowledge that they indeed can only produce Second Bodies* of Lu Xun. This acknowledgment could take form in providing *multiple readings with the same materials* (providing two Tiger's Tails, for example). The resistance to admitting a *coexistence of multiple Lu Xuns,* however, became apparent when one Chinese scholar at a Lu Xun conference in New Delhi in 2012 rose from his seat in the audience exclaiming vehemently that there could only be *one* Lu Xun. Representatives of the historical critical approach would probably agree. Accusations of relativism along with the question of how many presentations suffice to show a coexistence of multiple Lu Xuns would likely follow. Thus another solution would be the presentation of past displays, to let the visitor see how different Lu Xuns have been on display at different times. Here the museums would be required to inform the visitor which "edition" of the display he is visiting, including their role as producers in the display. This form of self-critical or merely self-aware / self-including presentation of museums towards the public is not easily demanded from museums anywhere, but particularly in China. Museum histories, as this thesis shows, are filled with struggles and processes of negotiations between a large number of individual actors and institutional structures. In China, where structural hierarchies that regulate Party, government and cultural institutions alike are deliberately kept hidden (i.e. the *jibie*-system), this form of visible placement of oneself as an institution would require a positioning of oneself to other institutions as well, which is likely to meet with political objection. Yet, only through this accounting of one's own role in the making of Lu Xun, only in admitting to the productions of multiple Second Bodies in past and present, can the Cul-de-Sac of "History" be overcome.

This acknowledgment brings with it one last danger, however. For this admittance or acknowledgment could also be turned into a slippery slope, as it could be utilized apologetically. If museums are required to acknowledge their productive force, they could reference other examples of production to justify their own. Presenting Lu Xun as a "national hero" would thereby not be acknowledged, but "excused" with the fact that other literary museums, i.e. the Brecht museum in Germany, equally presented their writer as a "European hero", thus seeing the self-

awareness of one's own institution as a newly acquired liberty from the restrictions of historical accurateness.

Especially in the case of creating heroes of collective identity, most notably the nation, the process of producing a Second Body seems most obvious in author museums around the globe. The following part on "Nationalizing Lu Xun" will thus show how after the Movement against Lu Xun's Sacralization, calling for a "historical" Lu Xun, yet another Second Body was produced, the "Chinese National Lu Xun". The museums have, however, learned from the past critical approaches, and no longer alter historical materials to produce a national Lu Xun, but use other means to achieve a similar outcome. Thus this production is immune against a critical/historical approach, as its production of Lu Xun's Second Body is not visibly contradictive to specific historical materials. The following part also does not aim to *deconstruct* this national hero. Instead, by zooming further out in "Lu Xun worlded" and "Lu Xun centered?" and setting the national Lu Xun into the historic and spatial context of a German and Taiwanese writer, this thesis reveals that the intermateriality of world literary heritage and the co-existing of the same writers in master- and counter-narratives of national literatures (PRC / Taiwan) make this acknowledgment of a Second Body on the side of the museums unavoidable and potentially very fruitful. For linking into a discourse and institutional network of "world literary heritage" which author museums aim to, in order to further elevate their heroes into a global canon of writers, *they thereby unwittingly reveal that we have never constructed representative heroes, but always entangled heroes*. This will take the wind out of the production of national heroes in a way that the socio-historical critiques might not achieve, and still recognize the museum's role in memory making (if not in history making).

Once we take the Chinese-ness out of Lu Xun, the German-ness out of Brecht and the Taiwanese-ness out of Lai He, maybe their sagehood would be less belittled as "superstition" or received as threatening, as a form of political instrumentalization. Certainly, the Marxist-revolutionary Lu Xun created in collaboration with the Soviet Union was not benign and resulted in other writers having been removed from memory. Thus the nation cannot be blamed for these encroachments of historical materials. Thus the inclusion of museum's histories remains necessary. But the combination of a museum's own history along with its contextualization in world literary heritage production could be one form of coming out of the stale-mate created by the simultaneous rejection of sagehood and disillusion with history.

Nationalizing Lu Xun: The Chinese National Lu Xun (1990s/2000s)

Structure: Patriotic Education Sites as Prizes in a Cultural Currency Reform

A nation which has not brought forth a great man,
is the world's most pitiful living thing.
A nation which has a great man, but knows not to support, love and worship [him]
is a helpless slave-state.
We ought not forget and will not forget this backbone of the Chinese people!
We will not! Never!

没有伟大的人物出现的民族，
是世界上最可怜的生物群，
有了伟大的人物，而不知拥护、爱戴、崇仰的国家，
是没有希望的奴隶之邦。
我们不该忘记，也不会忘记这位中华民族的脊梁!
不会!永远!
Written by Shui Wei, Student at No.4 Middle School on 25th of September, 2004 at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum[411]
水为，四中 学生 贰零零肆年玖月廿五日于北京鲁迅纪念馆
Photographed August 20, 2015

This chapter investigates the making of Lu Xun into a national hero, taking a look at both the underlying structures valorizing him in the background in the larger museum landscape as well as his visual presentation in the exhibition halls in the foreground. The question leading through this chapter inquires: How did the structural valorization and visual presentation of Lu Xun change over time? As the following shows, Lu Xun would again increasingly be presented as a "national hero 民族英雄" in the 1990s. That Lu Xun is indeed until today *received* as a national hero can be seen from the above comment written into the museum guest book by the middle school student (or better the student's parents). But how is this national hero *produced* in museum space and what exactly changed about this presentation in the 1990s? Edward Vickers described the shift in emphasis of state ideology from socialism to patriotism in the early 1990s more generally in his article on museums and nationalism in contemporary China in 2007 (Vickers 2007). I would like to take a closer look at the Lu Xun museums and look at how concrete structural, discursive and material changes can be traced in these institutions in particular.

One form of valorization on the production side takes place structurally through the awarding of titles. When approaching a museum physically, it can be overwhelming to see its wall filled with numerous signs, numerous titles awarded by various institutions. While some are awarded by

[411] According to the hand-writing, the entry was written by a grown-up, probably Shuiwei's parents. The first four lines of the entry are a direct quote from Yu Dafu, which he published in the journal *Literature* 文學 in 1936 commemorating Lu Xun shortly after his death (Yu Dafu 郁达夫 1936).

supra-national bodies (e.g. UNESCO) (see: "Zooming In: The Materiality of World Literature"), others are awarded by state institutions, such as the SACH 文物局 or the CNTA 旅游局. The ones addressed in this section are two titles issued by organizational bodies of the Communist Party, namely the Communist Youth League of China 共產主義青年團 (CCYL 共青團） and the Chinese Communist Party [Central Committee] Propaganda Department 中共中央宣传部 (CCPPD 中宣部).[412] The CCYL 共青團 first began awarding the title of "National Youth Education Site" 全國青少年教育基地 in 1991[413] and the CCPPD 中宣部 first awarded the "Patriotic Education Site" 愛國主義教育基地 on a national level in 1994.[414] In each case, the central authorities invite institutions to bid for the nomination. Thus in the course of the 1990s, Party organizations developed a new national form of valorizing sites (including museums) that educate China's youth in, according to its own terminology, patriotism (*aiguo zhuyi* 愛國主義), collectivism (*jiti zhuyi* 集體主義) and socialism (*shehui zhuyi* 社會主義教育) (CCYL 共青团 2000). The first titles defining patriotic education sites were already distributed earlier on lower levels, with the Beijing Lu Xun Museum designated as such a site as early as 1992. Some would later be further upgraded, for example the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, which was listed as Patriotic Education Site on the Shanghai municipal level in 1994 and only later upgraded by the CCPPD 中宣部 in 2001. Institutions can thus move upward in this network of titles and prizes and the scope of the prize (national level vs. municipal level) corresponds with the jurisdiction of the awarding institutions.

[412] The awarding of the prizes at times takes place in cooperation with other institutional bodies. However, the CCPPD 中宣部 has authority over the Ministry of Culture (MoC), the General Administration of Press and Publications, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the People's Daily, the Bureau of Broadcast, Film and Television, the New China News Agency and its affiliates and over all Party propaganda cadres at the provincial and sub-provincial levels. Therefore the CCPPD can be seen as the major actor behind these prizes. The internal structure of the CCPPD remains non-transparent (Shambaugh 2007, 36).

[413] (CCYL 共青团 2000).

[414] Outlines for the implementation of patriotic education were published in 1994, see: (People.com 人民网 1994).

	Title	Awarding Institution	since
Education	National Youth Education Site 全國青少年教育基地 全國	CCYL 共青團	1991
Patriotism	Patriotic Education Site 愛國主義教育基地[415] 全国/ 市	CCPPD 中宣部	1994

Museum	Part of Museum	Title/ Award	Awarded by	Year
Beijing	Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館	Beijing Municipal Patriotic Education Site 北京市愛國主義教育之地	Beijing Municipal Government 北京市政府	1992[416]
Shanghai	Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海魯迅紀念館	Shanghai Municipal Patriotic Education Site 上海市愛國主義教育基地	Shanghai Municipal Government 上海市政府	1994[417]
Shaoxing	Lu Xun Native Home District 魯迅故里	National Patriotic Education Site 全國愛國主義教育基地/ A Patriotic Education Site of the Hundred National Sites 全國百個愛國主義教育之地	CCPPD 中宣部	1997[418]
Shanghai	Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海魯迅紀念館	National Youth Education Site 全國青少年教育基地	CCYL 共青團	2000
Shanghai	Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海魯迅紀念館	National Patriotic Education Site 全國愛國主義教育基地	CCPPD 中宣部	2001
Guangzhou	Lu Xun Former Residence, White-Cloud-Tower 魯迅故居 白雲樓	Guangzhou Municipal Patriotic Education Site 廣州市愛國主義教育基地[419]	Guangzhou Municipal Government 廣州市政府	~2011

[415] All two hundred sites (encompassing the first and second list) are listed on the official website of the China Red Tourism 中紅網 (Chinese Red Tourism 中红网 2017).

[416] (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 90).

[417] The designation by the Shanghai Municipal Government 上海市政府 came in 1994 (Chinese Red Tourism 中红网 2005). In 2001 it was "upgraded" to a "National Patriotic Education Site 全国爱国主义教育示范基地" by the CCPPD 中宣部.

[418] (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 197).

[419] (Guangzhou City Government 广州市政府 2014); (Shi Xiaoyan 施晓燕 2011, 136).

What do these titles mean for the producers? As the director of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum Xu Dongbo 徐東波 described in an interview, the institutions (in his case the Native Home Scenic Area 故里景區 of Shaoxing) hand in their materials, and, if successful, are awarded the title and can add the sign to the entry of their museum. Once achieved, the institution keeps the title, but is required to hand in annual reports, giving feedback on their achievements and goals in order to keep the title. According to Xu Dongbo, the title functions as a "mental encouragement 精神上的一個鼓勵" for the museum staff, thus the award is directed inward, with the institutional staff as one of the addressees. Additionally, it increases the museum's publicity (*zhimingdu* 知名度), drawing more visitors, thus addressing the domestic public outside of the institution. Besides impressing and even drawing new visitors, this title is also honorable for the city as it furthermore "brings honor/light to the (face of the) mayor 市長的臉上也有光", Xu Dongbo added laughing, but not necessarily jokingly, in the interview (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:37:00). The 5A system awarded by the CNTA 旅游局 (since 1999/2004) functioned in a similar way, but was furthermore a way of grading (*dangci* 檔次), he explained. But what made the titles such as the Patriotic Education Site special was the limited number of sites that could be listed – listing only 100 sites nationwide when the Shaoxing museum was awarded the title in 1997. This becomes clearer when comparing it with the number of sites that have been listed as Protected Units 保護單位 by the state body SACH 文物局. In 2010 there were 2,351 sites listed on national level, 9,300 recognized at provincial and 58,000 on either municipal or county level (Shepherd and Yu 2013, 50). A Top-100 list therefore was a strong distinction. However, Xu Dongbo also explained that since "the central authorities approve the lists 中央部委批出來的", "they too would sometimes have their intentions of course 當然有時候他也有一些意向", adding that from the point of view of a Lu Xun museum, "Lu Xun – they will surely give you one, because across the different genres they might try to achieve a balance 魯迅的，他們肯定要給你一家， 不同類別他可能也要搞一些平衡，這些倒也有的" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:36:26). Xu, however, did not take the designation lightly or understand it to be guaranteed through a fixed quota, as he further emphasized that "if you really did a bad job 確實做得不好的話", the Party organizations would indeed not award the title. What Xu's comments show clearly is the importance of a limited number of designated sites which make the designation more valuable.

He hereby implies an inflation of awards over time and thus the new titles established by the Party can be understood as a form of currency reform in the field of cultural capital.

Literary theorist James English has clearly pointed out that cultural prizes are a means of exercising institutional control. "Institutionally, the prize functions as a claim to authority and an assertion of that authority – the authority, at bottom, to produce cultural value. It provides an institutional basis for exercising, or attempting to exercise, control over the cultural economy, over the distribution of esteem and reward on a particular cultural field over what may be recognized as worthy of special notice. In modern times this control was often, to begin with, state control, but it has gradually migrated away from the state in most countries" (English 2005, 52). In China, a large amount of state-awarded prizes continue to dominate the cultural heritage landscape in China, however, not stagnating, but constantly reinventing themselves, with an open eye for the dynamics of its national economy of prestige. Since Shaoxing's designation, these titles have experienced a certain predictable amount of inflation. For by 2017, 428 sites have been designated "National Patriotic Education Sites"(CCPPD 中宣部 2017). The top 100 Scenic Areas of Red Tourism 中國一百個紅色旅遊經典景區 still exist, yet it is only a question of time until the number of designated sites will lose their high currency, with many areas competing to achieve such designation. That the designation of Patriotic Educations Sites required a new or fresh approach was also clear to the highest authorities when the concept of a new form of Red Tourism developed in the 2000s. The official beginning of Red Tourism 紅色旅遊 is held to be 2005, after the affirmation of the importance of Red Tourism by the General Offices of the State Council and CPC Central Committee in 2004. The year 2005 was declared the "Year of Red Tourism" and the establishment of the tourism industry's first five-year-plan (2005–2010) (Denton 2014, 220). The first and foremost goal of Red Tourism is to enhance and move forward patriotic education (Denton 2014, 220), by *connecting* and *clustering* various Patriotic Education Sites. Its main document issued by the authorities explains that "the [old] methods of patriotic education must urgently adapt and renew themselves 爱国主义教育方式迫切需要改进和创新" (Red Tourism 红色旅游 2004); (Denton 2014, 220).[420]

[420] The General office of the CPC General Committee 中共中央辦公廳 and the General Office of the State Council 國務院辦公廳 issued an outline to the plan in 2004, titled: "Outline of the Plan for the Development of Chinese Red Tourism from 2004 to 2010 2004-2010 年全国红色旅游发展规划纲要", see: (Red Tourism 红色旅游 2004).

Indeed the titles require museums to "keep" them, as Xu Dongbo explained, in the sense that the museums must continue to present themselves worthy of the designation. It is thus revealing to take a closer look at internal work reports concerning the museums designation of which copies are kept in the museum archives. The Beijing Lu Xun Museum, for example, gained the designation of Patriotic Education Site on Beijing Municipal Level as early as 1992. In 2005 and 2010 it had to hand in a "Work Report of the Patriotic Education Site 爱国主义教育基地工作总结", due to the dates presumably in the context of the Red Tourism plan. From these one can draw some conclusions on how "patriotic education" is defined for this particular institution.

In the work report from 2005, the Beijing Lu Xun museum stated that "we have deepened our promotion (*xuanchuan)* of Lu Xun's spirit by taking as Leitmotif "Know History, Love your Country, Never Forget National Humiliation" to organize a number of activities 我们为深化鲁迅精神的宣传，以"知历史，爱国家 – 不亡国耻" 为主线，组织开展了一系列宣传教育活动" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2005, 1). Encouraging a love for one's nation through a victim narration highlighting China's "national humiliation" (*guochi* 國恥) has been extremely important in nation-building during the whole of the twentieth century. Even though, the awareness for the importance of commemorating national humiliation was repeatedly also followed by periods of forgetting it, or better becoming indifferent to it (Cohen 2002). The 1990s were clearly a decade in which national humiliation once again surged in popularity and served as a key concept in nationalist discourse and enhancement of patriotism.[421] Yet the report does not return to this concept, nor does the term reappear throughout the listed activities. Instead the "60th Anniversary of the Victorious War Against Japanese Aggression 抗日戰爭勝利 60 週年" (i.e. the Second Sino-Japanese War) serves as the main source of arousing patriotic sentiment,[422] with China's humiliation only indirectly implied by its defeat in the beginning. All in all, the report picks up four

[421] The state support in this patriotic education has led scholars to view it as a straightforward "Patriotic Education Campaign" (Z. Wang 2008) and its continuation in the 2000s as Red Tourism as following the same goals yet "skillfully replac[ing] the term 'education' with 'tourism'" (Z. Wang 2008, 797). In past analyses, the patriotic education has been discussed by using a critical approach. Wang Zheng explains patriotic education in the 1990s as follows: "The CCP has set the entire propaganda machine in motion for this initiative [the Patriotic Education Campaign], the content of which has become institutionalized in China—embedded in political institutions and inaugurated as the CCP's new ideological tool" (Z. Wang 2008). Especially its role in school education and in the design of school textbooks (Müller-Saini 2011) and mass television documentaries as well as museum exhibitions (G. Müller 2013) has been dissected in recent studies, revealing the intentions that lie behind this narrative of national humiliation.

[422] For an analysis of forms of remembering and forgetting of the Second Sino-Japanese War in Patriotic Education for the international relationship between China and Japan, see: (He 2007, 56–65).

themes and is thus structured in four parts: Firstly, service, emphasizing the importance of museum guides, secondly educational activities of commemorating the "War Against Japanese Aggression 抗日战争", thirdly other "various 多种" exhibitions and educational work and fourthly research and international cooperation.

From the report one can discern two ways in which "patriotism" is promoted by the museum: By creating an Other (i.e. Japan) on the one hand and by forming the Self (territorially including Tibet, Hong Kong and Macau), two methods which are discussed here in more detail. Concerning the content of the exhibitions, very little concrete information is given and the activities are sometimes kept vague, as it is not fully clear what some of these "educational activities" might contain. Of those educational activities commemorating the war, five exhibitions/ activity titles are then listed, ranging from an exhibition, a reading and concert, an online forum and an academic conference. One of the activities, a "large-scale thematic activity 大型主题活动", for example was titled "Not to be Forgotten: Commemorating the 60th Anniversary of the Victory in the War 不能忘却 / 纪念抗战胜利历史年" and shows what kind of direction this particular activity reports to have taken. Organized in cooperation with the CWA 中國作協, the Lu Xun Middle School and the Memorial Museum of Japanese Aggression, the activity "carried out patriotic education with/on the students, aroused a sense of national responsibility among the students, promoted patriotism, heroism and national collective spirit 对学生进行爱国主义教育，激发学生的民族责任感和使命感，弘扬爱国主义，英雄主义和民族团结精神" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2005, 2). How exactly this was achieved is not stated clearly, but it is implied that Lu Xun and other "Chinese" (*huaren* 華人) such as Song Qingling, Guo Moruo and others, are presented as national heroes in their roles during the Second Sino-Japanese War.[423] Thus the context through which patriotism is grasped is by emphasizing the Chinese as defined against the Japanese Other in the historic setting of the Sino-Japanese War during WWII. The Chinese national hero is s/he who writes and acts against the Japanese Aggression.

While it is by no means wrong to claim that Lu Xun was resolutely against the invasion by the Japanese, presenting Lu Xun as a hero against the Japanese is difficult in two regards: Firstly,

[423] The report remains vague in various regards: In the organized reading it is not specified which texts of Lu Xun were read. Concerning the online forum, it is only described that visitors would reply as to what they had personally contributed in "fighting Japanese Aggression for the nation 为民族抗日", but the forum's connection to Lu Xun is not made clear.

Lu Xun was not unconditionally willing to join the Second United Front in form of literary circles to focus all his writing on the Anti-Japanese cause in 1936 when the war broke out. In the famous "Two Slogan" debate in 1936, Lu Xun refused to give up class struggle and the promotion of mass literature, which members of the Communist Party like Xu Mayong 徐懋庸 (1910–1977 from Shangyu / Zhejiang) or Zhou Yang 周揚 had hoped him to do (Jenner 1982, 432–33); (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005b).[424] At this time, to put it bluntly and exaggerate for purpose of clarity, Lu Xun's literary strategy could be described to have been more "Marxist" than the CPC's political strategy. Thus his willingness to compromise his other values in order to support the Anti-Japanese cause was limited. Secondly, Japan meant a lot to Lu Xun. He had studied in Japan, spoke and wrote Japanese fluently, and – until the end of his life – maintained friendships with Japanese, most prominently Uchiyama Kanzo 内山完造. Indeed, Lu Xun's relationship to his Japanese teacher Mr. Funjino 藤野先生, and the hanging of the photograph of this teacher in his study in Beijing has become a visual and spatial symbol of Sino-Japanese friendship, as Eileen J. Cheng has discussed convincingly in her recent article (Cheng 2014). Thus presenting Lu Xun as a national hero in the War Against Japanese Aggression poses challenges to say the least.

But one need not even look outside the report to see how intertwined Lu Xun and Japan were and remain to be. For there is a good reason why the last two thematic points are listed separately as "other" exhibitions and "academic" endeavors. In the fourth and last topic "research and international relations" the report states that a conference was organized by Japanese, Korean and Chinese researchers and universities in Shenyang on "Lu Xun from an East-Asian Perspective 东亚视角下的鲁迅" and another conference was organized by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum on "Lu

[424] In 1936, Lu Xun wrote an article in reply to a letter that he had received from Xu Maoyong, then the administrative secretary of the League of Left-Wing Writers, who had accused him of "endangering the United Front 危害联合战线" by raising a left-wing literary slogan during this time, which he considered "wrong 错误的" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005b, 547). Lu Xun replied that politically he supported the United Front: "The policy of a united front against Japanese aggression proposed to the whole of the people by the present Chinese revolutionary party is one I have seen, one that I support; and I join this front unconditionally because I am not only a writer but also a Chinese. 中国目前的革命的政党向全国人民所提出的抗日统一战线的政策，我是看见的，我是拥护的，我元条件地加入这战线，那理由就因为我不但是一个作家，而且是一个中国人" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005b, 549).Yet having made his political standing clear, he continues to suggest a different (decidedly left-wing) literary circle and "slogan" that diverged from the one that focused literary production on fighting Japanese Aggression alone. The so-called "battle of two slogans" (*liangge kouhao de lunzheng* 兩個口號的論證) thus took place between one group which promoted (1) National Defense Literature (*guofang wenxue* 國防文學), represented by Zhou Yang and Lu Xun's alternative "slogan" (2) Mass Literature of the National Revolutionary War (*minzu geming zhanzheng de dazhong wenxue* 民族革命戰爭的大眾文學). For more information on the "Two Slogan"-debate, see: Footnote 292.

Xun's Beginnings: Memories of Sendai 鲁迅的起点：仙台的记忆", where he had studied abroad in Japan. Thus this paradox remains inherently visible even within the report. However, Lu Xun's close ties to Japan are not those elements focused on in the educational outreach programs, but in the (exclusively) academic activities. This reveals one main strategy of patriotic education by the museum. While the complexity of Lu Xun's criticism and fondness of Japan is acknowledged in the academic program, the exhibitions, mass- and school activities continue to focus on Japan as a national Other against which national identity is enhanced and through which patriotic sentiments are aroused.

The other form in which patriotism is presented is by means of inclusion and (territorial) outreach. In most cases the outreach programs listed in the 2005 work report also do not specify exactly how Lu Xun is presented. They simply list the fact that the museum moves outside of the museum's walls or actively encourages students to visit the museum as a patriotic activity. In the 2010 work report, the museum further states that it "actively promoted social outreach education programs 积极开展社会大课堂活动" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2010, 1). In a 2009 example, it realized an "Approaching Lu Xun 走进鲁迅"-travelling exhibition (*xunhuizhan* 巡回展) which was brought to 18 schools in the city and city outskirts. At one of these occasions, the opening speech of this exhibition was given by the Museum Deputy Party Secretary 黨委副書記 of the museum, Zhao Guoshun 趙國順 (1955– from Yanling/Henan), which was stated specifically, hereby emphasizing the importance of the Party Secretary's work in the museum's educational activities not only internally (addressing the museum staff) but also externally (addressing schools) (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2010, 2). While inclusion was performed by reaching out to schools on the one hand, the museum also actively brought students into the museum on the other, when it organized activities during which students from various "joint-funded schools" (*gongjian xuexiao* 共建學校) came to the museum and took part in activities organized by museum staff and their teachers in collaboration, adding up to 120 people alone present as teachers and staff (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2010, 3–4). These activities included visiting the museum and the former residence, as well as organizing a performance by the students in the museum.

But the "outreach" also goes beyond the museum/school realm and reaches into the national "peripheries" of the Chinese nation. In the 2010 report, the museum emphasized that it had "trained 160 student volunteers 为学校培养了 160 名志愿者" (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物

馆 2010, 6). Among them were two students from Hong Kong and one student from Amoy who were invited to come to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum to do an internship. The internship ended with a workshop which was also attended by Zhao Guoshun, the Deputy Party Secretary. Furthermore, the 2005 report stated that on the "40th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Autonomous Region of Tibet 西藏自治区 (1965–2005)", the Beijing Lu Xun Museum had exhibited its "Lu Xun's Life of Reading 鲁迅读书生活" travelling exhibition at the Tibet Museum in Lhasa (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2005, 5). Thus the outreach-programs also aim to present the museum as an active force in forging national and territorial unity by uniting visitors and museum volunteers from Hong Kong, Amoy and Tibet through commemorating their common "hero" Lu Xun.

To summarize, the title "(National) Patriotic Education Site" is a title directly awarded by the CCPPD 中宣部. From Xu Dongbo's comments it serves different functions, from drawing visitors to the museum, serving as a mental stimulant for the museum staff to bringing honor to the city, especially the mayor. While quota also can play into the nomination, it is still considered a high distinction and serves as a museum's symbolic capital. In reports, in the case of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum for example, "patriotic education" is repeatedly emphasized but not always clearly defined. The two definitions that become most tangible are a) the emphasis on a Japanese Other in the presentation of Lu Xun as a *Zeitzeuge* and opponent of Japanese Aggression during WWII and b) by the outreach to the nation's territorial "periphery" (Hong Kong, Macau, Tibet) in from of a travelling exhibition or the recruiting of interns. Also, the involvement of the Party Secretary in certain activities of the museum is explicitly stated, which means that the museums (by handing the repots to the authorities) actively highlight the tight structural network between cultural institutions and the Party, the structural body which is given a direct voice in the museum's concerns on patriotic education.

This said, this does not mean that the reports hid activities from the authorities which would be considered at odds with a simply nationalistic approach to Lu Xun. While activities such as Sino-Japanese collaboration in Lu Xun research had been listed, some exhibitions that were at odds or even criticized by the authorities were casually (i.e. with no further description) listed among "other exhibition activities" as well. Among them were, for example, a Wang Xiaobo 王小波 (1952–1997 from Beijing) exhibition which had raised eyebrows. Wang Xiaobo's novella "The Golden Age" 黄金時代 from 1997, for example, was highly controversial for its use of black

humor and explicit description of sexuality to portray political persecution during the Cultural Revolution (Wang Xiaobo 王小波 2007). In 2005, Sun Yu, former director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum had organized an exhibition on Wang Xiaobo from May 13th to April 11th, which he himself described in an interview as having received criticism from the authorities. It is not surprising that when museum researcher and Sinologist Kirk Denton visited the museum, he had been surprised by the paradox of encountering such a non-*guanfang* writer in the state-owned exhibition spaces of Lu Xun (Denton 2014, 177) [IC 128 Wang Xiaobo 2005].[425] Sun explained in an interview: "Me, I am liberal, mh, sometimes I could do some exhibitions that the authorities did not like so much; for example the Wang Xiaobo exhibition, the authorities did not like this exhibition much. 我這個人是自由主義，恩，我有的時候我可以做一些官方不太喜歡的展覽，比如說王小波的展覽官方就不是特別喜歡" (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 40:34:1). These diversions from the official line were possible in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, as I argue, also due to the power of the museum director as a representative of a bureau-level institution (*juji danwei* 局級單位). In the report this exhibition was, of course, not listed as prominently – but listed nevertheless. The titles of "Patriotic Education Sites" thus also form an inter-institutional discourse in which the museums reports to the authorities in a manner beneficial to them maintaining their title and one in which the authorities can turn a blind eye to slight divergences from the official reading of Lu Xun.

Thus these titles and the reporting that these titles entail can be seen both as a structural and (merely) discursive method in which Lu Xun is turned into a national hero. Structural in the sense that the category of "national" in the sense of "patriotic" is redeveloped as a form of value currency with the awarding of titles and prizes. Discursive in the sense that the reporting is at times less a convincing explanation of how the activities and content of the exhibitions were indeed patriotic, but a discursive tool in which the museum uses the required "speak" to report to the Party, but also has the relative freedom to include content that does not strictly fit the requirements.

Display: Pushed into the Background: Lu Xun's Ties to the SU

But how then can the national (or patriotic) Lu Xun be seen in the material production of Lu Xun? One form was by *removing* past valorizing elements connected to the Soviet Union or, more eye-

[425] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 128.
.

catchingly, *replacing* them with "Chinese" forms. As the following shows for the case of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, the museum's architectural and curatorial "remains" from the 1950s were replaced with "national" ones, for example.

In the realm of architecture, exhibition halls (unlike historic houses) are not predetermined in their appearance through history, which gives the museum free reins in creating an architectural framework, which it considers adequate to house exhibitions about the literary hero Lu Xun. One can learn much from the architecture alone as to what kind of hero should be produced within these walls and which of his heroes and followers should be brought into prominence. The old exhibition building of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum was built for the 20th anniversary of Lu Xun's death in 1956 [**IC 129 Building 1956**]. Described in 2015 by a museum staff member as "Soviet [architecture] 苏联的[建筑]" (interview with Ge Tao 葛濤, 2015, May 14), this building features nearly no elements of what is commonly understood as Chinese architecture, but has ferroconcrete walls, a flat roof and two long corridors on each side. In the mid-1950s many architects from the Soviet Union worked in China, especially in Beijing, and supported China in its city planning. This exchange was also enhanced with many Chinese architects studying in Moscow (Ren 2011, 43). The exchange or indebtedness to the Soviet Union would later cause much embarrassment to the Chinese leadership after the Sino-Soviet break around 1960 (Hung 2005, 922). Of course, this so-called "Soviet" style of architecture was from its very beginnings a mix of different architectural styles, ranging from modernist to new-classicist elements. By the 1950s, this kind of architecture already belonged to a *globale Formsprache* and shows no regional elements, or elements

IC 129 Building 1956: Old Exhibition Hall



1.



2.

1. Exhibition hall; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 06200039. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Exhibition hall and Lu Xun bust; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 0620048. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

recognizable as "Soviet".[426] Yet nevertheless, when these forms were first introduced in China, they are likely to have entered via the Soviet Union and the Lu Xun Museum thus formed a "contact zone" between the two cultures (Pratt 1991) to use Pratt's term, with the "Soviet" elements perceived as such by the Chinese museum staff even today. Not only the concept of an "author museum" was introduced via the Soviet Union to China (with the Gorky, Pushkin and Ostrovsky Museum as its inspiration, see section on "Moving Spaces: Inspirations from Moscow (Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Wang Yeqiu)", the architectural design for the exhibition building was also largely adopted from its neighbor. Its symmetrical monumentality, minimal use of decorative elements, apart from a few floral patterns in its relief, and vertical pillars decorating the facade in addition to a large square in front of the museum, was regarded as the appropriate framework to communicate Lu Xun as China's literary hero – a hero who was to represent the transcultural movement of a revolutionary Marxist literature which went beyond national borders.

IC 130 Building 1994: New Exhibition Hall

1. 

2. 

1-2. Exhibition hall, Beijing Lu Xun Museum, built 1994; source: Photographed September 24, 2014.

When one enters the Lu Xun Museum in Beijing today, however, one enters through a gate onto a square and stands directly before an "exhibition hall" (*chenlieshi* 陳列室) [**IC 130 Building 1994**]. It is built with grey brick walls, a grey tiled flush-gable roof, the so-called "hard-mountain" style *yingshan* 硬山, and colorful red wooden post-and-beam-construction decorating its facade.

[426] I would like to thank Michael Falser of the Heidelberg Cluster Asia and Europe for his insightful comments on this topic.

In its overall architectural style it imitates the Chinese courtyard architecture (*siheyuan* 四合院) in which the former residence of Lu Xun on Xisantiao hutong No. 21, which is adjacent to the exhibition hall, was built. The constructions of this building began in 1993. When this new building was first opened in 1994, just when the Patriotic Education Campaign gained in momentum, the government newspaper *People's Daily* 人民日報 explained that the new building was a piece of "architecture with a rich national style modelled after /[imitating] the past [ancient] style 一座民族风格浓郁的仿古建筑", and that Lu Xun's former residence and old exhibition building together with the new "enhanced each other's radiance, melting (the Lu Xun Museum) into an organic whole 浑然一体" (Xu Yunxiang 许云祥 and Yuan Chengdong 袁承东, October 15, 1994). Thus the past hall had been *replaced* with an apparently "Chinese" version. Museum researcher Wang Dehou, when asked about the museum's architecture, explained that the old building had featured a "Western-style flat roof 西洋式的 平顶的", not speaking of a "Soviet"-style, but referring to the flat roof more generally as "Western". When the current building was being discussed, he recalled, there had been "two plans 两个方案". The first entailed that the old building would be torn down and a new one should be built in its place (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19). Yet in the end, the second plan was chosen, namely that a new building was to be built *in front* of the old building and the old building reused as storage and office space. Additionally, a patch of bamboo was planted in front of the old building which further conceals it from sight. The architecture associated with the Soviet Union (or more generally the West) was thus spatially pushed into the background, and a "national 民族" style was placed into the foreground [**IC 131 Beijing Lu Xun Museum, Groundplan 2014**].

IC 131 Beijing Lu Xun Museum, Groundplan 2014

1. Front gate; source: Photographed March 21, 2015.
2. Front square; source: Photographed March 21, 2015.
3. Exhibition hall, built 1994; source: Photographed September 24, 2014.
4. Exhibition hall, built 1956; source: Photographed May 14, 2014.
5. Former Residence at Xisantiao hutong No.21; Photographed May 14, 2014.
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.



2. Front square



3. New exhibition building (since 1994)



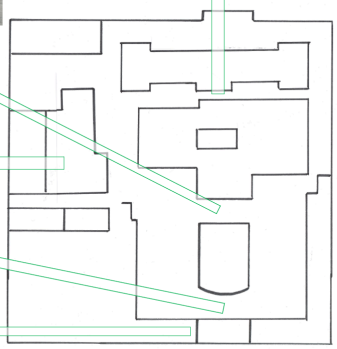
4. Old exhibition building (since 1956)



5. Former Residence Xisantiao hutong No.21 (Lu Xun's residence 1923-28)



1. Main gate



Groundplan of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum premise, sketched by Emily Graf.

When entering the old exhibition building (which is off limits to museum visitors) today, one also encounters an old bust of Lu Xun, which was removed from the current display and now stands in the hallway of the old exhibition building in the back [**IC 132 Bust of Lu Xun 1956, 1–4**]. Once it had been placed at the center of the hall when the building had functioned as an exhibition building [**IC 132 Bust of Lu Xun 1956, 5**]. But today it no longer has a central position, no longer is it beheld so carefully as the photograph from the 1950s of the young girl standing in front of the statue, with her hands in her pockets, might suggest [**IC 132 Bust of Lu Xun 1956, 6**]. The bust

IC 132 Bust of Lu Xun 1956, Old Exhibition Hall, Beijing



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



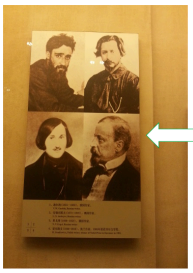
6.

1-2./ 4. Lu Xun bust; source: Photographed May 14, 2014.
3. Exhibition hall, built 1956; source: Photographed May 14, 2014.
5. Lu Xun bust, 1950s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (147) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 / Photo 0620084.
6. Lu Xun bust, with girl, 1950s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620159.
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

had been a gift from the Soviet Union, created by a Belarusian sculptor, Zair Azgur in 1955 as mentioned previously in "*Display*: Lu Xun, a Chinese Gorky?". Contemporaries remember scenes in which visitors would stand in the middle of the exhibition room "admiring Azgur's Lu Xun bust for a long time 久久地欣赏阿兹古尔这座坐鲁迅雕像" as the photograph of the young girl also suggests. The People's Daily also printed a photo of the bust in the daily news, thus circulating this museum object well outside the museum space (Gao Mang 高莽 1990, 63).

This removal of Soviet elements in the exhibition display was not only linked to the materials, but also to content. Gorky had been a Soviet writer whose museum had inspired Guo Moruo to demand a Lu Xun museum in China, and in the display of Lu Xun in the 1950s Gorky and Lu Xun

IC 133 Portraits of Russian Writers at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum



1. V. M. Garshin
L.N. Andreyev
N.V. Gogol
H. Sienkiewicz



2. Russian writers, portraits in Beijing Lu Xun Museum exhibition hall; source: Photographed September 24, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

had been repeatedly featured together in the museum display (as shown in the section "*Display*: Lu Xun, a Chinese Gorky"). Today, however, Gorky is no longer included in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum display among the many portrait photos that are placed in the glass showcases to highlight writers who had inspired Lu Xun [**IC 133 Russian Writers**]. And even more prominently in Shaoxing, the act of removing Gorky from the museum display can still be traced when catching a glimpse into the attic of the museum (which is naturally not accessible to visitors and is very rarely accessed by the museum staff). Here in the liminal space of the attic, an old Gorky bust is placed on the floor, along with an old Lu Xun bust, old handwritten signs, trestles and old boxes [**IC 134 Removing Gorky**]. While this Gorky bust once served a valorizing function in a past museum

display, today it is a captive of the attic, removed from the communicative spaces of the display, covered in dust, almost forgotten.

IC 134 Removing Gorky, on the Attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum

1. 

2. 

1./ 2. Bust of Maxim Gorky on the attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

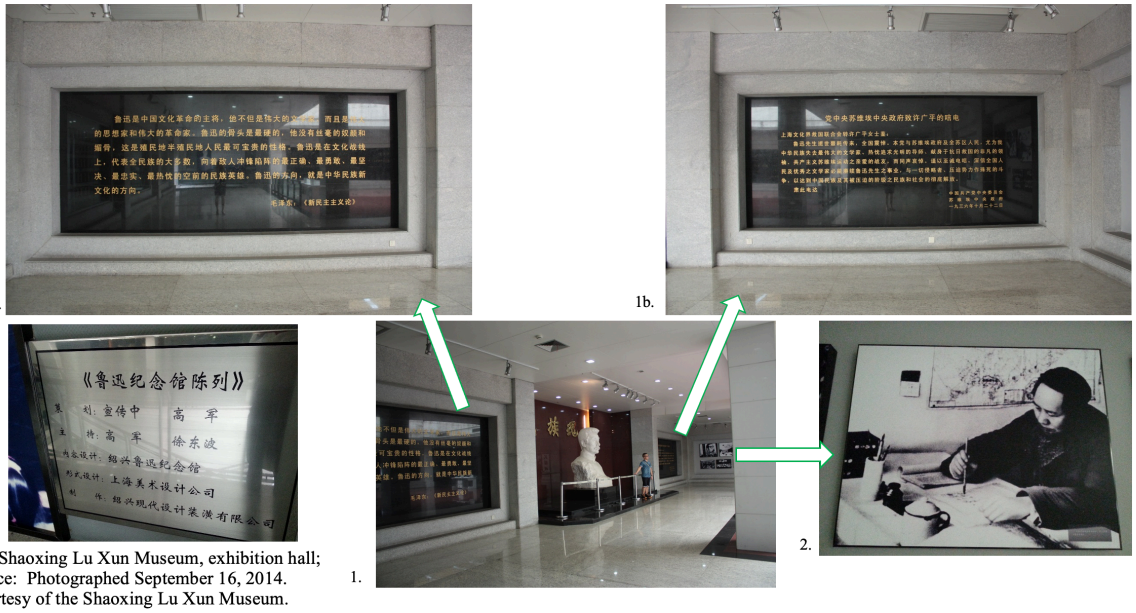
The removal of the Lu Xun bust donated by the Soviet Union and the concealing of the old exhibition building with a new "Chinese" architecture in the 1990s in Beijing, are examples in which a new national Lu Xun presented itself materially. I hereby argue that the Lu Xun former residence, together with the current and former exhibition buildings of the Lu Xun Museum hardly make an "organic whole" as the *People's Daily* claimed in 1993 as cited above (Xu Yunxiang 许云祥 and Yuan Chengdong 袁承东, October 15, 1994). On the contrary, when seeing the Lu Xun Museum as a whole, the material traces of *a process* become apparent, a process the museum underwent in finding a new form and voice to communicate Lu Xun. The two exhibition buildings lucidly manifest the instability of markers of cultural value over time, similarly to the Gorky bust banished to the attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum. Lu Xun's connection to Soviet Union, be it in form of a transnational hero genealogy of left-wing writers or in the appropriation of the author museum as an institutional concept to present a literary hero, used to be a valorizing element in his display, but has become a part of the museum's history which is slowly pushed into oblivion in order to make room for a Chinese national Lu Xun.

Display: Limitations to Shaking off Mao Zedong

Past exhibitions from the 1950s to the late 1970s placed much importance on Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun in the exhibition designs, as shown in section "*Display*: Lu Xun and Mao Zedong" of this thesis, when Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun formed the introduction to the exhibitions, serving visually as textual halos or poetic couplets behind Lu Xun's busts. In the 21st century Mao Zedong is still being included into the Lu Xun exhibitions and it is telling how he is presented.

The two museums which most strongly echo the past exhibitions are those of the lower administrative ranking, the museums in Shanghai and Shaoxing. Both include Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun in the exhibition, however no longer at the beginning but at the end, chronologically included as part of the posthumous reception of the writer. The presentation still shows continuities to the past. In Shaoxing a very large marble Lu Xun bust is included in the exhibition,[427] with Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun presented on its left, written in golden letters on black marble [**IC 135 Mao Zedong in Shaoxing 1a**]. To Lu Xun's right is a letter of condolence to Xu Guangping written

IC 135 Mao Zedong in Shaoxing, 2014



1-3. Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, exhibition hall; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

by the Party's Central Committee. Lu Xun is here called "the greatest writer 最伟大的文学家" and "a comrade-in-arms of the Communist Party and the Soviet government 共产主义苏维埃运

[427] A detailed reading of this bust is provided in the interlude "Lu Xun – marginalized or centered?".

动之亲爱的战友” [**IC 135 Mao Zedong in Shaoxing 1b**].[428] In addition to Mao Zedong’s praise and the CPC’s Central Committee’s telegram to Xu Guangping, a photo of Mao Zedong is shown featuring him in Yan’an with Lu Xun’s *Collected Works* 鲁迅全集 lying on his desk [**IC 135 Mao Zedong in Shaoxing 2**]. The exhibition was planned (*cehua* 策劃), as a sign reads at the exit of the building, by the Propaganda Department of the Shaoxing municipality and by a representative of the Shaoxing ACH Gao Jun 高軍 (Shaoxing ACH 2017), who, along with the museum director Xu Dongbo is the host (*zhuchi* 主持) of the exhibition [**IC 135 Mao Zedong in Shaoxing 3**]. Including Mao Zedong in the permanent exhibition is thus continued in this museum today, even though he has been moved from introduction to conclusion. The same is true for the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum. The Shanghai Lu Xun Museum included Mao Zedong’s quotation in golden letters on an iron-like background, which is a visual reference to Lu Xun’s iron house metaphor (*tiewuzi* 鐵屋子) (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005p, 441).[429] It is placed at end of the permanent exhibition, serving as a conclusion of Lu Xun’s life and work. In the glass showcase behind the quotation, one also finds the photo of Mao Zedong at his desk with Lu Xun’s *Collected Work*s next to him [**IC 136 Mao**

[428] The telegram reads in full: “Telegram to Xu Guangping by the CPC Central Committee and the Soviet Government expressing their condolences/ Dear Ms. Xu Guangping (a letter passed on by the Shanghai Culture Association for National Salvation): When the sad news of Lu Xun’s passing reached us, the entire country was shocked and grieved. The Party and the Soviet Government and all the people of the Chinese Soviet area and especially we Chinese people have lost the greatest writer, a teacher who passionately sought the light, an extraordinary leader who devoted his life to the resistance against Japan and for national salvation, a beloved comrade in arms of the Communist Party and Soviet movement, who in unison mourn his death. Thus we send this telegram of condolence in all sincerety. We firmly believe that the whole of the Chinese people and the best writers must continue the undertakings of Mr. Lu Xun, to fight with oppressive force until death against all invaders, to achieve thorough liberation of the Chinese people and of the oppressed people and societies of all classes. / Respectfully, / The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, / The Soviet Central Government / October 22, 1936 党中央苏维埃中央政府致许广平的唁电 /上海文化界救国联合会转许广平女士鉴/ 鲁迅先生逝世，噩耗传来，全国震悼。本党与苏维埃政府及全苏区人民，尤为我中华民族失去最伟大的文学家，热情追求光明的导师，献身于抗日救国的非凡领袖，共产主义苏维埃运动之亲爱的战友，而同声哀悼。谨以至诚电唁。深信全国人民及优秀的文学家必能赓续鲁迅先生之事业，与一切侵略者、压迫势力作殊死的斗争，以达到中国民族及被压迫的阶级之民族和社会的彻底解放。/肃此电达 /中国共产党中央委员会/ 苏维埃中央政府 / 一九三六年十月廿二日.” A recent study states that Zhou Yang deleted three passages of the telegram in which it referred to the Soviet government when this telegram was to be included into the Shanghai museum display. The book chapter, however, gives no further sources for this claim and argues Zhou Yang to have made these changes as early as 1951, which would be surprising due to the strong emphasis of the close relationship between the Soviet Union and Lu Xun in the museums in the early 1950s (Wu Zuoqiao 吳作橋 and Wang Yu 王羽 2014, 273–75).

[429] In the preface to his collection *Call to Arms* 吶喊, Lu Xun used this metaphor of an iron house (*tiewuzi* 鐵屋子) when explaining his hesitation to publish his literary work in the Journal *New Youth* 新青年 in 1919. The iron house refers to an indestructible house with no windows in which many are asleep and about to die of suffocation. Lu Xun describes himself weighing his two options of either letting them sleep, as they would die without feeling pain or shouting to wake a few of the lighter sleepers, giving them a chance to know their situation but causing them to die in agony.

Zedong in Shanghai]. Thus one must acknowledge this continuitity, namely that Mao Zedong still has a strong presence in Lu Xun museums today.

IC 136 Mao Zedong in Shanghai, 2013



1. 1a. 1b.

1./ 1a./ 1b. Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

Interesting, however, is that the museum of the highest academic rank in the administrative system is also the one in which Mao Zedong received the least attention. Originally, when planning the exhibition, the then-acting director Sun Yu had planned to focus on Lu Xun's life alone, ending the exhibition with his death, thus with the year 1936. In the interview he explained that the government authorities would, however, not accept the display in this form:

Sun: The state allocates all funds, we ourselves hardly have any creative power.
Graf: Will the funding influence the content of the exhibition?
Sun: Yes. The more funding, the more diverse the exhibition, the larger the scale.
Graf: Will it influence the content? Is the approval of the state necessary for an exhibition, is an official interpretation necessary?
Sun: We do our best that the content of our exhibition – when it comes to the official ideology – we do our best that it is not fully the same. We want to do it according to an academic viewpoint, but sometimes the authorities intervene, for example, they will say: Why does your exhibition here not include Mao Zedong's evaluation of Lu Xun? Originally I did not include it. In this form the authorities will intervene, yes.
Graf: And did you add it?
Sun: Yes, we had to add it, yes.
Graf: Was it after the exhibition had already begun? Or before?
Sun: After, after we added some [materials], and then it was done.
孫： 資金是全額撥款,［…］我們自己沒有多少創作的能力

艾：撥款是否會影響到展覽的內容？
孫：會的，恩，就是撥款越多，展覽可能越豐富，它的規模也就越大.
艾：会影響到內容吗?需要國家的認同才可以辦展覽，需要比較官方的詮釋嗎？
孫：我們儘量做到這個陳列的內容跟官方的意識形態呢，儘量做到呢就是說不完全一樣。我們要按照學術的觀點來做，但是有的時候官方會來干預你的，就是說你為什麼這個沒有展覽毛澤東對魯迅的評價，我當時就沒有，就是這樣，官方就是干預，對。
艾：那這個就要補？
孫：要補，對
艾：但那是展覽已經開始之後嗎？還是之前？
孫：那之後，就之後，之後就是補充一下，就完了。

(interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:24:50)

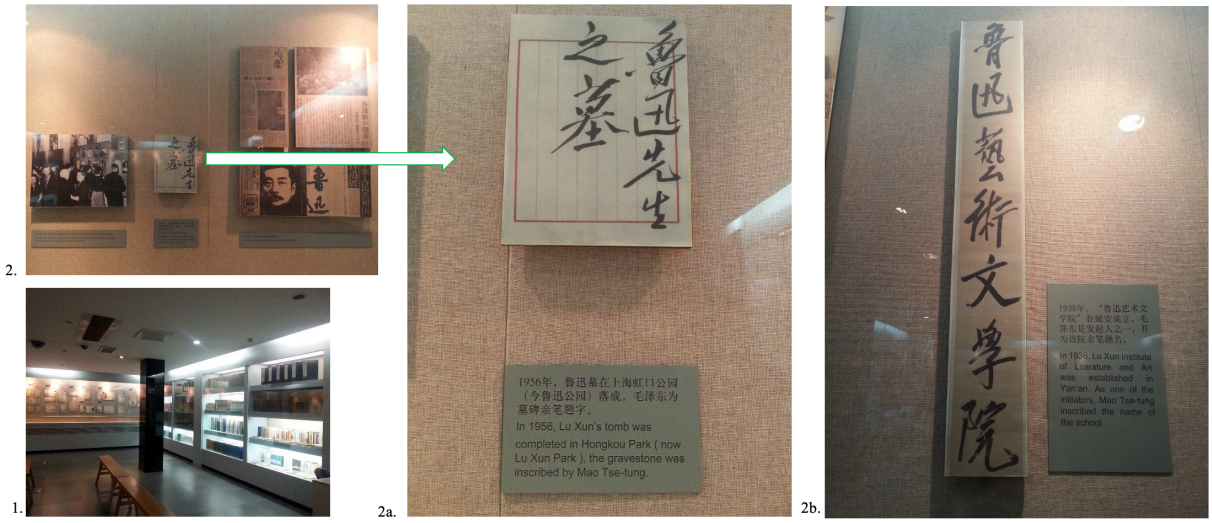
Sun Yu reiterated this example when asked how great his decision-making power as a director of the museum had been.

Graf: When you were director, was your decision-making power great?
Sun: Very great, what you say that counts, concerning what kind of exhibitions this unit plans, or which exhibitions it does not realize, what I say counts. That time [the permanent exhibition in 2005] it was fully according to my own ideas that the exhibition was designed, yes, I did not have to inform the authorities. I could do what I wanted to do, they did not interfere. They basically did not interfere. Only in cases when it is a large scale exhibition, the Propaganda Department intervened once, just that once when they asked why there was no Mao Zedong. It was just after we were finished, the Publicity Department came to inspect and offered suggestions.
艾：當館長的時候您的決定權和影響力大嗎？
孫：很大的，一個人就說了算，就這個單位做什麼展覽，不做什麼展覽，我自己就說了算，恩，一個人就...對對對，那個時候完全是按照我個人的一些想法來設計的，對，也不跟國家文物局打招呼，就自己做什麼就做什麼，他們也不干涉。他們基本上不干涉。只是就是類似搞大型的展覽的時候，中宣部干涉過一次，就是說為什麼沒有毛澤東。[…] 我們剛剛做完，後來中宣部來檢查，提出意見”

(interview with Sun Yu 孫郁 2014, March 15, 00:27:33).

There clearly had been one limitation to how “new” the approaches to Lu Xun were allowed to be, even in the year 2005 in which Sun Yu designed the exhibition. The original design to conclude the exhibition with Lu Xun’s death was not an acceptable way of displaying Lu Xun in the eyes of the authorities. With this director Sun had gone too far. The CCPPD 中宣部 interfered in the exhibition, demanding that the commemoration of Lu Xun by Mao Zedong must find its expression in some form. Thus, an extra room was additionally prepared at the end of the exhibition hall, in which photographs of the various large scale state-run commemorative services for Lu Xun were displayed.

IC 137 Minimal Mao, Beijing, 2014



1-2. Beijing Lu Xun Museum, exhibition hall; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

Two things remain striking, however. Firstly, the additional exhibition space is indeed "additional" as it is somewhat awkwardly placed into the adjacent building through which the visitor needs to pass to exit the main building, thus is not in the stricter sense part of the larger display in the main exhibition hall. The room differs in that its ceiling is noticeably lower [**IC 137 Minimal Mao 1**]. Secondly, no photograph of Mao Zedong is displayed. No speech of his is quoted as text. The only two exhibits which feature Mao Zedong are two pieces of his calligraphy [**IC 137 Minimal Mao 2a+2b**]. The one calligraphy he wrote for the sign of the Lu Xun Academy of Literature and Arts which he had established in Yan'an, the other his inscription for Lu Xun's tomb stone. Both are copies of the original manuscripts and are presented close to their original size. In the case of the calligraphy for Lu Xun's tomb stone, this exhibit was thus also smaller than the images that surrounded it in the display. Thus the Beijing display *did* add Mao Zedong's evaluation of Lu Xun to its exhibition as was demanded, but by not breaking with its overall minimalist design of its display, it refused to present Mao Zedong with the monumentality with which he continues to receive attention in Shaoxing or the spotlight which is shone on Mao Zedong's quotation in Shanghai. The almost brazen simplicity and supplement of, what is likely to be the minimum of materials required on Mao Zedong to have the exhibition go on display, can be read as Sun Yu's refusal to turn the spotlight on Mao Zedong and away from Lu Xun. And even the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum has shown signs of having toned down on Mao Zedong in their display. Even though the quotation of Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun is included in the exhibition, other past exhibits had been removed from the display. When entering the attic of the museum, which is inaccessible

to visitors and rarely visited by the staff, a bust of Mao Zedong can be found [**IC 138 Removing Mao Zedong, Shaoxing attic**]. Once white, it is now covered with a thick layer of dust. Mao Zedong's portrait no longer serves the function it had in the early 1950s, in which its pairing with Lu Xun's could elevate them both. Well into the twenty-first century it has lost its consecrating function and is stored away, its light no longer shining.

IC 138 Removing Mao Zedong, Attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, 2014



Bust of Mao Zedong on the attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

As for director Sun Yu, he found other ways in which he could challenge authorities and break with museum conventions that were more subtle, yet when seen in the context of the museum histories, certainly a new approach to presenting Lu Xun. Under his directorship, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum further developed into a site of academic enquiry into the production of contemporary literature. Former director Sun Yu, like no other director, tried to bring contemporary writers into the museum. Through academic conferences, he invited literary scholars along with contemporary writers to discuss their literary production. Sun Yu, who left the museum to act as Dean of the Literature Department of Renmin University in 2010, emphasized his power of decision over which writers he hoped to include into his programs. He aimed to turn the museum into a "writers' activities park 一個作家活動的園地", which "gives contemporary writers the opportunity to hold all kinds of meetings in the Lu Xun Museum, for example, before Mo Yan received the Nobel Prize of Literature, I organized an academic conference for him, in 2006 we held a 'Mo Yan Conference', and we also held a 'Yan Lianke Conference' 當代的作家可以在魯

迅博物館開各種各樣的會，比如說莫言沒有獲得諾貝爾文學獎之前，我就給他開過研究他的會，二零零六年的時候召開莫言學術研討會，還有閻連科學術研討會" (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:13:28), he explained. Concerning his criteria of selecting *which* contemporary writers would receive the opportunity to hold a conference, Su Yun explained that "my only standard was, it had to be a first-rate (*yiliu*) writer, the best of China. 我當時有個標準就是，一流作家，中國最好的" (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:13:32). Before I could follow up this statement by asking how he made this decision, he intervened:

> **Sun:** Those who I consider to be first-rate. If it is not a first-rate writer, then he cannot come here to hold a conference. And additionally they should have some connection to Lu Xun's [literary] tradition.
> **Graf:** To say that this is a first-rate writer is your decision?
> **Sun:** My personal decision, the museum director's decision, the museum director holds him to be a first-rank writer, because I am also in the field as a critic of contemporary literature.
> **孫：**我認為他是一流的，因為不是一流的作家不能到這兒來開會，另外就是他們和魯迅的傳統也有關係。
> **艾：**說是一流作家是您的決定？
> **孫：**我本人的決定，館長的決定，館長認為他是一流作家，因為我也搞當代文學批評的。
>
> (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:13:50)

Among his choice had been conferences on Mo Yan 莫言 (1955- from Gaomi/ Shandong) in 2006 and Yan Lianke 閻連科 (1958– from Song County/ Henan) in 2007 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2007) [IC 139 Yan Lianke],[430] both of whom have by today acquired international fame having received the Nobel Prize of Literature in 2012 and the Franz Kafka Prize in 2014 respectively. While both writers have been acknowledged by the authorities and have received domestic literary prizes as well,[431] they also have had their disagreements as some of their works could not be published in the PRC.[432] To take Yan Lianke as an example, he was a former military

[430] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 139.

[431] Mo Yan became a member of the CWA in 1986. He became internationally renowned for this first novel *Red Sorghum Family* 紅高粱家族 (1987), which was adapted as a film by director Zhang Yimou that same year. The novel also won Mo Yan his first national literary prize. In 1997 he further received the Dajia Honghe 大家紅河 Prize in Literature and in 2011 the Mao Dun Literature Prize. Concerning international prizes, Mo Yan won his first prize in Taiwan in 1987, in 2004 the Arts and Literature Knight Medal of France, the Fukuoka Asian Culture Prize in 2006 in Japan, the Baptist University Dream of Red Chamber Jury Award in 2008 in Hong Kong and finally the 2012 Nobel Prize of Literature (Riemenschnitter 2013, 180–93).

[432] Mo Yan's *Garlic Ballads* 天堂蒜苔之歌 was temporally banned in 1994. In 1993 his novel *The Republic of Wine* 酒國 was also temporarily forbidden in the PRC, so Mo Yan published it in Taiwan. In 1996 he further was called to self-criticism by his superiors (Riemenschnitter 2013, 180–93).

propaganda writer in the 1980s. In 1992 he became a member of the CWA. He infuriated army authorities with his second novel *Summer Sunset* 下日落, depicting corrupt military officers and the book was banned after publication in 1994. Having displeased his military superiors finally caused him to be transferred to the Beijing Writer's Association and he eventually received a teaching position at Renmin University in Beijing. Other prominent works of his were banned, including his novella *Serving the People!* 为人民服务 (2005), *Dream of Ding Village* 丁莊夢 (2006), or his *Four Books* 四书 (2011) to mention a few. Yet for other works, he had won the Mao Dun Literature Prize (1998), the Lu Xun Literature Prize (1996) and the Lao She Literature Prize (2003) and many others (Jiang Chenxin 2013, 256–63). That the academic conference on Yan Lianke would be held in 2007 in the preface hall of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, only a year after two of his works had been banned, is telling. Maybe most eye-catching is the paradox of the way in which his novella *Serving the People!*, which is set in the Cultural Revolution and uses Mao Zedong's slogans (among them "To Serve the People!") in a sexually-explicit story of adultery set in the Cultural Revolution, shocked the authorities as blasphemy (Jiang Chenxin 2013, 261). Having discussed Mao Zedong's viewpoint on how literature was to "serve the people" in the section on "The Servitude of Literature and the Narrowing of Memory", it is not surprising that a decontextualization and appropriation of the terminology in a historical context as sensitive as the Cultural Revolution and outside of socially approved interpersonal relationships would ruffle feathers as Yan Lianke is likely to have intended. And yet director Sun Yu organized the conference two years later, in the preface hall of the Lu Xun Museum that in the past had been the space in which Mao Zedong's praise of Lu Xun had served as his consecration.

Thus in the 2000s, Sun Yu ventured to trespass from managing the literary heritage of the past into the contemporary field of literary production. The agency which the literary museum gained in valorizing Yan Lianke's literature is prominent. By this the museum had become a consecrating space in which contemporary writers not only received the praise of a literary scholar, but also a spatial valorization by entering the spaces of Lu Xun's literary heritage and being considered to be writing in his "tradition". While this decision is likely to have irritated some representatives of various state ministries, a banned and highly controversial living writer had entered the representative state-owned institutions of Mao Zedong's greatest "writer, thinker and revolutionary Lu Xun". While these spaces are state-owned and state-run, they are not at all times under "state-control" and cannot be safe from being appropriated for social practices of literary

consecration by individual directors (also acting as representatives of the state) for writers outside of what other state representatives are likely to consider "appropriate" or in "the tradition of Lu Xun".

This section has looked at a form of structural valorization which operates visibly, one that the museum places into the foreground. Being a Patriotic Education Site designated as such by Party institutions holds political capital. Yet it is important to look behind the signs which the museums place at their entrances, designating them as Patriotic Education Sites. In the case of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, its new architectural style from the 1990s supports its claim of communicating patriotism in form of a Chinese national style. But if one looks closely, the museum contains many layers. It contains a public "Chinese" outer appearance as well as an architectural design remaining in the background, recalling past exchanges with the Soviet Union *across* national borders. Furthermore, when it comes to the exhibition's content, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum's attempt to reduce Mao Zedong to a minimum is likely to be a development not easily reconcilable with the official requirements of Party organizations, such as the CCPPD 中宣部. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the case of the work reports, which are important to understand the specific realization of the Party's demands for Patriotic Education Sites, or at least the realizations as they are presented to their organizational bodies in an attempt to retain the title. For the case of the Beijing Lu Xun museum it becomes clear: their taxonomy is accepted, the title aspired to. The aspects of the museum work which fit this taxonomy are highlighted in the reports (territorial unity, the resuscitation of a national Other in form of Japan). But it is important to see that neither the title nor the reports can or ought to fully document the realities of the museum's making of Lu Xun. This is because, to a degree, there is room for counter-narratives (the various Japan-themed academic activities or the Wang Xiaobo exhibition). One just has to look at what is written in small print.

Die Mühen der Ebenen: Lu Xun in the 21st century, Continuities and Changes

Structure: SACH and Awards as Visible Actors: From Revolutionary to Historical *wenwu* and *yizhi*

> The "copyright" (*banquan*) belongs to the descendants of Lu Xun, we [as a museum] do not have it, we only have the property rights (*wuquan*). […] But today they do not have the copyright anymore, from 1936 to 1986, it no longer has copyright [protection]. So Lu Xun has already entered the field of public circulation, it is public cultural heritage (*gongyou de wenhua yichan*), just like with Goethe or Pushkin.
> 這個版權, copyright, 這個應該是魯迅的後人所有的，這個不是我們所有的，我們只是有他的物權。[…] 現在看來是已經沒有版權了，從 1936, 1986 年以後，他就沒有這個權利了。所以魯迅現在已經進入這個公共流通源域，是一個這個共有的文化遺產， 像歌德、像這個這個...普希金他們這個一樣。
> Huang Qiaosheng, Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum
> (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:09:51)

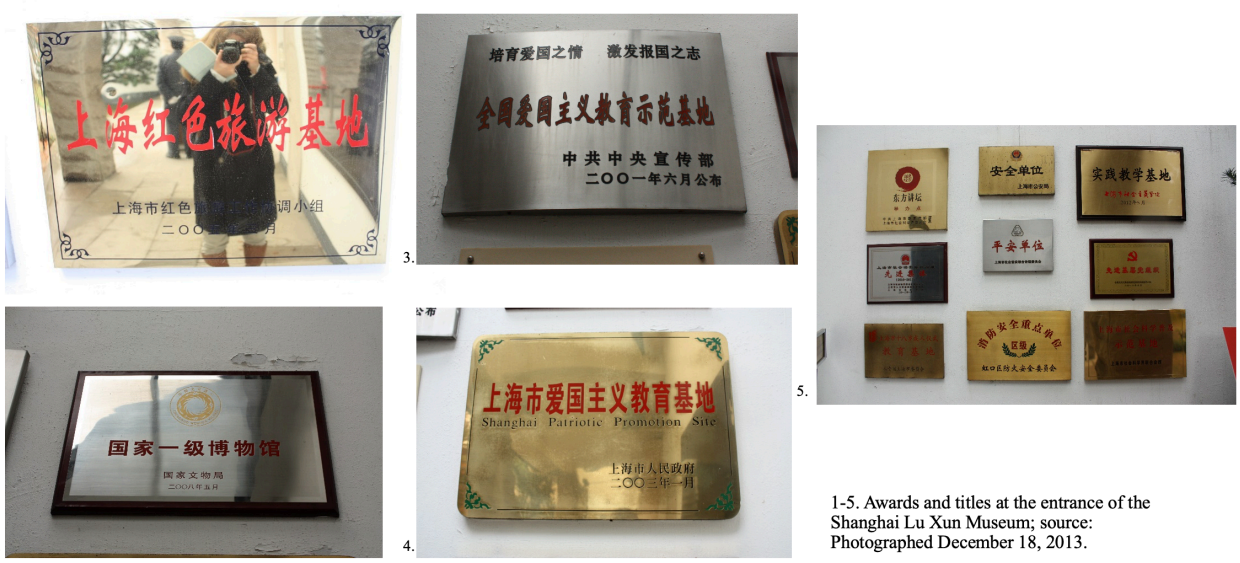
The following part will take a look at the State Administration of Cultural Heritage SACH, also in its relation to other state and Party bodies, as a structural actor in the production of Lu Xun. The name of the institution is the official English translation provided by the SACH, whereby State Administration translates the term *ju* 局, referring to the level under the ministry *bu* 部, and "cultural heritage" is chosen as a corresponding term for the Chinese *wenwu* 文物, which literally translated means cultural relic or artifact.[433]

The SACH plays a major role in establishing *national* metrics of value in the realm of cultural heritage in China. The SACH hereby acts at times as a visible and invisible structural force, attributing value to tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The Lu Xun museums constitute a particularly interesting phenomenon in the landscape of cultural institutions in China, for they are omnipresent in both the visible and invisible systems (receiving awards of various institutions, but also institutionalized on all levels of administrative ranking) and therefore give insight into the meanings of these systems. All museums display the same writer, but due to their situatedness within the system, they have different symbolical capital (e.g. facilitating the power to protect and consecrate), capacities (e.g. funding, personnel), freedom (e.g. co-curating with the SACH versus

[433] The term raised the attention of an anthropologist, arguing that China never let go of the "relics"-concept, despite its socialist past and the understanding of Marxist commodity fetishism (Fiskesjö 2010, 233). After the establishment of the PRC, as he points out, the trade with antiquities was suppressed, but at the same time antiquities were reinterpreted as glorious achievements of the workers. Thus the Chinese continued to celebrate relics of a "long" Chinese past, even though it was in conflict with the revolutionary present. How both could be valorized in museum space was precisely the task Wang Yeqiu, director of the SACH, had to fulfill in the mid-1950s, when establishing and supporting museums preserving the distant past, such as the Palace Museum, while at the same time also creating museums celebrating and commemorating the revolution of the then-very-recent past (Hung 2005).

not requiring permanent supervision by the SACH) and levels of professionalism (e.g. research rooms, publications, academic conferences, technology, accessibility) in displaying Lu Xun.

IC 140 Visible Structural Valorization: Awards, Titles



1-5. Awards and titles at the entrance of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013.

When visiting the Lu Xun museums today, the visible metrics of value are those presented to the visitor by the government in form of signs, hung on the walls of the museum entries. They accumulate to an extent that they fill entire walls, as for example at the entry of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum [**IC 140 Visible Structural Valorization**]. These titles and awards are not all issued by the SACH, but come from various institutions, both state and Party. Sites, forms of architecture and artifacts came to be protected by the PRC state as early as 1961 and on lower levels, for example on the Beijing Municipal level even as soon as 1957. Sites were defined by the level of government which was responsible for its protection (from national to county level) and objects were classified in grades one to three. After the Cultural Revolution and with the Reform and Opening Period a new law on protecting artifacts was introduced in China, however maintaining this ranking of value. In the 1990s, Party institutions such as the CCYL 共青團 and the CCPPD 中宣部 started issuing titles for exemplary sites of youth education and patriotic education, which are discussed in the part on "Nationalizing Lu Xun" in this thesis, thus no focusing on the value of the site or the collection, but on the value of the institution's communication of its collection to an audience. In the late 1990s, the National Tourism Administration CNTA further began awarding tourist site grades reaching from one to five "A"s, placing additional attention on the visitor of these sites. And as the most recent ranking system introduced in 2008, the SACH began to grade

museums in China, listing museums from Level 1 to Level 3. While these are only a selected few of the numerous titles museums can apply for, they help to reveal Lu Xun's continuous value from an institutional perspective, and also the forms in which the Lu Xun museums have changed over time as sites of cultural heritage.

	Title	**Awarding Institution**	**since**
Sites	文物保護單位 Historical and Cultural Heritage Sites 全國重點、省級、市級、縣級 national-, provincial-, municipal-, county-level	文物局 SACH	1957/ 1961
Artifacts	文物保護法 Cultural Heritage Protection Law 一級，二級，三級 Grade One, Two, Three	文物局 SACH	1961/ 1982
Education	全國青少年教育基地 Youth Education Site 全國 national-level	共青團 CCYL	1991
Patriotism	愛國主義教育基地[434] Patriotic Education Site 全國，市 national-, municipal-level	中宣部 CCPPD	1997/ 2005[435]
Tourism	1-5A 旅遊景區 A-AAAAA Tourist Site 1A-5A 級	旅游局 CNTA	1999
Museums	國家一級博物館 Level One Museums 一級，二級，三級 Level One, Two, Three	文物局 SACH	2008

The SACH publishes lists of all the Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level 全國重點文物保護單位 (literally: Major National Cultural Relics Protection Unit), of which seven lists have been announced so far. The act of listing thus defines sites as "valuable", and indeed these lists provide insights into the officially sanctioned canon of "Erinnerungsorte".

[434] All two hundred sites are listed on the official website of the official Red Tourism website, see: (Chinese Red Tourism 中红网 2017).

[435] The official beginning of Red Tourism 紅色旅遊 is often held to be 2005, after the affirmation of the importance of Red Tourism by the State Council and CPC Central Committee in 2004, the year 2005 being declared the "year of Red Tourism" and the establishment of the tourism industry's first five-year-plan (2005-2010) (Denton 2014, 220). The first titles were however already distributed earlier, as the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum was listed as Patriotic Education Site on the Shanghai Municipal Level in 1994, see: (Chinese Red Tourism 中红网 2005).

The first list was published in 1961 (encompassing 180 sites) before the advent the Cultural Revolution, the second in 1982 (with 62) at the beginning of the Reform and Opening Period, the third in 1988 (with 258), the fourth in 1996 (with 250), the fifth in 2001 (with 518), the sixth in 2006 (with 1,080) and the seventh in 2013 (with 1,943 sites). [436] On a national level, Lu Xun's grave site was included in the very first list in 1961 [**IC 141 Lu Xun Grave**]. It was listed (31st of 33) in the first category of sites termed Revolutionary Sites and Architectural Sites Commemorating the Revolution 革命遺址及革命紀念建築物. Within this category were also the Red Building of Beijing University 北京大學紅樓 (today's New Culture Movement Memorial Museum), as well as Sun Yat-sen's Former Residence 上海中山故居 from 1919, for example, which would in 1988 be opened as a memorial museum to the public (Shanghai Sun Yat-sen Museum 上海孙中山故居纪念馆 2009). The other categories were Cave Temples 石窟寺, Ancient Architecture and Architectural Sites Commemorating History 古建築及歷史紀念建築物, Stone Inscriptions 石刻 and Ancient Sites 古遺址. The second site connected to Lu Xun that was included in the national heritage list was Lu Xun's former residence in Shaoxing, Lu Xun's birth house, listed in 1988, also in the first category of revolutionary sites (the 8th of 41).

IC 141 Lu Xun's Grave 1936/56, designated "Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level", 1961



Lu Xun's grave in Lu Xun Park in Shanghai; source: Photographed March 13, 2015.

[436] The full lists are available online, see: (SACH 国家文物局 2016a).

A major change in the list's categorization occurred when the categories were partially redefined in 1996, and the category of revolutionary sites was discarded and exchanged for Important Historical Events and Representative Architecture of Modern and Contemporary History 近現代重點史跡及代表性建築 (SACH 国家文物局 2016a). Furthermore, instead of listing this category first, it was moved to the far back, turning it into the fifth category of the list. What had originally been near the end of the list, Ancient Sites 古遺址 was moved up as the first category, replacing the Revolutionary Sites and implying a chronological order. In the mid-1990s, the revolutionary sites were thus no longer a category used by the SACH for defining "Erinnerungsorte". The sites listed in the past lists were however not redefined or listed anew, but remained protected sites under the original categories. This elimination correlated with the newly established "titles" and "awards" distributed by the institutions of the Party, such as the Patriotic and Youth Education Sites. Interestingly, the term "revolution" did not reappear in the awards of the Party either, but it instead chose the term *patriotic* over revolutionary. While Lu Xun's heritage had previously been understood as the PRC's revolutionary heritage, it is now termed to encompass historic, not revolutionary value, a category, which has nominally disappeared in the management of the states "cultural heritage", crossed out as a category in the state and Party lists.

Before the ranking on a national level (sites of "national importance" (*quanguo zhongdian* 全國重點)) was introduced by the SACH in 1961, local governments had already begun listing their protected sites. The Lu Xun former residence on Dalu xincun No. 9 in Shanghai was already listed in 1959 as a Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Shanghai Municipal Level 上海市市級文物保護單位. In 1957, the Beijing Municipal ACH 北京市文物局 had published its first list,[437] but the Beijing Lu Xun Former Residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 was first listed only in the 2nd list, published in 1979 as a Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Beijing Municipal Level 北京市市級文物保護單位. This inclusion into the list had occurred only after the Second Birth of the Lu Xun museum with Mao Zedong's orders to support Zhou Haiying's requests to protect Lu Xun's estate. When the site was upgraded to the national level in 2006, it resulted in two changes: the residence on Xisantiao hutong was not only upgraded from the Beijing

[437] The list provided by the Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage is sorted beginning with the World Cultural Heritage (UNESCO sites), followed by the national level protected sites and then continues with the municipal lists, see: (Beijing Municipal ACH 北京市文物局 2017).

municipal level (*shiji* 市級) to the national level (*quanguo* 全國), but it was also moved to a different category, namely from *revolutionary site* to a site of *modern history*.

Only recently, in 2011, in the 8th list of the Beijing Municipal ACH, was the Shaoxing guild house 紹興會館 designated a Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Beijing Municipal Level 北京市市級文物保護單位. [438] The architectural structure had been built in 1826 during the Qing Dynasty. But it was because Lu Xun stayed at this guild house (*huiguan*) from 1912 to 1919, where he wrote some of his most famous short stories, such as the "Madman's Diary 狂人日記" and "Kong Yiji 孔乙己" that it was included in the list as a Lu Xun former residence. The historical sites in Guangzhou, where Lu Xun worked from January to September 1927, namely the Drum-Tower 鐘樓 and the White-Cloud-Tower 白雲樓魯迅故居 (2nd List from 1979) are both Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the Guangdong Provincial Level 廣東省級文物保護單位 , the latter of which was also first listed under the category Revolutionary Sites and Architectural Sites Commemorating the Revolution 革命舊址和革命紀念建築物.[439] Thus, a range of the houses in which Lu Xun resided came to be protected on the local and later increasingly on the national level.

It must, however, be noted that the nominal valorization (in rhetoric and policy) by the state through a site's listing cannot guarantee its practical protection. Actors from other fields, for example, local government officials profit greatly from land sales, which often entail the destruction of existing buildings and the construction of new ones (Blumenfield 2013, 5). One case which became exemplary for this phenomenon was the former residence of the architects Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901-1972 from Tokyo/ Japan) and Lin Huiyin 林徽因 (1904-1955 from Hangzhou/ Zhejiang). The Beijing *siheyuan* they had lived in was located at Beizoubu hutong No. 9 北總部胡同 9 號, today's central Dongcheng district, where they stayed from 1930 to 1937. Here the land was regarded as more valuable than the protected site by local officials, thus the local officials of the Beijing Dongcheng District Urban Planning Committee 北京市東城區房屋管理局 initiated the tearing-down of the building. In the case of Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin, the

[438] The lists issued by the Beijing Municipal ACH were published in the following years: 1st in 1957 2nd in 1979, 3rd in 1984, 4th in 1990, 5th in 1995, 6th in 2001, 7th in 2007, the 8th in 2011, see: (Beijing Municipal ACH 北京市文物局 2017). The Beijing municipal level is on the provincial level, just as, for example, Guangdong Province.

[439] The lists published by Guangdong Provincial Government started being issued only after the Cultural Revolution, thus depending on the local governments, some local designations were temporally behind, some ahead of the sites listed as Major Historical Sites Protected at the National Level. Guangdong Province has issued seven lists so far: 1st in 1978, 2nd in 1979, 3rd in 1989, 4th in 2002, 5th in 2010, 6th in 2011, 7th in 2012 (Guangdong People's Government General Office 广东省人民政府办公厅 2002).

public was enraged and a local NGO[440] criticized the local Beijing Municipal ACH 北京市文物局 for its indifference and ineffectiveness in failing to provide the building with protected status. In 2009 the SACH issued a letter that the building was to be listed as an "immovable heritage site 不可運動文物", thus rendering it into a Cultural and Historical Site Protected at the Beijing Municipal Level. Despite this success by the NGO and nomination by the SACH, the former residence was nevertheless torn down in 2012. This resulted in a public outcry reported on critically in the Xinhua News as well as internationally.[441] The conflicts between the different actors by the SACH or local ACHs and local planning committees often lead to breaking the law. Even though the public is enraged, these violations rarely result in significant penalties (Blumenfield 2013, 5). As to the outcome of the Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin former residence, an official reportedly commented that a replica of the house would be built (Jacobs 2012). What this incident shows is that the public considered the protecting of this "authentic" site important and that, among the public, the nomination/ listing of sites by the state body (on national or local level) in charge of cultural heritage had symbolical currency. However, it does not mean that this symbolical capital and even legal authority necessarily entails the practical capacity of protecting sites in practical politics in which interest from different state and private actors (Urban Housing Committees, private and state construction agencies) are at odds to those of the SACH. The case of the reconstruction of the site on Badaowan hutong No. 11, discussed in the section on "*A Residence Forgotten*: Zhou Zuoren's Badaowan hutong", provided yet another curious case which recalls similar tensions. Here, the authorities were successful in keeping down the outrage by the public by informing that the maintenance of Lu Xun's former residence would be guaranteed. Yet, from the perspective of the Lu Xun museum, in the end this guarantee was not realized or at the very least not deemed trustworthy, as the realization had been supervised by a middle school, thus were not immediately supervised by the museum or state bodies such as the SACH. Lacking the protection of a higher governmental authority, such supervisions were not likely to have been required.

[440] The Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection (CHP) 北京文化遺產保護中心, see (He Muren 2010). For more information on the case of Liang Sicheng's and Lin Huiyin's residence, see: (Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center 2010). This organization terms itself an NGO. It is not registered as a "social organization" (*shehui zuzhi* 社會組織), but as a "people's welfare organization" (*minjian gongyi zuzhi* 民间公益组织) registered with the Beijing Municipal Government, according to its website (Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center 2010).

[441] See: (Xinhua News 新华网 2012); (Jacobs 2012).

Museum	Part of Museum	Title/ Award	Awarded by	Year
Beijing	魯迅故居 西三條 21 號 Lu Xun Former Residence (FR) Xisantiao hutong No. 21	全國重點文物保護單位 Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level	文物局 SACH	2006[442]
	魯迅故居 西三條 21 號 Lu Xun FR Xisantiao hutong No. 21	北京市市級文物保護單位 Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Beijing Municipal Level	北京市文物局 Beijing Municipal ACH	1979
	魯迅故居 紹興會館 Lu Xun FR Shaoxing Guild House	北京市市級文物保護單位 Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Beijing Municipal Level	北京市文物局 Beijing Municipal ACH	2013
	八道灣胡同 11 號[443] Badaowan hutong No. 11	–	-	-
	磚塔胡同 61 號 Zhuanta hutong No. 61	–	-	-
Shanghai	魯迅墓 Lu Xun's Tomb	全國重點文物保護單位 Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level	文物局 SACH	1961
	魯迅故居 大陆新村 9 号 Lu Xun FR Dalu xincun No. 9	上海市市級文物保護單位 Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Beijing Municipal Level	上海市文物局 Shanghai Municipal ACH	1959
	魯迅存書室 溧陽路 1359 號 Lu Xun's Book Storage Room Liyang Road No.1359	上海市市級文物保護單位 Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Beijing Municipal Level	上海市文物局 Shanghai Municipal ACH	1977
	拉莫斯公寓 虹口區四川北路 2079–2099 Ramos apartment Hongkou District Sichuan North Road 2079-2099	虹口區文物保護單位 Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Honkou District Level	虹口區人民政府 People's Government of Hongkou District, Shanghai	2004
	景雲裡 虹口區横浜路 35 弄 17, 18, 23 號 Jingyunli Hongkou District Huangbinglu Lane 35 No.17,18,19	-	-	-

[442] In Gu Jun's study, published in 2004, Xisantiao hutong No. 21 was still only listed on Beijing Municipal level, while the Guo Moruo Museum and the Song Qingling Museum were already protected on National Level. For a table with all Beijing residences and information on their level of protection (*wenwu jibie* 文物級別), see: (Gu Jun 顾军 2004, 96).

[443] (Gu Jun 顾军 2004, 89).

Shaoxing	魯迅故居 Lu Xun FR (only birth house)	全國重點文物保護單位 Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level	文物局 SACH	1988
	魯迅故里 Lu Xun Native Home District	AAAAA 級旅遊景區 5A Tourist Site	旅游局 CNTA	2012
Guangzhou	魯迅故居 白雲樓 Lu Xun FR Cloud-Tower	廣東省級文物保護單位[444] Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the Guangdong Provincial Level	廣東省文物局 Guangdong Provincial ACH	1979
	魯迅故居 鐘樓 Lu Xun FR Bell Tower	廣東省級文物保護單位[445] Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the Guangdong Provincial Level	廣東省人民政府 Guangdong Provincial Government	~2011
Xiamen	魯迅紀念館 Lu Xun Museum	–	-	-

When Xu Guangping donated Lu Xun's heritage to the state in 1950, the donation in its entirety[446] legally became the property of the state, thus the state acquired not only the copyright of Lu Xun's literary work (*banquan* 版權), literally the right over the editions and prints of his literary oeuvre, but also the "property rights" (*wuquan* 物權) over his material literary estate, as seen in Huang Qiaosheng's comment at the beginning of this chapter. With this, the state gained access to a large amount of objects through which it could narrate Lu Xun's story, gaining the narrator's voice. With the legal possession of Lu Xun's objects also came the necessity to grasp the size of Lu Xun's literary estate. This was a challenge in itself, as the inventory of the Beijing Lu Xun museum, which took well into the year 1951, shows (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 00:42). But after the Reform and Opening Period, with the introduction of a new law which was designed to protect cultural heritage, the demand that these objects and sites would receive their adequate position within the whole of the state-owned national heritage arose. From the moment of Lu Xun's death and arguably already before, his material heritage is described as having been in danger. The first *external* threat occurred during the Civil War in the mid- to late 1940s and the second *internal* threat during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1974/76). With the beginning of the Reform and Opening Period in 1982, the Cultural Heritage Protection Law 中華人民共和國文物保護法[447]

[444] (Zhang Jingzhi 张竟执 1982, 1).
[445] (Shi Xiaoyan 施晓燕 2011, 136).
[446] See "The Official Birth of the Lu Xun Museum (1950/56-1966): The Revolutionary Lu Xun".
[447] The law and its official English translation are available under, (SACH 国家文物局 2015). Revisions were made in 1991 and 2002.

was passed in the 25th Plenum of the 5th Standing Committee of the National People's Congress 第五屆全國人民代表大會常務委員會第二十五次會議 and was to protect that which had been previously threatened. As to its provision, it states that

> this Law is enacted in accordance with the Constitution, with a view to strengthening the protection of cultural relics/ artifacts, inheriting the splendid historical and cultural legacy of the Chinese nation, promoting scientific research, conducting education in patriotism and in the revolutionary tradition[448], and building a socialist society with cultural, ideological and material progress. 为了加强对文物的保护，继承中华民族优秀的历史文化遗产，促进科学研究工作，进行爱国主义和革命传统教育，建设社会主义精神文明和物质文明，根据宪法，制定本法 (SACH 国家文物局 2015).

In this very first article, the purpose of the protection is clearly stated: The protected "cultural relics", as the official English version chooses to translate the term wenwu, are to promote the Chinese nation as a whole, but also promote scientific research, patriotism and the revolutionary tradition as well as the establishment of a socialist society. The function the protection of artifacts should serve was and is thus clearly political – national on the one hand, but also nominally socialist. The law is separated in eight chapters: 1) General Provisions 總則 2) Immovable Cultural Relics 不可移動文物 3) Archaeological Excavations 考古發掘 4) Cultural Relics in the Collection of Cultural Institutions (*guan*) 館藏文物 5) Cultural Relics in People's Collections 民間收藏文物 6) Taking or Bringing Cultural Relics out of or into China 文物出境進境 7) Legal Liabilities 法律責任 8) Supplementary Provisions 附則.

The Immovable Relics 不可移動文物 (see 2) are protected at the different administrative levels and termed [Major] Historical and Cultural Protected Sites at National-, Provincial-, Municipal or County Level (全國、省級、市級、縣級) respectively, as discussed above. This listing and ranking took place, however, long before the establishment of this law in 1982. The first listed sites in Lu Xun's case reach back until 1958, when Lu Xun's Shanghai home on Dalu xincun No. 9 was first listed as being protected on the Shanghai Municipal Level.

How was this protection of sites guaranteed? The first laws to protect cultural heritage in China were introduced during the Republican Period (1911-1949).[449] In 1916, the Beiyang

[448] Interestingly, in the early 1980s the "revolutionary tradition" was still listed, but had already moved behind "patriotism".

[449] Between 1900 and 1910 the concept of archeology as a discipline formed in China after Western archeologists such as M.A. Stein (England), M.P. Pelliot (France), Albert von Le Coq (Germany) and S.A. Hedin (Sweden) worked

(warlord) government 北洋政府 [1912-1927] and the Nationalist Government [1927-1948] in 1930 issued laws to protect antiquities (*guwu* 古物).[450] This eventually changed after the establishment of the PRC in 1949 when the scope of artifacts was extended beyond the category of ancient artifacts (*guwu* 古物) to include cultural/historical artifacts (*wenwu* 文物) as well. This change in law occurred simultaneously as Wang Yeqiu's attempt and eventual success to museumize the Chinese Revolution in early 1960. The (nearly contemporary) *revolutionary* heritage was included into what should be understood as *wenwu,* gaining access to museum space as well as legal protection. Thus in the years 1949, 1950, 1952 and 1960 various revisions and provisional laws and regulations were issued in the PRC[451] before the end of the Cultural Revolution called for a new law in 1982.

As to the Movable Relics 可移動文物, the general provisions (1) state that they are to be separated between ordinary (*yiban* 一般) and valuable (*zhengui* 珍貴) objects, and the valuable would be rated as Grade One Artifacts 一級文物, Grade Two Artifacts 二級文物, Grade Three Artifacts 三級文物. The terminology hereby is congruent with that in most ranking, using the term *ji* 級, meaning level. With regard to this metrics of value with clear legal implications, Lu Xun again has a unique status in museum space. With regard to Museum Collections 館藏文物 in

and published on matters of Chinese cultural heritage. At the same time, China faced the problem that antiquities were destroyed, stolen or sold, by foreigners and Chinese alike. With both these internal and external threats, the Beiyang government (warlord regime) first announced a Provisional Administrative Measure on Antiquities Conservation 保存古物暫行辦法 in 1916. During this period, the scholars Fu Sinian 傅斯年 and Li Ji 李濟 promoted the study of archeology at the Academia Sinica 中央研究院. The Nationalist government finally also set up a Law on Antiquities Conservation 古物保存法 in 1930 (Huang Xiangyu 黃翔瑜 2012, 9).

[450] In her PhD thesis, Denise Ho shows how *wenwu* were protected by the Guomindang with indirect US-American support (Denise Yuet-Shu Ho 2009, 19–89). Ho shows how following the bureaucracy that was built up around China's *wenwu* in the PRC, that a far-reaching infrastructure was established. Yet while the responsibilities of protection were clearly distributed, these responsibilities could not be enforced. It was in 1982 that the law would enforce such protection, prior to it regulations were provisional (Denise Yuet-Shu Ho 2009, 99).

[451] In 1949, the Antiquities Law 古物法 was passed. One year later, in 1950, this law was followed by On the Regulation of Protection Methods of Ancient Sites, Valuable Artifacts and Rare Living Things 關於規定古跡、珍貴文物及稀有生物保護辦法, the Provisional Regulation on Prohibiting the Export of Valuable Artifacts and Books 禁止珍貴文物圖書出口暫行辦法 and the Temporary Regulations on the Investigation and Excavation of Ancient Cultural Sites and Graves 古文化遺址及古墓葬之調查發掘暫行辦法. In 1952, the Ministry of Internal Affairs 內務部 and the Ministry of Culture 文化部 issued the Regulations on the Distribution of Official Powers in Managing Famous Historic Sites and Ancient Artifacts 關於管理名勝古蹟職權分工規定 and Managing Regulations on the Protection of Local Artifacts, Famous Historical Sites and Ancient Artifacts 關於地方文物名勝古蹟的保護管理辦法. And in 1961, the State Council published yet another 18 articles of Provisional Regulations on the Protection Management of Artifacts 文物保護管理暫行條例. This was intact until 1982, when the new law discussed above was issued (Huang Xiangyu 黃翔瑜 2012, 8).

Chapter 4 Article 36, the law states that museums, libraries and other institutions must classify cultural relics into these three grades, compile files on them and establish a "strict system of control 建立严格的管理制度", submitting their records to the competent administrative department. The SACH is directly responsible for all files for all Grade One Artifacts. According to the law in Chapter 4 Article 39, even today the state continues to have the right to transfer any object belonging to the state to any other state museum in the country. "The administrative department for cultural relics under the State Council may transfer the cultural relics in the collection of the state-owned cultural institutions anywhere in the country 国务院文物行政部门可以调拨全国的国有馆藏文物". The SACH also designates a certain number of artifacts that are not legally allowed to be moved across the Chinese national border, but these so far remain limited to "valuable objects" from before 1900.[452] Yet clearly, the mobility of Lu Xun's literary heritage is nevertheless restricted and his estate not only "valorized" by but also "localized" in a tightly-bound net of material culture owned by the state.

According to the "Nation-wide Comprehensive Catalogue of Grade One Collected Artifacts in Museums 全国馆藏一级文物总目录" published in 2005, China mainland has about 50 thousand Grade One sets of artifacts (*tao*), or about one hundred thousand single pieces (*jian*), kept in a total of 1,330 museums.[453] Most of them date back before the Republican Period. According to one source, there are only 15 museums that contain more than 500 Grade One Artifacts in their collections. Among these 15 are various large-scale museums which collect artifacts reaching back to the Zhou-Dynasty and further, such as the Palace Museum, or the Archeological Research Institution in Gansu Province, the Shanghai Museum and others, [454] but interestingly also the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, as the only museum dedicated to a single historical person. For the Beijing Lu Xun museum contains an unusually large amount of Grade One Artifacts. Indeed, in 2013 the Beijing Lu Xun Museum's collection contained 700 Grade One Artifacts. In addition to that, the museum further contains 12,145 Grade Two Artifacts 二級文物 and its number of Grade

[452] See Chapter 4 Article 19 of the Regulations for the Implementation of the Law of the PRC on the Protection of Cultural Relics: (SACH Cultural Relics Protection Law Implementation [2003] 2013). Among the objects not permitted to leave the country, no objects are included that are from the Republican age or the PRC. In 2002, 2012, 2013 a list was published on objects that are not permitted to leave the Chinese boarder. No objects post-1900, were listed (China News Online 中国新闻网 2013).

[453] The precise numbers are given as 46,630 *jian* (in form of *tao*) and thus adding up to 10,9197 *jian* in single pieces (People.com 人民网 2006).

[454] For an unofficial summary of the report, see: (Baike.chianso.com 国搜百科 2017).

Three Artifacts 三級文物 further increased from 8,177 to 21.745 in the years from 2011 to 2013.[455] All together it has 34,590 valuable artifacts. In comparison, the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum was listed to have 93 Grade One Artifacts 一級文物 of its altogether 18,000 valuable artifacts.[456] The Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum's collection further contains an additional 41 Grade One Artifacts (Xia Xiaojing 夏晓静 2011, 210).

As shown in the description of the establishment of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, Xu Guangping was willing to send a large amount of Lu Xun's literary estate to Beijing, which is why many of the most famous and valuable objects are no longer in the south. But this is not the only reason why most of Lu Xun's most "valuable" artifacts are in the state capital. Walking through the exhibition of the Lu Xun Museum at Xiamen University, the current director Su Yongyan 蘇永延 pointed to the most "precious piece of the whole museum 整館之寶". It was a facsimile of a manuscript, namely Lu Xun's handwritten 1927 foreword "A Short Guide 小引" to a play based on *The Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢 titled "The Princess of the Crimson Cave 绛洞花主", which Lu Xun's student Cheng Mengshao 陳夢韶 (also named Chen Dunren 陳敦仁) (1903-1984 from Tongan/ Fujian) had written.[457] It was Cheng Mengshao who had first called for the establishment of this museum on the campus in 1952, when he applied for the approval of the school to establish a memorial room 紀念室 before it was later turned into a memorial museum in 1976. Instead of placing this most valuable object at the center of the exhibition design, Su Yongyan 蘇永延 explained that [**IC 142 Xiamen's Treasure**]:

> **Su Yongyan:** This is our actual precious piece and the real precious piece you cannot tell outsiders, but only to important people [laughing]. If we tell anybody about our precious piece then everybody would see through it (fully understand it), right? So we put it here in the corner, there only the insiders will understand its importance, outsiders will think that

[455] This information was listed in the operational evaluation report to maintain the status of Level One Museums 國家一級博物館運行評估申報書 from the years 2009, 2011 and 2012 which are stored in the Beijing Museum Archive. See: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2009); (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011); (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2012). In the first report the number of grade two and grade three artifacts were still listed as zero. The strong increase from 0 to 21,745 Grade 3 objects is likely to be linked to the fact that these numbers had simply not been required in previous reports and that the data was only just being collected in these years.

[456] (Xia Xiaojing 夏晓静 2011, 209). Also see information given by Chinese Red Tourism site: (Chinese Red Tourism 中红网 2015). According to an internal document provided to me from Dr. Ge Tao, the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum's collection features only 88 Grade One artifacts, thus slight differences occur in the data. A short film from the CCTV website in 2008, collected at DACHS at Heidelberg University, referred to Shanghai owning only 1,008 valuable artifacts and only 27 Grade One Artifacts and a total of 245 of Grade Two and Three Artifacts (CCTV 中国中央电视台 04.12. 2008, 4:25).

[457] (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005g).

this one [pointing to the manuscript] and this one [pointing to another manuscript] are the same.
Graf: You don't highlight it?
Su Yongyan: No, for this is "authentic proof" of Lu Xun's influence in Xiamen. Actually Lu Xun wrote a lot [here], but later all of it was donated to Shanghai Museum and Beijing.
Graf: Why were they donated to them?
Su Yongyan: On the one hand Xu Guangping made the donation, but there were many collected letters, these were all ordered by the state – with one order: give [the letters] to [Shanghai and Beijing]. Everyone could do nothing but give them.
蘇：這才是我們的真寶貝，真寶貝是不能對外講的，只有對重要的人，我們才會介紹 [laughs]，要不然說，這是我們的寶貝，大家都想了透，對吧。我們館把他放在這裡讓你們看，內行的人，他知道，哪一個是重要，外行的人，對他這張和這一張是一樣的."
艾：不多突出？
蘇：魯迅在廈門的影響，他有實證的，其實魯迅寫的很多東西，後來全部都捐給上海魯迅館和北京。
艾：為什麼當時捐給他們?
蘇：一個是許廣平的捐獻，還有徵集來的很多信，全部國家一聲令下：啊，給他們！大家擾只是都給。

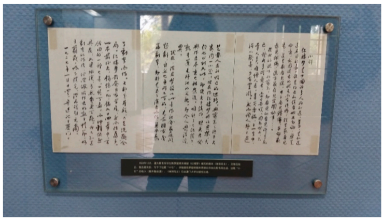
(interview with Su Yongyan 蘇永延, 2015, March 11, 01:06:20)

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1.



2.



1-2. Lu Xun's "Short Guide to The Princess of the Crimson Cave" by Chen Mengshao, written 1927, at the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed March 10, 2015. Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum.

Su Yongyan's separation between outsiders and insiders who are sworn in to the secret of which manuscripts are more valuable than others could have different motivations. In the context of the interview it could have intended to address me as an interviewer and offering insights, but also encouraging my interest as a researcher by providing me with information that is not disclosed to others. It also could have cultural echoes in the sense of exercising a connoisseurship from which

those without sufficient knowledge are excluded. Most interesting for understanding the management of Lu Xun's heritage in China, however, were his later remarks. Even though they had given up most of their collection "heavy-heartedly 捨不得給", they had to follow "state orders 國家的命令", he explained, thus after the discovery of documents and letters at Xiamen University in the 1950s, they had to give them away, one after another. Yet the preciousness of this piece lay within its nearby location within the Xiamen University library, it having been spared from the centralization of Lu Xun's estate. What this example of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum aims to show is the strong hierarchy that existed – and partially still exists – within the landscape of cultural institutions in China. While some of the hierarchical structures are visible (number of prizes or titles for example), others are less visible, but can still be found black on white inscribed into the laws governing China's cultural heritage.[458]

Since 2008, the SACH has attributed more importance to the professionalization of museums in China, thus not only aiming to rank the importance of sites and artifacts, but also ranking museum's active role in managing these sites and collections. The SACH hereby differentiates between Level 1, 2, 3, and no level. There are approximately 4,200 Museum ins China (2014), of which all are categorized in either of these four levels, with the entire list published online. [459] Lu Xun's heritage is extremely high ranking, since both the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum *both* were awarded the title of "Level 1 Museum" 國家一級博物館 by the SACH and are thus ranked among the best museums in China. No other modern author or literary museum has received this award (e.g. Guo Moruo's Memorial Museum is ranked as "no level") and even earlier writers do not feature two museums with this kind of distinction (e.g. Dufu's Memorial Museum in Chengdu is *one* Level 1 Museum dedicated to this writer, Confucius' Museum in Qufu is only rated Level 3). The high distinctions the Lu Xun museums' acquired in these museum rankings additionally furthers the extraordinary position of the Beijing and Shanghai Lu Xun museums.

[458] Even when understanding this hierarchical it seems odd that the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum, taking pride in the fact that its "precious object" was still in Xiamen, would not point this out in its display by giving it a prominent position. Not even the label of the object reads that the original of the manuscript is kept nearby in the university library. Fear of a continued centralization of Lu Xun's estate does not seem likely.

[459] This list includes all registered museums in China, see: (SACH 国家文物局 2014). The museums are further divided as museums "by trade" (*hangye* 行業), museums including "artifacts" (*wenwu* 文物), and non-state-run organizations (*feiguoyou* 非國有).

The SACH as a visible actor, of course, also has its counter-players. The Chinese National Tourism Administration 國家旅遊局 (CNTA) (estab. 1949) also implements its own forms of grading and awarding titles and prizes. With the 5A grading system, established in 1999 and extended in 2004, the CNTA grades sites in terms of safety, cleanliness, sanitation and transportation. At times its interests can be opposite to the interests of the SACH. In Shaoxing, director Xu Dongbo 徐東波 explained that the interests of these ministries clashed at times. The Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum is graded as a Level 2 Museum by the SACH and at the same time a 5 A Tourist site by the CNTA since 2012. Xu Dongbo recalled that as a director one of the challenges was to strike compromises between the ministries. Mass tourism demanded the accessibility of sites also for wheelchairs, for example. This is particularly difficult in the case of Chinese architecture which features wooden thresholds in the doorframes (*menkan* 門檻) that make such access very difficult. While the CNTA had requested the thresholds to be removed, the representatives from the museum had argued for the "authenticity" such a visiting experience would enhance, as "it was there originally and should not be moved 原來就是這樣的，不可以去動它的" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:42:47). In this case, Xu Dongbo had found a compromise by introducing "movable wooden ramps 活動的斜坡木板" with the help of which a wheelchair could enter the sites. In such cases, the "contradictions would come to light 矛盾就出來的" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:41:50). On the other hand, the numerous gift and souvenir shops 旅遊紀念品 that were included at the exits of the individual sites comprising the Lu Xun Hometown 魯迅故里 complex had been a requirement from the CNTA which the museum was willing to increase, as it did not see it interfering with the requirements of the SACH. Yet the director did feel that it was still a compromise for the museum, a requirement it felt obliged to fulfill. This example should show that the observations made by Kirk Denton or Thomas Täubner on the "commercialization" of Lu Xun in Shaoxing are by no means incorrect, yet that they are the result of the museum's weighing its possibilities and options for the support of different ministries. Instead of seeing this phenomenon as a "commercialization" of Lu Xun, I would argue it to give greater insights into the inner workings and negotiations taking place within the national network of cultural institutions in China.[460]

[460] Other museums have, for example, decided not to work in cooperation with the CNTA, for example the Ba Jin Former Residence in Shanghai, as the museum's relevance for the over-all tourism industry in Shanghai is much

This section looked at *visible* structural forms of valorization, namely the official taxonomy promoted by the SACH. First I have shown that each heritage site has a location within this taxonomy, protected by the state at various levels. This location can be a form of valorization. Secondly, the location is not fixed. A certain mobility within the system is possible, meaning that sites can be upgraded, for example. Thirdly, the taxonomy of the SACH is not fixed either, but changes over time. It has, for example, exchanged its category of "revolutionary" with "historical", ridding itself from categories which no longer are considered adequately valorizing, recalling the display of the "revolutionary Lu Xun" of the 1950s being replaced with a "historical Lu Xun" in the 1980s as argued in the previous chapters. The localization within the official network provides legal protection. Yet this section has also shown that symbolical location does not necessarily equal practical protection. Laws exist, but their implementation always depends on the power struggle surrounding each site and the stakeholders they draw in. The motivation of the state to protect Lu Xun's heritage sites has thus also been discussed in "A Residence Forgotten" and "A Residence Remembered Anew" in the previous chapters. This section has, however, furthermore shown that not only sites are localized – every object, every piece of heritage is categorized and has a location. This location has a bearing on each object. It can result in the object being "pulled" from periphery to the center, leaving Sun Yongyan in Xiamen greatly cherishing one of the museum's few left special treasures. An object's location in the center (e.g. Beijing), however, also means that the object loses much of its mobility, that high value is always also restricting, since it no longer can move outside its collection, no longer moves easily within China and even more difficultly abroad. The circulation of the object is impeded by its value.

Structure: Beyond a Critical Approach: Understanding the SACH and *guan* as Invisible Actors

As state-owned institutions, the Lu Xun museums are woven into the cultural institutional network in China, one that is in itself tightly interwoven with the structure of the party-state. The term party-state is meant to highlight the hierarchical relationship between the CPC and the government, whereby the Party holds power over the government at all levels (Cartier 2015, 6); (Barnett 1967). Of crucial importance for a stable and tightly knit network are clear levels of hierarchy and constellations of belonging. This stability is provided through the system of "administrative

smaller and the museum had negative experiences with large tour groups visiting the museum in bulk, which bothered other individual visitors. The Ba Jin Former Residence thus intentionally did not sign any agreements with the CNTA or other tourism providers (Zhou Limin 周立民 18.12.2013, 00:13:32).

ranking" (*xingzheng jibie* 行政級別), which mirrors the administrative structures of political institutions in China and is based on the geographical mapping and administrative structuring of the nation's territory.[461] As Blumenfield's 2014 edited volume on *Cultural Heritage Politics in China* explains, it is through this system of governance that China attempts to "inventory its copious immovable and movable heritage wealth". Blumenfield however continues by comparing this to the way "that western states have surveyed – literarily and ideologically – their territories for the purpose of governance" (Blumenfield 2013, 6). When paying attention to the past tense Blumenfield uses and the literature she is referring to, which draws on the example of the British Empire's governance over British India, one already recognizes her bias in favor of global organizations, such as UNESCO, over the Chinese national structures to govern heritage. This normative approach reappears in other contributions of the volume as well and has been understandably criticized by a reviewer.[462] It reminds the reader of the "waiting-room"-scenario with which Chakrabarty has aptly captured the patronizing implications of scholars dealing with "third-world" countries (Chakrabarty 2008, 9): China is still literally and ideologically surveying its territories and heritage, but it is to catch up and engage with the global structures of UNESCO eventually. This willingness of China to engage with UNESCO is then however explained by national "motives", which further point to her bias – as the reader wonders which of these reasons were and are not equally applicable to any other nation-state which is a UNESCO member-state.

What this shows is that the administrative system – in the few cases in which it is recognized as an essential element in cultural politics and the museum landscape in China – is approached

[461] The term used for the territorial organization is The Chinese System of Administrative Division (*xingzheng quhua tixi* 行政區劃體系). It emphasizes the division, the act of dividing territory up into smaller pieces of territory. The annual *Handbook of the Administrative Divisions of the People's Republic of China* 中華人民共和國行政區劃簡冊 is published by the Ministry of Civil Affairs 民政部, see: (Ministry of Civil Affairs 民政部 2016). The geographer Carolyn Cartier gives a very insightful reading of the changes in administrative divisions of the Shanghai Putong New Area in her article on territorial urbanization in China, in which she shows that making changes in the administrative division is a common method utilized by the party-state which contributes to actual economic growth or at least to its appearance, by merging districts with uneven levels of economic development (Cartier 2015). Shanghai and Beijing in which two of the Lu Xun museums are located are exceptional cities in their administrative ranking since the 1950s, as they are ranked, together with Tianjin, as directly-controlled municipalities (*zhixiashi* 直轄市). When in 1997 Chongqing also received this ranking, the number increased to four cities that today rank on a provincial level.

[462] "It would also have been judicious to identify and discuss the contributors' viewpoints in the introduction. Most of them are committed to heritage protection, favoring the UNESCO model or a solution to improve conservation following the criteria of that international institution. […] The book is replete with albeit discretely stated value judgements and presumptions alongside feelings that are never cleared up. Scientific readers might note this absence of distance and deem it a weakness that could lead to truncated or even biased argumentation" (Le Mentec 2014).

reluctantly, and at times with skepticism by researchers of cultural heritage (Varutti 2014); (Chen Shen and Hong Chen 2010). But it is certainly true that China's tangible heritage is under a hierarchical and centralized state administration, as Blumenfield explains, and that this administrative structure is defining how museums in China function and also what they can display, thus are crucial to fully grasping the nature of any museum in China.

Marzia Varutti's publication on *Museums in China: The Politics of Representation after Mao* attempts to give a broad overview over the different actors who manage the museum field in China, differentiating between the Chinese government, state-owned enterprises, private museums, museum professionals and audiences. Varutti presents the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) 國家文物局 as a main government actor, since it is responsible for formulating museum policies and regulations, supervising their implementation, selecting the sites to be protected and taking over many more practical, educational and supervisory duties (Varutti 2014, 44). She further highlights that in contrast to the organizational structure in most European countries, Chinese museums are not automatically placed under the competence of the Ministry of Culture, but are instead attached to a ministerial cabinet according to the museum's nature and content. Each museum is therefore linked to a ministry that is deemed "relevant" to it, as she shows by the Ministry of Defense being in charge of the National Military Museum, "while the Ministry of Culture is responsible for the National Museum of China, The Palace Museum (Forbidden City) and the Lu Xun Museum" – referring to an interview with Song Xiangguang 宋向光, Professor at the Beijing University's Faculty of Archaeology and Museology from 2006 (Varutti 2014, 44). Varutti concludes that the subordination under specific government ministries according to content suggest "a vision of museums not so much as cultural institutions *per se*, but rather as attributes of the various governmental branches" (Varutti 2014, 44).

Indeed, so far there is nothing to object to in Varutti's approach to the actors in the museum field. However, she continues to differentiate between the different governmental levels of jurisdiction – a differentiation which is certainly necessary as this chapter argues. Varutti distinguishes between four levels in museum management: "the governmental, the provincial, the prefectural and county level" (Varutti 2014, 43). The SACH in her description is seen as a "government"-level institution, just as the Ministry of Culture. Indeed, this is misleading, as they would be better described as the "ministry"-level – thus avoiding the term to completely overlap with her differentiation between the "actors" in the museum field, as all levels of jurisdiction are

(also by her own definition) “government levels”. This reveals a vagueness in terminology, which especially in publications in the field of cultural and museum studies dealing with China remains one of the main shortcomings in the field. Thus, in the following, the Lu Xun museums will be presented with regard to their “location” within this administrative network in more detail.

The administrative ranking adheres approximately to the structural system of government bodies and educational organizations and is deeply rooted in the complex structure and history of “official posts” *guan* 官 in China. When trying to understand where – within this network of government institutions – the Lu Xun museums are located it is best to begin with the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, which has the highest administrative ranking. The museum is directly subordinate to the SACH 國家文物局 which results in the museum being a bureau-level (*juji* 局級) organization. In the museum landscape, the differentiation is made between section- (*keji* 科級), division- (*chuji* 處級), and bureau- (*juji*) level organizations, with the bureau-/ prefecture-level being the highest administrative rank a museum in China can hold. Concerning the administration of the Party and the government, there are two further levels of administration above them, namely the national-level (*guojiaji* 國家級) and the provincial-/ ministry-level (*sheng-/buji* 省、部級), but no museum has this status. As a general rule, there are 5 levels within the administrative ranking in China:

1.	national-level (*guojia ji* g 國家級)	正 *full-* 副 *secondary-*
2.	provincial- (*shengji* 省級) / ministry-level (*buji* 部級)	正 副
3.	bureau-(*juji* 局級)/ department-level (*siji/tingji* 司/廳級)	正 副
4.	division- (*chuji* 處級) / county-level (*xianji* 縣級)	正 副
5.	section- (*keji* 科級) / town-ship level (*zhenji* 鎮級)	正 副

(1) Province (*sheng* 省)

(2) Prefecture (*di* 地)

(3) County (*xian* 縣)

When dealing with administration in questions of territorial and urban organization by the party-state, there are usually only three levels, according to the Chinese “System of Administrative Divisions” (*xingzheng quhua tixi* 行政區劃體系) (→ marked blue), namely the provincial- (*sheng* 省), the prefecture- (*di* 地) and the county- (*xian* 县) level (Cartier 2015, 4). The terms most

commonly used when referring to the museums' administrative ranking are bureau- (*juji*), division- (*chuji*) and section-level (*keji*) (→ marked green). Indeed, it can be confusing, since at times three different Chinese terms can refer to the same level, and are sometimes used interchangeably even in Chinese, and it is not always possible to pair these terms meaningfully with different English terms, though the above attempts this (with the exception of *siji* and *tingji*, which are both translated with "department"-level). Within the levels, there is always another half-level in between, such as the secondary-bureau-level (*fujuji*), which would be half a level lower than the bureau- (*juji*) and half a level higher than the division-level (*chuji*).

In many cases, the institution to which the museum is affiliated will define the administrative ranking of the museum. In the case of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum its high ranking can be explained due to the fact that it is directly subordinate (*zhishu* 直属) to the SACH 國家文物局. The fact that some institutions can be directly subordinate to the SACH goes unmentioned in studies on the management of cultural heritage in China, such as in the contribution to China in the 2010 edited volume on *Cultural Heritage Management: A Global Perspective* (Chen Shen and Hong Chen 2010, 74). The SACH 國家文物局[463] is itself a secondary-ministry-level (*fu buji*) institution, as it is directly subordinate to the Ministry of Culture, which is on the ministry-level (*buji*). Due to the fact that its "parent" institution is of such high administrative rank, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum is a full-bureau-level institution (*zhengjuji*). This results in the director of this museum acquiring the rank of a director general of a bureau (*juzhang* 局長), which is of great importance to the director's influence, income, boni and cultural capital. Among the highest-ranking museums in China, which have acquired international fame and recognition are the National Museum of China 中國國家博物館, the National Palace Museum 中國故宫博物院 and also the Fine Arts Museum 中國美術館. These three museums are currently directly subordinate

[463] The SACH is further divided into six departments (*si* 司) among them the Museum and Social Relics Department 博物館與社會文物司, led by Director Duan Yong 段勇司長 and the Cultural Relics Protection and Archeology Department incl. a Global Cultural Heritage Department 文物保護與考古司 (世界文化遺產司) (SACH 国家文物局 2016b). Under the SACH's administration there are 31 provincial-level bureaus of cultural heritage, one in each province, autonomous region, and municipality directly under the Central Government. Chen and Hong oversimplify the hierarchical relationship by stating that the SACH "owns a newspaper, a magazine company and a giant publishing house", instead of showing that these institutions are also directly subordinate to the SACH and not merely owned by it (Chen Shen and Hong Chen 2010, 74).

to the Ministry of Culture as "directly-subordinate units" (*zhishu danwei* 直屬單位)[464], thus directly belonging to a full ministry-level institution. Despite the fact that the Beijing Lu Xun Museum is a "subordinate unit" of the SACH, a secondary-ministry-level (*fu buji*) institution, its ranking is *nevertheless equal* to the other major national museums in China (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:18:30).[465] Thus, even though the administrative ranking of the Ministry of Culture is half a level higher than the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, these museums also only hold the administrative position of a full bureau-level unit (*zhengjuji danwei).* This shows that ranking is contingent on affiliation, but that leeway for some variation in form of upward and downward movement remains. The Beijing Lu Xun Museum is thus on the same administrative level as the highest and most renowned museums in China, and that despite being dedicated to one individual instead of a "nation" (as in the National Museum of China) or even an "empire" (embodied by the Palace Museum). The only other museum dedicated to an individual person which enjoys such high administrative ranking, is the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall 毛澤東紀念館. For it, too, is on the full-bureau-level (*zhengjuji*) directly subordinate to the General Office of the Communist Party of China 中共中央辦公廳.[466] The Mao Zedong Memorial Hall is thus *nominally* subordinate to the Communist Party of China and not the government, even though this has few *practical* consequences in the Chinese party-state system.[467]

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[464] A list of all 31 subordinate units of the Ministry of Culture are listed on the website of the ministry: (Ministry of Culture 文化部 2017). The Beijing Lu Xun Museum is the only museum which is directly subordinate to the SACH, see: (SACH 国家文物局 2016c).

[465] Sun Yu explained: "The ranking is a kind of honor, it clarifies the standard of your unit, for example we are like Renmin University, it too is a bureau-level institution, it only has a university director who [actually] is a cadre on deputy-minister-level (*fubuji*), but the whole school is a bureau-level structure, the National Museum, the Palace Museum, they all are bureau-level institutions, the [Beijing] Lu Xun Museum and the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall they are of the hightest rank, they all are bureau-level. 局級就是它是一種榮譽，就說明你們這種單位的規格，就是我們像人民大學，它是一個局級的，[…] 他只有校長是副部級的幹部，但整個學校是個局級的建制，國家博物館、故宮博物院都是一個局級單位，魯迅博物館跟毛澤東的紀念堂是最高的級別，他們都是局級" (Sun Yu 孫郁 15.03.2014, 00:18:30).

[466] The head of the office is currently Chen Ruiping 陳瑞萍. Chen Ruiping was the director general (*juzhang* 局長) of the "management bureau" (*ju* 局) of the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall 中央辦公廳毛主席紀念堂管理局局長 from 2003-2014. In 2014, she took over the position of the head of the National Health and Family Planning Commission of the PRC 國家衛生和計劃生育委員會 (NHFPC 國家衛計委). Since the General Office of the CPC does not have a strong online presence, her position as the head of the Mao Zedong memorial museum is mainly retraceable via her short biography available on the website of the National Health and Family Planning Commission (NHFPC 国家卫计委).

[467] On its website, the memorial hall describes itself as both the "nation's and the Party's highest memorial hall in China 是党和国家的最高纪念堂", see: (Mao Zedong Memorial Hall 毛泽东纪念堂 2017).

The museums' structural affiliation (which unit it is "subordinate" to) can be decisive for the museum in many regards. The process of subordination and attachment is, however, not as obvious as one might expect or Varutti's "affiliation according to content" might imply. Cao Xueqin's Museum's affiliation with the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Landscape and Forestry 北京市園林綠化局 would be one such counter-example, as its contingent factor is alone its geographical location, situated this ministry's jurisdiction. As the following tables show, the different Lu Xun museums hold rankings of all three administrative levels, which the directors of each institution explained (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:16:53), (interview with Wang Xirong 王錫榮, 2013, December 18), (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:29:25). Also, their affiliation varies, since not all Lu Xun museums belong to government bodies dedicated to cultural heritage (*wenwu* 文物), but can also be affiliated to universities or other museums, as the Xiamen and Guangzhou Lu Xun museums show (interview with Su Yongyan 蘇永延, 2015, March 11). What the table highlights is that firstly the different Lu Xun museums in Beijing, Shanghai and Shaoxing are subordinate to either only one, two, or even three government institutions. And secondly that the Lu Xun museums are associated with different government ministries than other author museums, such as the Mao Dun, Guo Moruo, Ba Jin or Cao Xueqin Memorial Museums, for example. By giving an account of the "birth" of Lu Xun museums in China, I have answered the questions: Why are different author museums associated with different government ministries (i.e. Lu Xun's affiliation with the SACH instead of the CWA (like Ba Jin) or the CASS (like Guo Moruo))? And how did the Lu Xun museums become associated with their respective superordinate institutions? The answer here has largely been *biographical*, as the founding members (e.g. Wang Yeqiu or Tang Tao) had acquired leading positions in these institutions. These structural localizations have, however, long-lasting influences. I would therefore like to ask: What does the situatedness in this national hierarchy of cultural and political institutions within the PRC mean for the Lu Xun museums, both with regard to those who established them, run them and visit them?

Current Affiliations of the six Lu Xun museums in China:

Note: The terminology used in the names of government institutions do not reflect their administrative ranking. Thus the Nanjing Municipal Department of Education is termed a *ju* 局, but is not a department-level institution (*juji danwei* 局級單位).

Blue: Historical reason of affiliation

Museum 博物館/紀念館	**Ranking** 行政級別	**Affiliation** 隸屬於 subordinate to/ 直屬單位 directly-subordinate unit
北京魯迅博物館[468] Beijing LX museum	正局級 *full bureau-level*	→ 國家文物局 State Administration of National Heritage[469] *→ biographical (Wang Yeqiu)*
上海魯迅紀念館 Shanghai LX museum	正處級 *full division-level*	→上海市文物局 Shanghai Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage[470] → → 國家文物局 State Administration of National Heritage *→ biographical (Tang Tao)*
紹興魯迅紀念館 Shaoxing LX museum	正科級 *full section-level*	→ 紹興市文物管理局 Shaoxing Administration of Cultural Heritage[471] → → 浙江省文物局 Zhejiang Provincial Administration of Cultural Heritage[472] → → → 國家文物局 State Administration of Cultural Heritage *→ content / structural*

[468] The Beijing Lu Xun Museum and the New Culture Movement Memorial Museum were merged into one institution in summer 2014, as discussed below. This merger did not nominally affect the Beijing Lu Xun Museum's administrative ranking as a bureau-level institution, but is an indicator of an effort to distance the cultural sector from management practices belonging to the Party.

[469] See: (SACH 国家文物局 2016c).

[470] The Shanghai Municipal ACH 上海市文物局 is combined with the Shanghai Municipal Administration of Culture, Radio, Film & TV 上海市文化廣播影視管理局. The Shanghai Lu Xun Museum is listed as their directly subordinate unit (*zhishu danwei*), see: (Shanghai Municipal ACH 上海市文物局 2017). Since Shanghai is a directly-controlled municipality (*zhixiashi* 直轄市), it is on equal position to other provincial administrations of cultural heritage, for example the Zhejiang Provincial ACH.

[471] The Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum is listed as a scenic sight (*jingdian* 景點) by the Shaoxing Administration of Cultural Heritage 紹興市文物管理局, see: (Shaoxing ACH 绍兴文物局 2017). The Shaoxing ACH only the Shaoxing Museum 紹興博物館 and the Shaoxing Municipal Archeological Research Institute 紹興市文物考古研究所 as its subordinate organisations (*xiashu jigou* 下屬機構), see: (Shaoxing ACH 紹興绍兴文物局 2017). The museum, however, is not listed as directly-subordinate unit (*zhishu danwei*) of the Shaoxing City Cultural Broadcasting Press and Publication Bureau 紹興市文化廣電新聞出版局 (Shaoxing CBPPB) either, see: (Shaoxing CBPPB 紹興市文化廣電新聞出版局). Director Xu Dongbo clearly stated that "we are subordinate to the Shaoxing Administration of Cultural Heritage 紹興市文物局，我們是下屬的機構", confirming my question if it was "directly subordinate 直屬於他們" with "yes 是" (Xu Dongbo 徐東波 16.09.2014, 00:07:57). The website of the Shaoxing ACH thus might not be complete.

[472] The Shaoxing Administration of Cultural Heritage 紹興文物管理局 is subordinate to the Zhejiang Provincial Administration of Cultural Heritage 浙江省文物局 (Zhejiang ACH 浙江文物局 2017).

Museum 博物館/紀念館	**Ranking** 行政級別	**Affiliation** 隸屬於 subordinate to/ 直屬單位 directly-subordinate unit
廈門魯迅紀念館 Xiamen LX Museum	-	→ 廈門大學 Xiamen University → → 厦门市教育局 Xiamen Municipal Bureau of Education → → → 福建省教育部 Fujian Provincial Ministry of Education → → → → 國家教育部 State Ministry of Education
南京魯迅紀念館 Nanjing LX Museum	- [~副處級 secondary division-level]	→ 南京師範大學附屬中學 High School Affiliated to Nanjing Normal University [→ →南京師範大學 Nanjing Normal University] → → 南京市教育局 Nanjing Municipal Department of Education → → → → 江蘇省教育廳 Jiangsu Provincial Department of Education → → → → → 國家教育部 State Ministry of Education
廣州魯迅紀念館 Guangzhou LX Museum	-	→ 廣東省博物館 Guangdong [Provincial] Museum[473] → → 廣東省文化廳 Guangdong Province Department of Culture → → → 國家文物局 State Administration of Cultural Heritage
中國現代文學館 NMMCL	正局級 *full bureau-level*[474]	→中國作家協會 China Writers Association (CWA)[475] *→ content / autobiographical* *Ba Jin as head of CWA and advocate of NMMCL*
新文化運動紀念館 New Culture Movement Museum	正局級 *full bureau-level*	→ 國家文物局 State Administration of National Heritage *→ content / structural*
中國文學專門委員會 CCLM	-	中國現代文學館 (挂靠單位) National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature *→ content / Fu Guangming, head of CCLM and NMMCL staff*
郭沫若紀念館 Guo Moruo Museum	~处級 *division-level*	→ 中國科學院 Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) *→ autobiographical / Guo Mouruo head of CAS*
茅盾故居 Mao Dun Former Residence	~科級 *section-level*	→ 中國現代文學館 National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature → → 中國作家協會 China Writers Association *→ content, autobiographical / Mao Dun head of CWA*
曹雪芹紀念館 Cao Xueqin Museum	*[estimate: ~科級 keji]*	北京市文物局 Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage previous: 北京市園林綠化局 Beijing Municipal Bureau of Landscape and Forestry *→ geographical*

[473] The Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum is governed (*xia* 轄) by the Guangdong [Provincial] Museum, see: (Guangdong Provincial Museum 广东省博物馆 2017).

[474] (Fu Guangming 傅光明 05.08.2014, 00:55:03).

[475] Units directly subordinate to the CWA, see: (CWA 中国作协 2017b).

The museum directors had different ways of explaining the effect of the administrative ranking had on their institutions. The perks high-ranking institutions enjoy were explained as the following: Former director Sun Yu (Beijing) first pointed out that it largely had symbolical (*xiangzhengxing* 象徵性的) meaning, that a high rank was an honor (*rongyu* 榮譽). He however also acknowledged that it had practical (*shiji* 實際) consequences as well. It resulted in a greater scope (*guimo* 規模) of the museum, and "a bureau-level unit can appoint its own cadres 局級單位它自己可以任命幹部" and gains freedom to "solve many issues independently whereas a division-level institution would have to apply with the upper ministries 很多權了自己就可以解決 ，處級單位就必須跟上級部門去申請". He concluded that "we as an institution have a greater authority 所以我們自己的權限也比較大" (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:16:47). His past experiences have shown that his power is not absolute (having to add a minimal amount of materials on Mao Zedong in 2006), but did provide some leeway (Beijing remains the museums in which Mao Zedong shows only little presence, it included "unorthodox" Chinese writers such as Wang Xiaobo in special exhibition, and academic conferences on writers such as Yan Lianke whose support by the Party remains limited, or better ambivalent), as shown in "Nationalizing Lu Xun: The Chinese National Lu Xun" of this part. Former Deputy Director Wang Dehou (Beijing) explained that essentially it was a management system (*guanli* 管理). The difference however existed in status (*daiyu* 待遇), which also includes wages, and in authority (*quanqwei* 權威), summarizing "it is level for level, who is big and who is small, in China everything is like that 他一級一級，誰大誰小，中國的事都是這樣的" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20, 00:13:43). Xu Dongbo, current director of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, as an institution decidedly lower in rank, further explained that an institution with a higher ranking was better for individual aspirations. "It has a greater impact on them individually 對他們個人影響比較大", as "China is a *guanbeiwei* country 中國是一個官本位的國家" meaning that that it is a country in which one's official post is the only standard according to which value is measured.[476]

[476] When explaining the administrative ranking of the museums, both Sun Yu and Xu Dongbo referred to the concept of "g*uanbenwei* 官本位", which means taking "official posts as standard" or valorizing official posts (Sun Yu 孫郁 15.03.2014, 00:17:21); (Xu Dongbo 徐東波 16.09.2014, 00:30:26). Indeed, the valorization of official posts provided by the government has come to be understood as being quintessentially Chinese, termed China's "*guanbenwei*-culture 中国‘官本位’文化" (Xiong Feijun 熊飞骏, October 29, 2009). In 2009, the Hong Kong-based online-newspaper Phoenix ran an article, criticizing the *guan*-system, explaining that the "5000-year-long history of China's civilization 中国五千年的文明史" was neither based on feudalism, nor capitalism, nor

"In China we value your status, is this official of high or low rank 中國比較看重這個身份，這個官員大、小" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:30:26).

Apart from the upsides a higher institution offers for individual careers, it also has additional structural upsides. Current Deputy Director Huang Qiaosheng (Beijing) explained that to have a high rank "had some benefits, probably your weight will be somewhat heavier. That is to say your status will receive some special considerations 會有一點好處，可能份量會重一點。就是說你的身分可能會有些照顧" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:43:59). As a concrete example, it was beneficial in the processes of applying for funds at the Ministry of Culture. Since one's institution is known better, the path of communication is arguably shorter and the funds can be transferred directly. This thus means that the Beijing Lu Xun museum can apply for funds directly from the Ministry of Culture, but the Mao Dun museum, for example, cannot, or only with great difficulty, as it would be requested to apply for funds from its superior unit, the CWA (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:44:22).[477] Another important factor are the fewer lengthy bureaucratic processes that higher institutions have to run through. Xu Dongbo explained that higher institutions were generally "more respected while smaller ones were more neglected 比較重視一些，對我們比較忽略一些" (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:31:39). On the concrete level, he explained that if a low-ranking museum hoped to organize an exhibition (e.g. an oversea exhibition in Germany) this

socialism, but bureaucratism or, the corresponding Chinese term, "*guanliao zhuyi* 官僚主义". The administrative ranking system is seen as being closely connected to the concept of *guanbenwei*, pointing out that "there is no place where administrative ranking does not exist 无处不在的级别". Interestingly, the article ends the very critical appeal to the reader, echoing Lu Xun in its very last words: "The soil and climate from which the culture of *guanbenwei* grew, had its profound historical causes. But in our politically, spiritually and materially civilized present, any contemporary Chinese who has a conscience and a sense of responsibility, must be extremely on his guard against the culture of *guanbenwei* and the abolishment the standard of official posts should have already become our generation's *call to arms.* [my emphasis] '官本位'文化有其生长的土壤和气候，有其厚重的历史原因。在倡导政治文明、精神文明、物质文明的今天，任何一个有良心和责任心的当代中国人，都应该对"官本位"文化引起高度的警惕，废除'官本位'文化已经成为时代的呐喊！ (Xiong Feijun 熊飞骏, October 29, 2009). The critique of the *guanbenwei*-system is also supported by the official media connected to the CPC. Here the *guanbeiwei*-culture is seen as a product of the many thousand years of feudal system and indeed the opposite of the foundations of the Communist Party (CPC.People.com 中国共产党新闻网 2012). It is blamed for the continued struggle of the Party with corruption of high-ranking officials, a problem which will not be solved easily or soon, but with the help of a better education of cadres, and stronger Inner-Party control over corrupt officials, eventually.

[477] Even though the CWA is on the same level as the MoC (both are ministry-level), the fact that the Beijing Lu Xun Museum is directly affiliated with the SACH is likely to boost its position whereby the Mao Dun Museum is only affiliated with the CWA, which might not give high priority to the Mao Dun display, and focus more strongly on the NMMCL as an institution.

would bring many bureaucratic difficulties for a lower-ranking institution, since the "administrative process of examining and approving is less convenient 行政審批比較麻煩". He explained:

> **Xu:** Examining and approving, level by level by level by level, it is less convenient. Beijing itself is a department- (*tingji*) [= bureau- (*juji*)] level institution, once its superordinate ministry has approved, then they are good to go. But we are a section-level (*keji*) institution, we have to go to the bureau [*ju*], then we have to go to the province [provincial government] (*sheng*), this procedure is less convenient.
> **Graf:** Will it influence your projects?
> **Xu:** If it is a set project, then the influence is not strong, if the government has agreed on it and expressed that it should be done, then they will help us bid. But if it is through normal contact, then for us this procedure is indeed loaded with trivial details, not as simple and convenient as for Beijing or Shanghai. Objectively it has no influence, but subjectively it will influence us in some respects. For example, subjectively we will think, ah [never mind] it is too inconvenient…..
> **徐：**審批，一層一層一層一層，比較麻煩，北京本身就是一個廳級，他上一級部門批得就可以了，那麼我們是科級，我們到局裡面，到省裡面，這一道手續比較煩一些。
> **艾：**這會影響到你們的項目嗎？
> **徐：**如果確定要做的計劃，這個影響倒不是很大，如果政府訂下來表示這個事情是要做，他也會幫我們去申辦，但是如果正常交往的話呢，確實對我們這方面的手續，比較繁瑣，
> 沒有像北京、上海他們這麼簡便。 客觀上沒有影響，但是主觀上可能會有一些影響。 比如說，主觀上會想一想，啊，我們這個麻煩啊 。
>
> (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:33:07)

Yet the rank does not have a direct effect on visitors. Xu Dongbo pointed out that even though Beijing had a higher rank, the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum has much higher visitor numbers. Yet, Xu Dongbo conceded that the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum had little power in decision making processes. The process, for example, by which the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum was chosen to host the Lu Xun Literary Prize award ceremony in the past is one indication for this.

> **Xu:** The Lu Xun Literary Prize award ceremony was once held in Shaoxing, the CWA chose it as the place to hold the ceremony.
> **Graf:** Did you apply for this?
> **Sun:** No, we did not apply for it. It is like we just discussed, we are but a section-level (*keji*) institution, we do not have this kind of power (*quanxian*). The City of Shaoxing negotiated with the CWA, arguing that if they brought the prize to Shaoxing, to Lu Xun's home town, this would have a positive effect on the renown of Shaoxing. Then they came. Later we also cooperated, [but] we did not have the power in this political system to negotiate with the them, maybe the Beijing Lu Xun Museum could negotiate with the CWA, but we don't have [this power].
> **徐：**魯迅文學獎以前也是在紹興頒獎，中國作協以紹興為頒獎之地，
> **艾：**這是你們去申請的嗎？

徐：不是我們申請因為，我們剛講的，我們是科技單位，我們沒有這個權限，紹興市政府，跟中國作協，當時跟他們去洽談你們這個獎項頒獎的時候最好放到紹興，放到魯迅故鄉來，對提升紹興的知名度有好處。他們就過來了。後來我們做一些配合工作，我們沒有從中國這個政治體系的權限跟他們去談，北京魯迅博物館有可能跟中國作協談這些，但是我們沒有。

(interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:47:43)

From this process of negotiation and decision-making it becomes clear that the various museums, literary organizations and government institutions are not on equal footing, and that the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum is under the tutelage of the city of Shaoxing and not an equal active player in such processes.

Current director of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum, Su Yongyan, however, saw a form of power in the powerlessness of low-level or no-level institutions in this network. He believed that the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum did not have a rank in the common sense (interview with Su Yongyan 蘇永延, 2015, March 11, 00:32:33). Rank mainly influenced the number of staff (*renyuan* 人員), their salaries (*gongzi* 工資), financial subsidies (*caizheng butie* 財政補貼) and the over-all funding (*zijin* 資金). Thus if you were in a tingji [*juji*]-level institution as the Beijing Lu Xun Museum was, you would "receive the distribution of a *tingji* standard 安廳級的標準給你按厅级标准给你分配", but "we are actually without ranking 我們其實是無別" as they were employed by the university. If a corresponding level was to be estimated it would approximately be a secondary-division level (*fuchuji* 副處級), yet since they were all employed by the university (thus occupying double positions (*jianzhi* 兼職)), their second employment at the museum made no difference to him (interview with Su Yongyan 蘇永延, 2015, March 11, 00:33:07). At times, this however could also mean more freedom to make changes in the exhibition – as long as such changes did not require funding. In the exhibition hall displaying artifacts (*wenwushi* 文物室) no changes were supposed to be made. If changes were planned, one "needed a reason 需要理由" one would have to "write a report 打報告" (interview with Su Yongyan 蘇永延, 2015, March 11, 00:37:07). Despite these restrictions, Su Yongyan still felt he had authority over the display. One example he gave to explain his influence over the display was his accepting a Lu Xun bust which he believed others considered unorthodox and unrepresentative, but which he felt ought to be included into the display [**IC 143 Xiamen Lu Xun bust**]. Since the museum had no official ranking and was well

under the radar of government institutions, he could accept a bust and include it in the display without causing trouble or requiring a report to be handed in.

Graf: Did you make any changes?
Su: I did not change much. But I placed this piece here that people had given us as a gift in the past. [….] If there is something I changed, then this would be it. Originally nothing was placed here, it was empty. [The bust] was a present by an alumni of this university, he graduated from the Chinese Department from Xiamen University, he had someone carve it…It was put away into storage, I thought it was a shame. This is very simple and crude, these drawers [I placed it on]. [I said] come, I will just place it here. Some said it did not look like him, why should it be displayed? […] I said even though it is does not look like him, it is representative of the aesthetic standard of a certain time and it was the shape Lu Xun took in their minds. […] All photographs of Lu Xun in the whole country are all alike, right? They have circulated across the entire nation. So I thought this […] is new, and if you look at it from the wood as a material, it must be a very special kind of wood, [….] I don't fully understand it, so once I asked someone from the Shanghai and Beijing Lu Xun museums, because there are some specialists on ancient artifacts there. [They explained] generally, if the wood turns dark that explains that it is not an average kind of wood. And it starts to turn black from here. The reason why they did not want to display it was because the face was both Yin and Yang [i.e. a face half dark, half light, also implying two-faced]. This is dark, this is light, they are not alike, but I thought, eventually it will all turn dark, it will gradually oxidize, later the color will gradually become beautiful. So you can't display it because it is not beautiful now, so you do not want it, but one day, it will become beautiful.[….] It has already been over 20 years, it was made in 1994. If you put it here for a long time, it will on its own be a *wenwu* [artifact/ cultural relic].
艾：您曾經改變哪一些部分?
蘇：我改變的不多。就把以前人送來的東西，我把他拿出來。 […] 如果是我改變就是這個。 這裡本來是不放東西，是空的。這是大學的一個校友送的，廈大中文系畢業，他們就請一個人來雕刻，就像這樣的一個。。把它放在倉庫裡面關起來，我就覺得可惜啊，非常簡陋，這種小抽屜啊，來，我就把他擺在這裡。有人說這個不像，為什麼他們不想擺？這個不像魯迅，。。。我說雖然他不夠像，但是代表一個時代的審美觀，以及他們心目中的魯迅形象。[…] 所有的魯迅的照片在全國全部都一樣，對吧，全國流通的。所以我想這種[…] 是新的，而從木材來看，這個木材應該是很奇特的木材，我搞不清楚，上海和北京博物館的人來，我曾經問他們，因為裡邊有古代文物的專家。一般來說，木頭會變黑，就說明他不是一般的，而且他是從這邊開始黑。他為什麼所不想擺陰陽臉嘛。這個是黑的這個是淡的，不一樣，但是我想，遲早有一天他會全黑，他慢慢氧化，以後顏色一定也跟著會很漂亮。所以你不可以因為他現在不漂亮，就不要他，有一天，他會很漂亮。[…]已經二十多年嘛, 1994 年。這個放久了以後，它自身就是文物了。

(interview with Su Yongyan 蘇永延, 2015, March 11, 00:41:04)

This example shows two aspects about China's heritage management very vividly: Firstly, the power of the museum director can lie in the selection of those objects that are not understood or categorized as artifacts (*wenwu*). While the supervision over the room displaying *wenwu* was strict and hierarchical structures would come to bear on any changes that might be planned from the local director, this supervision was not as strict in the less consecrated and supervised spaces. For in the same room in which the artifacts lie displayed behind glass, this wooden bust was casually set *beside* the large glass cabinet. Its location within the room and elevation to eye-sight directed attention to it, yet the provisional means by which it was displayed (the simple and crude drawers in contrast to the glass cabinet) also indicated a separation form the other objects on display.

IC 143 Xiamen Lu Xun Bust: Transformation into *wenwu*



1-5. Lu Xun wooden bust at Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed March 10, 2015. Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum.

Secondly, the portrait (similar to Lu Xun's death mask in "Lu Xun, embodied" of this thesis) has acquired an agency of its own. While it had been the local director's power to include it in the display, it is an object that is in the process of transforming. The material's reaction to its humid environment in Xiamen results in its change of color through oxidation. Depending on the material, lighter (plaster, marble) or darker colors (bronze) were the common materials with the help of which Lu Xun's image was to be formed, the wooden portrait, however, contains two colors, dark and light. While the opinion of the authorities had been that it neither likened Lu Xun nor was considered beautiful, Su Yongyan had dismissed their judgment. Even though Su Yongyan did not state this explicitly, the implication of a so-called Yin-Yang face, which can also mean false, two-faced or Janus-faced, is also likely to have been a reason why this presentation of Lu Xun was deemed inappropriate. Yet, Su Yongyan decided to include it into the exhibition, naming three

factors which justified this from his perspective. The first factor was the commitment and contribution of local actors (school alumni) that encouraged his accepting it into the museum display. By including their names on the base of the wooden bust, they left their name visibly in the school, on the one hand contributing to Lu Xun's commemoration at their home school, on the other also ensuring their names to be remembered, thus also inscribing themselves into the collective memory of the university's history. Su Yongyan allowed for this form of self-fashioning of these past students. Secondly, Su Yongyan valued the representation being different and in that regard unorthodox, as the circulation of visual materials that were all alike had reached a saturation point in his opinion. Thirdly and arguably most interestingly, Su Yongyan's definition of an artifact or "cultural relic" (*wenwu*) was a transitory one. Unlike the *wenwu* that had been defined by such by the authorities and were thus put behind glass and over whose display he had no power, this object had, in his eyes, the potential to transform into an artifact (*wenwu*) one day. Thus while it was far from entering the network of valuable artifacts (graded one to three), it carried a potential and an agency, which only he believed to recognize.

To summarize, the administrative ranking of museums in China is "invisible" to the visitor and layperson, as it is not provided as explicit information. It is not stated on a sign at the museum's entrance (as are the honorary titles mentioned above). Nor is it provided as information in the historiographies of the museums or in other information about the museums, be in print or on their official websites.[478] In most cases, it can only be inquired by the museum staff or deduced from knowing the museum's location in the landscape of cultural institutions with regard to its affiliation.

The strengths of the system can be seen in a long-term stability (which claims to guarantee long-term protection). It is an efficient management system as it offers clear constellations of hierarchy, and therefore is also a clear system of supervising a cultural heritage as abundant as that of China. It also allows long-term security for museums, as they are not reliant on entry fees. Its weaknesses are, however, also well-known by museum professionals. Current Deputy Director Huang Qiaosheng (Beijing) explained that administrative and professional work was hard to combine. The numbers from the Beijing Lu Xun Museum's report to achieve Level 1 Museum status showed that of 66 museum staff members, only 35 had "professional status 具有職稱" and

[478] The only museum which has recently provided this information on its website in Chinese is the Beijing Lu Xun Museum (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 and Beijing New Culture Movement Museum 北京新文化运动纪念馆). Prior to 2014 this information was not given.

only 11 had "high professional status 高級職稱".[479] Thus almost half of the museum staff were involved with administrative duties. This problem, of course, is not restricted to museums alone. The ever increasing number of lower administrative employees in the 50 years of the museum's history paralyzed the museum due to the high staff costs for administrative duties. Political scientist Heilmann shows this increase in administrative costs (in form of staff costs) for the whole of the public service sector during the 1980s and 1990s (Heilmann 2002, 111–19). The staff costs would already be very high for such a large institution, but the pay of the public servants also doubled in the years from 1998-2001,[480] thus it is also likely that the costs also increased accordingly (resulting not only in a larger number of employees, but also more employees with a higher salary). The high pay or boni (*daiyu* 待遇) that a high ranking provides would sometimes have the "contrary effect 相反", a "bad effect 壞的影響" on the museum, Huang Qiaosheng explained. "Often a cadre with the respective level would come, but he would only know how to hold an official position, he would not be fully committed to the work, and he was not *able* to do it, he did not understand the profession 往往那樣級別的幹部來了以後，他只會當官，他不是十分想做事，而且他不會做，他不懂得這個業務" [Huang's emphasis] (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:38:47). He explained that after he had come to the museum, no new academic staff had been hired by museum. Huang had started to work at the museum in 1986. For Huang only former director Sun Yu had been an academic (*xuezhe* 學者), which is why he eventually left to work at university to do research, for as a director of a museum "it is not a simple task, that lets you do research on Lu Xun, lets you propagate Lu Xun, it has many …. unimaginable administrative tasks 不是一個純粹的業務，讓你搞這個魯迅研究，讓你搞魯迅這個宣傳，它會有很多其他的一些...想像不到的一些行政的事務" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:40:58). "There basically are no specialists, we cannot connect to them 專業人士基本上就沒有了，接不上了" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:40:32). Former Deputy Director Wang Dehou also argued similarly. The ranking system was a

[479] This information was listed in the operational evaluation report to maintain the status of a Level One Museum 國家一級博物館運行評估申報書. In the years 2009, 2011, 2013 the number of staff remained stable at 66, but in the last year the number of professional staff increased by 3 and the number of highly professional staff increased to 38 and 12 respectively (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2009); (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011); (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2012).

[480] The goal of this increase in pay was to make the positions more attractive for skilled employees (also a form of professionalization), to make the employees less vulnerable to corruption (as a defense mechanism) and to also stimulate the economy (turn museum staff into a spending/ consuming power) (Heilmann 2002, 111–19).

state system and not appropriate for cultural institutions. The Beijing Lu Xun Museum was "like a big city 相當一個大市" (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20, 00:13:19). Since the institution is on bureau-level, it respectively was again structured inherently into "divisions" and "sections", each with their own leaders. The reduction of staff was thus not possible, instead it would steadily grow (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, March 19, 01:09:48).

It is impressive how little has changed in these complaints when comparing Huang Qiaosheng and Wang Dehou's worries and objections in 2015 to those of Wang Yeqiu in the 1950s. In his talk given at the National Museums Working Committee 全國博物館工作會議 in 1956, he explained that the number of museums in China was increasing steadily, from only 21 in 1949 to 50 in 1955, of which 10 were commemorative museums. He criticized that museums in China lacked professionalism, and that "if one learned more from foreign museums, especially the advanced museum work experience from museums of the Soviet Union, and applied it to improve one's work, then one could elevate oneself, improve one's work and soon overtake them. 我们如果[…] 学习外国博物馆， 尤其是学习苏联博物馆的先进工作经验，并加以运用，就可以加快提高自己，改进工作，这也就是‘仰头赶上’" (Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 1997, 14). Already in 1956, the adequate training for cadres to work in museums was a difficulty Wang Yeqiu saw China facing in the future. In 1956, Wang still saw a great shortage in professional staff, arguing that "able cadres and specialists did not come [to the museums], or only to a limited amount, and within the museum they were not elevated accordingly, and in their work they were too passive 得力干部和专家没有来，或者来的有限， 馆内干部也没有很好提高，工作上更加被动" (Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 1997, 15). But he mainly called the museums to take over responsibility in educating the cadres into professionals and offering a structured training (Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 1997, 15).

Yet it is nevertheless surprising that after over six and a half decades, the museum landscape is now slowly changing. There is one way in which some changes in the system are visible at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum today. In 2015 the first structural change occurred since the last "upgrading" of the Lu Xun Museum through Mao Zedong's orders forty years earlier in 1975. The SACH had ordered a merger (*hebing* 合併) between the New Culture Memorial Museum 新文化紀念館 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館. Both had been on bureau-level (*juji*). The new director is Guo Junying 郭俊英 (1956-), former director of the New Culture Memorial

Museum [IC 144 SACH Museum Merger].[481] Huang Qiaosheng explained "museums of the same kind are to be merged 同類的博物館要合併" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:33:37). The long-term reform plan that is envisioned is that "the state structures no longer will govern the museums, the museum is an independent legal person 國家的行政機構不再直接管博物館了，博物館就是一個獨立法人嘛！" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:33:45). In Huang's opinion museums should not solely rely on government funding, but be based on structures of foundations (*jijinhui* 基金會) with a board of directors (*lishihui* 理事會) (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:35:21). Museums should not use the ranking system any longer, they instead should be run more like companies, comparing "museum directors" to "CEOs" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 01:57:12). "Now their model is more bureaucratized, still like a planned economy 而現在我們這個模式呢，越來越行政化、還有計畫經濟這個方式" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:35:13). Huang was very enthusiastic about the reform. In Huang's opinion a "reform will bring freedom, will entice creativity and will give a strong impulse 改革會帶來自由，會激發你的創造力，就是讓你這個有衝動" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 01:58:05).

And certainly, on the surface these changes seem to take place, also within the process of institutionalizing Lu Xun. To date, there are two organizations that are dedicated to Lu Xun and officially registered as "Chinese Social Organizations" (*zhongguo shehui zuzhi* 中國社會組織).[482] While they can be understood as "NGOs", they do not adhere to the definitions of what is usually understood in Europe and the US as a "non-governmental organization"[483], since they are not fully

[481] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 144.

[482] The officially registered "Chinese Social Organizations" can be found on their website (Chinese Social Organization 中国社会组织 2017).

[483] One key quality that can be taken to define a NGO is the organization's autonomy with regard to Party or government policies (Fisher 1998). In her study of *Non-Governmental Organizations in Contemporary China*, Qiusha Ma acknowledges that this autonomy is not provided for organizations in China and attempts to broaden the term in order to include similar organizations in China as "NGOs with Chinese characteristics" (Ma Qiusha 2009, 8–12). Ma's key defining terms are very lenient. In her definition NGOs are organizations in which employees are not civil servants/ official government employees, that many are self-sufficient and encompass a degree of independence from government control. She finally argues, however, that these so-called NGOs might not be autonomous or have a substantial effect on government policy-making and political matters, but do have or articulate a political statement in the public sphere in China, which is why she believes that they can and should be subsumed under the larger umbrella-term "NGO" (Ma Qiusha 2009, 2–3). The corresponding terms that can refer to non-government-organizations in China are Social Organization (*shehui tuanti* 社會團體), People's Organization (*renmin tuanti* 人民團體), Mass Organization (*qunzhong zuzhi* 群眾組織), Folk Organization (*minjian tuanti* 民

independent of the party-state (neither in practice, nor primarily in their self-definition Ma Qiusha 2009, 9–10). The two organizations which are currently registered as Social Organizations are the Chinese Lu Xun Research Association 中國魯迅研究會 (register number 3878)[484], which is formally linked to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) 中國社會科學院 as its executive body (*yewu zhuguan danwei* 業務主管單位) and was first formally registered in 2004, but established already in 1981.[485] The CASS is directly subordinate to the State Council, thus by no means independent from the state policies. Interestingly, the research association is located on the grounds of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and there are further connections with regard to personnel/ staff between the Research Association and the Beijing, as well as the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, such as Chen Shuyu 陳漱渝 and Wang Xirong 王錫榮, who have leading positions in both the state-museums and the registered NGO.[486] Thus even though so-called NGOs have come

間團體), Non-Governmental Organization (*feizhengfu zuzhi* 非政府組織) and Non-Profit Organization (*fei yingli zuzhi* 非贏（營，盈）利組織) (Ma Qiusha 2009, 81). While acknowledging the different nuances of "non" in China's NGO landscape, Ma does not let go of the concept of an ideal, fully autonomous, "Western" NGO emerging in China. Her ideal NGOs have learned to "survive the party-system", an ability in which she sees much potential (Ma Qiusha 2009, 9). Similar to arguments concerning cultural production during the Cultural Revolution, Ma concludes with pathos: "Under the Mao regime, China was a desert for associational life, but now we can see green grassland where young trees are growing" (Ma Qiusha 2009, 204) and finally goes as far as to equate the growth of NGOs in China with the hereof resulting "decline of state-power over society" (Ma Qiusha 2009, 208). In his research on *Social Organizations and the Authoritarian State in China*, Hildebrandt distances himself from the kind of "romanticization" Ma is prone to when she regards NGOs as organizations which demonstrate "inititative, creativity, social responsiblity, and courage are organized by visionary and resourceful people" (Ma Qiusha 2009, 205). Hildebrandt avoids to look ahead at the anticipated political outcome of NGOs (e.g. in shape of reform or regime change), but instead analyses the status-quo, or in other words the current survival strategies of NGOs in the party-state China. He hereby explains the seeming contradiction between the increase of NGOs in China and the resilience of the authoritarian party-state as being neither due to NGOs having reduced influence in China, nor due to the fact that they are mere extended arms of the party-state, but instead highlights that they are "codependent" and that NGOs survive in the party-state, because they take strategic advantage of the limited opportunities presented to them with regard to political, economic and personal opportunties (Hildebrandt 2015, 1-2,8).

484 The Chinese Guo Moruo Research Association 中國郭沫若研究會 (reg.4314, since 2004) has the CASS 中國社科院 as its executive body as well. The Lao She Research Association 中國老舍研究會 (reg. number 3875) was also formally registered in 2004 with the Ministry of Education 教育部 as its executive body, but goes back to 1984 (Chinese Lao She Research Association 中国老舍研究会 2012). Most research associations dedicated to writers are affiliated with the CWA or its local branches, such as the Ba Jin- (since 2003), Mao Dun- (since 1998), or Xu Zhimo- (since 1993) Research Associations.

485 An International Lu Xun Research Association 國際魯迅研究會 was further founded in 2011.

486 The director of the association was Lin Fei 林非, but according to news reports has been replaced by Yang Yi 楊義 (CPC.People.com 中国共产党新闻网 2015). The three Vice Directors 副會長 are Chen Shuyu 陳漱渝 (who also serves as the General Secretary 秘書長), Yuan Liangjun 袁良駿 and Peng Ding'an 彭定安. The connections to the Lu Xun museums are through Chen Shuyu, who was the Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum (1997-2002), and head 主任 of the Lu Xun Research Room 研究室. Others involved in the Chinese Lu Xun Research Association include: Deputy General Secretary 副秘書長 Wang Shijia 王世家, Zhang Mengyang 張夢

to be established, they exist neither outside the structural network, nor independently from the network of main actors involved in Lu Xun research.

The second non-governmental organization is the Lu Xun Culture Foundation 魯迅文化基金會 (register number 1100), which has the CFLAC 文聯 as its executive body and was established more recently in 2012. Nominally, these two Lu Xun organizations are non-government organizations. But there are clear limits to NGOs in this regard in China, since all officially registered NGOs must be formally tied to a government partner (Hildebrandt 2015, 60). Such a tie to the government brings clear advantages for these NGOs in general terms: It enables NGOs to open bank accounts, it provides funding opportunities within China and abroad, it results in more transparency which can help avoid oppression from suspicious government officials, it makes the organization less dependent on the changing interest of (local) government partners (official registration can help curb their influence) and also helps make the NGO public relations to become better known. In these points, the advantage of registration is that, even though this might seem counterintuitive at first glance, NGOs can operate *more independently* than unregistered ones (Hildebrandt 2015, 61). But this process of registration is often seen, from the perspective of eligible NGOs, as "simply too complicated" (Hildebrandt 2015, 64)[487] and the requirement to a large part remains an official and partially unofficial integration of the NGO into the existing networks. The Lu Xun Culture Foundation was founded by Lu Xun's grandson Zhou Lingfei 周令飛 (1953- from Beijing) in 2012, a year after his father Zhou Haiying passed away. Zhou Lingfei, the eldest of Zhou Haiying's four children, worked as a photo journalist and editor. He left the Communist Party in 1982 and lived in Taiwan for many years with his Taiwanese wife Zhang Chunhua 張純華, whom he had met during his studies abroad in Japan. Only in 1999 did he return to Shanghai and together with this father establish a Shanghai Lu Xun Culture Development Center 上海魯迅文化發展中心 in 2002.[488]

陽, Zheng Xinling 鄭心伶 and also Wang Xirong 王錫榮, who was the director of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum (CWA 中国作协 2017a).

[487] Not all unregistered NGOs want to be registered (i.e. not all non-registered organizations have merely "failed" to register), nor does the Party necessarily desire to have all social organizations registered (Hildebrandt 2015, 61). Many of those NGOs that are not registered as NGOs might be registered as businesses or consulting firms, which again means that the organization then has to pay taxes, which NGOs are exempt from. And even when they are registered as businesses, they still need a professional supervising body (*yewu zhuguan bumen* 業務主管部門).

[488] His decision to leave the Communist Party was especially discussed in newspapers critical of the Communist Party outside of China such as the Taiwanese *China Times* or the US-based *Epoch Times*, see: (Bai Dehua 白德華 2015); (Epoch Times 大紀元 2005).

The thematic scope which the development center and the culture foundation address is much broader than the museums' and goes well beyond the field of literature, to include culture, art, as well as entrepreneurship and finance. There has been collaboration between the foundation and the museums, but in some regards their interests do not overlap and at times are even at odds. The director of the Shanghai Lu Xun museum Wang Xirong explained that while they had cooperated much in the beginning, there had been fewer and fewer overlaps (*jiaocha* 交叉) (interview with Wang Xirong 王錫榮, 2013, December 18). A legal dispute over the portrait rights (*xiaoxiang quan* 肖像權) of Lu Xun was another point in which the interpretations and also interests of the descendants and the museums differed strongly (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生, 2014, August 13, 00: 11:38), thus in some cases the descendants and museum representatives were in strong opposition.[489] And yet, the structures are by no means fully separate, with Zhou Lingfei as well as Wang Xirong included in the board of directors of the foundation (Lu Xun Culture Foundation 鲁迅文化基金会 2017), thus the overlap into the academic, museum, but also political institutions are not likely to be fully broken in the future, even with new structures and institutions (i.e. cultural foundations) being introduced into the system.

And while some aspects of the stability and institutional inertia are to be tackled with a reform which aims at abolishing the administrative ranking system, other key elements in which the museum landscape is structurally linked to political and Party structures will clearly remain. For every museum in China has a Communist Party representative in form of a Party (Branch) Secretary 黨支部書記. If a museum has a museum director, then the main responsibility of the museum is held by the director. This is not always the case, as, for example, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum's first full director was Li Helin in 1975 and prior to that year the museum had only had a Deputy Director. In many cases, the director represents the Communist Party and both positions are

[489] Four descendants of Lu Xun represented by Zhou Lingfei had issued a lawsuit against Huang Qiaosheng when his *Pictorial Biography of Lu Xun* 鲁迅画传 was published in 2013, including 114 historical photographs (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2013). The People's Court of the Shanghai Huangpu District investigated the case. The plaintiffs requested Huang Qiaosheng and Guizhou Publishing House to stop publication and issue a public apology and pay compensation. Huang Qiaosheng was accused of publishing the images to seek financial profit using Dangdang.com 當當網 and Shanghai Bookstore 上海書城 as distributors. Huang Qiaosheng however argued that portrait rights were not inheritable, that the photographs were in the museum's collection and had to 90% been included in past publications and used in various exhibitions in the past and therefore part of the public domain 公共領域 and were furthermore used in a scholarly inquiry which did not first and foremost aim at a financial gain. The court ruled in favor of Huang Qiaosheng, arguing that his "use [of the images] was reasonable 合理使用" (Tang Zhengming 汤峥鸣, November 07, 2014, 4).

integrated into one (*jianzhi* 兼职), as in Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum until today, as Xu Dongbo explained. In those cases in which this is not the case, an additional Party Secretary position is required in the museum. There is, however, an exception for smaller institutions. As Xiamen Lu Xun Museum director Su Yongyan explained, only museums with more than three staff members will require such a Party Secretary. Since Xiamen worked largely with student volunteers, it did not have such a representative. Su Yongyan himself has been director since 2012 and was in the Party. His father who had run the museum in the past, however, had not been a Communist Party member, but had still been chosen as the museum's director.

Su Yongyan explained that today to become a museum director membership in the Party was not a requirement. "If you are a Party member that works, if not then it is also not a problem 你是黨員可以，你不是黨員也沒問題". In his father's time as director this however had been different.

> Actually, then they expressed that it was still very important if you were in the Party or not. But my father was not a Party member, he was an overseas Chinese. […] It was not possible for overseas Chinese who had returned to China to enter the Party at the time, so if you say politics did not have an influence, that would also be wrong, they did have an influence. But it is a bit mysterious. If they don't want you, then – you are not a Party member! You are done with. If they do want you then it is no problem if you are not Party member. This is a bit of a mysterious thing. 其實[當時]還是表示是不是黨員，非常重要，我爸不是黨員，他是華僑了。是異國重新要回來的，回國華僑，華僑入黨目前是不可能的，所以你說政治不影響，也不對，他確實有影響，但是這種分會秒，如果不要你，那你不是黨員！你就完蛋了。要你的時候不是黨員也沒關係。這個是比較微妙的東西。
>
> (interview with Su Yongyan 蘇永延, 2015, March 11, 00:46:38)

While there was some leniency for smaller institutions, for example for a museum to have a non-Party member as a museum director even in times when membership was still very important, larger institutions face stricter regulation. For larger institutions a Party representative remains compulsory even today.

When it comes to the duties of the Party Secretary, their roles include both inward and outward communication work in form of trainings or public relations. In case of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum this task was given to Lai Jiajiong 來家炯 (interview with Xu Dongbo 徐東波, 2014, September 16, 00:27:30), while in Shanghai the positon was filled since 1963, with Deputy Director Qiu Zuojian 邱作健 currently simultaneously acting as Deputy Party Secretary (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 191). The Deputy Party Secretary of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum was Zhao Guoshun 趙國順. Zhao Guoshun received an M.A. at the Central Party School of the CPC 中共中

央學校 in legal theory and has worked at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum since 1970 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 119). He accompanied the travelling exhibition to Brussels in the context of Europalia 2009, in which the Lu Xun museums contributed to the thematic exhibition of "Shanghai Modern" (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黄乔生, 2014, August 13, 02:32:34). In this case, his representational role seems almost startling, as it was not likely to have been welcomed by the cooperating partners that political representatives instead of Lu Xun or heritage specialists were given the task to communicate the Lu Xun museum towards an expert and general audience abroad. In the same year, in 2009, Zhao Guoshun had accompanied the "Approaching Lu Xun 走进鲁迅"-travelling exhibition which had circulated in 18 schools in the city and city outskirts, giving the opening speech of this exhibition (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2010, 2). Thus it is in the museum's outward representation and cultural diplomatic work, domestically and internationally, that the institutional system requires the Party representatives to take the lead to ensure "correct politics 政治正確" (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:40:04).

Concerning their internal role in the museums, the Party representative's task is to hold regular meetings (*kaihui* 開會), mostly once every week, in which the museum staffers are briefed on current political developments and policy changes (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黄乔生, 2014, August 13, 00:41:31). While most meetings are obligatory only for Party members, some are obligatory for all of the museum staff. Their primary responsibility is to study the documents of the upper ministries and communicate them to the museum staff. Yet in some cases, the activities also include multiple-day outings outside of the museum which staffers must attend (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黄乔生, 2014, August 13, 00:42:35). In the Beijing case, it again had been Zhao Guoshun, who had given the concluding workshop session for the two students from Hong Kong and one student from Amoy who were invited to come to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum to do an internship in 2010 as part of the "outreach" program that aimed to include the national (territorial) "peripheries" of the Chinese nation, when the 160 volunteers were trained at the museum (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2010, 6). This was in a way both an inward and outward representative function and was thus arguably especially highlighted in the Beijing Lu Xun museums report on its activities as a "Patriotic Education Site", as discussed in "Nationalizing Lu Xun". Generally speaking, the evaluation of the Party representatives was not seen as a strong asset

of the museum in the eyes of the Lu Xun specialists, such as former director of the Beijing Lu Xun museum, Sun Yu. The position was not connected to any concrete work, such a Party representative mainly "makes Party documents available 開黨的文件", "communicates (political) thought 思想的傳達", he does "nothing specific 具體沒有什麼事情" "basically he amounts to a mere skeleton 它等於基本上等於是個空架子", emphasizing that the main responsibility ought to be in the hands of the director (interview with Sun Yu 孫郁, 2014, March 15, 00:16:11). The Party representative ensures that the entire staff is "educated" in current political policies and thus serves as a structural anchorage of the CPC in the museum landscape. Yet it is not through this system that the concrete power of the CPC is exerted on the display and research of museums. Former director Sun Yu's comments reveal that the position of a Party representative is not seen as a major powerful actor in the field. Instead, the main power structure lies invisibly in the strict hierarchies of the museum landscape embedded in the administrative ranking system. While the reform aims to abolish a system of inertia and creative as well as commercial stagnation, it remains to be seen how the political power structures will remain in place should the administrative ranking indeed be removed from the museum landscape in China in the future.

To summarize, this section looked at the *invisible* structural forms of valorization. Each museum is shown to have a "location", a level, which effects its staff and its over-all power as a cultural institution. As a result, a hierarchy develops between the museums, leaving some of the Lu Xun museums more powerful as actors, seen in Beijing's minimal display of Mao, and others less powerful, seen in Xu Dongbo's hosting the Lu Xun Literary Prize ceremony, yet not having been able to request such a cooperation on his own accord. Yet there is also a power in powerlessness, as Su Yongyan's interference into the display at the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum has shown. Even though the system of administrative ranking is *invisible*, it is omnipresent and well-known to museum professionals, who have long called for a change of this system of ranking. In recent years, alternative structures for museums have been tested, such as the Lu Xun Culture Foundation, yet these do not necessarily create a symbiosis with the existing museum network, but can even lead to new forms of competition, as described in the dispute over Lu Xun's portrait rights, or simply to a withdrawal into different areas of interest and action. It will stand to be seen how these new structures will establish themselves. Especially how past structures such as the Party Secretary, which anchors the Party in the museum as an institution, or the administrative ranking, which orders museums according to Party structures, will adapt to structural reform.

Institutionalized – A Conclusion

This part on "Lu Xun – institutionalized" has been a diachronic reading of the over 60-year-long institutional histories of the six main Lu Xun museums in China. Due to the large scope, the histories of all institutions could not be covered in detail. I have instead highlighted individual actors (as discussed in the section "Before the Birth"), crucial periods in which the institutions gained or lost power (as discussed in the sections "Hibernating Museums" and "The Second Birth"), and offered larger historical contexts (e.g. the rehabilitation of writers in the 1980s) alongside close readings of specific objects (e.g. a group photo, a telegram) and spaces of commemoration (the Zhou Brothers' Former Residence at Badaowan hutong No. 11). The chronological approach enabled me to highlight *changes and continuities* in the process of producing a Second Body of Lu Xun in museum space in the PRC.

To clarify, let me first present the approach this analysis did not take. Unlike in theories of institutionalism in the past, this approach did not see the production of Lu Xun occurring at the hands of rational human actors who are acting solely out of self-interest. Instead I have shown that human actors, as well as structures and non-human actors (e.g. objects on display) play key roles in valorizing Lu Xun. As for specific actions, some suggest being interest-driven, but often the goal, or the specific actor or outcome cannot be proven. Thus the altering of displays and materials is often lumped-together as "instrumentalizing" for "ideological purposes" whereby, more often than not, many variables in the equation are missing (Who altered the materials? How did it serve his or her interest exactly? How is ideology defined? And how does this act relate to other acts that are categorized as ideologically motivated? For most cases, few if any of these questions can actually be answered.

To take an example, the two most prominent human actors involved in Lu Xun's institutionalization in China were Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China. But neither did Mao Zedong act *only* restricting on Lu Xun, nor did opponents of Mao Zedong's restrictions act disinterestedly. The support of the CPC in bureaucratizing Lu Xun's literary estate cannot solely be seen as meretricious, and critical approaches to the CPC's valorization of Lu Xun not as fully apolitical.

Thus this thesis has steered clear of a number of dichotomies which have proven unproductive when trying to understand the processes in which Lu Xun has been valorized in

museum space in China. Among them are: interest / disinterestedness ; truth / fabrication ; original/ copy ; object (*wujian*) / artifact (*wenwu*) ; text (*wenzi*) / literature (*wenxue*) ; etc. As the interlude "Lu Xun – embodied" has shown, non-authentic objects can acquire the power of an artifact (*wenwu*). Examples in this part on "Lu Xun – institutionalized" have further revealed that categorization into objects (*wujian*) and artifacts (*wenwu*) are constructed and can be undermined by museum actors, such as Su Yongyan, when his evaluation transformed Xun's wooden bust from an object inappropriate to represent Lu Xun into a becoming *wenwu*.

This study has instead approached the institutions with a *curiosity about its powers* over the making of Lu Xun, a curiosity about why Lu Xun's Second Body remained charismatic over such a long period of time. It is this curiosity that enables me to read these spaces free from bias and not assume that our hermeneutics of suspicion will inevitably lead us to "culprits" in the form of individual actors (Mao Zedong) or groups (the CPC) which profited from Lu Xun's Second Body (*interestedness*). Starting this investigation from a Kantian belief in disinterestedness (Kant [1882] 1914, 45-48; 54-55) or from a new critical belief in the autonomy of the literary text would lead to a disillusionment with museum spaces and a hermeneutics of suspicion would lead me to discontinue a repeated engagement with these institutions, since a rejection of their methods and goals would not allow me to enquire further into their workings, and would quickly lead me to conclusions decrying their instrumentalization.

As I have repeatedly done for individual objects on display, this part has read objects *both with and against* the grain of regulated readings, showing that for the vast amount of texts and objects *both* readings exist and can be meaningful. In the field of museology the hermeneutics of suspicion lead to reading museum displays largely *against* the grain of their presumed intentions. In the spirit of Rita Felski's "Suspicious Minds", I argue that there are limits to which such "critical approaches" can be fruitful for analysis. Yet I agree that these "critical approaches" are in themselves *one* from of valorization. Working in the field of literary theory, Feslki goes as far as calling for a new approach to our attachment to reading instead of only considering a critical reading as the sole form of academic inquiry. Feslki explains her approach as follows:

> Critique is negative. […] To engage in critique is to grapple with the oversights, omissions, contradictions, insufficiencies, or evasions in the object one is analysing. Robert Koch writes that "critical discourse, as critical discourse, must never formulate positive statements: it is always 'negative' in relation to its object".
>
> (Felski 2012); (Koch 2002, 531)

> [A] growing interest in the ethos, aesthetics, and ethics of reading is long overdue. Such an orientation by no means rules out attention to the sociopolitical resonances of texts and their interpretations. It is, however, no longer willing to subordinate such attention to the seductive but sterile dichotomy of the critical versus the uncritical.
>
> (Felski 2012)

Similarly to Felski's call, I argue that a critical reading of museum spaces is one very valid and important form of academic inquiry, yet it is necessary to also *go beyond such a critical approach* by not seeing it as the *only* form in which museum spaces ought to be read.[490] Strictly differentiating between critical and uncritical readings and presentations of Lu Xun makes it impossible to see the many actors, structures and objects on display that do not fall in either of these categories. Thus the dichotomy of critical/ uncritical can be added to the list above.

On the **abstract level**, this thesis has worked with binaries, however, refraining from terms with strong normative implications as the ones listed above. Instead my thesis on the production of Lu Xu in museum space highlights two forces that come into play in *the process of valorizing him*, namely ***restricting***[491] (narrowing/ fixating/ bureaucratizing/ centering/ singularizing/ simplifying/ stating/ steering ect.) and ***deregulating*** (expanding/ loosening/ debureaucratizing/ peripheralizing/ multiplying/ complicating/ questioning/ setting out to drift etc.) forces.

To summarize I have argued that a) neither form of valorization (restricting or deregulating) can claim the First Body, even though both do it and that b) neither in their extreme can be stable. Both forces only function in dialogue with each other – neither can be valorizing alone for themselves, they can only valorize by rejecting the other.

On the **concrete level** these forces and conclusions became manifest when raising the question: How was Lu Xun produced as a hero in the museum? (the making of Lu Xun) [**IC 145 Conclusion I: Lu Xun's Second Body – institutionalized**]; [**IC 146 Conclusion II: Lu Xun's Second Body – institutionalized**]:

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[490] On a similar note, Bruno Latour makes a similar call in his dealing with modernity which he raised in his work *We Have Never Been Modern* in 1991. The [historical] "critical approach" described in this thesis corresponds with his understanding of the critical approach of modern science and modernity more generally. He sees that the so-called post-modern has not managed to go beyond the modern [the critical]. "We no longer seek to be even cleverer, even more critical, even deeper into the 'era of suspicion. No, instead we discover that we have never begun to enter the modern era. Hence the ludicrous that always accompanies postmodern thinkers; they claim to come after a time that has not even started!" (Latour 1993, 47).

[491] The term restriction should be understood as non-normative in the sense of "keeping under control" or "putting on a limit", not as depriving someone or something of freedom of movement or action.

IC 145 Conclusion I: Lu Xun's Second Body - institutionalized

Beyond Critical Approaches?
Highlighting Restricting / Deregulating / Valorizing Elements in Institutionalizing the Author

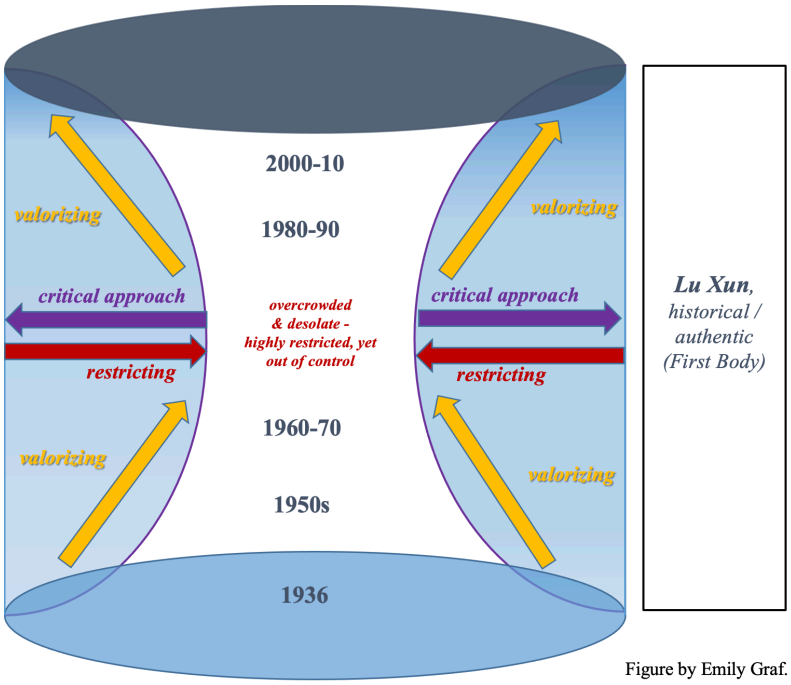


Figure by Emily Graf.

IC 146 Conclusion II: Lu Xun's Second Body - institutionalized

Beyond Critical Approaches?
Highlighting Restricting / Deregulating / Valorizing Elements in Institutionalizing the Author

- reducing Mao Zedong to the minimal (Beijing under Sun Yu)
- e.g. poem written on walls of Xisantiao hutong No.21 by unknown visitor demanding access to his or her site of worship
- legitimizing political campaigns with Lu Xun's material heritage (e.g. Lu Xun's letters used in Anti-Deng Xiaoping, followed by Anti-Gang of Four campaign in *Revolutionary Relics*)
- by centralizing Lu Xun's estate (Beijing), by inventorying (lists) and creating hierarchies (for Lu Xun's *yizhi* according to protection by local or national level and *wenwu* according to Grade 1 to 3)

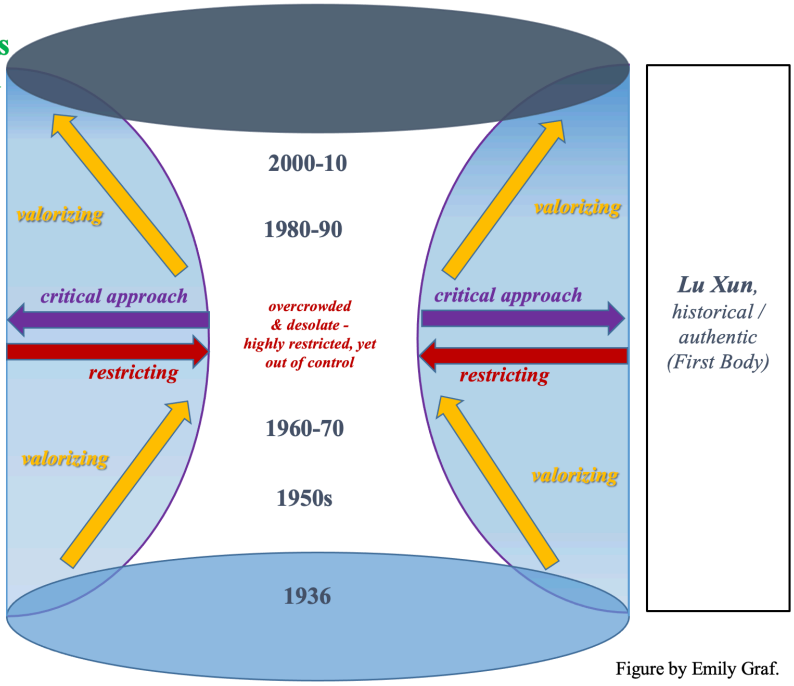


Figure by Emily Graf.

After the Museums' Official Birth (1950s-1970s)

- by affiliating Lu Xun's former residences and museums with government institutions
- by centralizing Lu Xun's estate (Beijing), by inventorying (lists) and creating hierarchies (for Lu Xun's *yizhi* according to protection by local or national level and *wenwu* according to Grade 1 to 3)
- by extending (photographs of then-current sites) and multiplying (producing copies of declared *wenwu*) Lu Xun's estate

- sealing off the spaces (restricting accessibility), e.g. Wang Yeqiu's use of Beiping Court of Law and Guomindang uniforms
- by clearly localizing Lu Xun into hero genealogies by
    - displaying him on same level with Gorky
    - with political iconography (star)
    - displaying Lu Xun together with Mao Zeong's praise of him
        - either in conventional arrangement (as in Shaoxing, Guangzhou with *duilian* couplets behind Lu Xun's bust and wooden carved screens with Mao Zedong's quotations
        - or in new global language of curation (as in Beijing) displayed in a so-perceived "Soviet" architecture and standardized font instead of calligraphy
        - by guiding the visit with the help of entangled quotations by Lu Xun and Mao Zedong (e.g. Guangzhou museum manual)
- defining a collective group connected in their common gaze towards Lu Xun and Mao Zedong's quotation (e.g. the Chinese nation embodied as museum visitors)

These forms of valorizing were largely restrictive, most clearly in the extreme cases in which the following methods were applied:

- legitimizing political campaigns with Lu Xun's material heritage (e.g. Lu Xun's letters used in Anti-Deng Xiaoping, followed by Anti-Gang of Four campaign in *Revolutionary Relics*)
- altering literary and political genealogies (by removing Lin Yutang, Zhou Zuoren, Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi etc.) in photographic materials
- altering Lu Xun's former residences (removing Zhu An; removing Qu Qiubai; reducing size of residence)
- political campaigns against cultural anti-heroes (Anti-Hu-Feng; Anti-Hu-Shi)
- removing blue house number marking Xisantiao hutong No. 21 due to the color's role in GMD political iconography

However at the height of the restricting forms of valorizing Lu Xun, the visitor trespassing into Lu Xun's former residence during the Cultural Revolution was one of the poignant critiques of the museums from "within".

- poem written on walls of Xisantiao by unknown visitor demanding access to his or her site of worship

Additional critical approaches followed. Very often, however, individual actors would be both a restrictive and a deregulating force on the museum, not allowing for them being categorized into one approach alone (see Zhou Haiying). In other cases restricting and deregulating forces are based on the equally misleading assumption of claiming the retrievability of the First Body. Especially

when juxtaposing these efforts it becomes evident that this claim cannot be upheld by either form of valorization.

Some of the elements included both forms of valorization simultaneously:

- Zhou Haiying's letter to Mao Zedong demanding the full publication of Lu Xun's letters (accessibility)
- Zhou Haiying's letter to Mao Zedong demanding a restricted interpretation of the letters' content (regulated reading)

Since Second Birth (since 1975/ 1981)

After the Second Birth of Lu Xun's museums in 1975, a larger focus was laid upon deregulating the previously strongly restricted representations of Lu Xun. Yet, these calls for deregulations were forms of valorizing Lu Xun in dialogue with past restrictions. New restrictions would continue to exist in the museums with seemingly "new approaches":

- (Japanese) visitors inquiring about Zhu An and being shown by Wang Dehou on one-on-one guided tours
- the return of Zhu An and reconstructing of the Tiger's Tail (see: Wang Dehou's application at the SACH to "Restore the Original Appearance of Lu Xun's Former Residence"
- reducing Mao Zedong to the minimal (Beijing under Sun Yu)
- introducing contemporary writers (Yan Lianke) and controversial writers (Wang Xiaobo) into the museum (Beijing under Sun Yu)
- refusal to affiliate and preserve Badaowan hutong No. 11 and commemorate Zhou Zuoren's life and especially his death (Beijing); responsibilities outsourced to middle school
- continued display of Lu Xun's telegram to Mao Zedong in Beijing (historical records tracing telegram) and Shaoxing (oil painting)
- removing Gorky (Beijing under Sun Yu)
- removing Mao Zedong (Shaoxing attic)

Yet again, many cases cannot be explained mono-causally with one of the approaches alone. As the following shows, some restrictions seem more restrictive at first glance than at second, some deregulations seem more inclusive at first glance than at second, and in some cases the restricting and deregulating approaches seem like alternatives at first glance, but at second have proven to be working in mutual agreement.

- listing Lu Xun Museums as "Patriotic Education Sites" in Red Tourism; Lu Xun juxtaposed to Japanese Other; Lu Xun symbol of national unity
- requirements to be listed as "Patriotic Education Sites" allow for divergences (inclusion of Wang Xiaobo-exhibition and conferences with Japan-focus or

conference on controversial contemporary writer Yan Lianke into the reports)

→ structure restrictive, but leeway for individual actors of high rank

- continued differentiation between *fanfeng* and *zhengfeng*
- rehabilitation (mobility from *fanfeng* to *zhengfeng*)

→ superficial deregulation can cover continuing restrictions

- not including elaborate information on Chen Duxiu's interest in Trotskyism, Zhou Zuoren's collaboration with the Japanese government or Lu Xun's dependence on his contemporary writers
- undoing of past alterations of photographs; additional inclusion of portrait photos of Lin Yutang, Chen Duxiu, Zhou Zuoren, Hu Shi, etc. into the museum display

→ rectification further increased affirmation of photography's truth-claim /*FIRST BODY

- refusal of museum leadership to restore photograph of Andreyev
- call from museum staff to restore Andreyev's photograph in Lu Xun's Former Residence on Xisantiao hutong No.21

→ refusal on either side to accept coexistence of multiple authenticities /*FIRST BODY

The problem the First Body poses for museums mostly becomes evident when historical documents are contradictive or are found to be lacking (as Lu Xun's telegram to Mao Zedong has shown). Yet, the lure of either valorizing approaches (restricting/ deregulating) to the First Body of Lu Xun has strongly increased after the collective rejection of "sagehood" since the second birth of Lu Xun's museums. This has led to engagements with Lu Xun's literary heritage to be led into the *cul-de-sac* of history in which neither approaches finally can prevail over the other.

The counterpart of the above raised research question is: How is literary heritage produced when regarded from a transcultural perspective? (The Making of World Literary Heritage) This part has given us first insights despite having focused largely on national structures and museums inside of China:

- The concept of the author museum as a valorizing institution moved across national borders (from the SU to the PRC in the mid-1940s)
- international architectural styles, materials and representations moved across borders (Belarusian bust to the Beijing Lu Xun museum in 1956)
- Lu Xun image moved across national borders to Moscow in 1956 or to West-Berlin in 1979, which has shown that the reception of international audiences can further valorize the writer

(even if major variables, such as Mao Zedong, can be rejected by the recipients in the processes).

- Actors (such as Tang Tao) felt forced to intervene (and invest) in the protection of Lu Xun's literary estate, especially after the threat had been made that Zhu An through Zhou Zuoren planned to sell Lu Xun's books in Shanghai, possibly to foreign buyers. Only then did he agree to support Zhu An with a monthly allowance in 1947. The loss of national heritage across one's national boarders is taken into consideration in heritage protection laws, which make processes to move Grade One Artifacts 一級文物 across the national boarder especially difficult.

To better understand the history of the Lu Xun museums from a global perspective, however, it is not sufficient to trace the moments in their histories when the Lu Xun museums ventured across national borders, be it in form of travelling exhibitions or import of conceptual frameworks or material exhibits. To see how literary heroes are produced in museum space from a transcultural perspective it is crucial to look beyond one cultural context alone and venture into other realms of hero production. The part on "Lu Xun worded" thus presents the diachronic reading of Bertolt Brecht's museums in Germany alongside the histories of the Lu Xun museums, while the interlude on "Lu Xun centralized or marginalized?" further looks at the silent dialogue that can take place between museum spaces, reaching across natural, as well as political and cultural boarders such as the Taiwan Strait.

中 INTERLUDE: Lu Xun – imagined

How are Lu Xun museums received by the visitors who walk through the exhibition? How do the visitors see Lu Xun? Some of the visitor's voices have found their way into the chapters of this thesis. This interlude now exclusively focuses on the voices of the visitors by juxtaposing them to each other to highlight the different images these visitors had of Lu Xun and the impression his museum spaces made on them.

Let me first clarify my approach. By asking visitors "Is Lu Xun's position in contemporary Chinese society high? 魯迅在當代社會的地位高不高?" and following up with the question by inquiring "How do you personally see Lu Xun 你個人怎麼看魯迅?", I refrained from giving them any specific definition of Lu Xun or terminology to describe him with, but instead followed the terminology they chose to describe Lu Xun during the course of the interview. Many different valorizing terms were chosen by visitors to describe Lu Xun. Some terms conveyed a general form of valorization, while others were terms that referred to specific qualities. The terminology was more casual, especially in the visitors' personal evaluations, repeatedly referring to Lu Xun as being awesome (*lihai* 厲害), an idol or role model (*ouxiang* 偶像), as someone the visitors liked (*xihuan* 喜歡) or thought was a fantastic person (*feichang bang de ren* 非常棒的人).

Among the responses, some visitors primarily described Lu Xun as a writer (*wenxuejia* 文學家), as someone with a high literary position (*wentan de diwei zhongyao* 文壇的地位重要), as someone with literary talent (*caihua de diwei feichang gao* 才華的地位非常高), as a great master of literature (*wenxue dashi* 文學大師), a great writer (*weida wenxuejia* 偉大文學家), a man of letters (*wenhao* 文豪), a great writer (*da wenxuejia* 大文學家), a great man of culture (*dawenren* 大文人), and an impressive writer (*liaobuqi de wenxuejia* 了不起的文學家). Others defined his greatness as a writer through his literature having specific qualities, such as being timeless (*bu guoqi* 不過氣) or being applicable (*shiyong* 實用). Again others described him through his intellectual contributions on a more general level, for example as a great thinker (*weida sixiangjia* 偉大的思想家) or a social critic (*shehui pinglunjia* 社會評論家).

Yet other terms visitors referenced focused on him as a great man more generally. He was *repeatedly* described as a great man (*weiren* 偉人), but also as a great master (*dajia* 大家), a hero (*yingxiong* 英雄), a role model (*bangyang* 榜樣) or as an outstanding man in history (*jiechu lishi*

renwu 傑出歷史人物). At times, his fame alone was one of the main valorizing elements. He was thus described as a big name (*damingren* 大名人), as a great name that reverberates like thunder (*ruleigua'er de daming* 如雷灌耳的大名), often as famous (*youming* 有名) or generally as having a good reputation (*haoping* 好評) and as having abilities (*benshi* 本事). Other terms referring to his fame included describing him as a great star (*juxing* 巨星) or celebrity/ star (*mingxin* 明星), for example.

Some terms, however, went further describing specific qualities. Lu Xun was for example described as having courage (*youngqi* 勇氣), wisdom (*zhihui* 智慧) or as being outgoing (*huopo* 活潑). From the overall responses, two specific qualities could be detected as receiving the most attention: a terminology that implied his revolutionary value and another that implied a national value, many of which echo the terminology used by Mao Zedong which is referenced throughout the chapter on "Lu Xun – institutionalized".

His importance to the revolution on the one hand was implied by Lu Xun being described as a pioneer (*xianfeng* 先鋒), as progressive (*xianjin* 先進), or as more progressive (*bijiao xianjin* 比較先進), and as a leading figure (*jun renwu* 領軍人物), as a fighter of literature and the arts (*wenyi fangmian de zhanshi* 文藝方面的戰士), as someone who has an absolutely unyielding spirit (*buqubunao de jingshen* 不屈不撓的精神) and a fighting spirit (*douzheng jingshen* 鬥爭精神), as someone who liberated the closed minds of the Chinese (*jiefang zhongguoren fengbi de sixiang* 解放中國人封閉的思想*)*, as an avant-garde who liberated the modern Chinese people from their past feudalist thought (*xiandai Zhongguoren jiefang guoqu fengjian sixiang de xianfengzhe* 現代中國人解放過去封建思想的先驅者), as a fighter (*doushi* 鬥士), and by being described as a rifle-holder (*qiangganzhe* 槍杆子) as well as a penholder (*biganzhe* 筆杆子). In their personal opinions visitors also described Lu Xun as China's modern New Democracy revolution (*Zhongguo jindai de xin minzhu geming* 中國近代的新民主革命), as both a writer and revolutionary (*wenxuejia yeshi gemingjia* 文學家也是革命家) and as a fighter (*doushi* 鬥士).

His importance to the Chinese nation on the other hand was implied by Lu Xun being described as a great man of the Republic (*Minguo weida de renwu* 民國偉大人), as someone who worried about his country and loved the people (*youguo aimin* 憂國愛民), as someone the Chinese people were proud of (*Zhongguoren wei ta jiaoao* 中國人為他驕傲) or simply as the pride of the

Chinese people (*guoren de jiaoao* 國人的驕傲), or as being one kind of pride of the Chinese nation (*minzu de yige jiaoao* 民族的一個驕傲), as well as standing for a national renaissance (*minzu fuxing* 民族復興) and as the spirit to take responsibility for one's country (*dui guojia fuzeren de jingshen* 對國家負責人的精神). Another visitor described a special kind of feeling of reverence and respect that Chinese have for him (*Zhongguoren duita teyoude chongjing de xinqing* 中國人對他特為崇敬的心情).

Some of the visitor's descriptions would not describe Lu Xun as how he was, but instead how they perceived him to be produced or received. Intentionally or not, this implied a subtle awareness of the fact that a hero is but a hero if he is received or produced as such. On the reception side, the visitors thus described themselves as admirers (*chongzhe* 崇者) of Lu Xun, as well as describing Lu Xun as someone highly praised (*tuichong* 推崇), as worshiped (*chongbai* 崇拜) and as the most worshiped (*zui chongbai de* 最推崇的一个). On the production side, Lu Xun was repeatedly described by visitors to have been elevated (*taigao* 抬高). One visitor explained that he was strongly propagated by the Communist Party (*gongchandang dasi xuanchuan* 共產黨大肆宣傳他), and when setting him in context with Mao Zedong, this visitor described Lu Xun and Mao Zedong to have elevated each other (*huxiang taigao* 互相抬高) and having flattered each other (*huxiang chuipeng* 互相吹捧), and in another context referring to Lu Xun's relationship with Qu Qiubai, an important leader of the Communist Party in the late 1920s, explaining that the two of them had gone hand-in-hand (*gen [Qu Qiubai] yi ba shou* 跟[瞿秋白]一把手). Another further explained that Lu Xun had a political coloring (*zhengzhi secai* 政治色彩).

In most descriptions, the terminology which the visitors applied had largely positive connotations. Only few drew on terms that potentially had negative connotations, but using them in a valorizing form. In these instances, Lu Xun was described to ultimately have been a traitor/ or rebel (*panni de ren* 叛逆的人), as he had betrayed the higher social class from which he had come. Another described him as being grieved (*bei'ai* 悲哀) and another described him as a tragic person (*beiju renwu* 悲劇人物) or a complicated historical figure (*fuza de lishi renwu* 複雜的歷史人物). These comments implied that a more complex form of describing Lu Xun was required to communicate the value he had in society.

This listing of the valorizing terminology does not claim to be comprehensive or even representative. Yet many of the terms are set in their historical contexts and contemporary usages in the part on "Lu Xun – institutionalized". This is why a collection of the terms drawn on by the visitors who visit the museum today provides a helpful context of Lu Xun's reception. Much of the revolutionary terminology was dialed down in the official discourse on Lu Xun while a re-emphasis on his national value has been accentuated, as shown in "Desacralizing Lu Xun: The Historical Lu Xun" and "Nationalizing Lu Xun: The Chinese National Lu Xun" of this thesis. The visitors walking through the exhibitions today continued to readily use terms from either discourse. These discourses are thus not only located in the past, they are reiterated and arguably renegotiated by visitors who walk through Lu Xun's museums today.

To reflect on the possibilities and limitations of author museums in making literary heroes, I furthermore would like to give a voice to a small numbers of visitors in this interlude to provide some crucial insights into the communication process that takes place during such a museum visit. The visiting experience of the Lu Xun museum could range from negative to very positive, and, according to some experiences, the visitors found themselves in the kind of dilemma author museums are faced with – a dilemma this thesis repeatedly points to: The fact that display is *always* mediated: There is no absolute form or "origin" or "originality", there is no true historic, unmediated Lu Xun to be retrieved. The practice of visiting a museum furthermore is engaging in a form of communication and thus as any form of communication can result in agreement, rejection or renegotiation on the side of the receiver. And as for putting the past on display, this process of mediation and communication shows that history can indeed be changed (contrary to what one visitor believed) and that history is thus not a stable authoritative alternative to memory.

Ms. Wei (age 28/ female/ Lingyi/ Shandong, with a BA in Journalism) and her husband Mr. Cheng (age 29/ male/ Lingyi/ Shandong, who works as a government official) described their feelings during their visit with little enthusiasm. When I inquired about the feelings their visit to the Lu Xun Museum evoked, they replied:

Wei: I have no special feeling.
Cheng: There are too many former residences in China, most of them do not give you any special feeling.
Wei: When I look at the former residence, I don't have many associations with Lu Xun the person. It is just an old house. I have no special associations.
Wei：沒有特別的感受。
Cheng：中國的故居特別多，大多都沒有感覺。

Wei：我看故居没有跟这个鲁迅本人做多的联想，就是一个老房子，没有什么特别的联想。

(interview with Ms. Wei and Mr. Cheng, 2014, August 19, 00:06:49)

Another middle-aged woman who was visiting the museum with her daughter and husband Mr. Lu (age 50/ male/ from Beijing, who worked as a financial analyst) explained that she was not satisfied with how Lu Xun was presented:

This exhibition is organized in a chronological order, this is a traditional kind of display. I personally think – and I have visited many museums – that this order cannot bring out Lu Xun's characteristics. He had a great social impact and occupies an important position in the meaning of Chinese history and the history of Revolution. [...] For such an important historical person, I think this chronological order is too boring. 這個展覽就按照時間順序來安排，這個是一個傳統的陳列，我個人覺得，因為我看的博物館比較多，我覺得這個順序不能突出魯迅個人的特色。他在中國歷史上，革命歷史上，[占有]重要意義， 社會影響意義。[…] 對這麼重要的歷史人物來說，我覺得以這個時間順序來[安排]太平淡了。

(interview with family Lu, 2014, August 15, 00:07:55)

The visiting experience could thus be experienced as boring or as evoking no special associations. Others, however, greatly enjoyed their visit and reacted towards the exhibition in a manner in which its display was intended as this thesis has argued in numerous points in "Lu Xun – institutionalized". Mr. Cai (age 25/ male/ from Wenzhou Zhejiang with a BA in finance) explained that visiting the Lu Xun museum gave him the feeling of returning home:

Coming to [Lu Xun's] former residence [in Shaoxing], to say it generally, it gives you a feeling of "returning home to your roots" [literally: return to the roots like fallen leaves]. It reflects more upon his life; the one in Shanghai, its contribution is to highlight more the realm of literature and Lu Xun's work. 到了故居，普遍就说，有一个落葉歸根的感覺。它可能更多反映的會在生活上，在上海那邊的話，我覺得它對文學這一塊以及他的工作做出一些突出貢獻。

(interview with Mr. Cai, 2014, August 19, 00:05:27)

Mr. Tian (age 25/ male/ from Dongqing/Zhejiang with an BA in Commerce) and Ms. Dong (age 25/ female/ from Dongqing/Zhejiang) captured a similar feeling with different words.

Dong: When you come to his former residence or museum, you will have a strong feeling towards him, you will think, oh, the distance between us is actually very small. It is as if that which we read in the past comes back, it is very familiar.
Tian: It feels like you are personally on the scene, as if you were Lu Xu himself.
Dong：你到故居還是他的紀念館的時候，你對他的感覺會特別濃厚，會覺得，哦，我跟他的距離其實也很近的。就是我們讀書以前的那些都回來的，很親切。

Tian：到這邊魯迅故居感覺有點像身臨其境，相當你也是魯迅一樣的。
(interview with Mr. Tian and Ms. Dong, 2014, August 18, 00:05:22)

The impressions of "returning to one's own roots" implies a link between the visitor and Lu Xun, that returning to Lu Xun's home evokes associations in the visitor of returning to his own home. Through the performance of returning home, Lu Xun becomes imitable, the distance between the visitor and Lu Xun is narrowed, as discussed in "Stabilizing Lai He's and Lu Xun's Charisma" in the Interlude "Lu Xun – marginalized or centered?" of this thesis. The feeling of being close to Lu Xun, even to a point that one feels "as if one were Lu Xun", as if "one was on the scene", further evokes a proximity and closeness to the hero which is repeatedly addressed in this thesis. Not only was the lack of closeness (*hao bu qinqie*) the words with which Lu Xun criticized Confucius (with which the part on "Lu Xun – institutionalized" opens), a feeling of closeness was also precisely the effect museums hoped to create in numerous displays since the 1980s, as seen in "Lu Xun – centered or marginalized?" of this thesis for Shaoxing or at the opening of "Desacralizing Lu Xun" of "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis for the Beijing Lu Xun display. The intention of the production and the reception on the side of the visitors thus closely corresponded in these cases.

Yet not all relationships between reception and production were this smooth. Some visitors had opposite impressions. Mr. Cai might have felt that visiting the museum was like "returning to one's roots", but he also explained later in the interview that the past cannot easily be retrieved and that history is always mediated.

Graf: How was your feeling when you visited the former residence?
Cai: We are not from that period of time, so it amounts to us grabbing the tail of the tail of that period of time. We can understand some things from that time, but we have not experienced it for ourselves.
Graf: Can it be experienced?
Cai: My imagination is not especially good. The feeling…the feeling is harder to experience. It cannot be felt. It is like when your culture is not the same, when there is a difference, then it is harder to understand each other. We modern [people] already amount to having a different culture to those from that period, from the past. Slowly, when a new generation follows, the difference will be even larger. So if you really want to experience it, you can only feel it mentally, but if you really want to [physically] experience it, well, that probably is not possible…because we did not go through this [historical] experience.
Graf：看故居感覺會怎麼樣？
Cai：因為我們可能也不是這個年代的，但是等於是我們拉住這個年代的尾巴的尾巴，是對這個東西是了解，但是沒有切身去體會過。
Graf：能體會嗎？

Cai：我想像力不是特別好。感覺，感覺比較難體會，沒法感覺，就像文化不一樣，有差異的話，相互之間了解起來會比較難。我們現代的話等於跟古代跟他們那個時候的文化，其實已經有很大的差異，慢慢我們下一代上來的話差異會更大，所以真的要體會的話，只能說，思想上去感受一下，但是如果真的想體會，應該是沒有辦法， 因為沒有經歷過。

(interview with Mr. Cai, 2014, August 19, 00:06:54)

Cai's feelings are thus in a way opposite to those of Lü's who felt that Lu Xun was particularly close (*qinqie*) to her. For Cai, Lu Xun at the same time remained distant. The historical times remained beyond his grasp, foreign, like coming from a different culture. In the end it would never be fully possible to experience (*tihui*) those past times.

The question of closeness or distance reappears again and again in our coping with the literary hero. As the producers explained, visual representations of Lu Xun in form of statues or busts also took the issue of closeness and distance into consideration. In the Interlude "Lu Xun – marginalized or centered?" of this thesis I propose the terms *wen* 文, referring to cultural attainment, and *wu* 武, referring to material valor, as binaries to highlight two different forms of visual representations, while also pointing out that the *wu*-Lu Xun is less and less emphasized by the producers in the museum display. Lu Xun's more life-like image in bronze at the beginning of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum was to replace the dated one at the end of the exhibition hall, which still was perceived as over-towering and no longer quite appropriate for display. Knowing this, it is interesting to hear how the preference of visualization can differ when one views the same statue from the producer's or receiver's perspective. When standing in front of the dated large marble statue at the end of the display, I spoke with Mr. Pan (age 44, male, from Dongqing/ Zhejiang who was self-employed and) who was visiting the museum with his 19-year-old daughter:

Graf: What is your impression of this statue?
Pan: This statue of [Lu Xun], it stands for the Soul of the Nation.
Graf: What does this mean, what is the Soul of the Nation?
Pan: The Soul of the Chinese Nation…I also can't really put into words.
Graf: What is the style of the statue like?
Pan: It is well-made, it is similar to the books that I have seen.
Graf: There is another one near the entry [of the museum], a bronze statue. Which one do you think is better looking?
Pan: [I prefer] this half-body bust, because it is more powerful and mighty (*weiwu*).
Graf：你對這個像有什麼感覺？
Pan：他這個雕像，它代表這個民族魂。
Graf：這意味著什麼？什麼是民族魂？
Pan：中華民族魂….我也說不上來。

Graf：雕塑的風格會怎麼樣？
Pan：雕塑得不錯，跟以前書上看差不多。
Graf：在前面還有另外一個雕像，銅塑的，您個人覺得哪一個比較好看？
Pan：這個半身像，它更加威武一點。

(interview with Mr. Pan, 2014, August 19, 00:06:13)

Two conclusions can be drawn from Pan's reply. Firstly, his opinion differed from that of the museum staff, as he actually preferred the image of Lu Xun that was more powerful and mighty, using the term *weiwu* (literally: authoritative and valiant). He hereby referred to the image precisely using the term *wu*. With little regard for the curators' intention, he actually preferred this *wu*-image of Lu Xun *because* it implied a greater distance between him and Lu Xun. This preference, as he also indicated, is likely to be linked to the familiarity this image evokes, for this more distant representation of Lu Xun is how Pan remembered having seen him visualized in books. Secondly, one can see that while certain valorizing terms, for example Lu Xun as the "Soul of the Nation", might be reiterated by visitors, this does not mean that visitors will have a clear understanding of the term. Some valorizing terms can thus be empty signifiers, terms that express value but without conveying a specific quality or meaning.

As for Ms. Wei and Mr. Cheng who had "no special feeling" when they had come to the Lu Xun Museum, they highlighted the dilemma every literary display will inevitably face. Those places that Lu Xun had described in his autobiographical work already existed in the imagination of the visitor, thus expectations precede the material display, expectations this display cannot fully live up to. After encountering the Hundred-Flowers-Garden 百草園, which Lu Xun described when recalling his childhood in Shaoxing, Ms. Wei explained her experience in the following way:

Graf: What feeling did you have when visiting [Lu Xun's] former residence?
Wei: The feeling was that it was not quite like I had imagined it to be like. […] When I read the essay when I was small, when I had not yet seen the real thing (*shiti*), I had made my own image in my mind. I imagined it to be such and such. For example, in my imagination, before I came to visit it, I believed the Hundred-Flower-Garden to have high walls, a big garden with high walls, and in the garden many kinds of grass would grow, and there would be one or two tall trees, and in his essay aren't there also skylarks, and grasshoppers, and mulberries, and raspberries – what they were like, I also did not know in my imagination. But now it is really a bit plain and crude. I don't know if it was brought back to its original state (*huanyuan*) or what was done with it. But I still think, it ought to be like it is in my imagination. This probably is the fascinating thing about literature. You have not seen the real thing, but you have something in your imagination all the same.
Graf：看故居感覺怎麼樣？
Wei：感覺跟我們想像的不太一樣。[…] 小的時候你觀看那個文章，沒有看，見過，實體，在自己的腦海裡，會有自己給他的印象。我想像中他是什麼樣，什麼樣，比

如我想像，我自己沒有參觀過的時候，我覺得那個百草園，是一個牆很高的，一個高牆大院裡的院子，裡面長得很多很高的草啊，然後有術有很高的一兩顆樹，然後他的文章裡面不是有雲雀，蟈蟈呀，桑椹子，覆盆子，我想像中它是怎麼樣不知道，現在其實有點陋，不知道是不是還原了，或者是怎麼樣，我還是認為，應該是我想像中的那樣。這可能就是文學的魅力。沒有看過實體，總是會有一種自己想像中的東西。

(interview with Ms. Wei and Mr. Cheng, 2014, August 19, 00:04:30)

For Ms. Wei it remained not fully clear whether the material state she was confronted with was indeed the "original" state to which it had been returned. This question remained open. What was clear to her, however, was that it could not live up to the way she had seen it in her imagination. And she knew it could not have, as she herself could not say how she had imagined it to actually look like. All she could say was that the feeling she had from visiting the site was that it had not been what she had imagined it to be.

The question of whether the sites were in their "original state" was not only something that remained unanswered, the claims that they were original were also at times challenged by visitors. Some visitors were acutely aware of the limitations we encounter on display and others requested a presentation of Lu Xun which the museums were trying to distance themselves from. Here, the communication between the producer and recipient was by no means unilateral. Two young women, Ms. Ma (age 25/ female/ from Guangzhou, Guangdong with an MA in archeology) and Ms. Zhu (age 25/ female/ from Beijing, with a BA in Trade), for example, mentioned a museum guide in their descriptions:

Graf: The museum guide you mentioned, did you learn many new things from him/her or were they things you already knew?
Ma: Parts of it [was new]. Because there are some details that you can't learn from a textbook, among locals he would be widely praised. Of course, the truth and falsehood (*zhenjia*) of what the guide says…
Zhu: …also remains to be carefully investigated.
Ma: Exactly, remains to be carefully investigated. You can't believe all of it. After all, they also [hope to increase] the effect of the publicity (*xuanchuan*), he/she might also add a little something, so you have to evaluate for yourself. If you want to listen, you just listen a bit. I don't especially seek a guide, I just stand beside him when he is introducing something to other people and listen for a bit, that is my habit when travelling.
Graf：說到導遊你學到很多新的東西還是是你已經知道的？
Ma：一部分吧。因為有一些細節我們在課本不能了解到的，當地人比較傳頌的，當然導遊說的東西的真假也…
Zhu：有待考究。

Ma：是，有待考究，不能全信，畢竟也是為了宣傳效果，他可能也會自己加一點東西，所以自己就要判斷哦，你想听的就聽一點，我沒有專門找導遊，我就他給別人介紹的時候我站旁邊聽一下，這是我旅遊的習慣。

(interview with Ms. Ma and Ms. Zhu, 2014, August 18, 00:04:38)

Certainly Ma's educational background as an archeologist will have heightened her perception of claims made over authenticity. Yet Zhu, whom she had met but shortly before her visit, showed a similarly keen awareness. Only with the help of these short comments can one detect that the two visitors would question the narrative authority of the guide, well aware of the propaganda or publicity (*xuanchuan*) which was presented to them. They thus chose a form which they described as selective listening, when visiting the museum.

Yet this, of course, was not always the case. Other visitors would not question the validity of that which was presented to them or remained within the reference of their educational background. Mr. Deng (age 58/ male/ from Wuxi/ Jiangsu with a BA in Design), for example, explained:

Deng: I know Lu Xun from School.
Graf: Are there any differences that you see from the things [on display] from those you learned in the schoolbooks?
Deng: The truthfulness is consistent in both. Basically. Its truthfulness is like in the books, it is just that they did not discuss his whole life, they would mention some of his literary works, now [here] you can see the situation of his entire life.
Deng：魯迅我們上學就知道。
Graf：現在看得東西跟書上是否有不一樣的地方？
Deng：真實性還是一致的。基本上。真實性還是跟書上一樣，只是書上沒有他一生，它提文學的一些作品，現在可以看他一生的情況。

(interview with Mr. Deng, 2014, August 18, 00:04:47)

This visitor thus evaluated the "truthfulness" of the display according to the content's consistency to what he learned in school textbooks. Thus he seemed to neither question that which was presented in the school books nor that in the museum. While parts of the museum's display were challenged by some, they were readily accepted by others.

When visiting the Tiger's Tail at Lu Xun's former residence at Xisantiao hutong No. 21, I met a visitor named Mr. Shen (male/ age ~80/ from Hunan/ industrial worker) who was in his early 80s and who had come to the museum on an afternoon stroll through the city. He had come to the Lu Xun museum before once in the past in the 1960s during the Cultural Revolution. He was eager to speak to me, also because he could speak some English and was delighted to have an opportunity to make use of it. His reception of Lu Xun also forms the opening of the part on "Lu Xun and Mao Zedong" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis. As Mr. Shen continued to describe how he

saw Lu Xun, his narrative addressed many more aspects discussed in this thesis, which is why a more lengthy excerpt of his response is provided here in "Lu Xun – imagined".

> **Graf:** How was the display in the past?
> **Shen:** [At the old time… it was] Mao Zedong Thought.
> **Graf:** How could you tell it was Mao Zedong Thought at that time? From which aspect could you recognize Mao Zedong Thought?
> **Shen:** [Lu Xun is a friend of Mao Zedong]. […] Because Lu Xun and Mao Zedong flattered each other – elevated each other. Haha. If it was not for Mao Zedong, Lu Xun would not have been this famous. And if Lu Xun had not flattered Mao Zedong, it is hard to say…
> **Graf:** Lu Xun flattered Mao Zedong?
> **Shen:** Of course! Mao Zedong flattered him as being the greatest writer, even to the point that all of our middle school texts included Lu Xun's essays. But now, they don't want Lu Xun's essays anymore. They no longer fit into today's situation. Now is [the time] of Reform and Opening. Deng Xiaoping Thought.
> **Graf:** What is your feeling towards this change?
> **Shen:** It is good. It is more practical/realistic. The past Mao Zedong Thought [wanted to be] universally applicable at any place at any time, so it looked abroad, but actually it wasn't conform with reality abroad. He took it for granted, it was for himself. But it did not fit to the practical situation. And it also did not conform with objective laws. So Xi Jinping is better than Mao Zedong, because Mao Zedong Thought is not universally applicable, one has to decide national matters for one's own, according to one's own situation. The world has become more pluralistic, the world is multipolar and diverse, if you just undertake another Mao Zedong Thought it won't work, nobody will recognize it, not even China believes it. It is even hard to say whether Mao Zedong['s portrait] will keep hanging from the Tiananmen square...some (say) take him down. Because he also harmed many people, especially those from my generation, we all had to go to the country side or go to the "May 7 Cadre School" [re-education of educated people through peasant labor], China did not do its work, he held up many people. China was hit by natural and man-made disasters, there were the Three Hard Years, many people died, they starved to death, they had nothing to eat. This all [too] came from Mao Zedong Thought, so this is why we don't use Mao Zedong Thought anymore. However this place must still be kept, because this is history, history cannot be changed. It still has a reason to it.
> **Graf:** So you came here because it is history?
> **Shen:** Yes, because it is history. To look at history. To remember the past. Because man comes from history. At that time we believed in Lu Xun and in Mao Zedong Thought, now I don't believe that anymore, now I only believe in what is real (*shiji*), reality (*shiji shenghuo*, lit. real life) is better. We are free now, I also dare speak to you, you record me I am not even afraid, in the past I simply would not have dared[492] to speak to you. I could not even learn a foreign language, not even a little bit, I had to learn secretly. […] Practice is the only standard according to which one can examine reason. Reality (*shiji*) has now become China's number one standard.

[492] This is a reference to a speech by Hu Yaobang in 1978, which was published in numerous newspapers. For its publication, see for example *People's Daily* May 12, 1978, see (Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦, May 12, 1978).

Graf: 以前的展覽會怎麼樣？
Shen: At the old time…it was 毛澤東思想。
Graf: 怎麼知道那個時候是毛澤東思想? 哪一方面可以看出毛澤東思想?
Shen: Lu Xun is a friend of Mao Zedong. […] Because Lu Xun and Mao Zedong 互相吹捧 ， 互相抬高。哈哈。如果沒有毛澤東魯迅沒有這麼有名。 魯迅不吹捧毛澤東，他也說不出。。。
Graf: 魯迅吹過毛澤東？
Shen: 那當然，毛澤東吹他是最偉大的文學家，甚至我們中國的中學課文都有魯迅的文章。但是現在，魯迅的文章不要了。不適合現在的情況了。現在改革開放了。鄧小平思想。
Graf: 對這種改變您的感覺是怎麼樣?
Shen: 那好。更實際一些。過去毛澤東思想四海皆准都到國外去，其實外國不是那麼回事。他自己想當然，為了他自己。所以不符合實際情況， 也不符合客觀規律。所以習近平比毛澤東好， 因為毛澤東思想不是放諸四海皆准，都根據自己的情況決定他自己國家的事情。世界多元化， 多姿多彩，你多搞一個毛澤東思想，不行的，沒有人認的，連中國都不信啊，毛澤東還能不能從天安門廣場吊下去都很難說，有的說要把他拿掉…因為他害的好多人啊，尤其是我們這些年齡的人，我們都要下農村，下五七幹校，中國的工作不干，耽誤很多人，中國的天災人禍，三年困難時期在中國，死了很多人，肚子餓死了，沒有東西吃，都是毛澤東思想搞的，所以毛澤東思想現在不實用了。不過這個地方還得保留，因為它是歷史歷史也不能變啊。
Graf: 所以您是因為它是歷史來參觀嗎？
Shen: 對，因為它是歷史，看看歷史, 回憶過去。人是歷史走過來的。那個時候是相信魯迅啊，相信毛澤東思想，現在我不相信這一點，我只相信實際的，實際生活好了，自由了，我也敢跟你說話了，你錄音我也不怕了。過去我就都不敢跟你說話了，我學學一點外語都不行，要偷偷得學。 實踐是檢驗真理的唯一標準，實際現在變成中國唯一的標準了。

(interview with Mr. Shen, 2014, August 15, 00:06:30)

Shen was acutely aware of the social and also largely political process through which Lu Xun had been produced as a literary hero in the past. His reply shows that he was very critical of Mao Zedong. He pointed to the harm many had suffered under his leadership, the deaths his policies had caused. He believed Mao Zedong's Thought to have lost its validity and hence the image of Mao Zedong its charisma, raising the question whether his image on Tian'anmen square might not be taken down some day. This also challenged the validity of Lu Xun, Shen believed, as Lu Xun was removed from textbook material. Having experienced Lu Xun's presentation as Mao Zedong's Lu Xun (as discussed in detail in "*Display*: Lu Xun and Mao Zedong" as well as in "Hibernating Museums? (1966-74): Of Crowds and Desolate Spaces", and at multiple times in "New Approaches? (1980-2000s): History's Cul-De-Sac and the Rejection of Sagehood" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis), the visitor was well aware of the continued presentation of Lu Xun together with

Mao Zedong. This even went so far that he understood Lu Xun to have elevated Mao Zedong – even though when I followed up on his remark by asking him when this had occurred, he again returned to describing how Mao Zedong had elevated Lu Xun and not vice-versa. His descriptions are thus not always consistent – but nevertheless reveal how a visitor who had experienced Lu Xun's presentation over a period of almost half a century perceived this presentation.

He furthermore associated this time not merely with hardship but also with oppression, pointing to the fact that he now felt comfortable talking to me (in English). Yet his critique of Mao Zedong did not translate into a critique of the Communist Party. On the contrary, he explained that he much preferred the new policies under Deng Xiaoping and Xi Jinping. For Lu Xun, he pointed out that despite this fundamental political change (as he perceived it), Lu Xun's former residence remained and ought to be preserved. His reason was that it was history. He furthermore insisted that history could not be changed. Again his descriptions seem inconsistent. The fact that images can be hung up and taken down (as he describes for Mao Zedong) does not translate into the possibility of residences being remembered or being forgotten. In Lu Xun's case, his historical value did not allow for the latter. Underlying this seeming inconsistency is that his explanations are based on a separability between political ideology and history, a separability which this thesis challenges. While he indirectly claims "Thought", referring to a political ideology, to be separable from history, his own accounts actually are proof that they cannot.

When it comes to Lu Xun's residence, Shen's impression of the Tiger's Tail was that which it was and is intended to be: simple and modest, as this thesis has argued in "A Residence Remembered Anew: Rectifying Xisantiao hutong" of "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis. Shen's impression was the following:

> **Graf**: So when you come to Lu Xun's former residence, what is your impression?
> **Shen**: […] Life today is better. Today I came to see the past. If you see the living conditions of Lu Xun, if you compare it to today, then this does not count as good. Such a small a place, no air-conditioning, just a small heater, and you would write with a brush, but there also was no light, do you see? And there is no decoration on the walls. […] This is all simple, the rooms are not as big and there a fewer square meters, the place I live in now is bigger than this. [He] did not have any of this, so that he could write so many essays here, really was not easy.
> **Graf：** 今天來看魯迅故居會有什麼樣的感受呢？
> **Shen:** 現在生活也好了。現在來看，是看看過去，魯迅的生活條件，跟現在的比較，這個不算好，這麼小一個地方，空調也沒，冬天燒爐子，寫字都是用毛筆啊，也沒有燈，你看了沒有，這個牆上也沒有什麼裝修，［…］這些都是簡單， 也沒有

那麼大的房間，也沒有那麼多平方米，我現在住的家還平方米多。這些都沒有，而他在這裡寫出這麼多文章還是不簡單。

(interview with Mr. Shen, 2014, August 15, 00:08:36)

As shown in "A Residence Remembered Anew: Rectifying Xisantiao", the emphasis on the simplicity of the room was always strong – from its presentation in comic books during the Cultural Revolution to its current display. Indeed this was all Shen saw when peering into the room, thus reading Lu Xun's study fully with the grain of past and present intentions on the side of the producers. The images Lu Xun chose to place on the wall (be it the photograph of Mr. Fujino or that of the Buddha) and the possible controversy this could bring, did not catch this visitors attention. Lu Xun had changed thoroughly (from being valid to being invalid) and at the same time had not changed at all (his presentation was still received in accordance with the producer's intentions).

Graf: So, in your opinion Mao Zedong Thought is not so important anymore today, what about Lu Xun's spirit?
Shen: Also not important, no one cares about Lu Xun. Lu Xun has no standing in life anymore. What is Lu Xun? Lu Xun is fighting (*douzheng*), someone who dares to fight. Lu Xun once said: "Eyes askance, I cast a gold glance at the thousand pointing fingers; But bowing my head, I gladly agree, an ox for the children to be." He said it well. The things he said in this spirit were all correct. He knew it.

"What's to be done under ill-boding stars
With such a change of luck,
Before I'd even dared rise up,
my head already struck!
A worn-out hat to cover my face,
I cross the busy marketplace;
In a leaky boat loaded with wine,
'mid torrent float as though supine.
Eyes askance, I cast a gold glance
at the thousand pointing fingers;
But bowing my head, I gladly agree,
an ox for the children to be.
In a little garret hidden away,
I make my bid at *unité*;
Of outside climes, why care at all –
be it winter, summer, spring or fall."[493]

[493] Shen recited this poem in full and without mistake from memory. For the English translation and interpretation of this 1932 poem by Lu Xun titled "Laughing at my Own Predicament 自嘲", see (Kowallis 1996, 205).

This was a very famous poem of [Lu Xun's]. In the past, Mao Zedong required all of us to learn it by heart, we sought to know it by heart, as textbook materials. But now these things do not serve a purpose anymore, these are all textbook materials, you cannot compare men to books. Now life is pluralistic, now those things have no purpose. Food, clothing, shelter and transportation, all are good, it is convenient. Now China focuses on what is practical, because practical life is better.

Graf: Is it then still worth visiting this place?
Shen: It is still worth coming here. I still want to come and take a look. Revisiting old places again. Because I still have quite a bit of Mao Zedong Thought and Lu Xun Thought in me. I still have some of it. It is not possible to deny it. Because I relied on it when growing up. History is also something – where we came from step by step. The fact that China is better now also has to do with the basis of the past, there were achievements, there were merits. [...] To take a look [at Lu Xun's residence] still has its benefits, at least it will make me a bit younger, it helps me remember some of the things of many decades ago, […] when I recall these past things, I become a bit younger again.

Graf： 您覺得現在，您說毛澤東思想已經不是那麼重要了，魯迅的精神呢？
Shen： 也不重要，誰也不管魯迅。魯迅在生活裡面已經沒有什麼地位。魯迅是什麼，他就是鬥爭，敢於鬥爭。魯迅說： “横眉冷對千夫指，俯首甘為孺子牛”［…］，他說得好。［…］他這個精神說的東西都對了。他知道的。
運交華蓋欲何求，未敢翻身已碰頭。
破帽遮顏過鬧市，漏船載酒泛中流。
横眉冷對千夫指，俯首甘為孺子牛。
躲進小樓成一統，管他冬夏與春秋。
這是他有名的詩，我們那個時候被毛主席說要背的，追求的是會背這個，作為教材。現在這些都沒有用，這都是教材，你人不可以跟書比。 現在生活都豐富多彩，那些東西沒有用，衣食住行都好了，方便了。現在中國講究實際的，實際生活好了。
(interview with Mr. Shen, 2014, August 15, 00:14:24)

Graf： 這樣還是值得來這裡參觀嗎？
Shen： 還是值得，我還是想來看看，舊地重遊。 因為我腦子裡還是有不少毛澤東思想。 魯迅思想。還是有一些。否定那個也不行，因為我靠他成長起來，歷史一步一步走過來的，中國現在變好的也是跟過去的基礎也有關係，有成績，有優點［…］。看一看有好處，至少使我變得年輕一些，幾十年的事情讓我想起來一些，［…］我想起過去的事情我變得年輕一些。
(interview with Mr. Shen, 2014, August 15, 00:16:12)

It is at this point that the seeming inconsistencies are given a name and fall into place. It is the power of one's personal memory over one's reasoning. Even though Shen no longer wanted to value Lu Xun or Mao Zedong and even though he closely associated the worship of Lu Xun and Mao Zedong Thought with personal experiences of suffering and oppression, he also associated their entangledness with his youth, they formed the core of what he had learned to be valuable in

the past (through the school textbook). Even though the value system had changed (according to Shen), he could not fully detach himself from the values of the past, could not help but have "some Lu Xun Thought" left in him. This became further clear when he continued on in his reflections, even though he also backpedaled on one of the earlier claims he had made:

> **Graf:** Are Lu Xun's writings still valuable in your eyes?
> **Shen: [**They have] no value. I am old now, I don't care anymore, all I want is to be healthy and grow old. I don't want any kind of Thought anymore. When looking at Lu Xun Thought, his Thought is too old. It is from a past generation. He would take up a writing brush and fight with the Liberation Army against the Guomindang in the past […]. But do you know why middle school language and literature textbooks no longer have Lu Xun? They are afraid of the students. They are afraid that they will use the method of *zawen* [a form of essay writing] to oppose today's rulers. They are afraid [the students] will scold them. *Zawen*, you know, that is what they do, so they now no longer want him. We say now thought is free, [but] with real *zawen* one would oppose Xi Jinping and oppose the Communist Party. How can that be possible? The middle school language and literature textbooks don't want him anymore, they are afraid that his negative effects will be too great. Those are *zawen*, they are against the past rulers, so could they not be used against the present rulers? So the rulers don't use them anymore. They don't want it. That is the actual real reason. So Lu Xun has no standing anymore, at least not in the textbooks. And he has even lost his standing in the hearts of the common people (*putongren*), so what do I want with him then?
> **Graf**：魯迅的作品對您來說還是會有價值嗎？
> **Shen**： 沒有價值，我現在老了，都無所謂， 我只想健康長壽，我什麼思想都不要了， 魯迅的思想，看一看，他的思想太老了，過去的時代，他還拿起筆桿跟解放軍以前的國民黨[…] 鬥爭。不過您知道為什麼中學語文書沒有魯迅啊。他們怕現在的學生，用雜文的方式來反對現在的這個統治者，怕他會說他的。 雜文，你知道，是做這個，所以他們說現在不要那個，現在說是思想解放，真的雜文寫文章反對習近平反對共產黨怎麼行啊，中學語文書說不要他，怕他負作用太大。那個是雜文，反對過去的統治者，反對現在的統治者行嗎，統治者不干了，不要了，這個是他的真正的原因. 所以魯迅在至少在中學課文裡面沒有他的地位了。普通人心理，更沒有地位了，那我還是要他幹什麼。
>
> (interview with Mr. Shen, 2014, August 15, 00:29:33)

The question which he poses at the end of his reply, asking "so what do I want with Lu Xun then? 那我還是要他幹什麼?" was – in his tone – clearly a rhetorical question, exclaiming that Lu Xun no longer could have value in Chinese society. And yet he could also not quite forget about Lu Xun, would even seek to recall his memory of Lu Xun, show delight over his ability to recite the poems he had learned so long ago and would also continue to see Lu Xun not only as having "said it well", but also as having said that which he considered to be "correct" (*zhengque*). Especially in

the reasons he imagined the government to have for removing Lu Xun's texts from the school books, a contradiction becomes immanent: While he first had argued that Lu Xun was not applicable enough in contemporary times, here he argued Lu Xun to be too applicable in contemporary times. Shen first argued that his work no longer exerted power on its contemporary readers, then he argued that his work could exert too strong a power on its contemporary readers, a power which the government needed to control.

It must be clarified that Lu Xun was never fully removed from school textbooks, the number of his works was only reduced.[494] This reduction, however, is of great symbolical value, and arguments like those of Shen have been voiced by literary scholars from outside of China as well, as for example by Julia Lovell. Lovell wrote in a 2010 piece for *The Guardian*, when the reduction of Lu Xun in Chinese textbooks was being debated in China that

> [t]he official discomfort with the writer's dissident tendencies remains. In 2007, the beginnings of a Lu Xun withdrawal from Chinese school textbooks began, partly to make way for escapist kung fu texts. Perhaps the intention was to vary the literary diet of the young; or perhaps to redirect their impressionable minds from Lu Xun's moody introspection towards a more exuberant self-confidence. Perhaps also it was an attempt to discourage the youth of today from Lu Xun's inconveniently fault-finding habits.
>
> (Lovell, June 11, 2010)

On the one hand, Shen's comments implied that the younger generation lived in more pluralistic times (requiring a greater variation in their literary diet) and, on the other, that the CPC feared the *zawen* of today's younger generation attacking the CPC or Xi Jingping (the young learning from Lu Xun's fault-finding habits). These are two very different reasons, the first pointing to a rather practical consideration, the second implying a disempowerment of Lu Xun as a reaction to his continuing power.

From the above listed impressions the Lu Xun Museum left on its visitors and from the visitors' views of Lu Xun, numerous contradictions come to light that are addressed in detail in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis. To conclude this interlude, I will juxtapose them to reverberate these voices that continue to exist in the Lu Xun museums today.

[494] For an overview over which of Lu Xun's texts were included in or removed from in the most widely used text books in the PRC, see Wen Lisan's 溫立三 article titled "The selection of Lu Xun's works in Middle and Primary School Texts Books in the Last Decades 中小學魯迅作品選編幾十年", which lists all works included in the textbooks of the main publishing houses beginning from the 1920s up to 2010, see (Wen Lisan 溫立三 2011).

Lu Xun is no longer applicable in today's times (therefore his texts are reduced in textbooks).

Lu Xun is too applicable in in today's times (therefore his texts are reduced in textbooks).

Lu Xun is history.

Lu Xun is Mao Zedong Thought.

When I look at the former residence, I don't have many associations with Lu Xun the person.

When you come to his former residence or museum, you will have a strong feeling towards him, you will think, oh, the distance between us is actually very small.

Nobody cares about Lu Xun.

They are afraid of the students writing *zawen*.

It feels like you are personally on the scene, as if you were Lu Xu himself.

It amounts to us grabbing the tail of the tail of that period of time. / The feeling is harder to experience. It cannot be felt. It is like when your culture is not the same, when there is a difference, then it is harder to understand each other.

You can't believe all of it.

The truthfulness is consistent in both. Basically. [The museum's] truthfulness is like in the books.

I don't believe in Mao Zedong Thought.

I still have some Mao Zedong Thought and Lu Xun Thought in me.

中大 PART: Lu Xun – worlded

Brecht – Another Restive Hero

> "With this house of great use value, we gladly accept the obligation to always put honoring Brecht into practice in the manner in which Lenin was honored in [Brecht's] famous poem by the carpet weavers of Kujan-Bulak: They honored him by making use of him,
> for themselves and for society."
>
> Werner Hecht, director of the Brecht Zentrum der DDR,
> at the opening of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, 1978.

"These times are over!", exclaimed a visitor at the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte,
turning a portrait of Lenin on display at the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte face down.
Remembered by Elke Pfeil, head of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte (1990-).

If one aims to understand the making of Lu Xun in museum space from a global perspective, it is an imperative to look beyond the Chinese museum landscape and inquire into other processes that have occurred across the globe in which writers have been put on display in museum space. The immense number of museums dedicated to writers who have gained a certain level of national and international fame by being included in school and university curricula by literary scholars and educators today, makes the phenomenon of author museums *appear* to be a universal, inevitable and unchallenged phenomenon. Regarding the making of Lu Xun alongside the making of Bertolt Brecht, two "socialist writers" institutionalized during the reign of the Communist Party of China in the PRC and the Socialist Unity Party (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland (henceforth SED)) in the German Democratic Republic (henceforth GDR)[495], will reveal how the political, cultural and socio-historic circumstances of their institutionalization differed and how this effected the production of these two "cultural heroes", productions which have too quickly been brushed aside as forms of politically instrumentalizing the author. Especially when dealing with representatives of "left-wing" literature, the political and aesthetic are immediately entangled (Liu 2000) and the interconnectedness of the heroes' charisma and the aesthetics of power across the cultural and political realm becomes especially striking. This is enhanced by the entanglement of cultural and political "heroes" of the constructed hero, whom one encounters in the museums dedicated to Brecht and Lu Xun, be it, for example in form of a photograph of Marx, a portrait of Lenin or a painting of Confucius. The degree to which these genealogies of heroes in the visual

[495] Abbreviations are used according to the German titles, with the exception of the term GDR as it has become a widely used abbreviation in the English language and is used as such in foundational English publications on GDR history, see: (Gauck and Fry 1994, 277).

and material realm are entangled across national and cultural boarders in the cases of Brecht and Lu Xun is highlighted even more, when viewing these spaces across a longer period of time, when, due to the course of history, our heroes' heroes fall from grace.

Grounds of Comparison: Worlds Apart?

At first glance, Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956, from Augsburg) and Lu Xun (19881-1936, from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang) might seem worlds apart. They never met in person. Nor is there any evidence that they read each other's works. When consulting the 1959-list of Lu Xun's collected books compiled by the Beijing Lu Xun Museum (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1959b), one finds that it does not feature any works by Brecht. This is not too surprising. When Lu Xun died in 1936, Brecht still lived in exile (at the time in Denmark). Granted, by the mid-1930s Brecht was already an internationally renowned poet and playwright[496], and it would have theoretically been possible for Lu Xun to have known of Brecht, as productions of his works appeared in China as early as 1929 (Hu Xingliang 2009, 382).[497] But the first translations of his works into Chinese in printed form were only published in 1955, with an *Anthology of Brecht* 布莱希特选集 following in 1959 (Hu Xingliang 2009, 382). Even with these translations, Brecht's reception in China remained quite limited until after 1979, when a new passion for Brecht arose in the theatrical circles in Shanghai (Hu Xingliang 2009). But in the 1930s, with the exception of a few leading personages of Chinese theatre, Brecht was still unknown in China (Hsia 1983, 233).

Neither does Brecht's Nachlassbibliothek feature any works by Lu Xun (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007) nor does he ever mention Lu Xun in his diary.[498] This is a little more surprising since Brecht did have a well-known interest in China and Lu Xun's works were not only translated into German by German scholars and translators more extensively in the GDR starting in 1954,[499] but

[496] Brecht's *Three Penny Novel* (*Dreigroschenroman*), which Brecht wrote in 1934 in Amsterdam, was translated into Russian and published in a literary journal as early as 1935 and in 1937 the translation was further published in book form (Knopf 2006, 128).

[497] Lu Xun's collection of books also includes a collection of short stories by Georg W. Pijet (1907-1988), published in 1930 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1959b, 47). Pijet would become an active figure in the literary scene of the GDR as was Brecht.

[498] Brecht remained in contact with Anna Seghers, who had read Lu Xun's work as is shown below, but in his diary of his Berlin years from 1948-1955 he does not mention Lu Xun as a topic of conversation between himself and Seghers (Brecht and Hecht 1973).

[499] For a detailed history of Lu Xun's reception in Germany (incl. translations and literary criticism), see: (Bieg 1989) and (R. D. Findeisen 冯铁 2011). The first translations of Lu Xun into German date back to 1928 by Hanns Maria Lux (1900-1929), a German teacher at Tongji University, who translated the "True Story of A-Q 阿 Q 正傳" with her colleague Liao Fujun 廖馥君, but the translation was not published (Raoul David 冯铁 Findeisen 2011). The

Lu Xun translations are also to be found in the book collections of Brecht's contemporaries and fellow writers in the GDR, such as Anna Seghers (1900-1983 from Mainz), whose collection of books in her former residence in Berlin contains the 1954 English translation *Selected Stories of Lu Xun* published by the Foreign Language Press (Lu Hsun 1954) and also a 1952 German translation of Lu Xun's short stories (Lu Hsün 1952) [IC 147 Worlds Apart: Lu Xun at Anna Segher's]. [500] Nevertheless, the time-period, in which Lu Xun's works were translated more extensively from 1954 until up to the Sino-Soviet split in 1960 (after which not many further works of Lu Xun were translated in the GDR)[501] was but a narrow window of time. Brecht passed away in 1956 and the translations only peaked in the *late* 1950s. Thus, even though it was not impossible for Brecht to have known of or even read Lu Xun in English and German translations, his collection of books also shows no evidence that would suggest that Brecht ever read Lu Xun.

The closest biographical link between the two can be found in the poet and Germanist Feng Zhi 冯至 (1905-1993, from Zhuoxian/Hebei) and the writer and Sinologist Anna Seghers. Feng Zhi was the first to translate Brecht's works into Chinese in the mid-1950s and was also responsible for compiling the list of Lu Xun's German books at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum for the above

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first translator to introduce Lu Xun into the German speaking world was Alfred Hoffmann (1911-1997), who translated Lu Xun's "Kong Yiji 孔乙己" in the journal *Ostasiatische Rundschau* in 1935. Lu Xun as a revolutionary was furthermore discussed in German as early as 1935 in the *Internationale Literatur: Zentralorgan der Internationalen Vereinigung Revolutionärer Schriftsteller* published in Berlin and Moscow. But in the following years under the Nazi-regime, hardly any left-wing writers such as Lu Xun were translated into German (Bieg 1989, 178–79). Only in the 1950s did the interest in Lu Xun increase in literary and scholarly circles. While some works on Lu Xun were written in the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD) (e.g. a PhD thesis on Lu Xun was written by a Dutch scholar at Hamburg University), most scholarship and translations came from the GDR. In the winter semester of 1953/54, Sinologist Ulrich Unger (aka. Richard Jung) (1930-2006) offered a class on Lu Xun and published translations of Lu Xun's "True Story of A-Q" with List-Publishing in Leipzig in 1954 and with the Aufbau Publishing House in East Berlin in 1955. Brecht could have thus theoretically come into contact with the English translations of Lu Xun's works or even with the German translations from the mid-1950s before he passed away in 1956 (Bieg 1989, 181–82).

[500] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 147. The books can be viewed in the Anna-Seghers-Gedenkstätte on Anna-Seghers-Street 81, inventoried in the Anna-Seghers-Archive. A bibliography of Seghers' collected books is available online (Anna-Seghers-Gedenkstätte 2000). I was not shown the 1952 translation, but it is included in the online list and it could have simply been overlooked during my visit. It is a collection of Lu Xun's short stories translated by Josi von Koskull, published in Berlin with Rütten&Loening as were the translations from the late 1950s. The publisher Rütten&Loening was specialized in translations from China, and had sent members of its staff to China for two years as specialists in order to write a recommendation list of books that should be translated into German, handing it in to the German embassy in Beijing in 1958 (Meissner and Feege 1995, 317).

[501] Even though the relationship between the GDR and the PRC had become increasingly close after 1956, since both countries were skeptical of the Destalinization taking place under Khrushchev after the 20th Congress of the CPoSU in 1956, this close cooperation between East Berlin and Beijing could not last. Due the GDR's reliance on the Soviet Union, the GDR eventually sided with the SU. In the years from 1959 to 1964, the international relationship between the GDR and China deteriorated and on the 6th Congress of the SED in January 1963, the official Sino-GDR-split became apparent (Meissner and Feege 1995, 15).

mentioned list or index of Lu Xun's collected books published in 1959 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1959b). As a biographical connection, Feng Zhi offers one link as he knew Lu Xun personally from the early 1920s in Beijing and had met Brecht personally in East Berlin when he saw the Play *Mother Courage and her Children* (Hsia 1983, 233). It is thus possible that Feng Zhi brought up Lu Xun in conversation when meeting Brecht in East Berlin, but no records have surfaced on this so far. Another connection between the two writers can be found in Anna Seghers. Anna Seghers, who studied Sinology at Heidelberg University in the 1920s, continued to engage with China in her literary oeuvre and would further return to China as a part of a GDR writers delegation in 1951 (W. Li 2010, 157).[502] It was during this stay that her delegation also visited Lu Xun's grave in Shanghai (W. Li 2010, 158). In 1951, the 1956 large-scale Lu Xun exhibition halls in Beijing and Shanghai had not yet been built, but by 1953/54 the Lu Xun former residences in Shanghai and in Shaoxing belonged to the fixed program for GDR delegations during their visit to the PRC.[503] Besides visiting Lu Xun's grave, Seghers had the opportunity to meet Chinese writers such as Mao Dun and also Feng Zhi during her trip to China. Feng Zhi, who in turn had studied German studies (Germanistik) at Heidelberg University in the late 1920s, and Seghers had even met prior to these official exchanges on the airplane and Guo Moruo, who came to receive the delegation at the airport, also rejoined the delegation frequently during their trip (W. Li 2010, 213).

[502] Other members of the delegation included Adolf Deter from the Free German Trade Union Federation (Freien Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbund FDGB), Elfriede Gerber as representative of the Democratic Women's League of Germany (Demokratischen Frauenbundes Deutschlands DFD), the sculptor Gustav Seitz and the film director Kurt Maetzig. The trip was organized in the context of the two-year anniversary and celebration of the establishment of the PRC, lasting from September 26 to November 6, 1951, with stops in Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Nanjing and Tianjin. The hosts in charge of the delegation were six "mass organizations" among them the All-China Federation of Trade Unions 中華全國總工會 (allchinesischer Gerwerkschaftsbund), the All-China Democratic Women's Foundation 中華全國民主婦女聯合會 (Chinesische Demokatische Frauenbund), the All-China Representative Congress of Literature and Art Workers 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會 (CRCoLAW 文代會) (Gesamtverband der chinesischen Schriftsteller und Künstler) and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association 中蘇友好協會(SSFA) (Gesamtverband der Chinesisch-Sowjetischen Freundschaft) and others (W. Li 2010, 157). Li emphasizes the fact that the delegation was accompanied by these mass organizations continuously, resulting in Seghers not having been able to form her own opinion on the Chinese situation in the early 1950s, as she could only see what the organizations deemed appropriate for her to see (W. Li 2010, 158).

[503] The Beijing Lu Xun Museum does not list Seghers' 1951 visit from a GDR delegation in its history. Neither does the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum history, however, it only records those visitors who also left entries in the guest-book, such as Beitesun 貝特孫, presumably writer Jan Petersen 貝特孫 (1906-1969), head of the East German Writers' Association (Deutscher Schriftstellerverband Berlin (Ost)) from 1953-1955, on September 7, 1953 and Ludwig Renn 路德維希雷恩 (1889-1979), fellow at the Akademie der Künste (Ost) (AdK (Ost)), when he visited the museum on March 6, 1953 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 9). In 1954, on May 28, members of the Deutsche Schriftstellerverband Berlin (Ost), a group from the Akademie der Künste (Ost), including Ludwig Renn 院士雷恩 and an editor of the Aufbau Publishing House, visited the Lu Xun former residence as well as the Hundred-Flowers-Garden and the Three-Flavor-Studio in 1954 (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 16).

She would reflect on this trip in her "Two Letters from China (Zwei Briefe aus China)" which she published in 1952 with Aufbau Publishing House, also introducing Lu Xun to the German readership (Min Zhou 2008, 163). Since Brecht and Seghers remained in close contact, it is likely that Brecht had heard of Lu Xun as a writer through Seghers or possibly later by Feng Zhi, but he makes no reference to Lu Xun in his literary works or diary. But even though Brecht did not himself visit China nor seems to have read Lu Xun's work, the Chinese scrolls in his apartment (among them the calligraphy of Mao Zedong's poem "Snow") were given to Brecht by another friend who had taken part in the same delegation to China and had brought the scroll back to Berlin for Brecht.[504] Thus Brecht was in close contact to fellow GDR writers who had visited China in official (state-organized) delegations to China and were familiar with Lu Xun's works. Hence, even though the two famous left-wing writers of Chinese and German literature were certainly aesthetically (and immaterially) connected in their common orientation towards the Moscow of the 1930s, the "center" of left-wing literary production as Katerina Clark has convincingly argued (K. Clark 2011), they cannot be linked directly to each other via material traces of their biographies. Brecht's and Lu Xun's circulation in forms of translations of their literary works flourished in the late 1950s in China and the GDR respectively due to the favorable political climate which supported this literary exchange structurally, for example via an international cooperation agreement on matters of culture between the GDR and the PRC ratified in 1951,[505] but neither of them was still alive to have made use of each other's works translated into their mother tongue.

Regardless of this lack of a direct biographical or material textual intersection between the two, Bertolt Brecht and Lu Xun offer very helpful insights when comparing their

[504] Pfeil explained in the tour that the scroll was brought back by Willi Bredel (Elke Pfeil 12.11.2014, 41:00).

[505] The "Agreement Concerning a Cultural Cooperation between the GDR and the PRC (Abkommen zwischen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und der Volksrepublik China über die kulturelle Zusammenarbeit)", was set up in 1951 and signed by Johannes König (1903-1966 from Arnstadt), ambassador of the GDR in China from 1950-1955, and by the ambassador of the PRC in the GDR. In Article 3 of the agreement, the support for translations was bindingly agreed upon. The organization of visitor delegations of representatives from the cultural field to China and the GDR respectively (wechselseitige Besuche), was also agreed upon in this article. The German version of the treaty is included in full in (Meissner and Feege 1995, 302–3). The treaty was designed over a time period of two years. In 1955 a second agreement was ratified. Afterwards it was only in 1984, after the rapprochement between the GDR and the PRC from 1980-1989, that the third and last agreement on cultural cooperation was signed (Meissner and Feege 1995, 297). In a report on the cultural cooperation written for Ulbricht in 1956, the visits to the PRC by writers from the GDR were described as having been more positive than with any other country. "Die Besuche von Schriftstellern haben sich günstiger ausgewirkt als mit jedem anderen Land" (Meissner and Feege 1995, 311). The descriptions of Budo Use, Kuba, Stephan Hermlin and Fritz Jensen were evaluated as positive. A further document, a work plan (Arbeitsplan) concerning the cultural cooperation between the PRC and the GDR from 1959 further explained that the PRC was to send two writers to the GDR for 4-6 weeks and the GDR was to send two writers for a time period of 6-8 weeks to China (Meissner and Feege 1995, 313).

institutionalization in museum space, a comparison which this chapter provides. For both their museums were the products of a "*Kulturstaat*" (K. Clark 2011, 12–14), in which cultural production was highly valorized yet also restricted through state institutions, thus prone to the critique of "instrumentalizing" the authors. While Lu Xun is the main focus of this thesis, this chapter presents his institutionalization from a comparative perspective, asking the following questions which have been addressed in the previous chapters in great detail for the case of Lu Xun, but are here addressed regarding Bertolt Brecht, with the overarching research question remaining: How was (the image of) Brecht "produced" in museum space? (→ the making of Brecht) When Lu Xun's and Brecht's institutionalization is compared, which similarities and differences can be found in these processes? What does this reveal about the underlying logic of the making of world literary heritage? In accordance to the overall structure of this thesis, this chapter will "zoom out" from

1) specific objects that made Brecht (a close reading) in pointing out similarities in Brecht and Lu Xun as a) left-wing modern cosmopolitans and b) cultural brokers. The question raised is: How can their personal estate be read with and against the grain of their constructed legacies?
2) to the institutions (actors + structures) that made Brecht (→ Who had power over the estate?)
3) to the imaginaries of Brecht in museum space (→ How was he imagined? How was he received? How is he remembered?)

I argue that understanding the process of the making of Brecht helps see the making of Lu Xun beyond a mere critique of his "instrumentalization" and more nuanced as *one* process of the production of a cultural hero among many, while remaining critical of, but nevertheless acknowledging the power these spaces can have to (re-)produce culture.

Brecht's Heroes and Sites of Hero Worship: Conceptual Reflections

Calling Bertolt Brecht a hero, and be it a restive, recalcitrant one, can be considered quite provoking. Scholars and Brecht enthusiasts alike can take offense and sometimes are quick to launch an offensive by quoting Brecht's renowned play *Das Leben des Galilei*, which Brecht wrote in exile in Denmark in 1939. Here, Galilei, the "hero" of Brecht's play, rejects his student's accusation "Unhappy the land that has no heroes (Unglücklich das Land das keine Helden hat)" (Brecht 2003, 115) with the famous line: "Unhappy the land that is in need of heroes (Unglücklich das Land das Helden nötig hat)" (Brecht 2003, 116), reminding us of Brecht's skeptical attitude towards the

people's need or better neediness for a hero. This critical attitude towards the concept of a hero, however, cannot in itself negate the fact that Brecht was subject to such a processes of heroization – for it takes place regardless of the author's expressed preferences. After all, as Lu Xun's reflections in his essay "Death" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005t) have shown, the expressed resistance towards or at least a reluctance to becoming heroized can almost be seen as a prerequisite for that precise process. For in the end, the modest hero seems especially deserving of worship.

Yet, Bertolt Brecht's writings about heroes have crucially shaped and changed the discourse on heroes in the German speaking world and are one of the reasons why the German term "Held" carries a largely negative connotation, unlike its English counterpart.[506] Thus addressing Brecht's understanding of the hero is indispensable when bringing the name "Brecht" in liaison with the terminology of the hero. It is not only its normative implication that evokes a feeling of unease when the term "Held" is used in scholarly discourse, but also the association with the German hero-rhetoric and hero-discourses of the First and especially Second World War, both initiated by Germany, that give the German term a particularly negative connotation. And indeed, it was into these discourses and rhetoric that Brecht tapped when addressing heroes in his literary oeuvre. When one takes a closer look at Brecht's view on hero worship[507] and the construction of memorial sites commemorating heroes (Denkmäler), it however becomes clear that while he calls for a reflected engagement with the commemoration of "heroes", he by no means rejected this practice in full.

Brecht's understanding of the hero (Held) commonly refers to the war hero (Kratzmeier 2010, 81).[508] Especially the death of the hero was politically instrumentalized to justify the sacrifice of

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[506] For the etymology of the German term "Held" and its relation to the English term "hero", see: (Immer and van Marwyck 2013, 14–19). The term "Held" leads back to the 18th century Prussian war hero, who is lauded largely in war hymns. However, from the concept's very beginnings critical voices have mocked or deconstructed the concept of the hero (Held), thus the term never existed completely outside of its critique or deconstruction. Brecht's reference to heroes in *Life of Galileo* (*Das Leben des Galilei)* is frequently quoted in works on the hero discourse in regard to German culture, see for example the introduction in Brockmann's and Steakley's *Heroes and Heroism in German Culture* (Brockmann, Steakley, and Hermand 2001, x).

[507] For an analysis of Brecht's approach to the historiography of heroes and the commemoration of heroes in his work, see (Kratzmeier 2010, 81–119).

[508] Kratzmeier defines the hero, based on the "war hero", as someone "who sets himself apart from the masses through a special deed or decision. […] A courageous deed therefore only turns into a heroic deed when there an opportunity for an alternative action. When the hero sacrifices his life for the community or the good cause – according to the principle of common welfare outweighing personal welfare – then the greatest heroic attainment is achieved (der sich von der Masse durch eine besondere Tat oder Entscheidung unterscheidet. […] Eine mutige Tat wird folglich erst dann zur Heldentat, wenn eine alternative Handlungsmöglichkeit besteht. Lässt der Held sein Leben für die Gemeinschaft oder die gute Sache – nach dem Gemeinwohl-vor-Eigenwohl-Prinzip-, ist dabei die höchstmögliche Heldenleistung erreicht") (Kratzmeier 2010, 81). Also see Brockmann's evaluation of "Brecht's attempt at heroism" in the early 1950s, creating the character of Hans Grabe, a socialist "hero of labor" who repaired a kiln in East

soldiers as a meaningful and necessary sacrifice, an instrumentalization (or Funktionalisierung des Heldentums, as Kratzmeier terms it in her 2010 dissertation) which Brecht was exposed to in the German education after WWI and leading up to the preparation of WWII. Brecht's satirical approach to heroes in his work takes various forms and he uses different tools at his disposal. In some instances, he reveals that there is no difference between those who are considered great ("die Großen") and those who aren't, in others he emphasizes that greatness in itself is volatile, and again in others he criticizes the so-called war hero as merely being a puppet of the state, most famously in his 1918 ballade "Legend of a Dead Soldier (Legende vom toten Soldaten)" (Brecht 1999c). Thus it was primarily during the years of WWI and WWII that Brecht's critical attitude towards (war) heroes was shaped.

But even though Brecht regards the instrumentalization of heroes critically, he does not reject "heroic behavior" (heldenhaftes Verhalten) per se. This can be seen, for example, in the play *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder*, which he wrote in exile in Sweden from 1938 to 1939. At the end of the play, Kattrin (the mute daughter of Mother Courage) climbs onto a roof and beats a drum to wake up the villagers who are asleep nearby to warn and thereby save them from soldiers who are about to attack the village. Willing to give up everything, including her mother's wagon of goods (der Wagen) and even her own life, she continues to beat the drum despite warnings given by the soldiers. As a result, she is finally shot dead by the soldiers to silence her, thus ultimately dying the death of a heroine (Brecht 1999k, 185–88) [IC 148 Heroic Behavior *Mutter Courage*].[509] This example, but also other examples given by Kratzmeier, shows that Brecht neither fully rejects the hero nor person-centered historiography (Kratzmeier 2010, 95). Instead Kratzmeier argues that his

Berlin from 1949-1950, a case in which Brecht hoped to show how an ordinary, fallible person became a hero, but faced difficulty in creating this character, noting that he had failed in creating a "hero of the new kind". The character would be adapted by Heiner Müller for his play *The Scab* (*Der Lohndrücker)* in 1957, but its protagonist, according to Brockmann, was still far from an unblemished socialist hero (Brockmann 2015, 177–80). Brecht would become increasingly impatient with the request by the SED on matters of artistic form, which resulted in Brecht finally setting aside his attempt to create a "hero of labor" in Grabe and thus none of his plays featuring such a hero as a protagonist. In 1956, Brecht expressed the difficulty he faced in creating a hero of the new kind in a text titled "End (Schluss)": "When we want to compose heroes, and *we should do so*, then we must first aim to come face to face with the heroes of the present day. […] This we can almost only manage by, as I said, witnessing the new hero in his everyday life, in his cumbersome, gradual battles in the swamp and backwardness, in his historical peculiarity. […] The depiction of the new is not easy. (Wenn wir Helden erdichten wollen, *und das sollen wir*, dann müssen wir erst suchen, die Helden von heute zu Gesicht zu bekommen. […] Das können wir beinahe nur, in dem wir, wie ich sagte, den neuen Helden in seinem Alltag sichten, in seinen mühselig schrittweise Kämpfen mit dem Sumpf und dem Rückstand, in seiner historischen Besonderheit. […] Die Darstellung des Neuen ist nicht leicht." [my emphasis] (Brecht 1999m, 652).

[509] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 148. In the 1961 film production of *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder*, Angelika Hurwicz plays Kattrin by the side of Helene Weigel who plays Mother Courage (Palitzsch and Wekwerth, Manfred [Buch und Regie] 1961, 02:12-02:17).

works offer models to critically reflect on heroism, especially the instrumentalization of the death of the hero, while still promoting the ideal of "heroic behavior", which according to Brecht should be imitated by the masses.

Indeed, Brecht did not perceive the main problem to be the call for heroes or the practice of hero worship *per se*, but instead the problem was the predefined minuscule numbers of heroes in society, a number limited by definition. In a notebook Brecht wrote in 1926:

> People in general think too little of themselves, too little to believe that they could also care for others too. The evil of the great men (for they *are* an evil) lies in the fact that there are too few. There would have to be masses of them, let us say: a proletariat. It is considered to be an obligation of man to help others, but it is more like a privilege, and far too many people renounce it. (Die Menschen im allgemeinen halten zu wenig von sich, als dass sie glaubten, sie könnten noch für andere sorgen. Das Übel der großen Männer (denn sie *sind* ein Übel) besteht darin, dass es zu wenige gibt. Es müsste eine Masse davon geben, sagen wir: ein Proletariat. Es gilt als Verpflichtung eines Menschen, andern Menschen zu helfen, aber es ist eher ein Vorrecht, und viel zu viele Leute verzichten darauf) (cited in Kratzmeier 2010, 96).

As this note shows, to present Brecht's critique of heroes, heroization and hero worship as a rejection of society's need for heroes would be oversimplifying Brecht's view of "great men".

Furthermore, Brecht's works also feature various memorials dedicated to heroes, with the help of which he takes issue with an uncritical approach to memorials. But while revealing the ambiguity of memorials and their concealed function of commemorating those in power[510] in some of his poems featuring a triumphal arch, for example,[511] he does not call for an outright rejection

[510] In Brecht's poem "Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters" from 1935 (Brecht 1999g), he raises the question of who built the monuments constructed during the reigns of emperors and kings, revealing that those who built the monuments, (monuments which commemorate only the rulers and the war heroes who sacrificed themselves for their rulers), namely the workers and slaves, are not mentioned or named in historiography.

[511] Brecht's "Poem of the Unknown Soldier beneath the Triumphal Arch (Gedicht vom unbekannten Soldaten unter dem Triumpfbogen)" from 1926 (Brecht 1999h) and "A Second Poem of the Unknown Soldier beneath the Triumphal Arch (Zweites Gedicht vom unbekannten Soldaten unter dem Triumpfbogen)" from 1927 (Brecht 1999o) show two sides of the same story. The poems describe the same triumphal arch. The first poem conveys that the arch was built as an official commemoration of a group of soldiers who spent four years hunting down one unknown soldier, the enemy. The poem inscribed on the arch describes the brutal force with which he was murdered by them, destroying his face so that he would no longer recognized by God at the Last Judgment and buried under the arch whose weight should prevent him from ever standing up again – a "heroic" act which radically destroyed the enemy once and for all. The second poem, gives voice to those who call the fallen unknown soldier their brother, accepting his death, but asking for the memorial commemorating his death to be removed: "(At the very least/ Remove this stone above him/ For this howling to celebrate your victory/ Is really not necessary and causes / Us pain, for we / Who had already forgotten him / Who you battered to death/ are only reminded by it/ Every day anew, of you who are still / Alive. (Entfernt wenigstens / Diesen Stein über ihm/ Denn dieses Triumphgeheul/ Ist doch nicht nötig und macht/ Uns Kummer, denn uns /Die wir den Erschlagenen / Schon vergessen hatten, erinnert er/ Täglich aufs neue an euch, die ihr noch/ Lebt)" (Brecht 1999o, 204). Thus the commemoration of triumph automatically always

of memorials either. The 1929 poem titled "Die Teppichweber von Kujan-Bulak", for example, shows how even if people go beyond the material memorial, meaning that they avoid the pitfalls of material memorials by choosing other means to commemorate their hero, they quickly return to it. The poem, following closely an event reported on by the *Frankfurter Zeitung* which Brecht read, describes a local red army soldier who suggests that instead of commemorating Lenin with a bust, the weavers of Kujan-Bulak ought to use the money for a bust to buy petroleum and burn out the mosquitoes in the fields which had brought a fever plague to Kujan-Bulak. He thus chose a "useful" commemorative act over a "useless" commemorative bust to honor Lenin. Nevertheless, the poem ends by narrating that on the same evening, even though citizens of Kujan-Bulak all were very satisfied with the choice and outcome (the mosquitoes had vanished), they nevertheless decided to hang a plaque at the train station to commemorate *the act of commemorating* Lenin: "That a plaque would be installed at the train station/ which read a report of this event / Including the changed plan and the exchange of / the bust of Lenin for the ton of petroleum which would wipe out the fever. / And all of this in honor of Lenin. / And they did this as well / and installed the plaque. (Daß eine Tafel angebracht würde an der Bahnstation / Mit dem Bericht dieses Vorgangs, enthaltend / Auch genau den geänderten Plan und den Eintausch der / Leninbüste gegen die fiebervernichtende Tonne Petroleum. / Und dies alles zu Ehren Lenins. / Und sie machten auch das noch / Und setzten die Tafel)" (Brecht 1999e, 182). Thus even in this poem celebrating the alternative to the monument (the bust), a plaque – merely another form of monument – is created, thus revealing that the commemoration can only be complete with a material sign.

Besides deconstructing the memorials' truth claim (like in the poems about the triumphal arch) and revealing the people's necessity for the material monument (like the plaque hung to commemorate the weavers' alternative form of commemorating Lenin), Brecht also uses personification to reveal the functions memorials unwittingly serve for those in power, introducing a "self-awareness" of the monuments and images in their role of commemoration. This occurs, for example, in the radio play *Das Verhör des Lukullus* written in Sweden 1939. In one of its earliest drafts, the memorials speak: "We images, once assigned to remain in the light, / the stone shadows of drowned victims/ to remain above to speak and to keep silent/ we images, once assigned to

also encompasses the reminder of defeat, two sides of one coin as Brecht shows in these two poems. Furthermore, the poems, when read together, show that the arch actually commemorates neither soldiers on either side, for it is not the soldiers who had the arch constructed, it is merely dedicated to them. Thus the arch is ultimately a sign that points to the rulers, a sign presenting their power over both their soldiers and their workers dying for and constructing such monuments.

represent the overthrown/ those whose breath was taken away, those who fell silent, who are forgotten/ to represent them on behalf of the victor in the light/ we are willing to keep silent and willing to speak. (Wir Bilder, bestimmt einst, im Licht zu bleiben / die steinernen Schatten versunkener Opfer/ Um oben zu reden und oben zu schweigen/ Wir Bilder bestimmt einst, die Niedergeworfenen/ Des Atems Beraubten, Verstummten, Vergessenen/ Im Auftrag des Siegers im Licht zu vertreten/ Sind willig zu schweigen und willig zu reden)" (cited in Kratzmeier 2010, 105). The memorials remain in the light while those who they commemorate pass into darkness. They are set up by those in power, by the victorious side, and thus have a mission, or better an assignment. But they are not passive tools in the hands of those victorious. When the great Roman general Lukullus is questioned after his death, waiting in the underworld for a jury (consisting of a peasant, a slave, a fish market woman, a baker and a courtesan) to decide whether he should be sent to Hades (in den finsteren Hades; ins Nichts) or allowed to enter the paradisiac Elysian fields (Gefilde der Seligen), Lukullus is desperately searching for someone to speak in his favor (ein Fürsprecher). When he finally requests the images of his triumphal frieze to speak on his behalf, those depicted are called upon from the underworld and from among the living, and with the exception of a few, speak against him. The images' willingness both to speak and to fall silent at the same time suggests that memorials can also resist instrumentalization for one purpose alone and in their ambivalence they retain an agency in historiography. For in the end, Lukullus is sentenced to be sent into nothingness ("ins Nichts mit ihm!") (Dessau and Brecht 1993, 47).

With Brecht's reflections about heroization and hero worship through the means of material memorials in mind, this chapter analyzes the material heritage of Brecht and its display in museums dedicated to Brecht. For instead of raising the question of whether or not Brecht *ought to* have been commemorated by means of a memorial site (Gedenkstätte), it is more fruitful to understand *why and how* this commemoration took place. For take place it did. And as Jeffrey Alexander concluded in his analysis of what he terms "celebrity-icons", the former question "is good morality but bad sociology. Celebrity-icons are not untruthful and distorted fiction. They are real in the symbolic sense. If they do not assert themselves constatively, they do so performatively; if they do not clearly denotate, they most assuredly connotate. They are social facts, and, as Durkheim reminded us, social facts are things" (Alexander 2010, 332). This is no less true for Brecht's making into a "cultural hero" of and by the GDR. Unlike Alexander, who also approaches contemporary politicians as "heroes" (Alexander 2009), other researchers do not consider this appropriate for German scholarly discourse. Indeed, the rejection of the term and concept of "Helden" in the socio-

political reality of Germany and German discourse[512] has resulted in heroes being found in other spaces of society. In their introduction to the 2013 edited volume *Ästhetischer Heroismus: Konzeptionelle und figurative Paradigmen des Helden*, Immer and van Marwyck have argued that the hero (Held) has been relocated into the spaces of aesthetic experiences, arguing that the contemporary omnipresence of the hero in cultural production can be seen as compensation of the rejection of the heroic in socio-political reality (Immer and van Marwyck 2013, 17), attempting to explain the omnipresence of the hero in "post-heroic" times. Instead of the socio-political realm, the hero has been relocated into spaces of aesthetic experience. I would however argue that the making of Brecht into a cultural hero does not fall into this category, but expands it. Certainly, the hero continues to exist in the aesthetics of cultural production. But the "cultural hero" can be seen as the bridging realms of the socio-political reality and the aesthetic field presented as being potentially detachable from this reality. For the "cultural hero" allows for a historic individual (a historic person, not a fictional hero) to develop a "second body" and become a hero that can co-exist with the rejection of heroes in the socio-political realm.[513] By juxtaposing Brecht's First Body (natural mortal body) with his Second Body (the cultural body, the "cultural hero") it becomes clearly evident how critical approaches towards a political instrumentalization of Brecht attempt to rectify the making of Brecht by returning to his "authentic" historical First Body.[514] This chapter however does not attempt such an undertaking, but instead approaches the Second Body of Brecht as a social fact, attempting to understand its making, not rectifying it.

Historical Background: Personality Cult and Political Iconography in the GDR and the PRC

A decade after Mao Zedong's Yan'an speech (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971), Walter Ulbricht, General Secretary of the SED (1950-1971), proclaimed in a speech to the Central Committee in 1952 that the GDR was in need of heroes. This had above all an institutional effect on the then contemporary field of cultural production: In literature and art, socialist heroes were considered necessary for turning socialism into economic and political reality: "The fighter for a unified,

[512] Alexander however does not make this distinction between the existence of heroes, or as he also terms them "celebrity-icons", in the aesthetic realm and their rejection in social-political reality, as do Immer and van Marwyck. In the US-American context, in which the term hero is more accepted also in scholarly discourse, political individuals are analyzed and the term hero is used with fewer qualms. An example hereof is Alexander's use of the term hero in conceptualizing President Obama's 2008 presidential campaign (Alexander 2009).

[513] For more information, see section on "Lu Xun's Two Bodies" in "Zooming Out: Lu Xun on Display" of this thesis.

[514] Also see Liu Jian's 2011 Lu Xun film at the beginning of "Zooming Out: Lu Xun on Display".

democratic Germany, the activist, the hero of socialist construction must stand at the center of artistic creation". The cultural producers were to help "hurry ahead of life and […] inspire millions of people for the great task of constructing socialism", Ulbricht proclaimed (cited in Brockmann 2015, 100). The SED thus created an institutional framework for this production of literature: In the summer of 1951, two new agencies had been established, the Office of Literature and Publishing (Amt für Literatur und Verlagswesen) and the State Commission of Artistic Affairs (Staatliche Kommission für Kunstangelegenheiten) which are described by literary scholars and historians as "watchdogs" over the cultural production in the GDR, which were in charge of censorship and the prevention of excessive "formalism" and other forms of unorthodox artistic production (Brockmann 2015, 100).[515] The Kommission was dissolved in 1953 and the Ministry of Culture (Ministerium für Kultur) (MfK) was established in 1954, which essentially took over the functions of the prior institutions. After Brecht's death, Brecht himself was to become a hero, not in a literary work, but in the historiography of GDR literature and culture.

Not only was his form of literary production chosen as the benchmark and model for "orthodox" socialist realist literary production in the mid-1960s[516], but Brecht himself was to be a "trophy" (Brockmann 2015, 100) or better "hero" for the SED. Hans Koch, First Secretary of the [East] German Writers' Association (Deutscher Schriftstellerverband DSV) had chosen Brecht as the model of socialist realism, who was to be used in a campaign to criticize Lukács' realism in the famous "Brecht-Lukásc-Debate", a campaign directed against the Hungarian literary critic György Lukács (1885-1971, from Budapest).[517] It finally was the recommendation of the Central Committee Department of Science (ZK-Abteilung Wissenschaft) of the SED in 1965 that "the position of Brecht was to be strengthened and more intensive efforts should be undertaken to 'acquire this heritage' (die Position Brechts zu stärken und sich intensiver um die ‚Aneignung dieses Erbes' zu kümmern") (Peitsch 2014, 94). How Brecht's institutionalization and the

[515] The Amt was not only in charge of ideological questions, such as censorship, but also in matters of distribution of the most basic kind, such as paper. In 1953, Brecht' poem "Das Amt für Literatur" criticized that writers who supported the ideas known and welcome to the Amt für Literatur received paper, while other masters lacked paper. Brecht uses the valorizing term "Meister" in this context to attribute value to those who he regarded as great authors (Plachta 2008, 20).

[516] In the mid-1960s, Brecht was chosen by SED politicians to embody the "orthodox" form of socialist literary production, juxtaposing him to György Lukács in the famous "Brecht-Lukásc-Debate". For more information on this debate, see: (Kiralyfalvi 1990) and (Peitsch 2014).

[517] Archival material has revealed these orders, however, to the disappointment of literary scholars, Koch gives no explanation from the side of the SED as to why Brecht was chosen or which precise elements of his literary creation had caused the SED to choose him.

acquisition of his heritage under the SED compared to Lu Xun's institutionalization under the CPC is the concern of this chapter.

When comparing the Kulturpolitik of the GDR in matters of the cultural production in the early 1950s to that of the PRC, there are striking similarities: In the early 1950s cultural institutions were established to regulate the contemporary artistic and literary production, which were nominally non-government organizations in design but not in practice. The Deutsche Akademie der Künste DAdK (later named AdK Ost) was established in 1950, only a year after the All-China Representative Congress of Literature and Art Workers 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會 (1949-53/79) (in short the CRCoLAW 文代會 later named CFLAC 文聯)[518] which was established in 1949 in the PRC. The East German Deutscher Schriftstellerverband (DSV) (later named Schriftstellerverband SV der DDR) was founded in 1950[519], also just a year later than the China Writers Association CWA 作协. In both cases, the institutions were modelled on Soviet examples.[520]

[518] CRCoLAW 文代會 was later named CFLAC 文聯, in full: Chinese Federation of Literature and Art Circles 中國文學藝術聯盟 (1953/1979-).

[519] The DSV was founded in 1950 as the Deutscher Schriftstellerverband im Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands, with Bodo Uhse as its First Chairman (Erster Vorsitzender) (1950-52). After the dissolution of the Kulturbund, the DSV became an independent institution with Anna Seghers as its president (1952-1978).

[520] For a comparison between the Chinese and Soviet form of writer associations, see: (Link 2000, 118–21). Structural similarities included the subgroups in the CWA which mirrored the Soviet system (six to seven groups for a) fiction and essay, b) poetry, c) film and drama, d) children's literature, e) criticism and theory, research on f) traditional and g) foreign literature). Another similarity included the form of governing the association (adhering to the nomenclature of the Soviet example with a board of directors governing the different departments and a higher secretariat drawn from the directors). Regarding content and functions, the main similarities were the association's function to control and monitor cultural production (*negatively*), to provide clear-cut ladders of literary success for writers within the socialist system (*positively*) and also to organize lectures, seminars and excursions for practicing writers (*positive reinforcement*). The opportunity to take part in excursions to foreign countries was seen as "the rarest and highest prize" in the CWA, according to Perry Link. The membership in the CWA reached up to 8,700 members shortly before the Cultural Revolution (Link 2000, 119). The main difference between the Chinese and Soviet system lies in the definitions of their inner and outer circles: While membership was very hard to attain in the Soviet association and automatically entailed professional status, the Chinese membership was broader and did not necessarily carry professional status. Since one had to be a member to join the association's activities, this meant that a wider range of writers could partake in these activities. The inner circle of the CWA was comparatively smaller than the Soviet counterpart and contained only those with professional status. To attain membership, publications, prizes and recommendations were important, but each subdivision had different standards. While there was no rule, it was common that a new member would be suggested by at least two current members of the CWA, which encouraged young writers to cultivate contacts with established writers in the CWA. The Schriftstellerverband SV of the GDR has been subject of research mainly with a focus on the association's function to control and monitor, revealing it as an ideological tool of the SED reign, see (Pamperrien 2004). She argues that "der Schriftstellerverband [war] Bestandteil des Propagandaapparates der allein herrschenden SED, ständig rechenschaftspflichtig und bis in kleinste Entscheidungen hinein vom Machtwort der Partei abhängig" (Pamperrien 2004, 17). Pamperrien does not offer comparisons to other writer associations globally, but does provide insight in

But not only contemporary cultural production was to be monitored. The cultural production of the past and the historical past as a whole was also to be institutionalized and a new "tradition" shaped for present needs, namely to provide a foundation for the newly established socialist nations. The public museum was chosen as the medium to present this past to the present. In the case of the museum landscape, the GDR was far quicker than the PRC to establish a large scale museum to introduce the historical past leading up to the socialist present of the GDR. While it was only in 1961 that Wang Yeqiu's Museum of the Chinese Revolution 中國革命博物館 opened its doors to the public (Hung 2005), the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte (MfDG) in East Berlin opened as early as 1952.[521] The MfDG was established in one of the most eye-catching Baroque buildings in Berlin, the former Zeughaus which was constructed under Prussia's kings and once held a collection of the weapons and Prussia's trophies of war [IC 149 Historical Background 1].[522] In 1952, this same building was to hold the museum displaying the GDR narrative of German history and hereby laid the foundations for an East German national identity to be constructed and to provide legitimization to the rule of the SED (Penny III 1995).

Indeed, history museums, unlike historic house museums, offer greater freedom to design the exhibition halls according to the needs of a specific historiography. In consequence this also means that this consciously chosen design more easily reveals the ideologies underlying that same historiography. In the case of the MfDG, the choice of exhibits, the periodization and the guided narration of the display indicate the GDR's attempt to nurture a specific German (cultural) identity. However, in the course of the museum's history from 1952-1990[523], this identity was not stable but changed according to the SED's domestic and international policies. In the 1950s, while the SED was still considering the possibility of a united Germany, the focus of the display lay on shared cultural values and heroes.[524] Hence, as the image of the permanent exhibition of 1952 reveals [IC 149 Historical Background 2], Marx and Engels formed the centerpiece of one exhibition hall at its opening in 1952, with the *Communist Manifesto* placed behind glass between their busts, and

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the communication between the East German SV with the West German Verband deutscher Schriftsteller (VS) which was founded in June 1969 in Cologne.

[521] Unlike its Chinese counterpart which opened its completed permanent exhibition in 1961, the MfDG did not present itself to the public as a complete narrative from the very beginning, but the museum opened as soon as 1952 with an incomplete exhibition and the display continued to grow from 1952-1967 (Penny III 1995, 347).

[522] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 149.

[523] Today the building houses the Deutsches Historisches Museum, which was established in 1990 when the MfDG was dissolved as an institution.

[524] Besides Marx, other individuals that were to represent the history of German achievements were Goethe and Beethoven, for example.

the quotations “Proletarians of all countries, unite! (Proletarier aller länder, vereinigt euch!)” written in capital letters on a shining metal background. Over time, the museum’s display was however continuously redesigned, and both periodization and the choice of historic figures changed. From the late 1960s onwards until the early 1980s, the unity of German culture was deemphasized and the shared history of Germany, Eastern Europe and the SU and the internationalism of the Communist revolution were stressed instead. Thus, the 1982 exhibition of the MfDG (in comparison to the 1962 display) had the time period of the permanent exhibition end in the year 1917 with the October Revolution instead of the year 1871 with the German unification. Also, Marx’s and Engel’s quotation chosen to introduce the first section of the display in the 1962 display was replaced by quotations by Lenin (Penny III 1995, 365). The earlier focus on an all-German culture in the 1950s was replaced with an increased emphasis on the *international* character of the Communist cause, the proximity to the SU and the *national* character of the GDR. By emphasizing internationalism, the GDR highlighted its nationalism (according to the two-state concept).

While the 1950s showed a strong proximity between the SU and China, the 1960s Sino-Soviet split lead to an increased nationalism in China concurring with a rejection of Soviet leadership. In the GDR the 1950s showed a de-emphasis of Soviet-GDR relations and a focus on an all-German culture followed by an inevitable acceptance of Soviet leadership around 1960, leading to a German-German-break, which in turn resulted in an increased GDR-nationalism not concurring with a rejection of Soviet leadership, but with an emphasis on it. The similarities between the early GDR and PRC with regard to institutionalizing their Kulturpolitik highlight the differences in their understanding of culture and the aims of their policies. The coexistence of an increased GDR-nationalism enhanced through its propagation of its internationalism seems paradoxical at first glance, but is logical at second. In the PRC, this development occurred the other way round, first emphasizing internationalism and followed later on by an increased nationalism.

This different path also became visible in the choice of political heroes turned into monuments. For while Stalin was commemorated through a larger-than-life statue in East-Berlin in the Stalin-Allee in 1952 [IC 149 Historical Background 3], this hero would not last. In 1961, the Stalin statue was dismantled and the Stalin-Allee where the memorial was located renamed Frankfurter Allee/ Karl-Marx-Allee (Schroeder 2013, 176). While the Destalinization of the SU led to China distancing itself from the SU, the GDR’s continuous and even increased emphasis of

GDR-SU relations resulted in Stalin no longer being considered an appropriate hero.[525] Stalin's portrait was not only burnt on the streets during the June 17, 1953 protests in the GDR on the streets (Tikhomirov and Friedlander 2012, 76)[526] [IC 149 Historical background 4], a sign of protest against SED leadership and its close relationship to the SU, but by the early 1960s, the monuments that had been officially erected by the SED government to celebrate Stalin in 1952 were removed as well. In line with their growing estrangement, the personality cult as a form of hero worship was criticized in the SU, while the personality cult around Mao Zedong would only just take up speed in the early 1960s. In following the path of the SU, Honecker, despite becoming the main leader of the SED whose authority within the SED was unquestioned for most of his 18-year reign, did not become a figure of personality cult in the same dimension as Mao Zedong or even his predecessor Ulbricht[527], which too can be argued to have its roots in the SED's approval of Khrushchev's critique of the personality cult of the Stalinist regime. Thus the political heroes that were visible in the public spaces, be it in form of monuments in the streets or displayed in the public museum, changed decisively throughout GDR history, as can be seen from the examples of the erection of Stalin imagery in the early 1950s and its demolition in the early 1960s, as well as the change of foci in the historical exhibitions, namely from an emphasis on Marx as an all-German hero in the early 1950s to an emphasis on Lenin in the early 1960s.

Besides redesigning a past museum to display a history legitimizing the GDR (as in the case of the MfDG) and laying the emphasis on specific political leaders (Stalin, Lenin) for domestic and international political purposes, the houses of cultural figures of the GDR were also turned into public museums. A museum dedicated to Bertolt Brecht and his wife Helene Weigel (1900-1971 from Vienna) established in 1978 was one such museum. However, it is striking that the GDR did not build additional museums to commemorate and display Brecht in the way that Lu Xun was museumized in China. Besides Brecht's former residences, no additional large-scale museums were constructed in his name. The reasons for this are not fully obvious but are most likely linked to two main differences between Brecht and Lu Xun: First of all, when the GDR underwent its first phase of institutionalization in the early 1950s, Brecht was still alive and himself involved in this process (as a founding member of the DAdK). Thus when Brecht passed away, the first spur of

[525] For more information on the Stalin cult in the GDR up to 1953, see: (Behrends 2006); (Plamper 2004).
[526] For more information on the use of Stalin's image in the context of Stalin's personality cult and its being subjected to iconoclasm, see: (Tikhomirov and Friedlander 2012).
[527] An analysis of the presentation of Pieck, Ulbricht and Honecker in GDR primers used as schoolbooks in middle schools in the GDR showed that the Honecker cult remained relatively subdued (Rodden 2009).

institutionalizing "GDR national culture" had already passed. Secondly, when Brecht's 80th birth anniversary arrived in 1978 and a memorial museum *was* finally established in his name, the de-Stalinization under Khrushchev (1953-1964) and the ensuing 'De-Ulbrichtization' and a renewed emphasis on Lenin's collective leadership under Honecker in the GDR had begun to deemphasize personality cult in its most extreme forms.[528]

Brecht – Embodied: Left-Wing Cosmopolitans, Cultural Brokers and the Intermateriality of Literature

When Brecht passed away on August 14, 1956 in his bed in his apartment on Chausseestrasse 125 in East Berlin, he was surrounded by his personal belongings, his books and his writings. Having spent 15 years in exile with longer stays in Denmark, Sweden, Finland and the USA, he had returned to East Germany in 1948 and had moved into the apartment in Chausseestrasse in June 1953. Before inquiring further into the history of the establishment of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte (established in 1978, see part on Brecht institutionalized, below), in which his apartment was reconstructed so as to resemble its "original" state, the following part will first present how the material literary and personal estate of Brecht in form of his personal belongings can today be encountered in these rooms [IC 150 Groundplan Chausseestr. 125].[529] The focus lies on the numerous "heroes" that are present in Brecht's former living spaces, pointing towards a complex and highly transcultural genealogy of heroes into which Brecht positioned himself, not only in his literary work but also in his material living environment. The close reading of the objects will reveal Brecht's material heritage to be highly diverse and in some respects politically, aesthetically and culturally straightforward while in others ambiguous and contradictory. The close reading of the objects reveals that the display can be read both with and against the grain of Brecht as a hero of the "sozialistische Nationalkultur", which the establishment of the Gedenkstätte in the late 1970s aimed to achieve (see in Brecht-institutionalized part, below) (DDR Verfassung 1968).

[528] This change in the presentation of political leaders combined with an increasingly feeble economy is likely to have hindered deliberations on newly constructing large scale museums dedicated to more recent cultural heroes of the GDR. It will however remain unanswered whether the personality cult surrounding Lu Xun in China, might not have also taken place around Brecht in GDR, if the GDR had possessed Brecht's estate as early as 1956, when the de-Stalinization was admittedly begun behind the curtains of Soviet domestic policies, but the politics under Ulbricht had not yet begun to back-paddle on the issue of personality cult as they did under Honecker. These deliberations are of course only thought-experiments. For by the time the Gedenkstätte of Brecht was established in 1978, Weigel had kept Brecht's estate under her personal control throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and the personality cult in the late 1970s in the GDR was no longer as freewheeling as it had been in the 1950s in the GDR or in the 1960s and 70s in the PRC.

[529] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 150.

When approaching the objects on display in Brecht's former residence, a comparison to Lu Xun is particularly meaningful in two main respects: Firstly, one encounters those objects which highlight Brecht's and Lu Xun's roles as modern left-wing cosmopolitan writers of the early twentieth century, which were connected to each other across national and cultural boarders. Secondly, objects reveal Brecht's and Lu Xun's roles as cultural brokers appropriating materials not only from the Soviet Union, but also from the respective faraway peripheries beyond the Soviet Union, namely from China (from Brecht's perspective) and Germany (from Lu Xun's perspective). One also encounters those objects which do not support a reading of Brecht and Lu Xun as left-wing revolutionary writers, but indeed stand in stark contrast to it. Accordingly, the following two parts will take a close look at the display in the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte as one encounters it today, before moving on to a historical analysis of the institutionalization of Brecht in museum space and the imagination/reception of these spaces by visitors and the public more generally.

Display: Seeing, Describing and Placing Karl Marx

Brecht and Lu Xun are two of the main left-wing cosmopolitan writers of the first half of the twentieth century. Past comparative studies have focused on Brecht and Lu Xun's literary production, highlighting that they had a great common ground as left-wing writers.[530] Their intangible connection across national borders through a similar political and aesthetic understanding of literature is thus one way in which it is meaningful to see Brecht and Lu Xun as

[530] Anne Lijing Xu's 2007 dissertation on "the sublime writer and the lure of action" compares André Malraux (1901-1976, from Paris), Bertolt Brecht and Lu Xun in a literary analysis of their works and reflects on their biographical development, for example. She shows how the writers' identities and the identities they create in their work lie first and foremost in the inbetween, revealing the different attitudes of the writers towards their situatedness between binaries of "either China or the West", "either Capitalism or Communism", "either art or politics" (Xu 2007, 8). Other comparative studies on Brecht and Lu Xun have furthermore pointed to their use of similar modes of artistic expression, for example montage as a heuristic and pedagogical technique. In his study, Sean Macdonald compares the use of montage in the works of Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948 from Riga/Latvia), Ezra Pound (1885-1972 from Idaho/ USA), Bertolt Brecht and Lu Xun of the 1930s. He chooses his cases due to their diversity of cultural and also political background, which all, knowingly or not, made use of this technique known as montage. But in his study Macdonald is careful not to pull the connecting threads between these men, whom he terms, "major modern cultural producers" (Sean Macdonald 2007, 152) too tightly, as he only "places Lu Xun *in the company of* Einstein, Brecht, but also Pound, to orient the way we understand him, as well as the Chinese avant-gardists and modernists of his era" [my emphasis] (Sean Macdonald 2007, 153). These comparisons thus either bring Brecht and Lu Xun together based on their biographical and literary similarity of in-between-ness, or due to their common use of a particular aesthetic tool, which artists across a wide range of political and cultural backgrounds applied in their literary creation. In both cases, the scholars bring to the foreground their connection in the dilemma faced by (anti-fascist) left-wing writers or their connection as modern avant-garde writers, without neglecting that in many regards they were ultimately both. It is Lu Xun and Brecht's ability to move between different cultures or being located in the "inbetween" that led Joachim Boldt to choose them as cases for his dissertation on contemporary education in which he conceptualizes and reflects on how teaching curriculums can foster "transkulturelle Kompetenz" drawing both on Lu Xun's and Brecht's pedagogical thought and arguing for their "use value" in school curriculums (Boldt 2006).

left-wing cosmopolitans. The term cosmopolitan is used here in the way suggested by Slavic comparative literature scholar Katharine Clark. Clark prefers this term to avoid the overlapping term internationalism, as the latter has often been used as a euphemism for the cause of Soviet ideological hegemony throughout the world in the past (K. Clark 2011, 4). Understanding Brecht and Lu Xun as left-wing cosmopolitans is helpful to highlight that Brecht and Lu Xun were connected by their enthusiasm for the cultural production radiating from the Soviet Union but ultimately belonging to an aesthetics that went beyond nations and political regimes and was practiced by a large loosely-bound group of left-wing urban cosmopolitans. The internationally envisioned Communist revolution certainly left immaterial traces in their literary production.

Beyond this, as this section shows, it also left material traces in their personal estates, traces which shine a new light on their posthumous connection through the visibility of materiality, as it reveals similar mechanism of putting left-wing writers on display. The material traces of this internationally envisioned Communist revolution resulted in a phenomenon which one could term an intermateriality[531] of literary heritage, a concept which in the realm of literary studies with a focus on writer's literary production has become well-established as intertextuality.[532] In the opening of her analysis on the concept of intertextuality, Alfaro defines the term in the broadest sense as:

> There are always other words in a word, other texts in a text. The concept of intertextuality requires, therefore, that we understand texts not as self-contained systems but as differential and historical, as traces and tracings of otherness, since they are shaped by the repetition and transformation of other textual structures. Rejecting the New Critical principle of textual autonomy, the theory of intertextuality insists that a text cannot exist as a self-sufficient whole, and so, that it does not function as a closed system (Alfaro 1996, 268).

Even though this section of the thesis suggests a close reading of objects (borrowing the terminology of New Criticism in literary theory), they only form the nucleus of this thesis around which further layers (institutionalization, imagination and worldedness) are layered in order to communicate the full complexity of the intermateriality of literary heritage.

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[531] The term intermateriality has only recently been used by scholars of cultural studies. One of the rare references comes from museologist Sharon Macdonald (Sharon Macdonald 2008, 62) in her conclusion on European museums displaying "European heritage": "More research is needed to try better to tease out not simply 'heritage effects' in general but also the differences between them and the ways in which certain experiences might be transposed from one heritage arena to another. We might think the latter in part as a kind of intermateriality, analogous with intertextuality."

[532] For a development of the concept of "intertextuality" in literary theory since the mid-1960s, see: (Alfaro 1996).

Let me thus approach the material objects on display in Brecht's apartment. When writing at his standing desk in the large study, Brecht had two photographs placed on the middle of his desk, a photograph of Marx and a photograph of Engels [**IC 151 Daguerreotypes of Marx, Engels**]. The photographs are the approximate size of postcards and both are in upright format, placed each in a black wooden picture frame. The picture frames are not hung on the wall, but are placed on the top of the desk, tilted against the wall. The largely undecorated walls in the apartment leave an air of preliminarity, or what Max Frisch had described in one of Brecht's earlier apartments as "unhomely (unheimisch)" (Frisch 2000, 28), for the placement of the photographs can appear temporary, effortless and unbinding.

IC 151 Daguerreotypes of Marx and Engels:
Two Readings of Brecht's Standing Desk

1.





2.

1./2. Brecht's Standing Desk in the large study at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum.

The two photos, both daguerreotypes, are paired by the use of the same frame, but are indeed rather different in their composition. The daguerreotype of Marx is a full-body portrait, in which Marx is standing behind a chair, his hands resting on the back of the chair and slightly turned to the viewer. His white hair and black full beard are Marx' main iconographic features, rendering Marx easily recognizable (Bouvier 2013, 12). The image is based on a daguerreotype showing Marx in 1861 in a photo studio in London. The circulation of such photographs already occurred in Marx' lifetime, making him a known and recognizable public person (Bouvier 2013, 13). His hat is lying on the chair, tilted against the back of the chair, allowing for a certain dynamic in the image implied by some form of past movement. The setting, however, is a typical studio setting,

including a decorated curtain in the background and a weighty, probably leather armchair, imitating a well-furnished interior. Engel's portrait on the other hand is a half-body portrait, showing his hands but not legs and indicating the back of a chair which Engels rests his right arm upon. The background of Engels, however, fades into white, setting his portrait stronger apart from the background than in Marx' depiction. Engels does not yet feature his full-beard, but an anchor-styled beard, a mustache and a bearded chin. The two daguerreotypes were both taken in 1861 in London and were already depicted as a pair together then.[533] Marx had become an icon in the Soviet Union, when the first public memorial depicting Marx was set up as early as 1918, with Lenin pressing it to be finished for the one-year anniversary of the October Revolution (Mikuda-Hüttel 2013, 21); (Dühr 2013, 156). Even in these earliest memorials in Petrograd (today's Saint Petersburg) Marx' image was paired with that of Engels (Mikuda-Hüttel 2013, 21). Thus it was in the Soviet Union under Lenin that Marx and Engels were turned into icons, an iconography which the GDR would also support. Using the Marx-Engels iconography, the GDR would initially emphasize its all-German cultural heritage in the early 1950s, but would later also use Marx and Engels to highlight the GDR's close political relationship to the Soviet Union, for example by choosing Soviet sculptors to create their memorials.[534]

The fact that Brecht would keep these photographs on his desk is not surprising. Brecht openly supported the Communist movement and found much inspiration in the writings of Marx and Engels as did Lu Xun, and both explicitly engaged with their philosophies in their writings. Thus, regarding his political standpoint, one could argue that the images of Marx and Engels observing Brecht while he was writing was something he drew inspiration from: They indeed served as models, or arguably as his heroes.

The display of Brecht's study visually connects Brecht to Marx and Engels, but how the space and the photographs in particular are read and interpreted cannot be guaranteed. For indeed,

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[533] The daguerreotype by the photographer Beard is collected at the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier, managed by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and is dated May 1861 in the image database of the FES. For a high quality reproduction, see: (Dühr 2013, 61). The daguerreotype of Engels is also dated 1861 and was also made into a collage of three images, with Marx's standing portrait, Engel's half-body portrait and the first page of their *Communist Manifesto* as early as the 1860s.

[534] A full body Marx and Engels memorial was set up under Ulbricht, for example, in Karl-Marx-Stadt (today's Chemniz) in 1957 which was designed by the German sculptor Walter Howard (1910-2005) (Dühr 2013, 69), but also Soviet artists such as Lev Krebel (1917-2003) were commissioned to create Marx memorials, such as a 40-ton heavy stone bust of Marx, also set up in Karl-Marx-Stadt (Dühr 2013, 173). This bust depicted Marx' facial features in a monumental, "socialist-realist" style, which refers to the edged lines in his hair and beard, the fierce brows, the dark shadows over the eyes and the tightly shut mouth, conveying a stern and resolute facial impression, which conveyed a "political-physiognomic message" (Mikuda-Hüttel 2013, 26).

when Brecht visited London in 1934, he wrote about the imagery surrounding Marx in an essay titled "Marxbeschreibungen" (Brecht 1999j, 167) in which he is extremely critical of heroizing, or in Brecht's words "lionizing", depictions of Karl Marx:

> The biographers prefer to place Marx in front of a miniature barricade instead of a desk in his study, provided that nothing but trinkets [small objects of little value] are on his desk. And with the help of this desk one could in turn much more easily build a barricade! And yet, Marx' appearance on the better daguerreotype images is quite pleasant, nothing of it resembles a wrestler for fame or a loud-mouthed braggart. Serenity and simplicity mark his composure. The petit bourgeois want to dress him in a leather apron [of a worker] […], but he has little of the appearance of an engineer or explorer, and no one thinks of a workshop when seeing him, everyone thinks of a study, a library and a conference room. […] In the common depictions, Marx would have had to hold a book – which he consumed plenty of – in his hands with fully outstretched arms and would still bearly be able to peer beyond his lion-sized chest. And of smoking a cigar – which he also consumed plenty of – could not even be thought of with this plaster casted [bust]: to stick an imported [cigar] into the face of such a bust, that would be true sacrilege! Indeed, Marx lived a bourgeois life: He was criticized often enough for it. […] He was neither without appetite nor was he insatiable. Spare us the frightful appearance of a Jupiter Tonans![535]

Brecht dislikes that Marx is presented by biographers as a fighter or worker who is placed in front of a metaphorical barricade instead of a desk in his study. It is very likely that Brecht is referring to the daguerreotypes in his collection when he argues that Marx is indeed depicted in a relaxed and simple appearance, not at all like a loud-mouthed braggart (what he literally calls a "[loud-]mouthing hero", a "Maulheld"). The fact that he is often depicted as a fighter and a hard worker, implied by the metaphorical leather apron (Schurzfell), which he is dressed in by his biographers, denies the fact that Marx lived a bourgeois and comfortable life. Brecht thus took issue with the lionizing of Marx in descriptions and imagery as early as the 1930s, and it is possible that the images of Marx and Engels on Brecht's desk pleased Brecht precisely because they reveal (or visually "admit") the bourgeois background of the Communist thinkers and the complexity they

[535] "Die Biographen stellen Marx am liebsten eine Miniaturbarrikade als Schreibtisch in seine Bücherstube, wofern nicht als Nippes auf seinen Schreibtisch. Und aus diesem Schreibtisch könnte man umgekehrt viel leichter eine Barrikade bauen! Dabei hat Marx auf den besseren Daguerrebildern ein ganz angenehmes Aussehen, nichts daran von einem Preisringer und Maulhelden. Gelassenheit und Einfachheit sind in seiner Haltung ausgeprägt. Die Kleinbürger möchten ihm gern ein Schurzfell umschnallen […], aber er hat eher das Aussehen eines Ingenieurs und Erfinders, und niemand denkt bei seinem Anblick an eine Werkstätte, jedermann an Büro, Bibliothek und Konferenzzimmer. […] Der Marx der üblichen Abbildungen könnte ein Buch -- er hat bei Gott deren genug konsumiert -- nicht anders als mit ausgestreckten Händen vor sich halten und hätte dann noch Mühe, über seine Löwenbrust weg zu lesen. An das Rauchen einer Zigarre -- und auch davon hat er genügend konsumiert -- ist bei diesem Gipsguß nicht zu denken: man stecke nur einer solchen Büste eine Importe ins Gesicht, eine wahre Tempelschändung! Marx führte ein durchaus großbürgerliches Leben: er wurde oft genug dafür getadelt. […] Er war weder appetitlos, noch unersättlich. Man verschone uns endlich mit diesem Popanz eines jupiter tonans!" (Brecht 1999j, 167).

thereby embodied. Thus, the daguerreotypes on Brecht's desk can be read both with and against the grain of presenting Brecht as a left-wing cosmopolitan writer. To be precise, they can be read merely as the placement of Marx-Engels-imagery on his desk as inspiration, but also as the placement of this particular imagery highlighting the dilemma of the left-wing urban intellectual, living a bourgeois life, but aiming to write for and reach the proletariat.

This is a reading which is corroborated when taking into consideration the furnishing of Brecht's apartment, including the standing desk itself. The furniture, some of it so-called Biedermeier furniture, and the sheer size of the house are quite "bourgeois". The apartment features not one, but two studies and has relatively high ceilings, since the house was built around 1840, during the Biedermeier period. The paradox lies not only in the fact that Brecht favored this style of Biedermeier furnishing over others (say, Bauhaus), but also that having returned to the GDR after 15 years of exile, Brecht found himself in a socialist state in which his writing was valorized, enabling him to follow an increasingly comfortable lifestyle (including a summer house at a lake).[536] In a letter Brecht explains himself to his friend and publisher Peter Suhrkamp, writing how the high ceilings, large windows and large proportions of the apartment overall make it a pleasant place to work in and that "it is really advisable to live in houses and with furniture which is at least 120 years old, thus from the former capitalist environment, until we will have a later socialist one (es ist wirklich ratsam, in Häusern und mit Möbeln zu wohnen, die zumindest 129 Jahre alt sind, also in früherer kapitalistischer Umgebung, bis man eine spätere sozialistische haben wird) (Akademie der Künste 2000, 94)." Brecht even reflects on this contrast in his poem "A New House (Ein Neues Haus)" (1949) in which he writes: "Driving through the ruins / I am reminded each day of the privileges / which I am granted by this house. I hope / it will not make me tolerate the shacks / which so many thousands of people dwell in. (Fahrend durch die Trümmer/ Werde ich tagtäglich an die Privilegien erinnert/ Die mir dieses Haus verschaffen. Ich hoffe/ Es macht mich nicht geduldig mit den Löchern/ In denen so viele Tausende sitzen)" (Brecht 1999f). Regardless of whether this poem was indeed inspired by the author's then current living environment and thus is understood more clearly in an autobiographical reading, it highlights the doubts of the speaker over the privileged position he enjoys in his society and his fear that it might cause him to lose the connection to those who live in the ruins and shacks, to those for whom he writes. He describes his house as beautiful ("ein schönes Haus"), but it also makes him feel uncomfortable – or rather too

[536] For more information on Brecht's summer house, see: (Fischer 2007).

comfortable – which troubles him. It points to the dilemma many left-wing writers faced before Brecht and would continue to face – a paradox inherent in Marxist literary value: Namely, the contradiction between the location of the left-wing writer in a socialist state (in which he is valued and rewarded with a privileged position) and the targeted location of his literature, his intended audience. This conflict becomes undeniably manifest in the living spaces (and living conditions) of the writer.

This dilemma has in the past been addressed in comparative literature studies on Brecht and Lu Xun. Schwarcz' 1981 article "Willing in the Face of Necessity: Lu Xun, Brecht, and Sartre", points out that all three writers shared a similarly privileged background, thus "betraying" their own class by taking up the revolutionary cause (revealing them as benign "class-traitors") (Schwarcz 1981, 314). Schwarcz hereby refers to Brecht and Lu Xun as urban bourgeois intellectuals who supported the "struggle of the proletariat", even though they did not consider themselves proletarians. But by providing a critical perspective on their own class and the ruling elite, they unmasked what they knew well, certainly in Lu Xun's case, the traditional-minded literati who, even though not in the stricter sense "middle class" or "bourgeois", enjoyed social privileges, claimed moral superiority and were mainly interested in keeping their own privileges intact after the revolution ended the imperial regime, with little concern of those less fortunate. Brecht was not only critically outspoken towards any kind of war-like behavior but was outspoken for those less fortunate, those in his times (especially under the Nazi regime) considered to be of a lower class (the poor and the Jews) (Schwarcz 1981, 291). This dedication to the less fortunate went so far that they felt uncomfortable in their skin when trying to connect to the people in their writing. While Schwarcz looks at Brecht's and Lu Xun's writings in which they discuss their situatedness in (class) society in an abstract manner, their unease also surfaces when Brecht and Lu Xun reflect on their material situatedness in society, such as on their own living surroundings.

This conflict becomes undeniably manifest in the living spaces (and living conditions) of the author. Lu Xun, writing in 1927 at the time in Guangzhou, also discussed his worries about his living space in his essays. Lu Xun had left Beijing for Xiamen, since the political climate under the warlord regime was too explosive. Having spent half a year in Xiamen, teaching at University with a very good salary (400 yuan/month) (Pollard 2002, 13), Lu Xun moved on to Guangzhou. Guangzhou, like Xiamen, was under Guomindang rule, and since at the time of his arrival, the first united-front between the Guomindang and the Communist Party was still intact, his situation was much safer, and the fame he had acquired in Beijing standing up for his students against the

authorities of the Women's Normal College for supporting the warlord regime, was not considered a threat to the Guomindang – and indeed Lu Xun much supported the Guomindang's Northern Expedition (which started from Guangzhou) in order unify the country. Lu Xun thus moved on to Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, where many left-wing Guomindang and Communist academics were present (among them also Guo Moruo) (Pollard 2002, 113). Lu Xun was received with much respect and was given one of the best accommodations by the university and yet again a good salary (500 yuan/month) (Pollard 2002, 113). Lu Xun described how he heard from a secretary that his quarters were the best of the university where usually only department heads would stay, and he noted that he felt overwhelmed by this honor (even though he would also poke fun at this later in the essay by pointing out the rats that kept running about in the apartment). In the essay "In the Belfry 在钟楼上" he remembers:

> I wanted to understand and criticize Guangzhou, but there I was, unhappily enshrined in the big belfry, treated as a professor by the workers, treated as their tutor by the students, and treated as an outsider by the people of Guangzhou. Detached and independent, I had no way of finding this out.[537] 我何尝不想了解广州，批评广州呢，无奈慨自被供在大钟楼上以来，工友以我为教授，学生以我为先生，广州人以我为 "外江佬" ，孤手特立，无从考查 (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ae, 32).

Lu Xun's reflections on his own living spaces, show an intellectual's troubles with his privileged position in society, which separates him from the people he hopes to reach.

Looking at Lu Xun's memorial museums, the icons of Marx and Engels are, of course, also visual markers presenting Lu Xun as a left-wing revolutionary writer. While Lu Xun did hang images of his heroes on the walls of his Beijing residence,[538] Marx and Engels are not visibly on display in his former living quarters in Beijing, Shanghai or any of his other various residences. That is not to say that Lu Xun did not collect this iconographic material [IC 152 Marx in Lu Xun's Collection].[539] Indeed, in his collection he has a postcard depicting Marx and Engels and Lenin, not as a daguerreotype, but drawn with their iconographic full beards in profile [IC 152 Marx in Lu Xun's Collection 1]. His friends, such as Cao Jinghua sent many prints and materials from the

[537] I have made slight changes to Gladys and Xinyi Yang's translation, see (Lu Xun [1957a] 1980, 370), by translating *gongyou* literally as workers, not as college servants, and *dushou teli* more literally as detached and independent, instead of high and dry.

[538] For an excellent article on the importance of the photograph of Lu Xun's medicine teacher Mr. Fujino, whose portrait photograph hung in Lu Xun's study in Beijing, the so-called "Tiger's Tail" at Xisantiao hutong No. 21, for the imagination of the Sino-Japanese-friendship at large, see Cheng's essays on Lu Xun and the Myth of Sino-Japanese friendship: (Cheng 2014).

[539] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 152.

Soviet Union, among it also this postcard of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the now famous composition depicted in profile, shoulder to shoulder, one slightly behind the other, all facing left. Wang Xirong, director of the Shanghai Lu Xun museum explains that Lu Xun collected many postcards from the Soviet Union which featured themes of the October Revolution of 1917, and that most of them were sent to him between 1929 and 1933 by Cao Jinghua.[540] Receiving these images was, however, always a dangerous undertaking during the so-called "White Terror" (*baise kongbu* 白色恐怖) in which the GMD government cracked down on Communists and their supporters in Shanghai after the first United Front came to an abrupt end in 1927 (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 250). Thus it is not surprising that Lu Xun was cautious concerning imagery of Marx during this lifetime. Another image of Marx in Lu Xun's collection was produced by one of Lu Xun's students Liu Xian 劉峴 (1915-1990, from Lankao Henan) from the woodblock movement in Shanghai, who produced a woodblock print depicting Marx, sitting with his arm chair leaning on the back of the chair [IC 152 Marx in Lu Xun's Collection 2a]. The print is also among Lu Xun's collection. In a collection of prints titled *Nameless Woodblock Print Collection* 無名木刻及 this image was chosen for the title page and published with Lu Xun's help in 1934 [IC 152 Marx in Lu Xun's Collection 2b]. Lu Xun even wrote the foreword, but he also warned Liu Xian that this image could not be circulated widely and that it might tear him down, according to Wang Xirong (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 40). Even though the collection was meant to be printed only for a small number of woodblock enthusiasts, it is surprising that it was this dangerous image that was chosen for the cover in the end. In any case, Lu Xun kept imagery of Marx in his collection and was well-aware of the potential danger this brought for him and also for his younger followers from the woodblock print movement, which is why, possibly, he did not set it up in his former residence in Shanghai.

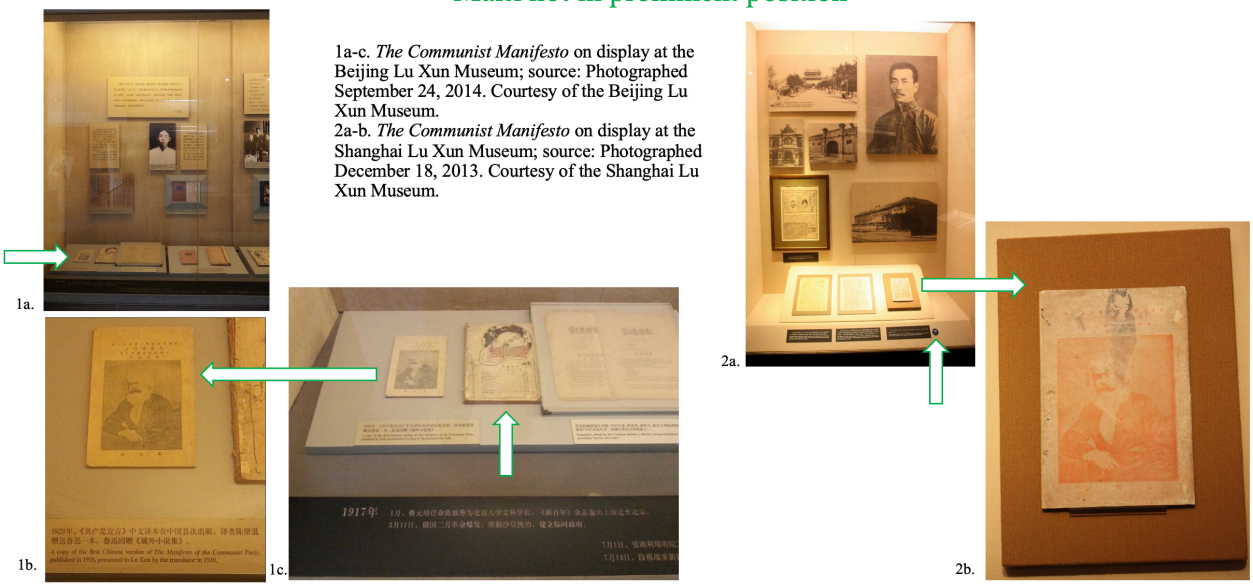
Interestingly, neither the woodblock prints nor the postcard are on display in the exhibition halls in today's display. Instead, the exhibition halls display the reproduction of Lu Xun's version of the Chinese translation of the *Communist Manifesto* 共產黨宣言 with Marx on the front cover, which is among Lu Xun's collected books. The photograph chosen for the title page is not Marx' standing portrait from 1861, but a close-up portrait from the photographer John Mayall (London)

[540] A further image of Marx is included in a portrait-poster collection Lu Xun collected [IC 152 Marx in Lu Xun's Collection 5], which also came from the Soviet Union, and included a wide range of portraits by other writers, such as Goethe, Shakespeare, Pushkin, Gogol and Gorky (Zhou Lingfei 周令飞 and Ge Tao 葛涛 2012, 197).

from 1872,[541] thus from the late Marx, whose hair is fully white and whose beard, apart from his mustache, is also increasingly white. Instead of looking directly at the viewer as in his standing portrait, this close-up portrait features Marx looking into the distance with his head turned to the viewer's left. Lu Xun received this volume of the Chinese translation's first edition as a present from the translator Chen Wangdao 陳望道 in 1920 [IC 152 Marx in Lu Xun's Collection 3]. When Lu Xun lived in Shanghai, he also bought the Japanese translation of the *Communist Manifesto* by the Japanese translator Shotaro Ozaki 尾崎庄太郎 (1906-1991)[542] from 1933 at Uchiyama Bookstore, which had both Marx and Engels on the cover, featuring Engels again before he grew the full beard (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1996, 37) [IC 152 Marx in Lu Xun's Collection 4]. Probably due to the political climate, the three Kanji for Communist are replaced by three times the letter x, crossing out the characters, merely titling the publication *XXX Manifesto* with Marx and Engels portraits on the cover. For the display in the Beijing and Shanghai exhibition halls, [543] the Chinese edition was chosen. The images of Marx in the museums today, however, do not occupy central positions in the display [**IC 153 Marx in Beijing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museums**]. In Beijing is it placed on the far left of a long corridor of displayed materials, placing it beside the publication *Creation* 創造, the major mouthpiece of the Creation Society 創造社, which Lu Xun also had in his collection and is famously known for propagating the idea of "art for art's sake 为艺术而艺术" and was founded in 1921 by Guo Moruo, Cheng Fangyu and Yu Dafu and was one of the major modern literary societies, as the label below the journal reads [**IC 153 Marx in Beijing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 1a, 1b, 1c**]. In Chinese literary history, Lu Xun, especially in his later years as the head of the League of Left-Wing Writers in Shanghai from 1930-1936, has often been presented as the critic and indeed counterpart to the Creation Society. By placing both the *Communist Manifesto* and his collection of the journal *Creation* side by side in the display, it shows that Lu Xun really collected *both* of the materials and cannot be embodied by only one, e.g. by the *Communist Manifesto* alone.

[541] For a high-quality reproduction of the photograph, see: (Dühr 2013, 65).
[542] The museum catalogue mistakenly uses the character 莊 for 庄 in its description of the publication, see: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1996, 37).
[543] There is no image shown on display in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 153 Marx imagery in the Beijing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museums, 2014
→ Marx not in prominent position



1a-c. *The Communist Manifesto* on display at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 24, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2a-b. *The Communist Manifesto* on display at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

The Shanghai display also does not lay a major focus on the Marx imagery in its display today, as it also merely features one small display in a showcase addressing Lu Xun's time in the 1920s in Beijing [**IC 153 Marx in Beijing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 2a, 2b**]. But the museum does include it in the audio guide of the museum display, thus giving it a prominent position in the museum narration (see **IC 153 Marx in Beijing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 2a**, round blue label No. 38 under the *Communist Manifesto*). The audio guide, embedded in the social network Wechat 微信 as an institutional subscription, thus leads the visitor to this object on display, explaining that Marxism circulated in China along with the rise of the May Fourth Movement and that Lu Xun had contact and understanding of the basic theories of Marxism when he lived in Beijing. What the audio guide points out, however, is that this object on display is one of the only 10 versions left of the first edition of Chen Wangdao's translation, thus creating an atmosphere of rarity and "authenticity" around this particular object on display, while the other objects only serve as a historical and biographical context for this rare item. Thus even though the Marx imagery in form of the first edition of the translation of the *Communist Manifesto* is displayed in the exhibition halls, and in the case of Shanghai Lu Xun Museum is highlighted due to its "singularity", the imagery of Marx does not feature as prominently in Lu Xun's museum space as it does in Brecht's, since it is not visible in the iconic space of Lu Xun's former living environment.

However, in the past and especially during the Cultural Revolution, the imagery of Marx was nevertheless connected to the former living surroundings of Lu Xun in Shanghai. The method used

for this was depicting Lu Xun in his study in woodblock prints and oil paintings, with the *Communist Manifesto* lying nearby [IC 154 Marx in images of Lu Xun's study 1-3].[544] These scenes of Lu Xun in his study circulated during the late Cultural Revolution and are today collected at the Beijing Lu Xun museum in the case of the 1973 oil painting of Chen Yifei 陳逸飛's "Only the uprising Proletariat has a future 惟新兴的无产者才有将来" [IC 154 Marx in images of Lu Xun's study 1]. The oil painting depicts Lu Xun is reading, bent over in his rattan armchair towards the light, smoking, with the Chinese translation of Marx' *Communist Manifesto* lying in the foreground, the light still capturing the cover, highlighting Marx' portrait, which is lying on the table facing the viewer. Not only is it the object closest to the viewer, it also constitutes one of the major points of light in the painting which is surrounded by the dark of the room. Another is collected by the Zhejiang Art Museum in the case of Li Yitai's 李以泰 1974 print "Marxism is the most forthright philosophy 马克思是最明快的哲学" [IC 154 Marx in images of Lu Xun's study 2]. Here Lu Xun is depicted standing at his desk, smoking with his right, holding a book open with his left hand, with Käthe Kollwitz' print hanging framed on this wall in the background (which is discussed here below) and Marx's Chinese translation lying on his desk, closest to the viewer, which makes Marx's portrait easily recognizable despite being depicted upside down as it is directed at Lu Xun. Interestingly, another image which circulated in the comic book by Lu Huanhua in 1972 [IC 154 Marx in images of Lu Xun's study 3], Lu Xun is once again depicted, reading and smoking, leaning towards the light, with his book placed on a stack of books as to elevate his text towards the light. To his right and also lit up by the light is the Japanese translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, recognizable by the two round portraits of Engels and Marx. Much smaller than the others, it is not as immediately evident that it is Marx and Engels that are depicted on the drawing. The text accompanying the drawing in the comic book, however, is titled "Assiduously learning Marxism 刻苦学习马克思主义". Aligned with this image in the comic book the text further explains that Lu Xun, having arrived in Shanghai, continued to study Marxism, incessantly correcting his "own perspective" (i.e. as an urban intellectual), concluding that "problems that I considered too tangled to unravel in the past, once I look at them from the perspective of Marxism, they became clear 以前认为很纠缠的不清的问题，用马克思主义的观点一看就明白了".

[544] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 154.

Thus the text informs the reader that the book which Lu Xun is depicted as reading relates to his having previously read the *Communist Manifesto*. Marx imagery in the form of Marx' famous 1972-portrait photograph on the title of the Chinese translation and two further two oval portraits of Marx and Engels in the case of the Japanese translation were used in the depictions of Lu Xun in his study. While this imagery occupied a prominent positon in artistic reproductions of Lu Xun in form of an oil painting, a woodblock print or a comic book drawing, the Marx imagery in the museum display today no longer occupies such a central position in the foreground, but it is placed among an ample display of prints and books. In the times in which Lu Xun's role as a Communist writer was to be especially highlighted (during the Cultural Revolution), this Marx imagery served as an important form of creating a hero genealogy in which Lu Xun is directly connected to the imagery of Marx. Today, this artificially created focus on the representations (e.g. the placement of the Marx portrait in the foreground), is less likely to be used in artistic reproduction. These materials have shown how a visual marker such as Marx can move from the center of display to the periphery over time, can move from the being placed into spotlight to being moved to the margin of a glass show case, depending on how well it serves the image of Lu Xun that is to be depicted.

With the two daguerreotypes of Marx and Engels on display in the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, there was no need to create the connection between Brecht and Marx through reproductions in the form of prints and paintings, since Brecht's apartment as a reproduction of the past "original" state already establishes such a hero genealogy, setting Brecht in the heritage of Marx. Even if Brecht did not agree with many of the artistic reproductions of Marx of his time and thus most likely intentionally chose the historic daguerreotypes in which Marx and Engels are most authentic from Brecht's perspective, as they reveal their bourgeois living standard, this critique of Brecht is not immanently accessible to the viewer of this scenario. Instead, the visitor approaches Brecht's standing desk with Marx and Engels occupying the central position on the top of the desk, highlighting their importance to Brecht and his work.

Display, a quick glance: Moving, Losing and Placing Lenin

To present Brecht as a modern left-wing cosmopolitan writer, not only his connection to Marx and Engels' philosophy finds material affirmation in Brecht's former living environment, but similarly Brecht's connection to Lenin. A photograph of Lenin [**IC 155 Brecht's Lenin Portrait in his**

Small Study, Berlin], wearing suit and tie, with his right arm placed on the back of a chair looking at the viewer, is on display on the bookshelf in Brecht's small study (kleines Arbeitszimmer) in his

IC 155 Brecht's Lenin Portrait in his Small Study, Berlin



Portrait photo of Lenin in Brecht's small study at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014. Courtesy of the the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum

apartment. Lenin is leaning over his chair in order to face the viewer directly, which can make the visitors of the Gedenkstätte feel peered at by this "hero" when moving through the rooms. According to Elke Pfeil (1957- from Crimmitschau), academic staff at the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte from 1987-1989 and head of the Gedenkstätte since 1990, the photograph is said to have been put up by Helene Weigel. It also features in the 1956 photographs taken of the apartment after Brecht's passing, which indicates that it was not only during the restoration of Brecht's living spaces that Weigel set up the photograph, but that it had been part of the furnishing of the apartment already during Brecht's lifetime. This shows that it often remains unclear, who decorated Brecht's studies and bedroom, despite the fact that Weigel and Brecht had separate apartments. Interestingly, Weigel's apartment on the ground-floor features no photographs or portraits of political leaders or other historic individuals, but exclusively family photos. However, Weigel, presumably with Brecht's approval, chose a photo of Lenin instead of herself or their children to decorate her husband's study.

Lenin and the commemoration or, arguably, worship of Lenin in the Soviet Union and beyond was something Brecht discussed in his literary oeuvre, as we have seen in the poem on the carpet weavers of Kujan-Bulak from 1929 quoted above (see the section on "Brecht's Heroes and

Sites of Hero Worship: Conceptual Reflections"). The narrator presents the decision to choose a "useful" form of commemorating Lenin (by buying petroleum and burning out the mosquitoes in the fields) over the useless form of commemorating Lenin (by spending money on a Lenin bust). Eventually, as the second part of the poem shows, the carpet weavers of Kujan-Bulak finally set up yet another form of material commemoration (the plaque describing the event of commemorating Lenin by eradicating the mosquitoes) as soon as they had the opportunity to, thereby revealing the inevitable return to the material form of commemoration. Certainly, the poem can be read in two ways. On the one hand, the poem can be read as emphasizing the commemoration of an event instead of a great man (ein Großer). On the other hand, it can be read as an ironic form of developing the plot, since the admirable decision to choose the useful immaterial form of commemoration through a useful "act" over the material bust only again results in a material form of commemoration by setting up a plaque. The second reading of the poem focusing on this inevitable return to the material commemoration is further corroborated when confronted by Brecht's and Weigel's display of Lenin's photograph in Brecht's study. For even though Brecht advocated an awareness for man's susceptibility to hero worship, a reading of his study suggests that Brecht was not immune to this practice of hero worship. And again, the display of Lenin in their former living apartment fit smoothly in the image of a "socialist Brecht" that the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte hoped to present when opening the apartment to the public as a space of commemoration. Thus it no surprise that at the opening of the Gedenkstätte, Brecht's poem on the commemoration of Lenin was quoted, arguing that the house ought to serve as a site to commemorate Brecht and at the same time become a useful site, yet not in as practical a sense as the acquiring of petroleum during a fever-plague, but in the sense of communicating and propagating Brecht to the public, thus making use of his living spaces to propagate the author and use of the author to propagate socialism (see, Brecht- institutionalized) (cited in Hecht 2003).

In Lu Xun's former living spaces, on the other hand, as was the case for Marx' example, no imagery of political leaders, such as Lenin are found. And as mentioned above, the postcard Lu Xun received from Cao Jinghua featuring Marx, Engels and Lenin, shoulder to shoulder, is in the museum's collection, but is not used for the current display. However, Lu Xun indeed attempted to acquire Lenin imagery, but this was not an easy endeavor in 1930s Shanghai. Lu Xun noted in his diary on June 3, 1929 how he received Cao Jinghua's postcard and other materials in the mail, and in September 10, 1930 even describes in his diary how the image of Lenin, which had been printed at the beginning of a book containing a collection of woodblock prints which he received

from Cao Jinghua, had been torn out of the book and was no longer included when the book reached him. The book without the torn out image of Lenin was stamped "checked by the Examination Committee of the Garrison Post of Shanghai 淞滬警備郵政檢查委員會驗訖",[545] thus Lu Xun concluded in his diary that it must had been them who had removed it (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 250). The removal of Lenin imagery reveals that the GMD was well aware of the power such a portrait of a political leader could have in society and how, in the hands of a writer and publisher such as Lu Xun, this potential power could increase. Lu Xun too was aware of the power and also dangers this imagery, such as portraits of Lenin or Marx, had for his students in the woodblock movement and expressed his worries to them, as with Liu Xian's woodblock print of Marx mentioned above. Again, as with Marx, Lenin – understandably – does not feature in Lu Xun's apartments in late Republican-era Shanghai. In Brecht's apartment in the GDR, on the other hand, this imagery was not only safe to put on display in rooms in which he would receive guests and work with his colleagues collectively, but was even a valorizing element for his display when his living quarters were turned into a museum later in the GDR. How powerful this photograph would become for one of the visitors in the museum, will be discussed in the part below, for the power of the image became visible only after this hero had indeed fallen from grace.

Display: Appropriating and Creating: The Man in Doubt and A Mother's Sacrifice

Lu Xun and Brecht were not only modern left-wing cosmopolitan writers, but also acted as cultural brokers[546] by circulating and appropriating materials from Germany and China respectively. One

[545] In 1930, Shanghai was controlled by the GMD government in Nanjing, which also monitored the post to keep control over the Communists that remained in Shanghai despite the 1927 crack-down of Chiang Kai-shek.

[546] The term "cultural broker" is used in this chapter to highlight Brecht's and Lu Xun's role as mediators between cultures by acting as translators and by acquiring and then circulating materials from Germany and China within their own networks. The term cultural broker has been used in cultural studies since the mid-1990s (Szasz 2001) and, similar to Bourdieu's terminology of social, academic and cultural "capital" from the mid-1980s (Bourdieu 1986), the "broker" is a term primarily used in the field of economics and finance. In Szasz's edited volume which introduces "cultural intermediaries" (which she uses interchangeably with brokers) from the Americas, the term connected specific individuals (traders, diplomats, interpreters etc.) who "juggle the ways of different societies with apparent ease", "bridging native worlds with separate and distinct identities", which the volume separates into "native and non-native people of the Americas" (Szasz 2001, 6). In this early usage by Szasz, there was still a clear distinction between two distinctly different cultures and the borderlands/ frontiers lying inbetween. Instead of merely using the terms metaphorically or borrowing terminology from the disciplines of economics and finance, the terms can also be used to open up a field of discourse on society and culture which reveals similar mechanisms which also underlie the fields of economics and finance, but without giving superiority to any *one* field. The cultural field and its power dynamics can maintain a relative autonomy from the fields of economy, finance and even politics (Bourdieu and Randal Johnson 1993, 15). Their explanatory value has been drawn on in this thesis, since they also show that these fields *can* overlap (e.g. the fields of politics and literary production in the socialist state). However, the usage of terms such as brokerage or capital in the field of (trans)cultural studies can also be viewed

form in which this occurred was through translation, with Brecht translating Chinese poems (via English) into the German language and Lu Xun translating German poems from German into Chinese. The two writers further appropriated[547] elements which they understood to be "Chinese" or "German" both in the *immaterial* realm of philosophical, political or artistic thought[548] as well as in the *material* realm of their own collections (e.g. Lu Xun collecting German wood-block prints which were sent to him by his friends in Germany and Brecht collecting Chinese scrolls which his friends had brought with them from China).

Seeing Lu Xun and Brecht engaging with the Chinese and German culture is nothing new. Lu Xun's interest in Germany and Brecht's interest in China have received a fair amount of attention over the last decades especially with regard to the appropriation of the *immaterial*, in its less obvious references commonly referred to as "intertextuality" (e.g. Lu Xun's (in-)direct references to Nietzsche or Brecht's (in-)direct references to the poet Bai Juyi, for example). Lu Xun's view of Germany and the German writers, philosophers, politicians and artists from which he drew inspiration have been discussed by Prof. Sun Yu (Sun Yu 孙郁 2013). He reveals the intensity with which Lu Xun dealt with contemporary and past German political thought, writing and art. But even when the subject matter had no connection to Germany, Lu Xun heavily relied on the German language which he had learned during his studies in Nanjing and Japan[549] to read and translate works of literature from other languages (e.g. Russian) into Chinese.

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critically in the context of a financialization of sociology. Here current researchers, among others Ève Chiapello, inquire to what extent the use of financial terminology and the adoption of argumentative structures applied in financial and economic market theory (and practice) to explain social phenomena can have long-lasting and potentially negative effects on the field of sociology, as it loses its autonomy from financial and economic reasoning. For further research on the phenomenon of financialization, see: (Boltanski, Chiapello, and Elliott 2007).

547 For an etymology of the term appropriation in transcultural studies, see (Burke 2009, 36–42). The term is chosen here as it highlights the agency of the person who appropriates something that is understood to belong to a different cultural realm, thus highlighting the agent, here termed cultural broker. Thus instead of regarding, for example, Nietzsche as having an "impact" or "influence" on China, Lu Xun's agency in appropriating the ideas and thoughts through Nietzsche's writing into China is highlighted. The same would be the case for Bai Juyi, who would be presented as having an "impact" and "influence" on Germany, however due to the Eurocentrism in scholarly writings on Brecht and in cultural studies more generally, this terminology would be less likely, as in this case the "appropriation" of Chinese poetry by Brecht would be the more likely choice of terminology. That this subtle form of Eurocentrism remains even in more recent studies when analyzing the cultural exchange between China and Germany can be seen in the works by Hsia and Hu who analyze the "impact" and "influence" of Brecht in China instead of ascribing agency to those personages of the Chinese theatre who engaged with, appropriated and also at times rejected Brecht's ideas and writing (Hsia 1983); (Hu Xingliang 2009).

548 Dooghan has dedicated much attention to Lu Xun's appropriation of thought from both Chinese and Western texts in his works and translations, see Part I in his 2011 dissertation on "Lu Xun and the Production of World Literature": (Dooghan 2011).

549 German was the lingua franca in the study "Western sciences" around the turn of the century in China and Japan, thus Lu Xun learned German when he studied mining in Nanjing at the Naval Academy (1899 to 1902) and during his studies of "Western" medicine at Sendai University where he studied from 1904-1906.

Brecht's enthusiasm for China has been discussed by Anthony Tatlow, who analyzed Brecht's translations of Chinese poems which Brecht translated into German from English translations, arguing that Brecht accidently came closer to the Chinese "original" versions of the poems than the English translations of Bai Juyi's poems by Arthur Wayley or Fritz Jensen and Joachim Schickl's translations of Mao Zedong's poems (A. Tatlow, Waley, and Brecht 1973). Berg-Pan also took up Brecht's Chinese poems, however arguing from a biographical approach. She explains that the reason for the closeness between Brecht's translations and the Chinese original lies in the fact that the poems were "already inside him", allowing him to pierce through the English translation into the Chinese (Berg-Pan 1979, 249–72). Underlying both their arguments remains a conviction – no matter how subtle – of a Brechtian genius that allowed him as a poet to do an arguably better job of translating Chinese poetry than the Sinologist Arthur Waley (1889-1966 from Royal Tunbridge Wells/ Kent), despite not knowing Chinese.

Instead of focusing on the connections that existed between Brecht and China, as had Tatlow and Berg-Pan, Eric Hayot, in his 2004 study on *Chinese Dreams: Pound, Brecht, Tel quell*, has skillfully argued that "Brecht never wrote about what it meant to be interested in China", boldly pointing out that "there surrounds 'Brecht and China' a very particular silence, produced by the fact that while Brecht frequently wrote about Chinese things, he never tried to justify or explain his own relationship to China or Chineseness" (Hayot 2012 [2004], 54). Instead of regarding this lack of a metadiscourse on China by Brecht as an actual silence on the topic, however, Hayot argues that it is a refusal to do so, a refusal to engage with China as something "strange", thereby going beyond the kind of engagement with an imagined China as in the case of Pound, which is ultimately Orientalizing (Hayot 2012 [2004], 88). Instead Hayot shows how a dealing with Brecht's China leaves no room for a simplified understanding of "authenticity": "One of the things that Brecht's China gets past […] is the question of authenticity. By engaging a China neither kitsch nor historical, neither purely fantastic nor factually accurate, Brecht established a problem for critics who read him in those terms" (Hayot 2012 [2004], 75; 100). Interestingly, Hayot opens his study on Brecht with a description of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte. He describes the problems scholars face when trying to make sense of Brecht's China: "[I]n Brecht's flat in East Berlin hung a portrait of Confucius, beside a scroll of Mao Zedong's poem 'Snow', across from a picture of a (Japanese) Kabuki actor and three No theatre masks; his poetry demonstrates the well-known conviction of Japanese and Chinese poetic forms. But it is hard to make such a list into convincing arguments" (Hayot 2012 [2004], 54). He acknowledges their very "loud" presence both in the

actual spaces and in Brecht scholarship, never to return to them. Indeed, most publications choose photographs of these objects to "adorn" their essay without paying any further attention to the objects.[550] Instead of trying to approach these objects in order to gain an understanding of how Brecht imagined China, I approach some of these objects in particular and Brecht's Gedenkstätte more generally in order to understand how these spaces create an imagination of "Brecht".

The importance of the above mentioned objects for Brecht has become visible in various ways. Not only did he keep some of them through the many years of travels, but they also feature prominently in his literary work (see "A New House" 1949) and inspired him to further literary creation (see "The Doubter" 1937). In 1949, after settling in East Berlin, Brecht, Weigel and their daughter Barbara lived in an apartment in Berliner Allee 190 in Berlin Weißensee (Pfeil 2003, 23). Here Brecht wrote the poem "A New House" into his diary which in part is referred to above, which he dated May 7, 1949 (Brecht and Hecht 1973, 903).

Back in my country after fifteen years of exile
I have moved into a fine house.
Here I have hung
My No masks and picture scroll representing the Doubter.
Every day, as I drive through the ruins, I am reminded
Of the privileges to which I owe this house.[551]

The narrator hopes that despite living in this new and comfotable house he will not lose sight of those whose houses are in a ruinous state, and the poem concludes with him gazing at his suitcase, which he keeps in sight on the top of his cupboard to store his manuscripts. Read in an autobiographical context, this poem is about Brecht returning "home" to Germany, or more particularly East Berlin in the GDR. Having returned, he describes the objects with which he adorns his house (among them the seemingly ominous "Doubter"), objects that, now finally hung on his own four walls, seem to give him a sense of home. Interestingly, these are foreign objects, Japanese masks and Chinese scrolls, instead of objects from home, from Germany.

[550] The visual presence of "Asian"-motifs in Brecht's apartment can be understood as "loud" in contrast to Hayot's observed "silence" by Brecht about his interest in China (lack of metadiscourse) or in line with the frequent reprinting of photographs depicting these objects in Brecht scholarship, even when it serves no argumentative purpose or the objects shown are not themselves addressed in the texts. Berger's otherwise excellent paper is such a case, in which the photograph of Brecht's Chinese scroll "The Doubter", for example, is chosen to depict the Bertot-Brecht-Archive more generally, even though the object is not addressed in the paper (Braune 2011).

[551] For the translation see (Brockmann 2015, 81). The German reads: "Zurückgekehrt nach fünfzehnjährigem Exil/ Bin ich eingezogen in ein schönes Haus/ Meine No-Masken und mein Rollbild, den Zweifler zeigend/ Habe ich aufgehängt hier. Fahrend durch die Trümmer/ Werde ich tagtäglich an die Privilegien erinnert/ Die mir dieses Haus verschaffen (Brecht 1999f).

In some examples, the material and immaterial literary heritage of the writers reveal obvious connections, for both Brecht and Lu Xun wrote about the objects which they collected. Brecht's poem about the Chinese scroll "The Doubter", which he already mentions in the above poem, is one such an example. In Brecht's bedroom, a Chinese scroll hangs behind glass [IC 156 Brecht's "The Doubter" 1].[552] At the beginning of the visit, flyers are available that contain a reproduction of the print and Brecht's corresponding poem "The Doubter" [IC 156 Brecht's "The Doubter" 2], which he wrote around 1937:

> Whenever we seemed
> To have found the answer to a question
> One of us untied the string of the old rolled-up
> Chinese scroll on the wall, so that it fell down and
> Revealed to us the man on the bench who
> Doubted so much.
>
> I, he said to us
> Am the doubter. I am doubtful whether
> The work was well done that devoured your days.
> Whether what you said would still have value for anyone if it were less well said. […]
> Whether it is not ambiguous; each possible misunderstanding
> Is your responsibility. Or it can be unambiguous
> And take the contradictions out of things; is it too unambiguous?
> If so, what you say is useless. Your thing has no life in it. […]
> But above all
> Always above all else: how does one act
> If one believes what you say? Above all: how does one act?
>
> Reflectively, curiously, we studied the doubting
> Blue man on the scroll, looked at each other and
> Made a fresh start.[553]

In the poem the narrators describe how, when having found an answer to a question, they would collectively reveal and look at this scroll, describing an imagined performance taking place in front

[552] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 156.

[553] Translated by John Willett and Ralph Manheim (Brecht 1976, 270-271), also cited in (Kuschel 2008, 258). The German of the above quoted part reads: "Immer wenn uns/ Die Antwort auf eine Frage gefunden schien/ Löste einer von uns an der Wand die Schnur der alten/ Aufgerollten chinesischen Leinwand, so daß sie herabfiel und/ Sichtbar wurde der Mann auf der Bank, der / So sehr zweifelte. // Ich, sagte er uns/ Bin der Zweifler. Ich zweifle, ob/ Die Arbeit gelungen ist, die eure Tage verschlungen hat/ Ob, was ihr gesagt, auch schlechter gesagt, noch für einige Wert hätte. […] / Ob es nicht viel-deutig ist, für jeden möglichen Irrtum/ Tragt ihr die Schuld. Es kann auch zu eindeutig sein/ Und den Widerspruch aus den Dingen entfernen; ist es zu eindeutig? / Dann ist es unbrauchbar, was ihr sagt. Euer Ding ist dann leblos. […] //Aber vor allem/ Immer wieder vor allem andern: wie handelt man/ Wenn man euch glaubt, was ihr sagt? Vor allem: wie handelt man? // Wir rollten zusammen den zweifelnden/ Blauen Mann auf der Leinwand, sahen uns an und/ Begannen von vorne (Brecht 1999b, 291).

of the scroll the visitor is standing before. The Chinese figure gains a voice in the poem, addressing the group's attitude toward its work, whether it is too convinced of its own success or whether its work was too ambiguous or too unambiguous, but clearly building up to the most pressing questions of all, namely how their readers were to act if they were to believe what the group had to say and if the group could accept their reader's actions if they were to act accordingly.

What makes the poem special is the multi-layeredness of its appellative function, for it appears both inside and outside of the poem. When looking at the scene created in the poem, one witnesses the scroll/ the doubter demanding from the imagined group of writers to rethink their work. Indeed, we witness how the group reads the scroll in its appellative function, confronted with a *mise-en-abyme*, as the viewers find themselves in the very situation they are observing. In reaction to this, they return to their work, eager to increase its appellative function (taking into consideration their imagined readership and how they ought to act if they believed them as cultural producers). Thus two forms of communication take place within the plot of the poem (inside the poem), namely the communication between the doubter and the group (appellative function of art) and between the group and its intended readership (the appellative function of their literary work, the content of which is however not further described in the poem). Thus when reading the poem, one witnesses these two forms of communication taking place. Of course, the poem as a whole also contains an appellative function directed towards its reader (outside of the poem). The intended readers of the poem, the poet (arguably Brecht) hopes, will see the group of writers as a positive example and recreate the same dialogue between themselves and the doubter when engaging in any form of literary or artistic production. Thus, the scene described in the poem serve as a form of instruction directed at the intended reader outside of the poem. This appellative function of the poem can be enhanced by seeing the real existence of the scroll in Brecht's apartment, as it functions as a material support for making the imagined scene of the poem come to life.

Exactly when and how Brecht acquired this Chinese scroll is not clear, but it would become one of the objects which he kept throughout his time in exile and would hang in the different places he lived (see poem "A New House" above). Since the apartment in Chausseestr. 125 was his last residence, the scroll is thus today encountered in these spaces [IC 156 Brecht "The Doubter" 2]. During the tour, the visitor not only acquires the flyer featuring the poem (thus made aware of the meaning of the painting from Brecht's perspective), the Chinese scroll is also referred to as "The Doubter" by the tour guide, restating Brecht's reading of the painting to the visitor (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:55:15). What makes this material object so special is that it is

an object that not only is appropriated by Brecht from a culture so remote to his own, but also that it comes from a time and an aesthetics that is far away from Brecht's cultural environment as well as his historical period of cultural production.

Lu Xun also appropriated material objects from Germany, but he was largely interested in modern left-wing prints, or at least it were these which Lu Xun communicated to his readership most enthusiastically.[554] Similar to Brecht, who introduced this material object of the scroll into his literary oeuvre, Lu Xun included German woodblock prints in his essays. Lu Xun's appropriation of Kollwitz' imagery is a topic referred to in the exhibition halls of Lu Xun today through various means. In the case of Beijing, the display shows Lu Xun's collection of Kollwitz prints in the form of a reproduction. On display is Kollwitz' "The Outbreak (Der Losbruch)" from 1903 [IC 157 Kollwitz Prints 1a],[555] in which she visualized the suffering of workers, namely of the Silesian weavers during the so-called Weberaufstand in which Prussian military intervened in 1844.[556] Beside the portrait of Marx on the cover of a book on his desk, this print of Kollwitz decorates the wall of his study in the depictions of Lu Xun in the early 1970s, which has already appeared in the discussion above [IC 157 Kollwitz Prints 1b]. Both Marx and Kollwitz's weavers are images within the image, serving as visual markers to present Lu Xun as a left-wing cosmopolitan writer.

Another woodblock print of Kollwitz's which deserves further attention is her print titled "The Sacrifice (Das Opfer)" from 1922, with which she addressed the cruelties and tragedies of World War I [IC 157 Kollwitz Prints 2a]. Lu Xun first published the print without text in a Chinese journal in 1931 during the so-called White Terror. Lu Xun hereby appropriated the image to commemorate the killing of his student Rou Shi 柔石 (1902-1931 from Ninghai/ Zhejiang). Only later in his 1936 essay "Written in Deep Night 写于深夜里" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005x), Lu Xun reflects about his intentions when publishing Kollwitz's print five years earlier,[557] making explicit the

[554] Lu Xun also collected prints from Germany that are by no means representative of the leftist cultural scene of the early twentieth century, but feature local German customs, such as a paper cutting which he received from Xu Fancheng 徐梵澄 (1909-2000), featuring a dwarf in a meadow, playing the flute (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 245), thus playing with the themes of German folk-tales. He however did not promote these images as he did Kollwitz's woodblock prints, but collected them in private.

[555] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 157.

[556] Kollwitz was inspired to create this print after seeing Gerhart Hauptmann's (1862-1946 from Ober Saltzbrunn/ Silesia (today's Poland)) 1892 play *The Weavers* (*Die Weber*). However, the museum label only shows this print as an example for Kollwitz work more generally, giving neither the title or date of this particular print.

[557] In the essay Lu Xun lists the points which he believes young Chinese art students should learn from Kollwitz' work. In the early 1930s, Lu Xun received materials from Germany, such as illustrated books, prints, magazines and books from friends who studied abroad in Germany (Feng Zhi 2009).

appropriation of both the material image into his collection and the immaterial thought connected to it, namely a critique against war and killing in general, however referring to two very different historical contexts (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005x, 517). Hence, the mother in Kollwitz' image could have been meant to refer to Rou Shi's blind mother, whom Rou Shi had told Lu Xun about (Kowallis 1996, 150).

The Shanghai Lu Xun museum attempts to make Kollwitz' "The Sacrifice (Das Opfer)" come to life by setting it up as an installation with water, implying tears, running across the image [IC 157 Kollwitz Prints 2a]. References to Rou Shi and Yang Quan 楊銓 (1893-1933 from Qingjiang/ Jiangxi), both of whom were the victims of the GMD White Terror in the early 1930s, are provided in the context of the installation [IC 157 Kollwitz Prints 2b, 2c]. Rou Shi's portrait and his writings are displayed to the left of the installation and the first line of the poem "Mourning Yang Quan 悼杨铨", which Lu Xun wrote in his commemoration is written below the Kollwitz print over which the water is running [IC 157 Kollwitz Prints 2a], capturing the narrator's past indifference to loss or suffering and implying his surprise at his own tears which now begin to flow again.[558] By using Kollwitz' print to commemorate the victims of the White Terror in Shanghai, Lu Xun appropriated her work for his own needs of expression. By first publishing the print without direct reference to the victims or any further explanations, he made use of the image's ambiguity to express his feelings of loss without revealing his criticism of the GMD directly in order to protect himself. However, by making this reference explicit in his later publications, he finally fully appropriated the print for his own needs, translating it explicitly into his then current political context. By using Kollwitz' prints to display Lu Xun, the museums highlight Lu Xun's role as a cosmopolitan left-

[558] The line quoted on the installation reads: "Gone, I thought, impassioned moods / like those of long ago: Flowers blossomed, flowers fell 岂有豪情似旧时，花开花落". This line is the opening of the poem in which the narrator describes that in the past his emotions had hardened, that he was no longer susceptible to feelings of loss, suffering or tragedy. As the rest of the poem however shows, he is surprised over his own tears that now again begin to flow. The installation using Kollwitz' "The Sacrifice" is used, according to the museum label, to perform Lu Xun's poem "Mourning Yang Quan 悼杨铨", but the poem is not included in full in the exhibition. The poem was written in classical Chinese verse by Lu Xun written on June 20th, 1933, see: (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005d, 467); for a translation, historical contextualization and interpretation of the poem see: (Kowallis 1996, 260–67); the poem's reference to tears reads: "That tears would fall 'mid southern rain – how was I then to know / Our people's loss of a dauntless son / could plunge me again to woe? 何其淚灑江南雨，有為斯民哭健兒". The rain refers to the fact that on the day on which Lu Xun and others paid tribute to Yang Quan after his assassination it was raining. The museum display suggests that the poem is most likely known to the visitor, who will not miss the end of the poem referring to the tears of the narrator. For the translation of Lu Xun's poem "Untitled 无题", or as Kowallis has chosen "A Lament of Rou Shi 悼柔石", see (Kowallis 1996, 147–51). Lu Xun wrote this poem in classical verse in late February 1931, on the very night of Rou Shi's death.

wing writer, who acquired artistic works from Germany such as by Kollwitz, but also those of Georg Grosz (1893-1959, from Berlin) and others.[559] In line with an orthodox reading of Lu Xun, the museum emphasizes Lu Xun's role as a cultural broker, who appropriated Kollwitz' imagery for his own historical context, namely to address the cruelty of the White Terror in Shanghai in the years following the 1927 raid by the GMD, a reading that finds official support also today. These materials show that it can be plausible to read Lu Xun's collection of Kollwitz' images and his appropriation of these images in the mid-1930s with the grain of Lu Xun as a modern left-wing cosmopolitan writer and cultural broker *at the same time*, they do not exclude each other. The museum encourages this reading of Lu Xun as a cultural broker, since the result of this brokerage persuasively presents a reading of Lu Xun as an opponent of the then-ruling Guomindang, the antagonist of the Communist Party, thus in turn presenting Lu Xun as a hero for the Communist Party.

In Brecht's case this reconciliation of being a left-wing cosmopolitan writer and cultural broker at the same time does not come about as effortlessly as in Lu Xun's case. The process of appropriation and translation can be argued to have been almost complete in the case of Brecht's reading of "The Doubter", as the objected translated into a new cultural context is in the end fully detached from a Chinese reading of the painting. While Kollwitz's prints can be argued to have belonged to left-wing artistic production of the early twentieth century, this cannot be said for Brecht's "The Doubter" [IC 156 Brecht's "The Doubter"]. The painting by the Qing-Dynasty painter Gao Qipei 高其佩 (1672-1734 from Fengtian/ today's Liaoning) (Kulturstiftung der Länder 1996, 21) is a Chinese painting which differs crucially from Kollwitz woodblock prints. As common for Chinese painting, the painting features a poem which is not referenced by Brecht, but which is an integral part of the painting. The poem gives no indication that the scholar sitting on the bench is indeed in doubt, but implies that the man is meditating by alluding to Buddhist imagery: "Profoundly clever, empty and vast is reason – philosophers are not different from evildoers, but when they meditate, they are nice to look at. 湛湛靈靈地 ， 空空廣大緣，百子妖孽類，統入靜中看". The poem describes the man's calm state of meditation, while Brecht reinvented the man on the bench as a man in doubt. Brecht's reading of the man in doubt can be seen as "mistranslating"

[559] George Grosz is aesthetic and material direct link which can be found between Brecht and Lu Xun. Lu Xun collected prints from George Grosz, such as his print from the 1920 series on "flawless people (vollkommene Menschen)", depicting everything but flawless people: beggars and capitalists, officers and prostitutes sketched with exaggerated facial expressions highlighting their flaws, roam the busy streets of the city. Brecht also chose Grosz' art as the backdrop (Bühnenbild) of his plays.

the image in the process of appropriation (Miller 1996),[560] paying little to no attention to its original meaning in the process of appropriating it.

But where did Brecht's reading of this painting derive from? Let me, for a moment, return to Hayot's study on Brecht's China discussed above. At the beginning of this part, Hayot discards past attempts to further analyze the Chinese materials that are found in Brecht's apartment, arguing that "[f]or Brecht, China never becomes an idea, a desire, a dream. It remains, even when he misunderstands it, a more or less irrelevant fact" (Hayot 2012 [2004], 85). While this is a refreshing take on Brecht's understanding of his imagined China in his poetry, I would disagree with Hayot's approach in the sense that it is not sufficient to explain the visual omnipresence of China in every room of his living surrounding and the treasuring and safe-guarding of these objects throughout his many years in exile [IC 158 Brecht's heroes and China's omnipresence].[561]

Tatlow's understanding of Brecht's intuitive connection to China revealed through his translation of Chinese poetry might not allow us to grasp a clear-cut image of Brecht's China, but it can be helpful in understanding Brecht's puzzlingly large collection of Chinese objects both in his apartment and described in his poetry. On some level, Brecht felt connected to these objects and the light, in which he saw the man who he perceived to be in doubt, made him into a hero for himself and his fellow left-wing writers. But I would argue that the place to look for Brecht's enthusiasm for China is indeed not Confucius' China, even though many of his literary works draw on the China of the past as settings. Instead, I argue, it is Mao Zedong's China of Brecht's present that was increasingly meaningful to Brecht. In his diary on January 18, 1949 Brecht wrote: "throughout all these weeks I keep in the back of my mind the victory of the chinese communists, which changes the face of this world completely. To me this is ever-present and it occupies my mind every few hours (durch alle diese wochen hindurch halte ich im hinterkopf den sieg der Chinesischen kommunisten, der das gesicht der welt vollständig ändert. dies ist mir ständig gegenwärtig und beschäftigt mich alle paar stunden)" (Brecht and Hecht 1973, 892).[562] Brecht was

[560] Miller's contribution to Budick and Iser's 1996 edited volume on *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between* most clearly highlights the loss but also gain that occurs in mistranslation that inevitably occurs in processes of translations. Miller hereby analyzes the translation and appropriation of a textual source (the translation of the "Book of Ruth" from the Hebrew Bible into the Christian Bible) (Miller 1996), but these processes also occur when translating material objects (e.g. a painting in the case of Brecht's "Der Zweifler").

[561] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 158.

[562] Brecht's diary published as his *Arbeitsjournal* does not use capitalization, thus I have refrained from using capitalization in the quotation as well as the translation. Brecht anticipated the victory of the Communists, for he was reading an article of *The Times* from December 18, 1948, in which the US newspaper reported on the troubles the Government forces (of the Guomindang) were having fighting the Communists, as much of its military equipment which the US had made available to the government forces to fight the Japanese had gone missing,

well aware of the Communist revolution in China and regarded it favorably (Wizisla 1998, 106). While in the case of "The Doubter" it may not seem as crucial that Brecht's contemporary China was undergoing a Communist revolution, his focus on the poems appellative function, embodied by The Doubter, clearly comes to stand for the conscience of the left-wing writer ("Above all: How will one act?" Brecht 1999b, 291). Thus Brecht is projecting a Marxist reading of the doubter onto the Qing-Dynasty scroll.

Display: Old and New Heroes: Competing Images of Mao Zedong and Confucius

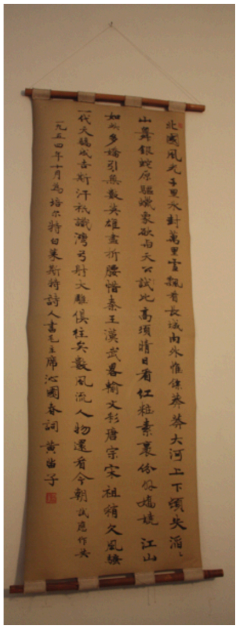
Brecht's interest in his contemporary China, however, becomes even more evident in another of his Chinese scrolls [**IC 159 Mao Zedong and Confucius 1, 2,**]. In Brecht's small study, two further Chinese prints hang on the wall. The poem written in calligraphy and hung at the same height as the image of Confucius is by no one other than Mao Zedong [**IC 159 Mao Zedong and Confucius 2**]. The poem "Snow 雪", which Brecht also translated into German, giving it the title "Flying over the Great Wall (Beim Flug über die Große Mauer)", was written by Mao Zedong in 1936 and translated by Brecht only two days after he described the Chinese Communists changing the world, as quoted above, which was January 20, 1949 (Brecht and Hecht 1973, 893). That Brecht could acquire the scroll was thanks to a friend who brought the scroll back from one of his trips to China. Museum director Elke Pfeil explained in her guided tour that it was a present from Willi Bredel (1901-1964 from Hamburg), adding that he was a writer who is hardly read anymore today, calling him an "Arbeiterschriftsteller". He had been on the same 1951 Delegation to China organized

speculating whether it had been taken by the Communists. Brecht included the clipping of the newspaper report in his diary, published in the *Arbeitsjournal* (Brecht and Hecht 1973, 883), adding in his description: "my envisioning of a renaissance of the arts, triggered by the rise of the far east, seems to pay off sooner than one could have expected (mein rechnen mit einer renaissance der künste, ausgelöst von der erhebung des fernen ostens, scheint sich früher zu lohnen, als man hätte denken sollen)" (Brecht and Hecht 1973, 883).

IC 159 Mao Zedong and Confucius

1. 

1. Small study, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014. Courtesy of the the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum.

2. 

2. Calligraphy of Mao Zedong's poem "Snow 雪", translated by Brecht into "Beim Flug über die Große Mauer", small study, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum.

3. 

3. Confucius Stone Rubbing, small study, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum.

between the GDR and the PRC as Anna Seghers had. According to Pfeil, he had brought this scroll back to Germany intentionally for Brecht, as he knew that Brecht would be interested in it (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 40:23). In his poem, Mao Zedong criticizes past leaders and emperors of China and calls for the readers to search for a hero, not in history, but in their own times. The poem describes a succession of great Chinese leaders, starting from the pioneer emperors of the Qin and Han Dynasties, over the emperors of the Tang and Sung Dynasties, leading all the way to Genghis Khan. Yet, while they were great leaders in history, they all lacked certain qualities the narrator considered essential. The poem concludes: "For truly great men (*fengliu renwu*)/ Look to this age alone 数风流人物 / 还看今朝" (A. Tatlow, Waley, and Brecht 1973, 143–44); (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1976).[563] Brecht's translation of this poem was based on a

[563] The second part of the poem discusses the past great men of Chinese history. The Chinese term *fengliu renwu* refers to a person who is outstanding. Widely available English translations have translated the term with "great man" or "hero". One English translation reads: "[…] This land so rich in beauty/ Has made countless heroes bow in homage, / But alas! Qin Shihuang and Han Wudi/ Were lacking in literary grace, / And Tang Taizong and Song Taizu/ Had little poetry in their souls;/ That proud son of Heaven,/ Genghis Khan,/ Knew only shooting eagles, bow outstretched./ All are past and gone!/ For truly great men/ Look to this age alone." (Marxist.org [1936] 2004). Brecht's translation reads: "[…] Alle die armseligen / Könige der Tsch'in und der Han/ Die nur wenig wußten./ Die Tang und die Sung, mit dem Leichtsinn im Übermaß! // Und der Hochmütige/ Einzige Sohn einer Dynastie, der Tschingis-Kahn!/ Mehr als den Bogen spannen/ Konnte auch er nicht. // Alle verdarben/ Aber auch heute/ Seht euch die großen Herren an: immernoch/ Voll der alten schlimmen Begehrlichkeit!" (A. Tatlow, Waley, and Brecht 1973, 141). A more literal translation is offered by Joachim Schickel with the added last line: "[…] Landschaft wie diese, überall lockend, ließ unzählige Freier im Streit sich beugen./ Ach: Ch'in Shih-huang, Han Wu-ti – / beschränkt ihre Bildung; T'ang T'ai-tsung, Sung T'ai-tsu – gering ihr Geschmack./ Eines Zeitalters Himmelstolz,/ Dschingis Khan,/ konnte nur Bogen schießen nach großen Adlern./ Alle dahin!/ Zählst du auf frei gesonnene Menschen, / wende den Blick zum Heute" (A. Tatlow, Waley, and Brecht 1973, 147).

strongly shortened English translation which lacked the closing line, so Brecht did not known of this last line of the poem. However, even though the hero of the present time is therefore not as explicit in Brecht's poem as it is in Mao Zedong's original, in Brecht's poem there still is a narrator looking back into the past, describing the genealogy of heroes (or "great men") which ruled over China until the present day and who are considered lacking significant qualities. The narrator even emphasizes that "even today, look at the great men, still full of that terrible greed. (Seht euch die großen Herren an: immer noch / Voll der alten schlimmen Begehrlichkeit!)" (A. Tatlow, Waley, and Brecht 1973, 141). The narrator is the voice of someone from that present day who recognizes the faults in those greedy "great men" (große Herren), the voice of a potential hero of the present who might succeed in what those in the past have failed. After all, the voice Brecht is likely to have envisioned in this poem, was the voice of Mao Zedong, the rising Communist hero of the China contemporary to Brecht.

The scroll featuring Mao Zedong's poem that Brecht received provides a material trace of the cultural exchange supported by the state between the GDR and the PRC in the early 1950s. Even though the results of this exchange had been contractually binding, it is often seen as having been insubstantial in the long run, as the cultural agreements between the two states were discontinued in the mid-1950s (see section on "Historical background: Personality Cult and Political Iconography in the GDR and the PRC" of this part on "Lu Xun – worlded") and the cultural exchanges grew weak in the years after 1958 (Meissner and Feege 1995, 298). This scroll, however, shows that, in certain instances, the consequence had not been that insubstantial after all. It had left material traces in the iconic rooms of one of the writers the SED chose to represent a "socialist writer" – rooms, which the state would open to the public as spaces of commemoration.

In addition, there is more to the story, indicating the ideological ambiguities present in this exchange. Interestingly, Brecht not only translated Mao Zedong's poem into German, but he hung his Chinese poem in his apartment next to Confucius when he moved into Chausseestr. 125 in 1953. The fact that Confucius can be found side by side with Mao Zedong's poetry is doubly remarkable. In the 1930s of the Republican Period in which Lu Xun lived, the role of Confucius in society was reevaluated. Lu Xun had criticized Confucius temples for their inaccessibility to the common people, who preferred to go to Buddhist and Daoist temples, as quoted at the beginning of the section "Confucius' Temples and Lu Xun's Museums". One reason why the "common people" did not visit Confucius temples was because they used so little images of Confucius while the Buddhist and other temples featured visual representations of deities. Confucius temples rejected images of

Confucius and instead replaced all visual representation with inscribed tables, featuring Confucius' title "Ultimate Sage and First Teacher 至聖 先師" on them instead of showing his image (Murray 2009, 385). Lu Xun wrote in his 1936 essay "Confucius in Modern China" (also see beginning of Lu Xun-institutionalized for further reference):

> Frankly, ordinary people in China have practically no idea what Confucius looked like; for although since ancient times every county has invariably had a temple to the sage, these usually contained no portrait of him. […] When it comes to those figures who are considered most worthy of reverence, sages such as Confucius, any portrayal at all appears sacrilegious and it is better to have none. [..] True, every county had a Confucian Temple, but this was always a lonely, neglected place where the common folk never worshipped. If they wanted to worship they looked for a Buddhist temple or a shrine to some deity. (Lu Xun [1960a] 1980, 181; 185) 老实说，中国的一般的人民，关于孔子是怎样的相貌，倒几乎是毫无所知的。自古以来，虽然每一县一定有圣庙，即文庙，但那里面大抵并没有圣像。［…］ 一到最应崇敬的人物，例如孔夫子那样的圣人，却好像连形象也成为亵渎，反不如没有的好。［…］ 诚然，每一县固然都有圣庙即文庙，可是一副寂寞的冷落的样子，一般的庶民，是决不去参拜的，要去，则是佛寺，或者是神庙" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ad, 124, 327).

For Lu Xun it seemed that the image of Confucius had always been forbidden, or at least for a time period long enough to have been erased from the collective memory of the "common people". However, his image was widely to be found in temples in form of statues from the 7th to the 16th century China (from the Tang to the Ming Dynasty) (Murray 2009, 372). The restraint on the visual representation of Confucius went back to a reform that took place only in 1530 during the Ming Dynasty, when the rulers and Neo-Confucian scholars objected to the religious deification that took place around the images of Confucius. While officially no images of Confucius were to be used hereafter, unofficially these images continued to circulate throughout history and also outside of China (even reaching Europe, when Voltaire included an image of a print of Confucius in one of his publications in Paris in 1788) (Murray 2009, 390). In a way, Lu Xun had seen this restriction of Confucian imagery as one reason why Confucius remained so "unapproachable 毫不亲密" to the masses (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005ad, 329). Interestingly, the exception to this rule remained Confucius hometown in Qufu 曲阜, whose temple continued to display Confucian imagery, in a way taking the role of a "former residence" of Confucius in the broadest sense. So even though officially the temples Lu Xun described in the 1930s in China had no imagery of Confucius, we find imagery of Confucius circulating unofficially not only within China, but also to Europe, ending up not only in

the hands of Voltaire in the 18th century, but also in East Berlin in Brecht's apartment from 1953-1956.

However, after the establishment of the PRC and especially during the Cultural Revolution, those images and visual representations which had remained in circulation in China became the subject of iconoclasm. Regarding Confucianism as feudal thought, those who believed in this thought were considered in need of being liberated by Maoist thought, therefore the long-established imagery in Qufu came under attack. In November 1966, Red Guards smashed the sculptures of Confucius in the temples in Qufu.[564] And in the later political "Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius 批林批孔" campaign in 1974, Mao Zedong regarded Confucius as a rival as inacceptable as his contemporary political rival Lin Biao, even using Lu Xun's writings as a means to politically and culturally extinguish them (see section on "*Circulation*: Lu Xun's *wenwu* and Their Use for Political Campaigns (1976-77)" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" in this thesis). Thus, it seems ironic that when the Gedenkstätte opened in 1978, Mao Zedong and Confucius were hung side by side in Brecht's apartment. This irony becomes even more poignant when one considers that this particular print of Confucius, was promoted intensively in Taiwan after 1949 as a reaction to the PRC's repudiation of Confucian imagery [IC 160 Mao Zedong and Confucius][565] (Murray 2009, 401,402). At the time of the "Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius" campaign, the Guomindang government in Taiwan officially sponsored and disseminated portrayals of Confucius, fostering an image of themselves as guardians of Chinese culture. The image they had chosen was this precise portrait that today is hanging in Brecht's former living spaces. It is attributed to Tang master Wu Daozi 吳道子 (~689-~755) and is a rubbing of a Qing-period incised stone tablet in the Temple of Confucius in Qufu (Murray 2009, 402). It was chosen because it represented Confucius as a teacher, which is how he was mainly presented unofficially after the 1530 reform, for the reform had been directed especially against imagery presenting him with iconographic similarities to Buddhist deities. In the images that circulated post-1530, and in Taiwan with state support in post-1949, Confucius was depicted as a teacher in a relatively simple dress, a sword tucked under his left arm, striking a dignified posture, his hands clapped in front of his chest, wearing an official cap [**IC 159 Mao Zedong and Confucius 3**]. But the fact that the print which ended up in Brecht's

[564] During this destruction of the statues, it was revealed that objects had been deposited into the statues, which showed that there were many parallels between Confucian and Buddhist image productions and practices. This has become one argument for rethinking the religious character of Confucianism in scholarship since the 1990s (Murray 2009, 388).

[565] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 160.

apartment had been brought to him via the regulated cultural diplomatic exchange between the GDR and the PRC in 1951, when Willi Bredel, the above mentioned "Arbeiterschriftsteller" and later head of the Akademie der Künste (Ost) (1962-64), had brought it along for Brecht as a souvenir, is proof that this image also still circulated in the PRC in the early 1950s. Confucian imagery was not officially supported after the establishment of the PRC, which shows that even in such official delegations, the materials that were exchanged were by no means only orthodox.

The two scrolls in Brecht's small study in his apartment can be seen in two ways: They can be read with and against the grain of the image that the GDR was hoping to produce when putting a "socialist Brecht" on display. On the one hand the image of Confucius stands in stark contrast to the ideas and indeed policies of Mao Zedong of the 1950s. On the other hand, one could read Mao Zedong as having become the new sage of China, actually replacing Confucius, in the same way in which Mao Zedong had proclaimed Lu Xun to have replaced Confucius in 1940, as I have shown in the opening of "Lu Xun – institutionalized" in the section on "Confucius' Temples and Lu Xun's Museums". Since Brecht knew the critical content of the poem well – he had translated it four years earlier – his displaying it in his apartment can be read in the same context, implying that Mao Zedong was indeed to replace the past leaders and emperors of China in Brecht's eyes and bring not only China, but the world a better future. In this reading, Mao Zedong's words, his critique of past leaders in his poem, is hung on the same level as the sage Confucius. Based on the above observations, I suggest that it would be fruitful to see both The Doubter and the image of Confucius in combination with the imagery of Marxist philosophers and political leaders Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Zedong. Even though Mao Zedong's portrait cannot be found in Brecht's apartment, Mao is nevertheless present in Brecht's living space, which shows the extent to which "left-wing" writers were, or attempted to be, involved in a global production and circulation of art adhering to Marxist aesthetics. These figures were heroes for Brecht in the sense that he collected their images and works, decorated his home with them and found inspiration from contemplating them, incorporating them into his literary oeuvre both implicitly and explicitly.

Display, a quick glance: Irreconcilable Pairings?

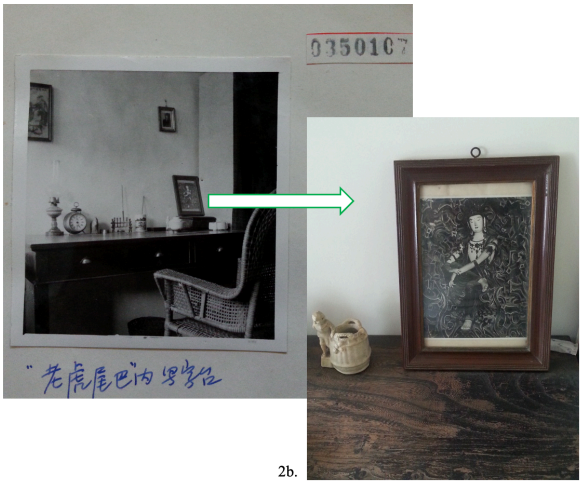
As this chapter on "Brecht – embodied" has shown, many of the objects, especially those which came from different geographical areas of cultural production, can just as well be read against the grain of a reading of Brecht as a "left-wing" writer. This can best be shown by contrasting the

display of the Mao Zedong poem together with Confucian imagery in the small study with the iconographic imagery on display in the large study [**IC 161 Confucius, John the Apostel, and Buddha 1**]. This large-scale portrait of Confucius, which Brecht received as a present from Ruth Berlau (1906-1974 from Kopenhagen) (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 40:03), cannot be well interpreted along Marxist lines; neither can the wooden statues of John the Apostel and the Holy Mary which adorns the wall next to the bookshelf. Certainly, Mary featured in Brecht's literary oeuvre. He dedicated a poem to her alone in 1922 in which he retold and unmasked the Christmas story as based on the unreliable memory of Mary (Brecht 1999i, 87). But Brecht's continued interest in Christianity and in the distant Chinese past, which the politics of the newly established PRC tried to distance itself from, does not fit smoothly in a presentation of a narrower understanding of a "socialist Brecht". The same difficulty awaits the Buddhist imagery in Lu Xun's former residence in Xisantiao in Beijing. For on Lu Xun's desk in his study, the so-called "Tiger's Tail", Lu Xun placed the image of a Buddha from Zhengding 正定大佛 [**IC 161 Confucius, John the Apostel, and Buddha 2a, 2b**]. How does this religious iconography of the John the Apostel and Buddha fit into the presentation of Brecht and Lu Xun as great socialist writers?

IC 161 Confucius, John the Apostel, and Buddha



1. Confucius and sculpture of John the Apostel, large study, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum.



2a. Buddhist imagery on Lu Xun's desk on Xisantiao hutong No.21, ~1950s, Beijing; source: Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0350107. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2b. Buddhist imagery on Lu Xun's desk on Xisantiao hutong No.21, display in 2014; source: Photographed May 14, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

It is here that the narrator in form of the museum guide comes into play, an actor who features more prominently in the coming parts on Brecht institutionalized and Brecht imagined. The narration by the tour guide can steer away from such a reading against the grain, for example by

highlighting during the tour that it was Weigel who had hung the religious motifs in Brecht's apartment and not Brecht (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 01:22:03). In Lu Xun's case it was a similar form of steering away from this contradiction which took place with museum researcher Ye Shusui's emphasizing that Lu Xun had only been interested in the aesthetics not the religious connotations of the Buddhist imagery. Ye explained "The Buddhist statue has absolutely nothing to do with Buddhism. Lu Xun went beyond the Buddhist teachings; from Buddhism he also captured a lot of characteristics of Chinese traditional culture, but he by no means believed in Buddhism. 這跟佛教肯定毫無關係。魯迅其實抄過佛經，他從佛經擷取了很多中國古代文化的一些特點, 但 他並不信佛" (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 00:03:39). Yet the objects themselves can be argued to resist such readings, or at the very least seem reluctant to succumb to these readings due to their material presence. Even if set in the house of a left-wing writer in East Berlin or Beijing, thus in a space outside of a Buddhist temple, a Catholic church or a Confucian temple, the icons speak their own language, which goes beyond their framing through a museum space or through the narrative of a guided tour.

Looking back at the objects that are on display and have come to embody Brecht in this space of commemoration, it becomes clear that the power of the objects and images lie in their ambiguity. Similar to the memorials (Denkmäler) in Brecht's literary work (see, the images in the *Verhör des Lukullus* which can choose to speak or fall silent: "Wir Bilder […] sind willig zu schweigen und willig zu reden" (cited in Kratzmeier 2010, 105)), the objects on display in Brecht's memorial museum also have the power of speech. It is due to their ability to speak that the objects can be read both with and against the grain of a reading of Brecht, and Lu Xun for that matter, as a "socialist writer". The daguerreotypes of Marx and Engels indeed can tell both stories. Unlike in Lu Xun's case, in which the image of Marx could be placed freely in the foreground (e.g. in visual reproductions of his study during the Cultural Revolution) or more subtly to the side (e.g. the display in the contemporary exhibition halls), the daguerreotypes of Marx in Brecht's apartment stand their ground and maintain their ambiguity, reminding us of Brecht's interest in Marxist thought, but also of his role as an urban intellectual living a bourgeois life-style while still attempting to connect to those "in the shacks" (in den Löchern). The scroll with the Qing-Dynasty literati also does not seem to speak in favor of a "socialist Brecht", at least not until he gains a voice in Brecht's literary oeuvre, turning him into "The Doubter". This figure fits more neatly into such a reading as he embodies the Marxist principle of the appellative function in literature. Once the

man begins to doubt, this imagery opens a dialogue with that of Mao Zedong and Lenin and together speak clearly in favor of Brecht as a "socialist writer". Other images in Brecht's apartment, more rigorously resist such a reading, such as the recurring images of Confucius or religious imagery of John the Apostel and the Holy Mary in Brecht's case, or the Buddhist imagery in Lu Xun's study in Beijing, at least when their dominant reading is taken into account. It must be kept in mind that all these visual "heroes" which the visitor encounters in the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte have been reevaluated over time. This has been shown exemplary for the case of Confucius. By the time Brecht hung him on his walls in Chausseestr. 125 in the 1950s, the image of Confucius was awaiting a period of iconoclasm in China. As the following will show, other images, such as those of Lenin and Honecker would experience a similar fate in the GDR.

Apart from the ambiguity the images embody, the other aspect that becomes apparent in taking a close look at the objects is that the agency in introducing them into Brecht's spaces lay by no means with Brecht alone. Especially the Chinese images reveal this, as Brecht never actually visited China. Instead, the power over introducing these objects into Brecht's apartment lay in the hands of his friends and contemporaries, such as his wife Helen Weigel, Ruth Berlau, Willi Bredel and others who remain unknown. Thus, when further inquiring into the question of agency, Hayot's approach can be very helpful in a reading of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenksätte. For he focuses exclusively on Brecht as text, referring to Brecht as an "author function" (Foucault 1998) and not so much as a historical figure, is as much as his China-centered work is understood to have been (co-)written by his collaborator Elisabeth Hauptmann (1897-1973 from Peckelsheim) (Hayot 2012 [2004], 91). This also reveals the limits of a more author-centered approach as used by Berg-Pan and Tatlow. When approaching the Brecht-Gedenkstätte, it must be kept in mind that the former residences of Brecht analyzed in this part are not seen as traces that lead back to the historical person. Instead, the museum space is read as a text, a text that by no means carries the signature of one author alone. While the objects on display must be accredited with an agency, which this chapter showed, those who had the power to move these objects (e.g. bringing them from China to Berlin in early 1950s or by hanging them onto to walls of his apartment) must be accredited with playing an active part in how Brecht was produced in this museum space. Therefore, the following part will take a closer look at the history of the Brecht museum and at the actors who were involved in this process, asking the question: Who had power over Brecht's personal and literary estate after his death?

Brecht – Institutionalized: A Gedenkstätte Put on Hold

The third common ground connecting Brecht and Lu Xun apart from being left-wing cosmopolitan writers and cultural brokers during their lifetime is their posthumous institutionalization and the construction of their legacies in socialist states. The role of the socialist state, or better the Communist Party, in the construction of their legacies has been addressed in past scholarship. Neither Brecht nor Lu Xun joined a political party and in Brecht's case he was not even a citizen of the GDR, as he held on to his Austrian passport.[566] In her comparative study, Schwarcz argues: "Lu Xun, Brecht, and Sartre, thoroughgoing critics of anti-Communist propaganda, refused, at the same time, to suspend their critical faculties in the face of Communist dogmatism" (Schwarcz 1981, 310). In Schwarcz' opinion, it was their "critical self-consciousness" that was the heroic trait which is juxtaposed to their being made into tools for new forms of socialist propaganda. It is this quality which the socialist regimes gloss over in the posthumous making of their revolutionary heroes, as the writers' critique of suppressive regimes ought not reveal the restricting elements of the newly founded socialist ones. Thus Schwarcz, similar to the critical approaches of Holm (Holm 1985) and Goldman (Goldman 1985) published in the mid-1980s in Lu Xun's case, sees the construction of the writer's legacy as an instrumentalization and ultimately a distortion, preventing the writer's "true" critical self-consciousness to be maintained.

Even though this construction (which is often understood as an "instrumentalization") has been the subject of analysis in both of their cases, only few comparative studies have been published in which the posthumous legacy of Brecht and Lu Xun have been juxtaposed. The degree to which Brecht allowed and refused a political "instrumentalization" of his own persona during his lifetime remains a topic of heated debate. Unlike Lu Xun, who did not live to see the establishment of the PRC and who is thus freed from any straightforward accusations of self-interest in the making of his legacy by the PRC, Brecht lived the last seven years of his life in the GDR and also benefited from his presentation as a writer for the Communist cause.

Only in recent years, has a renewed interest in Brecht's constant frictions with Kulturpolitiker of the SED arisen. This research aims to go beyond the rhetoric of "instrumentalization". Especially in the early 1980s, when the conflicting receptions of Brecht's works in West and East Germany became increasingly at odds, the analyses on Brecht's production in the GDR were naturally

[566] The certificate by the Salzburg authorities which Brecht received when he was given the Australian citizenship on April 12, 1950, is on display in the current exhibition in Augsburg.

regarded critically and skeptically by literary scholars publishing in West Germany or the USA, including both Schwarcz (Schwarcz 1981, 310) and Silbermann (Silbermann 1980).[567] The interpretation of Brecht by Western scholars, on the other hand, was regarded as distorting Brecht according to scholars in the GDR. Recent studies, however, draw on a larger amount of archival materials of Brecht's production in the GDR by (and about) the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive (Wizisla 2011) and attempt to avoid falling into *either* past conclusions of scholarship, instead focusing on the constructedness of the respective "other Brecht".

Around which issues did these past (East/West) interpretations of Brecht collide and how are they addressed by recent scholarship? To give an example, one crucial moment of Brecht's life in the GDR, directing attention to him, came after the death of Stalin. In the *Cambridge Companion to Brecht*, Thomson explains that Brecht was slow to find fault with Stalin and that Brecht commemorated Stalin after his death in the journal *Sinn und Form* in an obituary note, speaking not for himself, but on the behalf of the proletariat: "[Stalin] was the embodiment of their hopes. But the spiritual and material weapons he made are there, and so also is the teaching to make new ones." (Thomson 2007, 37) Only much later, in 1956, after the 20th Party Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (henceforth CPSU) did Brecht write poems about Stalin in which he criticized him harshly, poems which originally were not allowed to be published in the GDR and became known as the "BBA 7: The Stalin File".[568] More important than Brecht's continuous support of Stalin in the early years after his death, was Brecht's official reaction to the workers' uprisings that followed Stalin's death in East Berlin on June 17, 1953. Even though posthumous writings of Brecht revealed that he regarded the suppression of the revolt very

[567] In his conclusion Silberman remarks that the three "faces" (the director, the theoretician, the play-wright) of Brecht whose reception in the GDR he analyzed in his contribution "bear witness to the creative energy invested in attempts at renewing Brecht's heritage in the GDR. Such efforts to attract a new audience for Brecht and to break down the prejudices connected with his name after a thirty-year reception do not, however, obscure the fact that he has been and still is being appropriated by many as a source of ideological legitimacy rather than as a source of critical theatre. At the same time, as social conditions have changed in the GDR, so have the possibilities and channels for the reception of works of art; and we should not underestimate the far more encompassing project in the GDR of constituting a materialist aesthetic that goes beyond theatrical innovation and the search for new dramatic material" (Silbermann 1980, 104). Thus despite the positive effects this new approach to Brecht's heritage by GDR culture politics brought about, the author maintains his critical stance as he regards the works on Brecht published in the GDR as hagiographies whose main function were to construct an ideologically possessive attitude to Brecht's heritage.

[568] BBA stands for the Bertolt-Brecht-Archiv, seven for the number of the file. In the poems contained in this file, Brecht called Stalin the "outstanding murderer of the people (verdienter Mörderer des Volkes)". The poems were first published in Herta Ramthun's 1981 edited volume *Gedichte aus dem Nachlass (Previously Unpublished Poems)* (Wizisla 2011, 120). Also see Brecht on Stalin in his essay, "About the critique of Stalin (Über die Kritik an Stalin)", which he wrote between July and August 1956 (Brecht 1999n).

critically (most prominently the poem "The Solution (Die Lösung)"),[569] at the time Brecht chose to side with the political regime of the SED, even writing a letter of support to Walter Ulbricht, General Secretary of the SED (1950-1971). "Brecht's defense of the government, after Russian tanks had been used to restore order, is, for forensic democrats, his greatest crime", Thomson explains (Thomson 2007, 37). Nevertheless, Thomson concludes what Brecht did and wrote in June 1953 was "defensible" (Thomson 2007, 37), thus trying to explain Brecht's expression of loyalty to the SED at the time without condemning it.[570] From the perspective of the West German other, the posthumous publication of the poem "The Solution" and other materials (first published in West Germany in 1959 (newspaper)/1964 (book form) and in East Germany in 1969) would become the sources through which those "forensic democrats" could reclaim their hero. The poem describes the reaction of the secretary of the Writer's Union to the uprising on June 17, 1953. In the poem he orders the distribution of leaflets that inform the people that the government has lost trust in them and that they could only regain the government's trust by redoubling their effort. It concludes:

Wouldn't it
Be simpler, if the government
Dissolved the people
And elected another? [571]

By satirically describing the Socialist government as "dissolving" and "electing" the people according to their needs, Brecht radically attacks the socialist regime of the SED, which draws its legitimacy from its support from the people. As this example shows, it is not possible to fully understand Brecht's relationship with the Kulturpolitik of the SED by focusing alone on Brecht's

[569] "Wäre es da/ nicht doch einfacher, die Regierung/ Löste das Volk auf und/ Wählte ein anderes? " For the whole poem, see (Brecht 1999d).

[570] Focusing on the crisis surrounding June 1953, Clark also attempts to go beyond a separation of Brecht into a hero or villain for either Germanies (M. W. Clark 2006). Clark concludes that neither terms portray him accurately, but points out the paths Brecht did not follow, paths that he describes "unthinkable" to Brecht. Clark lists them nevertheless, pointing out Brecht's ultimate support of the SED as he chose none of these paths of protest, not least because the alternatives remained even further from his ideals (e.g. West Germany's lack of coming to terms with its fascist past): "Brecht had choices, and he made compromises. He did not have to write letters of support to East German and Soviet officials. He could have defended the workers in a more public way. He might well have chosen to leave the GDR and work toward socialism in another context. But […] the idea of switching sides at this particular moment seemed almost unthinkable, because at precisely this time the West German state was rehabilitating old nazis to an alarming extent, making the GDR in contrast look very much like the antifascist state its self-serving state religion proclaimed it to be. Brecht remained in East Berlin because he was committed to the GDR and […] was in general agreement with Soviet and East German policies, and he made concessions that he believed were justified by the need to combat the continuing influence of fascism" (M. W. Clark 2006, 474).

[571] For the English translation of "The Solution" cited, see (Berg-Pan 1975, 86).

lifetime in the GDR (1949-1956) and his literary work published during his lifetime, but the posthumous making of Brecht by various forces, including the Kulturpolitiker of the SED, his heirs and Brecht's contemporaries and friends must be evaluated as well. And indeed, the more recent works on Brecht's relationship with the GDR, most prominently Werner Hecht's 2014 publication *Die Mühen der Ebenen: Brecht und die DDR* (Hecht 2014), Brockmann's 2015 study on *The Writers' State: Constructing East German Literature 1945-1959* (Brockmann 2015), Laura Bradley and Karen Leeder's 2011 edited volume on *Brecht and the GDR: Politics, Culture, Posterity* (Bradley, Laura J. R and Leeder 2011) and others have not only drawn on much literary material published only after Brecht's death to better understand Brecht's relationship to the GDR. They also draw on many historical documents, which were made accessible only after the dissolution of the GDR in the early 1990s in the broader context of the *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* (coming to terms with the past) of East German history, as they reveal much of the process of "instrumentalizing" Brecht and against which both Brecht's literature and Brecht's biography can be read in a new light, which again has allowed for an extremely complex image of Brecht (both as a historical person and as a body of text) to emerge. The archive as an institution, especially the large collection of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive, but also the historical archive of the Akademie der Künste, the Bundesarchiv, the Stasi Records Agency, short BStU[572] and other archives have served as an important source of historic material for the reevaluation of Brecht's reception and role in the GDR. As Erdmut Wizisla (1958- from Leipzig), director of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive argues with the pathos of a historian:

> Archives are a fundamental part of reception history. They resist attempts to appropriate them. Unless they are destroyed or plundered, they have the last word, regardless of whether they are meant to be private or public. Sources are, like facts, a lasting way of setting things straight. (Wizisla 2011, 121)

In these recent approaches, the historical fact is that which is shown as having been distorted and is rediscovered in the archive. This method has come to show how, in various instances, the SED tried to gain control over the image of Brecht by gaining control over the archive, by gaining control over Brecht's manuscripts, by gaining control over what is published and what not, thus ultimately by gaining control over his material literary heritage. Even though these new approaches attempt

[572] Full title of the BStU reads Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (The Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdinestes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik).

to go beyond a mere deconstruction of West and East German interpretations of Brecht, their insistence on the infallibility of the historical fact has them inevitably return to the concept of an "instrumentalization" of Brecht.

While these studies are impressive historical studies, the power and truth-claim of the archive is not questioned at all. It is not surprising that the eyes of historians and literary scholars alike have been following the history of Brecht's written manuscripts. Yet, little attention has been paid to the commemoration of Brecht in museum space to understand how the *image* of Brecht was produced in the GDR and in West Germany as they hold on to the historical First Body of Brecht (Kantorowicz 1990).

Actors: Honecker's Speech Act: The Opening of Brecht's Gedenkstätte

The GDR was certainly keen on creating "Erinnerungsräume" (spaces of memory) (A. Assmann 2006) in the form of a state-owned memorial museum to commemorate their cultural hero, as was the case with Lu Xun after the establishment of the PRC. Both Brecht and Lu Xun were sympathetic to the Communist cause, but neither had joined the Communist Party. This made it all the more necessary for the Socialist regimes to claim their legacy as Communist revolutionaries in order to remove any doubts about their political orientation, but at the same time they also had the potential to present the field of cultural production as an "autonomous" field (after all the writers were not Party members) that by its own initiative joined in the Communist cause envisioned by the Party, thus legitimizing political action through the firm conviction of the avant-garde artist. In either case, a regulated form of valorization through the establishment of "Erinnerungsräume" was the obvious counterpart to the archive to gain control over the production of the author-hero. The archive and the memorial museum hereby functioned as two sides of the same coin: The archive safeguarded and "collected" the author (i.e. negative censorship through the withholding of materials), the museum as positively presenting the author, making him more "approachable 親密" (Lu Xun 魯迅 2005ad, 329) to the public (i.e. positive censorship through the selections of materials to be communicated and placed into the foreground), thus ultimately offering two methods in the making of Brecht, each containing their restricting and valorizing elements in the making of a cultural hero.

The first memorial museum dedicated to Bertolt Brecht was established in 1978 at Chausseestr. 125, where Brecht had lived with his wife Helene Weigel from 1953-1956 and where Weigel continued to live until her death in 1971. When the memorial museum was established in

1978 it was named the "Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte" (Brecht-Weigel-memorial site). Only recently, in 2018, was its name changed to "Bercht-Weigel-Museum".[573] In comparison to Lu Xun's institutionalization, this name begs the question why his Shanghai residence on Dalu xincun No. 9 was not named the "Former Residence of Lu Xun and Xu Guangping", a question which I will answer in the course of this chapter on "Brecht – institutionalized", when comparing the parts Helene Weigel and Xu Guangping played in the authors' institutionalizations.

A substantial part of this chapter will be dedicated to events that occurred before the official birth of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, but it is helpful to begin the account of Brecht's institutionalization with the day on which the Gedenkstätte was opened to the public. The opening of the museum on the anniversary of Brecht's 80th birth anniversary was not only a cultural, but also a political event. On the day of the opening of the museum, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED (in office 1971-1989), came to the opening and walked through the display of Brecht's and Weigel's apartments together with Barbara Brecht-Schall (1930-2015, from Berlin), Brecht's and Weigel's daughter. On the day of the festivities, a photograph was taken outside in the

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1. Erich Honecker (right), Barbara Brecht-Schall (middle), Werner Hecht (left) at the Opening of Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, 1978; source: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Maria-Steinfeldt-Archiv, Steinfeldt No. 572, Photographer: Maria Steinfeldt.
2. Courtyard of the Chausseestr. 125, the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed September 13, 2016.

courtyard of Chausseestr. 125, that shows Erich Honecker (right), Barbara Brecht-Schall (middle) and head of the Brecht-Zentrum Werner Hecht (left) in conversation [**IC 162 Opening with Honecker, Brecht-Schall, Hecht**]. Among the other special guests invited to the festivities were

[573] This study refers to the "Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte" in the main text since it was still its current name during my fieldwork in 2014. When refering to image materials, I refer to its new name "Brecht-Weigel-Museum".

representatives from the highest cultural and political institutions of the GDR, including members of the Central Committee of the SED such as Werner Lamberz, Günter Mittag und Konrad Naumann, as well as the Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, the Minister of Construction Wolfgang Junger and mayor of Berlin Erhard Krack. Representatives from the cultural field were also present, among them Konrad Wolf, president of the East German Academy of Arts (Akademie der Künste, henceforth AdK (Ost)), actress Gisla May, head of the Brecht-Zentrum Werner Hecht, actor, director and husband of Barbara Brecht-Schall, Ekkehard Schall and playwright and director Manfred Wekwerth who would replace Konrad Wolf as the head of the AdK (Ost) four years later (ADN/ Notate 1978). Erich Honecker was the first guest to write an entry into the museum guestbook:

> With the handing over of the Brecht house to the public, the capital of the GDR receives a significant center for the preservation and circulation of the works of Bertolt Brecht: scientists and construction workers have done an outstanding job to establish the house. For this they deserve a warm felt thank-you and much appreciation. In celebration of his 80th birthday, the German Democratic Republic honors the partisan (*parteiisch*) and combative (*kämpferisch*) work and life of Bertolt Brecht, who was deeply committed to the revolutionary workers' movement. His works are an inalienable (*unverlierbar*) component of our socialist national culture (*Nationalkultur*). Brecht was always an attentive and inspiring partner in discussions. With this in mind, may the last work- and living spaces of Bertolt Brecht and Helene Weigel become a place of lively discussions about the tradition and tasks of our socialist-realist literature and [its] artists! [574]
>
> Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR (ADN/ Notate 1978, 1).

Honecker explicitly defined Brecht's work as representing the socialist national culture of the GDR, which could not and ought not be lost (*unverlierbar*), emphasizing the value of the house for

[574] Due to its length, the German quote is cited in the footnote: "Mit der Übergabe des Brecht-Hauses an die Öffentlichkeit erhält die Hauptstadt der DDR ein bedeutsames Zentrum zur Pflege und Verbreitung der Werke Bertolt Brechts: Wissenschaftler und Bauarbeiter haben bei der Einrichtung des Hauses hervorragende Arbeit geleistet. Dafür gebührt ihnen herzlicher Dank und hohe Anerkennung. Anläßlich seines 80. Geburtstages ehrt die Deutsche Demokratische Republik das parteiliche und kämpferische Leben und Schaffen Bertolt Brechts, der der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung zu tiefst verbunden war. Seine Werke sind ein unverlierbarer Bestandteil unserer sozialistischen Nationalkultur. Brecht war stets ein aufmerksamer und anregender Gesprächspartner. In diesem Sinne möge die letzte Arbeits- und Wohnstätte von Bertolt Brecht und Helene Weigel zu einem Ort lebendiger Gespräche über die Tradition und Aufgaben unserer sozialistisch-realistischen Literatur und Künstler werden! Erich Honecker, Generalsekretär der ZK der SED und Vorsitzender des Staatsrates der DDR" (ADN/ Notate 1978, 1).

preserving and circulating Brecht's works. The discussions which Honecker envisioned taking place in these former living and work spaces of Brecht and Weigel were furthermore restricted to the traditions and tasks of the GDR's socialist-realist literature, thus specifying a certain kind of cultural production. A report on the celebrated event of the museum's opening, including the entry in the guest-book, was later published in the newsletter *notate*, published by the Brecht-Zentrum der DDR. As a newsletter it largely echoed the position of the Ministry of Culture (MfK), but at times also published materials which clashed with official policies.[575] When it informed about the establishment of the Gedenkstätte, its reporting – in line with the MfK – aimed to present the event in a positive light. Honecker's formulation that the house was "handed over to the public (der Öffentlichkeit übergeben worden)" was used once again to describe that which was being celebrated, a phrase (or arguably a euphemism) chosen to express that the house was acquired by the state. In a symbolical act, the key to the house was handed over from the head of the construction company first to Hoffmann, the Minister of Culture, who further gave it to the new owner of the house, Werner Hecht, director of the Brecht-Zentrum der DDR, both state institutions. The reportage on the ceremony explicitly described this act as symbolical, meaning this newly founded institution stood for the greater "cause of socialism" (die Sache des Sozialismus): the act ("die symbolische Schlüsselübergabe") was connected "with the wish that the Brecht house would become a center of attraction (*Anziehungspunkt*) for anyone who felt a connection to the creative and socialist ideas of the poet and playwright Bertolt Brecht (mit dem Wunsch, daß das Brecht Haus […] zum Anziehungspunkt für all die werden möge, die sich mit den schöpferischen, sozialistischen Ideen des Dichters und Theatermannes Brecht verbunden fühlen)" (ADN/ Notate 1978, 1). By this, the report already sketched an intended audience for the museums via *expressio unius est exclusio alterius*, explicitly stating who this place was to draw in (anziehen) and thereby implicitly rejecting those who felt no connection to Brecht's socialist ideas, or better repelling (abstoßen) them accordingly. But not only the report stated clearly what this new institution was to stand for. After the tour of the house, Honecker himself exclaimed:

> Here in the middle of Europe a place has been inaugurated, a place which, in the truest sense of the word, symbolizes the spirit which is the foundation of our German Democratic Republic – a deeply humanistic and revolutionary spirit. […] What moves the world so

[575] The newsletter *notate* was made possible by the support of the Ministry of Culture (MfK) and its reporting organized by the Brecht-Zentrum was largely in line with the *Kulturpolitik* of the MfK. However, the newsletter also published articles, which were criticized by the MfK, whereby the MfK would threat a ban of its publication. One example hereof were Heiner Müllers interviews with *notate* in 1984 (in notate 5/83 and 3/84) (Hecht 2003, 36). The newsletter was discontinued in October 1990.

> greatly today, was also the cause (*die Sache*) of Bertolt Brecht and Helene Weigel, the cause of Socialism (*die Sache des Sozialisums*), the triumph of which we fight for together. (Hier wurde im Zentrum Europa sein Ort eingeweiht, der im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes jenen Geist symbolisiert, auf dessen Grundlage auch unsere Deutsche Demokratische Republik beruht – einen zutiefst humanistischen und revolutionären Geist. […] Was die Welt heute so großartig bewegt, war auch die Sache von Bertolt Brecht und Helene Weigel, die Sache des Sozialismus, für dessen Triumph wir gemeinsam kämpfen).

With the opening of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, the former residence had turned into a symbol of the greater cause of socialism. This symbolical meaning was emphasized in Honecker's speech, his guest book entry and the official reports on the event. But the handing over of the keys of the house also contained a further level of meaning, which was symbolical as well, but also had practical and legal consequences. With the handing over of the key to the "public", the key (symbolizing ownership) of the house was *also* handed over to the state, embodied by two institutions: the ministry of culture (Hoffmann) and the DDR-Brecht-Zentrum (Hecht).

Werner Hecht, when receiving the key, referenced a poem by Brecht: "With this house of great use value, we gladly accept the obligation to always put honoring Brecht into practice in the manner in which Lenin was honored in [Brecht's] famous poem by the carpet weavers of Kujan-Bulak: They honored him by drawing use from him, for themselves and for society. (Wir übernehmen in diesem Haus mit hohem Gebrauchswert gern die Verpflichtung, die Ehrung Brechts allezeit so zu realisieren, wie das in seinem berühmten Gedicht die Teppichweber von Kujan-Bulak mit Lenin getan haben: Sie ehrten ihn, indem sie sich, also der Gesellschaft nützten)" (cited in Hecht 2003). The 1929-poem "Die Teppichweber von Kujan-Bulak" which was discussed above in the context of the presentation of heroes and their memorials in Brecht's literary oeuvre, was used here by Werner Hecht to legitimize the establishment of a memorial site commemorating Brecht, whose practical value he emphasized over its symbolical value, drawing on Marxist concepts of use-value. At the same time, the commemoration of Brecht is compared to the commemoration of Lenin, thus acknowledging the similarity of the processes of commemoration between the two, a similarity which in the late 1970s of the GDR continued to have positive connotations, despite the processes of de-Stalinization and a more critical approach to the personality cult in the SU since the early 1960s. The museum was to be different from a commemoration of Lenin with a bust. Instead it was to commemorate Brecht by being "useful".

The question that remains, of course, is useful to whom? According to Honecker's exclamation, those who felt a connection to the "creative and socialist ideas" of Brecht.

What did it mean that the ownership of the Brecht-Haus, which was symbolized by the key, was handed over to "the public", i.e. the Brecht-Zentrum? What kind of institution was the Brecht-Zentrum? According to its statute,[576] the Brecht-Zentrum der DDR is defined as "a subsidiary institution of the Ministry of Culture (eine nachgeordnete Einrichtung des Ministeriums für Kultur)", which also meant that the director of the center was "appointed and recalled (berufen/ abberufen)" directly by the Ministry of Culture. Concerning its functions, the statute does not include any of the political implications that were made by Honecker. The functions of the institution listed in the statute were among others to "coordinate activities in the academic and culture-political field to propagate the work of Brecht in-country (Inland) and abroad (koordiniert Aktivitäten auf dem wissenschaftlichem und kulturpolitschen Gebiet zur Propagierung des Werkes von Brecht im In- und Ausland)" (Ministerium für Kultur der DDR 1982, 36). This and the other functions listed do not more closely define it to be Brecht's *socialist* ideas or work that was to be propagated alone. Instead the functions are given in more general terms. The fact, however, that the Brecht-Zentrum was directly subordinate to the Ministry of Culture in the SED had an invisible effect on the functions of the center and on the selection of Brecht's works propagated and the forms of "propaganda", meaning the manner in which they were to be propagated – even though this was not made explicit or stipulated in the statute. The financing of the center would consist of its own revenues and the state budget, no further details were stipulated.

The *structural* dependence of the DDR-Brecht-Zentrum from the Ministry of Culture (legally and also partially financially) implicitly determined which works of Brecht and which image of Brecht were to be propagated and indeed into what kind of hero Brecht was to be constructed. In the years up to the establishment of the GDR the term "culture" was intentionally not limited to socialist culture in the Kulturpolitik of the GDR, as the Soviet Union and the KPD also hoped to win over writers, artists and other cultural producers from West Germany to reconsider and come to settle in the GDR (Schroeder 2013, 546). But by the early 1950s and especially by the mid-1960s, this liberal approach to the definition of culture had been rejected.[577] In the newly revised constitution of the GDR from 1968, an article on culture was added to the items in earlier versions

[576] The statue became law on May 1, 1981.

[577] Klaus Schroeder explains the earlier liberal approach through the political and ideological restrain which the "Kulturbund zur demokatischen Erneuerung Deutschlands" (estab. 1945) exercised (Schroeder 2013, 546).

of the constitution beginning from 1949. In the newly added Article 18 from the 1968 constitution, culture was defined as "socialist culture": "The socialist national culture belongs to the foundation of the socialist society (Die sozialistische Nationalkultur gehört zu den Grundlagen der sozialistischen Gesellschaft)", juxtaposing socialist culture hereby with imperialist barbarism, literally "un-culture" (imperialistische Unkultur). The socialist society was further to "maintain all humanist values of the national cultural heritage and the world culture and develop a socialist national culture as a concern/ cause (*Sache*) of the whole people (pflegt alle humanistischen Werte des nationalen Kulturerbes und der Weltkultur und entwickelt die sozialistische Nationalkultur als Sache des ganzen Volkes) (DDR Verfassung 1968).[578] The definition of culture was thus fixated in the constitution, by proclaiming that the Brecht-Zentrum was to overtake the function of propagating Brecht in the field of Kulturpolitik from its opening in 1978 onwards, this definition of culture which had been defined in a restricting way, would regulate the Brecht-Zentrum via its affiliation with the Ministry of Culture.

Before the opening day on February 10, 1978, no Brecht memorial museum had existed, only an archive had been established by this time. The restauration of the Brecht-Haus had been commissioned by the Ministry of Culture between April 1977 and February 1978. In the context of this renovation, the former work and living-spaces were reconstructed. The archive, which had been located in the rooms that would become the Gedenkstätte, moved up into the third floor of the Brecht-Haus. Thus when the key was handed over to Werner Hecht in 1979, there were three institutions alongside the Gedenkstätte under the roof of the Brecht-Haus, thereafter owned by the Brecht-Zentrum: the Brecht-Zentrum der DDR, the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive and the private office

[578] The 1949 constitution of the GDR did not specifically address culture. Culture in the sense of art was included in the chapter on Upbringing and Education (Erziehung und Bildung) and simply read: "Art. 34. Die Kunst, die Wissenschaft und ihre Lehre sind frei. Der Staat nimmt an ihrer Pflege teil und gewährt ihnen Schutz, insbesondere gegen den Mißbrauch für Zwecke, die den Bestimmungen und dem Geist der Verfassung widersprechen." (DDR Verfassung 1949) In the revised constitution from 1968, "culture" as a term was introduced into the constitution in the chapter on Ökonomische Grundlagen, Wissenschaft, Bildung und Kultur. The first two paragraphs of Article 18 read: "(1) Die sozialistischen Nationalkultur gehört zu den Grundlagen der sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik fördert und schützt die sozialistische Kultur, die dem Frieden, dem Humanismus und der Entwicklung der sozialistischen Menschengemeinschaft dient. Sie bekämpft die imperialistische Unkultur, die der psychologischen Kriegsführung und der Herabwürdigung des Menschen dient. Die sozialistische Gesellschaft fördert das kulturvolle Leben der Werktätigen, pflegt alle humanistischen Werte der nationalen Kulturerbes und der Weltkultur und entwickelt die sozialistische Nationalkultur als Sache des ganzen Volkes. (2) Die Förderung der Künste, der künstlerischen Interessen und Fähigkeiten aller Werktätigen und die Verbreitung künstlerischer Werke und Leistungen sind Obliegenheiten des Staates und aller gesellschaftlichen Kräfte. Das künstlerische Schaffen beruht auf einer engen Verbindung der Kulturschaffenden mit dem Leben des Volkes."

of the Brecht heirs. While the house belonged to the Brecht-Zentrum, the memorial museum was to be managed by the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive, which was run by the AdK (Ost):

Ministerium für Kultur

Ministers: Johannes Becher (1954-58), Alexander Abusch (1958-61), Hans Bentzien (1961-66), Klaus Gysi (1966-73), Hans-Joachim Hoffmann (1973-89), Dietmar Keller (1989-90), Herbert Schirmer (1990)

- **Brecht-Zentrum der DDR**

(established 1974-90, under a Trägerverein as the Literaturform im Brecht-Haus from 1991-present)

  - Direktor: Werner Hecht (1979-1990)[579], Inge Gellert (1991-1998)
    - Buchhandlung Brecht
    - Kellerrestaurant (dishes prepared according to Weigel's recipes)

Akademie der Künste (Ost)

Directors: Heinrich Mann (1950), Arnold Zweig (1950-53), Johannes Becher (1953-1956), Otto Nagel (1956-1962), Willi Bredel (1962-1964), Konrad Wolf (1965-1982), Manfred Wekwerth (1982-90), Heiner Müller (1990-93)

- **Das Bertolt-Brecht-Archiv**

(established 1956 by Helene Weigel as private institution, taken over by the AdK (Ost) in 1973, extended to include the Helene-Weigel-Archive in 1974)

  - Directors: Dr. Hans Bunge (-1959/1962), Herta Rathmun (62-77), Dr. Gerhard Seidel (77-92), Dr. Erdmut Wizisla (1993-)
    - **Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte (since 1992)**[580]
      - Section Head: Elke Pfeil (1986-)

- **Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte**

(established 1978)

  - Head: Gerhard Seidel; Elke Pfeil (1990-)
  - Academic Staff: Elke Pfeil (1987-)

Privat

- Sekretariat der Bertolt-Brecht-Erben (1978-2007)
  - Head: Barbara Brecht-Schall[581]

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[579] In 1990, the newly elected Ministry of Culture of the GDR, which existed only shortly, changed the statute of the Brecht-Zentrum. It was dismissed from its directly subordinate association to the MfK and was to be its own juristic person. Werner Hecht was given the task to run the Brecht-Zentrum as a self-reliant company of limited liability (GmbH) hereafter until 1991 (Hecht 2003, 39).

[580] After the reunification of Germany and the merger of the two academies of art (AdK (Ost) – AdK [West]), the section (Bereich) "Gedenkstätten" was dissolved and the museums were distributed to respective archives of the writers they belonged to or dissolved (Pfeil 2005, 135).

[581] Barbara Brecht-Schall was the only child of Brecht who was a citizen of the GDR. Her brother Stephan was a citizen of the US and her sister, living in Munich, of West Germany (Hecht 1978, 1).

Structure: Institutional Affiliations: Powers of the AdK (Ost)

What did this structural affiliation with the archive and ultimately with the AdK (Ost), rather than the Brecht Zentrum, mean for the Gedenkstätte? Was the memorial museum thus not state-owned as in the case of the Lu Xun memorial museums in China? The Akademie der Künste (Ost) was an institution which was to follow in the footsteps of the Königliche, later Preußische Akademie der Künste (established in 1809). After the end of WWII, the academy could no longer function and due to the political tensions of the cold war, two separate institutions were founded, referring back to the long history of this academy of the arts. In the East, the "Deutsche Akademie der Künste (DAdK)" was founded in 1950 (renamed AdK (Ost) only in 1974), with Arnold Zweig as its head and Bertolt Brecht as one of its founding members (Dietzel 1997, 16–22). Four years later in 1954, the Akademie der Künste (West) was established. Artists who had been members in both organizations were thereafter forced to pick one (Dietzel 1997, 19), institutionally separating the field of cultural production in Germany into two.

Similar to other cultural institutions before and after the founding of the GRD, the earlier approach of the DAdK was very liberal, essentially intending to continue the approach of the academy before the taking over of the Nazi regime. The establishment of a completely new academy was not envisioned. The main characteristic of this intended academy with its roots in the past was understood to be its independence (*Selbstständigkeit*). This was also to be the essential pillar for the establishment of the DAdK. The statute drafted by January 1955 stated that "the independence of the academy is to be the fundamental principle for the drafting of its statutes (als wesentlicher Grundsatz für die Ausarbeitung von Statuten hat die Selbständigkeit der Akameie zu gelten)" (Dietzel 1997, 16). While the first editions of the statutes bespoke a continuous belief in the impartibility of German culture (Unteilbarkeit der deutschen Kultur), [582] the Soviet Union officially supported the two-states-theory when West Germany officially joined the NATO and the GDR respectively joined the Warschauer Pakt in mid-1955, after the drafting of this statue. This development would also reflect in the later revisions of the statutes of the DAdK in which the

[582] The statute of the DAdK from 1955 stipulated that it is an "institution of all-German character, and the impartibility of the German culture is the basic principle of its operation and creation. [The academy] sets out to develop the artistic and creative forces of the German nation (Institution von gesamtdeutschem Charakter, und die Unteilbarkeit der deutschen Kultur ist für sie das Grundprinzip ihres Wirkens und Schaffens. Sie setzt sich zur Aufgabe, die künstlerisch schöpferischen Kräfte der deutschen Nation zu entfalten)" (cited in Braun 2007, 88).

academy would become increasingly defined as serving the state.[583] By the 1978-edition of the statue of the Akademie der Künste (Ost), this change had become very clear, for it was defined as an "institution of the socialist German state of the workers and peasants (eine Institution des sozialistischen deutschen Staates der Arbeiter und Bauern)" and accordingly acknowledged "the leading role of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist Party (führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer marxistisch-leninischen Partei)". It was the working class who the academy was to see as the "basis for the growing of a developed socialist society of the GDR and its national culture (*Nationalkultur*) (Voraussetzung für das Wachsen der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft der DDR und ihrer sozialistischen Nationalkultur)" (cited in Braun 2010, 196). Thus, even though the Academy of Arts had been conceptualized as an independent institution in the early years of the GDR,[584] by the time the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte was established and placed under its leadership, the definition of culture embodied by the AdK (Ost) had been greatly narrowed.

Why the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte became subordinate to the AdK (Ost), however, cannot be explained only in reference to the political influence this institution served. If the aim had been to have maximum control over Brecht's estate, it could have been easier subordinating it to the Brecht-Zentrum, which was directly under the Ministry of Culture. Instead, the biographical component must be taken into consideration. Brecht himself was a founding member of the Deutsche Akademie der Künste. Thus it was his prior affiliation with this institution made it the "natural" choice for managing his estate. This is similar to the institutionalization of Guo Moruo, former president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS). His memorial museum is managed by the CAS. Similarly Ba Jin, former president of the Chinese Writers Association (CWA), whose

[583] First changes in the statute showed an increasing dependence on the state and its definition of culture: the academy was in charge of a) "continuous accountable support of the government […] through advice, evaluations and other appropriate means, which serve the execution of the artistic and culture-political tasks of the state (ständige verantwortliche Unterstützung der Regierung [..] durch Beratung, Gutachten oder andere geeignete Maßnahmen, die die Durchführung der künstlerischen und kulturpolitischen Aufgaben des Staates dienen" (cited in Braun 2007, 89) and members could be excluded if "their behavior or work is not compatible with the foundations of the constitution of the GDR or the DAdK (ihr Verhalten oder ihre Tätigkeit unvereinbar ist mit den Grundsätzen der Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik sowie mit dem Statut der Deutschen Akademie der Künste". As described above, the newly revised constitution of the GDR defined an increasingly limited concept of culture (sozialistische Nationalkultur), which would also have an effect on this paragraph of the statue of the DAdK, making it easier to exclude a member if their work did not represent the orthodox definition of socialist culture. For an overview over the institutional history of the DAdK/ AdK (Ost) and the inquiry to what extent it was a tool of the SED on the one side or a refuge for artists from the dogmatism of SED Kulturpolitik, see: (Braun 2007).

[584] Despite acknowledging that the academy was a "regulatory institution (Regulierungsorgan)" of the cultural field in the GDR, it also enjoyed at times relative liberty in discussions and even publications, with the main example being its journal *Sinn und Form*, a journal functioning with relatively little regulation and oversight (Braun 2010, 210). In 1962, the chief editor of the journal Peter Huchel (1903-1981) was suspended, which shows that the relative freedom the journal received also had its limits (Plachta 2008, 22).

memorial museum in Shanghai is managed by the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Writers Association, as discussed in the "Conclusion: (A)waiting – Appropriating – Affiliating" of the chapter "Before the Birth of the Lu Xun Museum (1936-49): Lu Xun in Limbo" of "Lu Xun – institutionalized".[585]

What becomes apparent, nevertheless, when taking into consideration the institutional affiliation of the Gedenkstätte with the AdK (Ost) in 1978, is that the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte was de facto a state-owned institution. This had structural consequences, both restricting and valorizing. Firstly, as when the Beijing Lu Xun Museum was reaffiliated with the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH 文物局) under the Ministry of Culture, thereby elevating its administrative ranking, this dependence on the AdK (Ost) also had a positive effect through an increase of institutional charisma within in the gDR culture political landscape. As Mathias Braun from the BStU,[586] a governmental agency conducting research on the archives of the former Ministry of State Security (MfS, "Stasi") of the GDR, concludes in his study on the academy, the AdK (Ost) had a very high political and ideological position within the SED, as it was formally subordinate to the chairman of the council of ministers (Ministerpräsident [or later Vorsitzender des Ministerrats der DDR Willi Stroph (1914-1999; in office 1976-1989)]), and factually led by the Central Committee (Braun 2010, 207). Both Brecht's symbolical value and the institution's high administrative ranking thus explain why Erich Honecker and other representatives from the highest political elite of the GDR were present at the opening of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte in 1979.

Secondly, after the establishment of the memorial museum in 1978, the staff of the archive and now museum was increased from only two staff members to twelve (Wizisla 1996, 10). Even though the increase of staff in sheer numbers cannot compare to the Beijing Lu Xun museum, which through the (re-)affiliation with the SACH 文物局 in 1975 increased its staff from originally about ten to almost 50 (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20, 01:24:40), the

[585] The same logic of affiliation explains the fact that among the other literarische Gedenkstätten of the GDR, the former residences of the former presidents of the DAdK Arnold Zweig (1950-53) and Johannes R. Becher (1953-1956) were also subordinate to the AdK (Ost) after their establishment in 1965 in the case of Becher and in 1987 in the case of Zweig.

[586] The Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdinestes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (BStU) was established in 1990 and is a federal agency which is in charge of preserving and providing access for reserach and investigation to the archives of the MfS of the GDR. In 2011 it became member in the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, an educational project of the EU which aims at raising awareness about the crimes of totalitarian regimes, bringing together a global network of government institutions and NGOs.

relative increase was nevertheless immense.[587] There were some differences regarding the staff of the state-owned museums in the PRC and state-run Gedenkstätte in the GDR, however. Unlike the Lu Xun museums, the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive and museum staff would not include an individual and permanent position given to a Party Secretary responsible for the propagation of recent SED governmental policies, as state-run museums in PRC did (see, the Party Secretary *dangshuji* 黨書記) (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黄喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:41:16). And even though the affiliation to the AdK (Ost) was a high institutional position, there was no complaint over the creation of purely administrative posts in which little research and understanding of the writer was required as in some cases of Lu Xun museum and its large body of staff in Beijing (interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20, 00:15:21); (interview with Huang Qiaosheng 黄喬生, 2014, August 13, 00:74:35). Thus, the fact that the Brecht archive and museum at the opening in 1978 were turned into a de facto state-run institution brought with it considerable structural benefits.

The question which remains is if its affiliation also entailed restricting elements, that is to say whether this increase in the *potential* power of the state to censor the display also resulted in the actual use of this power, as it had in the case of the Lu Xun museums (see, for example, the section on "*Display*: Reintroducing Lin Yutang into the Display" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis). To answer this question, it is crucial to look at the time "before the official birth" of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte in 1978, namely at the years from 1956-1978, the first twenty years following Brecht's death. In this time period there was no memorial museum, but an archive in Chausseestr. 125. Fears that the state *attempted* to gain control over Brecht's literary estate by gaining control over the archive was well founded, as recent scholarship has revealed and the following section will show. But first the question will be addresses as to why an archive was established in the first place, instead of a memorial museum in the manner in which it had been established in Lu Xun's former residences from the very beginning in 1949/1950.

[587] The increase of staff can also be retraced from the group photographs of museum researchers provided in the museum history (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006). In the case of the Beijing Lu Xun museum, the staff today would even add up to 100 museum professionals, Wang Dehou explained, for the retired personnel must also be included as their salaries/ pension came from the museum. The cost of this large body of personnel in the museum was thus very high and would be granted only to institutions of high affiliation, e.g. bureau-level institutions (*juji danwe*i 局級單位).

Actors: The Heroine of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive: Before the Birth of Brecht's Gedenkstätte

The establishment of a museum was not of highest priority to the one person who was in power over Brecht's heritage immediately after his death, namely Helene Weigel. It was her decision to use Brecht's former studies, or work rooms (Arbeitszimmer), for establishing a Brecht archive.

The establishment of a memorial museum dedicated to Brecht met with criticism by Brecht's friends and had been met with humor if not aversion by Brecht himself. In 1957, one year after Brecht's death, Erwin Strittmatter (1912-1994 from Spremberg, Brandenburg) recalled in an article titled "Besuch bei Brecht heute":

> It was approximately three years ago. I had returned from a trip abroad and described to Brecht my impressions of a poet-museum that I had seen during my travels. – "How atrocious", he said. "The suits of the poet were put on display in glass cabinets, you say?" – "Yes." – His eyes flashed at me, when he said: "I command you to make sure that after my death everything that is mine, including my cars […] are sunk in the Schiffbauerdamm canal!" – That was half joking, half serious. As I said, at that time we did not think about dying. I never had to implement his "order" after his death. There were people around him that knew how much it would have offended him, if such fetishism had been practiced with his things. […] Thus, there will be no Brecht-museum, but a Brecht-Archive. Archive – that does not sound museum-like (*museal*), but like work (*Arbeit*) (Strittmatter 2000, 91–92).[588]

When it comes to the social practice of establishing museums dedicated to writers, spaces in which, in Carlyle's terminology (1840), a "hero" is "worshiped" (Carlyle [1840] 1966), Erwin Strittmatter's recollection of Brecht's reproach to such an idea is not very subtle. It is telling that (be it the opinion of Strittmatter or Brecht) the museum was associated with fetishism, while an archive was associated with work.[589] Today, however, both the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte in Berlin and the Brecht-Haus in Augsburg are museums in the sense that they not only collect and preserve, but also feature exhibitions in which the author's material heritage, or merely material traces, are put on display, sealed off from the visitor's touch by ropes or by even by glass show

[588] Es war vor knapp drei Jahren. Ich kam von einer Auslandsreise zurück und schilderte Brecht meine Eindrücke von einem Dichter-Museum, das ich mir unterwegs angesehen hatte. – "Das ist ja gräßlich", sagte er. "Die Anzüge des Dichters wurden also in Glasvitrinen zur Schau gestellt?" – "Ja." – Es blitzte in seinen Augen, als er sagte: "Ich befehle Ihnen, dafür zu sorgen, daß nach meinem Tode alles von mir, einschließlich meines Autos […] im Schiffbauerdamm-Kanal versenkt wird!" – Das war halb Scherz, halb Ernst. Wie gesagt, damals dachten wir nicht ans Sterben. Ich habe seinen "Befehl" nach seinem Tode nicht auszuführen brauchen. Es waren Menschen um ihn, die da wußten, wie es ihn beleidigt hätte, wäre mit seinen Sachen Fetischismus betrieben worden. […] So wird also kein Brecht-Museum, sondern ein Brecht-Archiv entstehen. Archiv – das klingt nicht museal, sondern nach Arbeit. (Strittmatter 2000, 91–92)

[589] It is noteworthy that Strittmatter had visited author museums abroad and not within Germany.

cases. In Brecht's words this might be described as "atrocious (gräßlich)". Thus despite the (more or less serious) wishes of Brecht, museums were established in his honor.

When it came to his body or that which could be understood as his "relics", Brecht not only gave oral but even written orders on how they should be dealt with, withdrawing the possibility for anyone to make use of his body for display or making demands on how the funeral should be conducted and even narrated. Brecht wrote a letter to R. Engles at the DAdK in 1955, stating that he did not want his deceased body to be put on display publicly. The manner in which Lu Xun's body had been put on display at the funeral parlor in Shanghai thus thus differed strongly from Brecht's (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 et. al. 1957, 55). Brecht made clear that he wanted to be buried in the cemetery beside his house in Chausseestr. 125 and that no one should speak at the funeral (Brecht et al. 1978, 308). After his death, Weigel chose his former apartment as the place where the archival work should be conducted, turning his former living and work spaces into an archive. She herself continued to live on the ground floor of the house, working as the director of the Berliner Ensemble and as head of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive until her death in 1971. During her lifetime, Weigel implemented her plan of turning Brecht's former apartment on the first floor into a "Arbeitsstätte" (Wizisla 2011, 105) as she called it, not into a "Gedenkstätte", an inclination which she seems to share with Strittmatter.

This said, it was not the case that the idea of reconstructing Brecht's apartment for the purpose of a memorial museum was completely rejected. Even though the accounts above express a critical attitude to memorial museums and sites, according to Brecht's friend's account, his apartment was photographed after he passed away. This was done in foresight since the furniture was to be put back in its old place ("wieder an ihre alten Plätze rücken"), so that it could be used as a reading space for visitors of the archive, as Strittmatter further explained (Strittmatter 2000, 91–92). Photos of the apartment were taken in September 1956, only a month after Brechts death, by Christian Kraushaar (1929-) (Pfeil 2003, 33). This was similar to Lu Xun (with Xu Shoushang's reminding Xu Guangping to keep Lu Xun's personal belongings as they were valuable heritage (*yiwu* 遺物) (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 2), and the photographs taken of Lu Xun's last residence in Shanghai immediately after his death in 1936 (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 20–26)), Brecht's contemporaries also had already imagined and envisioned the reconstruction of Brecht's work and living spaces long prior to its establishment.

That Brecht's personal and literary estate would remain the private property of Helene Weigel, who established a private archive in the GDR is even more surprising when taking into consideration that Brecht himself had wanted to donate his estate to the DAdK, even putting this into writing. But since he did not sign this last testament, it was not lawful and Weigel remained the main inheritor of the estate. In managing Brecht's personal and literary estate, it was Weigel's contribution in the posthumous publishing of Brecht's literary works that has revealed her power over Brecht's literary estate. She succeeded in publishing Brecht's work almost uncensored, both in West Germany (with Suhrkamp Publishing) and in East Germany (with the Aufbau Publishing House). In those instances, in which the SED attempted to exclude some particular works from the collection (as, for example, the poem "The Solution" cited above from the collection *Buckower Elegien*), Helene Weigel published it in West Germany and within the GDR would refuse to allow the collections to be published incompletely, thus putting the publishing process on hold. Helene Weigel was a major cultural figure in the GDR and had been awarded the National prize of the GDR (Nationalpreis der DDR) in the category of Art and Literature (in 1952) for her theatric performances (most famously in her role as Mother Courage) and for her work as the director of the Berliner Ensemble. Her fame and cultural capital, and indeed her willingness to take the role of a leading culture figure of the GDR, made it possible for her to refuse to change her mind on this issue. Even when Elisabeth Hauptmann attempted to convince her to make a compromise, fearing that insisting on this one poem would jeopardize the entire endeavor of publishing Brecht's collected works in the GDR (Braune 2011, 117) or as Wizisla argues having a "fit of weakness" or feelings of loyalty to the Party line (Wizisla 2011, 107), Weigel did not compromise and refused to give her consent (cited in Braune 2011, 119). She would not take an offensive approach and criticize the censorship of the SED cultural politics publicly, but she simply withheld her permission to print. She followed this approach for so long that the delay of the collected works of Brecht became an embarrassment for the state, enhanced both by its successful publication in the West and by the passing of the 20th anniversary of Brecht's death in 1966, an embarrassment which finally lead the state actors to surrender. They agreed to including poem which revealed aspects of Brecht that stood in contradiction to the revolutionary hero they aimed to construct as their "socialist writer" in GDR publications. Minister of Culture Hans Benzien (in office 1961-66) finally gave the permission to print, writing to Kurt Hager (1912-1998 from Bietigheim), who had been the Secretary of the Central Committee since 1955 and responsible for Science, People's Education and Culture, and since 1963 member of the Politburo and head of the Commission of

Ideology of the Politbüro (Schroeder 2013, 926), understood as "chief ideologue" of the GDR. Benzien argued: "I consider surrendering Brecht to the West Germans politically more harmful and more incorrect than the publication of the seventh volume [of Brecht's collected works] with the respective poem [The Solution] (Den Westdeuschen aber Brecht zu überlassen, halte ich für politisch schädlicher und falscher als die Herausgabe des 7. Bandes mit dem infrage stehenden Gedicht)."[590]

The publishing history of the poem "The Solution" has become known among Brecht scholars as a stand-off between Helene Weigel, the private heir and the restricting force of the cultural politics of the GDR, policies aiming to remove this poem in order to construct their socialist hero. In the eyes of researcher Asja Braune from the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive, it was this success among others[591] which qualified Helene Weigel as an "uncompromising administrator of Brecht's estate (kompromisslose Nachlassverwalterin)", concluding that "one cannot overestimate her life's achievement for Brecht's work ([man kann] ihre Lebensleistung für Brecht gar nicht hoch genug einschätzen" (Braune 2011, 129). Similarly, Wizisla sums her contribution up in one sentence: "A legacy indeed" (Wizisla 2011, 108). Both Braune and Wizisla (head of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive from 1993 onwards) emphasize how the archive would have been subjected to censorship, if it had not been for the actors from the private and cultural field which made such an "instrumentalization"

[590] His order in full reads: "I thus plan to direct the main administration of the publishers and book market to give their consent to print the 7th volume on poetry to the Aufbau Publishing House, and that is in its current edition, including the poem that refers to June 17, 1953 and the behavior of the then current First Secretary of the German Writer's Union, Kuba. I consider this step necessary among other reasons also because not only the 7th, but also the 8th and 9th volume on poetry have already been introduced by Suhrkamp Publishing, so that the discrepancy already amounts to three volumes. I consider leave Brecht to the West Germans more damaging politically und more incorrect than the publication of the 7th volume including the respective poem. (Ich habe deshalb vor, die Hauptverwaltung der Verlage und Buchhandel anzuweisen, die Druckgenehmigung für den 7. Band der Lyrik dem Aufbau-Verlag zu erteilen, und zwar in der vorliegenden Fassung, einschließlich des Gedichts, das sich auf den 17. Juni 1953 und das Verhalten des damaligen 1. Sekretär des Deutschen Schriftsellerverbandes, Kuba, bezieht. Ich halte einen solchen Schritt auch deshalb für umso notweniger, als inzwischen nicht nur der 7. Band, sondern auch schon die Bände 8 und 9 der Lyrik von dem westdeutschen Suhrkamp-Verlag vorgestellt wurden, so dass der Abstand bereits drei Bände beträgt. Den Westdeutschen aber Brecht zu überlassen, halte ich für politisch schädlicher und falscher als die Herausgabe des 7. Bandes mit dem infrage stehenden Gedicht" (cited in Braune 2011, 119). Kuba refers to Kurz Barthel (1914-1969) who was the First Secretary of the Deutscher Schriftstellerverband from 1952 to 1954 and who published a poem titled "How ashamed I am (Wie ich mich schäme)" after the revolt of June 17, and therefore, along with Brecht condemned the uprising publicly.

[591] "The Solution" was chosen as one example. Her inclusion of Uwe Johnson (1934-1984, from Sherness on Sea/ England) in the publication of Brecht's Mei-Ti, despite his leaving for West Germany in 1959 and having become stigmatized as a "Republiksflüchtling", as well as her insisting on publishing Brecht's diaries titled the *Arbeitsjournal* in West Germany, including his critique of Stalin and his suspicion that Anna Seghers was being spied on by the state, are two other examples that are given to show Weigel's success in fending off attempts of censorship of Brecht's work in the GDR. Due to the critique of Manfred Wekwerth (DAdK) and others, Mei-Ti was published in the GDR 10 years after the Suhrkamp edition and Brecht's diaries, titled *Arbeitsjournal*, five years later (Suhrkamp 1973/ Aufbau 1978) (Wizisla 2011, 106).

very difficult, up to the point that censorship was discarded. In the historiography of the archive, Helene Weigel as the founder of the archive, is the flagship of the archive's integrity which, in the eyes of its own researchers, is not to be seen as an archive under the regulative force of the "Regulierungsorgan" of the DAdK, but as an exception to the rule – and Weigel a heroine of independent thought.

Both researchers, however, avoid drawing a clear line between state and private actors: The figures of Elisabeth Hauptmann, co-author of Brecht's work, Brecht's lover and important actor in the preservation of Brecht's heritage, was a contemporary of Brecht, who nevertheless sided with the state on some issues of publication, as mentioned above. Another agent, who does not fit the private individual /state functionary dichotomy is Hans Bunge (1919-1990, from Arnsdorf). Bunge is introduced as an actor who worked as the director of the private archive from 1956 until 1959, when he broke with Weigel. This break is hard to understand for Wizisla, the current director of the archive, as Bunge's contribution to the archive is in his eyes undisputed and Bunge was regarded as politically open-minded (supporting controversial writers such as Uwe Jonson, Heiner Müller and many others). But in his work as the director of the archive he contacted Bode Uhse (1904-1963 from Rastatt) in 1960, who was secretary of the division of Literature and Language at the DAdK. He explained that among Brecht's works there was "contentious (strittiges)" and "harmless (harmloses)" material (Wizisla 2011, 114). Since Weigel was to publish the materials regardless of this distinction, Bunge requested that the DAdK exercise its control and withhold material from helene Weigel. In the end, Bunge left the Brecht archive and went to work for the DAdK. Bunge hoped to de-privatize Brecht's estate as he saw private ownership as more threatening than state ownership. For for Wizisla it remains incomprehensible that Bunge foresaw the dangers of private control yet could not see the dangers of state-control, despite his immediate experience of the GDR (Wizisla 2011, 114). Thus in these institutional and personal networks that made up the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive in the time before the "birth" of the Gedenkstätte, the question of self-interest and disinterestedness (Kant [1882] 1914, 45-48; 54-55) resurfaces, even when clear dichotomies between private and public actors are broken down.

Certainly, self-interest was likely to have played into Weigel's insistence on her rights over Brecht's estate and the copy- and performing rights of his literary oeuvre as well. Weigel had much to gain privately. By holding on to the rights to perform Brecht and by remaining the director of the only state-theatre that performed Brecht's plays – plays in which she would often assume the leading role (e.g. Mouther Courage) – Brecht's fame gave her (and her theatre) an audience and

her interpretation of Brecht's work claimed authority over that which was an authentic performance or the authentic Brecht. Weigel made use of this monopoly on the performance rights, only rarely did she let other theatres perform works by Brecht. Consequently, as Braune also acknowledges at the very beginning of her study on Weigel, Weigel's motivation to remain the owner and manager of Brecht's estate was neither objective nor disinterested (Braune 2011, 104). And the same applied to Barbara Brecht-Schall who inherited Brecht's rights along with her brothers and sisters and continued this role, herself also an actress and costume designer for the theatre stage. Indeed, heirs, by definition, have something to gain. The tensions between the actors involved in the establishment of the Brecht archive and later memorial museum were tangible, but as long as Helene Weigel was alive, she remained the strongest force of power over Brecht's heritage, and her method of pitting the West and East German claims to Brecht in the realm of publishing against each other and, furthermore, banking on time to resolve those issues which seemed unresolvable, made her successful in realizing her goals.

It was after Helene Weigel's death, however, that the DAdK attempted to be more aggressive in acquiring the control over Brecht's heritage, including his personal and literary estate. When reading the official histories of the museum, it is revealing that there is usually little information given for the seven years in between the death of Helene Weigel in 1971, and the opening of the "Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte" in 1978. And indeed, it is within these years that Wizisla discovered the most intrusive (and indeed illegal) attempts of SED politicians to gain access to Brecht's manuscripts (Wizisla 2011, 116); (Hecht 2014, 275). In Lu Xun's case, his manuscripts had been drawn into the political power struggle in 1967, when the Ministry of Culture had them removed from the Beijing Lu Xun museum, leaving Xu Guangping and her son Zhou Haiying in distress about the state of Lu Xun's literary and personal estate. In Brecht's case the manuscripts were not removed from the archive, but the ministry nevertheless denied the heirs access to their own property. Many of Brecht's manuscripts had been kept in a vault of the Sparkasse savings bank on Alexanderplatz since the heirs started renting it in 1957. The bank was legally obligated to guarantee that no one, including the bank, would examine the contents of the vault and that access would be denied to everyone but the heirs unless they had otherwise authorized it. Immediately after Weigel's death in 1971, the director of the headquarters of the Sparkasse was ordered to search the vault. This illegal intrusion is documented in detail in the Stasi-file collected on Helene Weigel and today available at the BStU, and indeed the majority of documents collected on Helene Weigel by the Stasi were about the content, legal status and security, as well as right of access to this vault

(Wizisla 2011, 115). The situation finally escalated in an "unlawful penetration of the vault" (Wizisla 2011, 116) by using a resolution passed by the Council of Ministers which straightforwardly declared that the protection, cultivation and dissemination of Brecht's literary works and Brecht and Weigel's estate was the responsibility of the state. Thus even though the state originally did not own Brecht's material heritage, a new law was passed only for this purpose, declaring that Brecht's estate was to be managed by the state, without the consent of the heirs. What had arguably come easily to the PRC when Xu Guangping presumably donated Lu Xun's heritage to the state out of free will, came with exceptional difficulty in the case of Brecht in the GDR.

Towards the public, the claim over Brecht's estate was communicated via a resolution (Gesetzesblatt) passed by the Council of Ministers (Ministerrat), during the reign of Minister of Culture Klaus Gysi, a move which was reported on by daily newspapers in both East and West Germany. The East German *Neues Deutschland* reported that the AdK would be given the custody (Obhut) of Brecht's estate in May 1971 (n.a., May 14, 1971), explaining that it was the "principle of the socialist Kulturpolitik of the GDR to maintain and care for the great humanist tradition of German cultural heritage."[592] In December 1971 the West German *Frankfurter Allgemeine* also reported on this new resolution, expressing worries that even though the resolution claimed "not to challenge the property rights of the heirs from a financial perspective (vermögensrechtlichen Ansprüche der Erben blieben unberührt)" this might entail a stricter selection of which works of Brecht would be published under GDR supervision (Greiner, December 10, 1971). And in February 1972, the Swiss weekly magazine *Weltwoche Zürich* further commented that the declaration of Brecht's estate as "Property of the Nation (Eigentum der Nation)", can be seen "simultaneously as a claim over Brecht as well an homage to him (zugleich als ein Anspruch und als eine Ehrung gedeutet werden kann)" (n.a., February 23, 1972). Thus both the valorizing and restricting elements

[592] The full text reads: "Led by the principles of the socialist cultural politics of the GDR, namely to preserve and foster the humanist traditions of German cultural heritage, the Council of the Ministers decided, according to § 35 of the law on the protection of property rights, to declare the preservation and promotion of the dramatic and literary work as well as the literary estate of Bertolt Brecht and the literary and artistic estate of Helene Weigel to the be responsibility of the GDR. (Geleitet von den Prinzipien der sozialistischen Kulturpolitik der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, die großen humanistische Traditionen des deutschen Kulturerbes zu bewahren und zu pflegen, hat der Ministerrat der DDR beschlossen, gemäß § 35 des Gesetztes über das Urheberrecht den Schutz, die Pflege und die Verbreitung des dramatischen und literarischen Werkes sowie des literarischen Nachlasses von Bertolt Brecht und des literarischen-künstlerischen Nachlasses von Helene Weigel zur Aufgabe der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik zu erklären" (n.a., May 14, 1971).

that now came into play in the state taking over the management of Brecht's estate were anticipated by the German-speaking public at large.

The critical and skeptical stance of the West German media was not uncalled for. Wizisla retrospectively highlighted the most intrusive points formulated in the resolution, arguing that "in a striking breach of international law, the Council of Ministers set out to rob Brecht's and Weigel's heirs of copyright" (Wizisla 2011, 117). For the point read: "The task of enforcing copyright for the works and the two literary estates in the German Democratic Republic, along with the scholarly supervision of these, is transferred to the German Academy of Arts in Berlin. (Die Wahrnehmeung der Urheberrechte an dem Werk und an den beiden literarischen Nachlässen in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik sowie deren wissenschaftliche Betreuung werden der Deutschen Akademie der Künste zu Berlin übertragen)". And as letters from Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann to Kurt Hager, the SED chief ideologue have revealed, the GDR did not stop at taking possession of the material heritage of Brecht, but further continued to deprive the heirs of their performing rights (Aufführungsrechte) of Brecht's plays well after the passing of this resolution (Wizisla 2011, 117). Former director of the Brecht-Zentrum Werner Hecht discusses the resolution (Gesetzesblatt) in his Brecht biography *Die Mühen der Ebenen* as well, further pointing out that the heirs also lodged formal objections against the resolution, showing that the heirs by no means remained in the defensive alone (Hecht 2014, 274).

Indeed, the tension between the GDR and the heirs would remain for the years to come, even if they mainly occurred around the performance rights of the heirs. When it came to the material manuscripts it became the rule that the DAdK and the heirs would only access Brecht's literary estate in the vault of the Sparkasse jointly, meaning that staff from both sides would have to be present. This method proved successful since both sides could remain in the belief or arguably illusion that they could keep each other in check, a method which would be used until the mid-1990s (Wizisla 2011, 116). This method, however, could not guarantee a smooth relationship between the two sides. In September 1976, less than a year before the renovation and establishment of the Gedenkstätte began, as a heated exchange between Minister of Culture Hoffmann and Barbara Brecht-Schall took place, in which Hoffmann urged her to avoid "efforts to secure the Marxist-Leninist image of Brecht (die marxistisch-leninistische Sicherung des Brecht-Bildes)" from appearing as her personal and subjective quest and that she ought to join a planned working

group on Brecht organized by the GDR.[593] Barbara Brecht-Schall, however, refused and would keep her tight grip on her performance rights of Brecht's plays to guarantee the "authenticity of Brecht" on stage, a self-proclaimed goal for which she would clash not only with theatre performers in the GDR, but also in the West (Wizisla 2011, 119). While the heirs lost their right to manage the Brecht archive, handing over this task to the DAdK, they would not give up their legal ownership of the "original" manuscripts until December 1992 when the Brecht literary estate were acquired (meaning bought) legally by the federal state (i.e. Land Berlin Brandenburg), which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Looking back on these years after Weigel's death and before the opening of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, one finds that the fight over Brecht's and Weigel's personal and literary estates had climaxed. Even though this occurred mainly behind closed curtains, in oral conversations between Barbara Brecht-Schall and the Minister of Culture Hoffmann, for example, these were nevertheless documented in written form, in the minutes of the meetings, resolutions and letters. Therefore, the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive, as well as the other various archives which have been drawn on by recent research about Brecht's material heritage, hold numerous narrative layers of the power struggle over Brecht's personal and literary estate. Not only does the archive today hold the nucleus, namely the material objects which Brecht collected and the writings he produced, but also the history of the preservation of these materials by his wife, friends and colleagues on another level, in addition to the various discourses that would take place when Weigel's death had left a vacuum of power, one which both heirs, Brecht's contemporaries and leading politicians from the culture political realm of the SED attempted to fill. Thus the archives today allow a look behind the curtains, behind the seemingly harmonious celebration of the opening of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte in 1978 attended by Erich Honecker, Werner Hecht, Martin Hoffmann and Barbara Brecht-Schall. A look behind these curtains has proved eye-opening, for behind the curtains of these celebrations, the tensions were tangible.

I argue that Weigel's presentation as a "hero" in the historiography of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive before the birth of a Gedenkstätte plays a key role in the archive's coming to terms with its own past. This recent scholarship on the history of the Brecht archive from the early 2010s is published by the staff of the Brecht archive and must be read as a form of

[593] The main goal hereby was to loosen Barbara Brecht-Schall's tight grip on the theatrical performances of Brecht's plays, so that theatre practitioners were able to interpret the plays along socialist realist lines, Wizisla argues (Wizisla 2011, 118).

Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung (accounting for and coming to terms with the past) of its own institutional history in the context of coming to terms with the history of the GDR. Not only are Wizisla and Braune very familiar with the archive and the actors involved in the process, but the critical "Aufarbeitung" of its own institutional history, revealing the degrees to which the archive was in danger of being compromised during the SED rule, is something the archive does pro-actively but also with considerable delay. As in the case of the Akademie der Künste, which published a volume of historical documents of the Akademie der Künste (Ost) in the early 1990s (Dietzel 1997), the self-criticism of cultural institutions of the GDR is something that is regarded as the "responsibility" of the institutions themselves.[594] They hereby play an active role in the presentation and to a certain extent evaluation of their own history.[595] While such a self-critical institutional historiography cannot and should not safeguard the institution from critical journalism and academic research on their history from the outside, the institution not only avoids becoming the object of attack by actively voicing its responsibility in regard to its institutional history, but in some cases it is also the first to do so, thus opening the stage for the scholarly debate. Indeed, such an institutional history can also be seen as a prerequisite for allowing a cultural institution to continue functioning beyond the dissolution of the GDR. In the case of the academy of arts, after all, a reevaluation of its history and social function was necessary to legitimizing the institution's

[594] The selection of historical documents of the AdK (Ost) was published in 1993, the same year in which the AdK (Ost) was merged with the AdK [West] and became the "Akademie der Künste in der Trägerschaft der Länder Berlin und Brandenburg". It was the request of the president of the AdK [West], Walter Jens, that the history of the AdK (Ost) should be researched by researchers of its own academy as they were able to read and interpret the archive in the context of their own experience and many layers of meaning would be lost if researchers of the AdK West were to take over this task, both on the micro level of the connotations of certain GDR vocabulary and on the macro level of archival methods, categories and the overall organization of the archive. The literary scholar Urlich Dietzel, who had belonged to the staff of the AdK (Ost) since 1955 and had taken over the role of the director of the archive of the AdK (Ost) took over this task, together with Gudrun Geißler, also a literary scholar, and researcher at the AdK (Ost) since 1978 (Dietzel 1997, 11). Further research on the history of the AdK (Ost) and the SED was commissioned by the in the mid-2000s and published in 2007, and president of the AdK Klaus Staeck (from 2006-2015) laid great emphasis on the fact that such research was to be supported by the AdK, taking an offensive stance on the history of the AdK (Ost) (Braun 2010, 207).

[595] The AdK (Ost) emphasized that the documentation offered in the 1993 publication is by no means a full history of the AdK, but merely a documentation of the self-presentation and self-understanding of the academy according to the documentation of its own archive. Outside sources (such as memoirs of actors involved in the AdK (Ost)) are not included in the publication. The narration of the AdK (Ost) limits itself to briefly explaining the historical context of the sources to the reader, having a readership including both former West and East Germans in mind. However, the AdK aims to leave the evaluation of the documentation to the reader. The documents are provided "namely by avoiding euphemizing or polemic interpretaments. The conclusion – according to the axiom of the compliers – is be drawn by the reader, free of any patronization (und zwar unter Vermeidung beschönigender oder polemischer Interpretamente. Das Fazit – so das Axiom der Bearbeiter – hat, ohne jeder Bevormundung, der Leser zu ziehen)" (Dietzel 1997, 13).

continuous relevance throughout history under political regimes as variant as the kingly[596] (under Prussia 1809-1918), the republican (during the Weimarer Republic 1919-), the fascist (during the Third Reich) during which it only continued to exist nominally,[597] the socialist (during the GDR) while coexisting with an institution of the same name in a second German state and finally the unified (since 1993). In the case of the Brecht archive, history has to bridge one major political rupture, that of the dissolution of the GDR. Thus, in the study of the Brecht archive, Helene Weigel is turned into a new hero and indeed becomes the poster-child of the Brecht Archive one that was established in the GDR but in her conceptualization was not representative of the GDR. By laying the focus on her heroic stamina fighting against an oppressive regime, the archive regains its positive connotation of preserving the "authentic Brecht" during the GDR against all odds. In the broader context of archival theory and practice, the documents and materials are used for a cultural reckoning with the past (kulturelle Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung) in the same sense as the former Stasi documents were used for a "political, judicial, and historical reckoning with the past" (Gauck and Fry 1994, 279); (Gauck 1994, 187). The archive and Gedenkstätte of the "socialist Brecht" have become sites in which the cultural production during the GDR as a whole has become scrutinized and with Weigel the archive's history has a foundational hero which embodies the institution's integrity. The questions that remain, in any form of Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung are the longer goals: to forgive (and its connection to forgetting) and the ultimate goal of reconciliation, finally arriving at Vergangenheitsbewältigung, implying that this past eventually is aimed to be overcome (bewältigen). That the steps to account for the past (aufarbeiten) have already taken place in the recent historiography of the archive, the question of overcoming the past in form of a reconciliation (bewältigen) remains a difficult task, as the following will show.

Actors: Two Heroines, Two Stories: Helene Weigel and Xu Guangping

When comparing the roles of Weigel and Xu Guangping regarding their power over Brecht's and Lu Xun's literary estate respectively, the following differences are most telling: Weigel insisted on maintaining her private rights over Brecht's estate whereas Xu Guangping donated the majority of Lu Xun's literary and personal estate to the state in 1950, almost immediately after the establishment of the PRC. The reason for Weigel's insistence on holding on to Brecht's estate are

[596] The academy was founded in 1696 prince elector (Kurfürst) Friedrich III of Brandenburg, later king of Prussia Friedrich I.
[597] See: (Hannesen 2005).

certainly complex and not without self-interest. One of the main reasons which is likely to have motivated Weigel, was that – unlike Xu Guangping – Weigel had already lived under the leadership of the SED in the GDR for seven years at the time when Brecht passed away. That is to say that she already had made personal experiences with the realities of GDR cultural politics. Her most famous reference to her relationship to Party officials reveals that she was well aware that her and Brecht's reputation among Party officials, in this case representatives from the Soviet Union, was ambivalent to say the least: "They put up with it on the whole. We were not entirely what they wanted, but they did not want to lose what they had in us (Sie haben's im großen und ganzen gelitten. Wir waren doch nicht ganz das, was sie wollten, aber sie wollten nicht verlieren, was sie mit uns hatten)" (Hecht and Weigel 2000, 41). Weigel's resistant attitude is often emphasized by stressing that she acted independently from SED cultural politics in managing Brecht's estate emphasizing that she could have never been "bought" with prizes or awards (Braune 2011, 104).

For Xu Guangping the case is different. It would go too far to argue that she was simply unaware of the consequences her donation to the state would have for the image of Lu Xun in the years to follow, nor can the conclusion be drawn that she was naïve to let go of her rights over Lu Xun's estate. Indeed, her (possibly forced) support of the official image of Lu Xun that was drawn by the Party in the late 1960s during the Cultural Revolution, has had the effect that she is presented in scholarship either as being complicit in the Party-sacralization of Lu Xun (for her own self-benefit) as the Taiwanese scholar Cheng Zhenxing has argued (Cheng Zhenxing 程振興 2014), or arguably too weak to object to it. However, by the time Xu Guangping experienced her loss of control over Lu Xun's estate in 1968 (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 1998, 39); (J. Yan and Gao 1996, 243) when his manuscripts were taken from the museum, and most likely also prior to this in the early 1950s (interview with Ye Shusui 葉淑穗, 2015, August 22, 08:30) when the museum Deputy Director would not show her adequate respect by receiving her at the museum,[598] she had already lost the legal rights over Lu Xun's estate and thereby had given up any leverage she had over the management and control over Lu Xun's heritage. The question remains whether Xu Guangping could have seen the Anti-Rightist Campaign launched in 1942 as a warning sign of what was to follow with the later establishment of the PRC. Yet, at the time when Xu Guangping donated Lu Xun's estate to the state, she had not yet made any negative experiences with the cultural politics

[598] These two incidences are discussed in detail in the section on "*Actors*: Mao's Orders: One Word carries the weight of nine vessels (1975)" and "Structure: The Research Room: From Maojiawan to Fuchengmen (1975-1979)".

of the Communist regime in power. Instead she had for the years leading up to this donation experienced the "White Terror" of the Guomindang in the early 1930s and then the aggression of the Japanese in WWII, during which she too was incarcerated. These experiences most likely led her to believe that the government now formed by the Communist Party would offer Lu Xun's heritage the long desired valorization and, more pressingly, long-term institutional protection.

Another difference between the two was that Weigel could skillfully use the tensions that existed between West and East Germany for her own ends (Braune 2011, 114). The West German publishers, theatre professionals and politicians were uncomfortable with Brecht's support of Communism and East German publishers, while Eastern theatre professionals and politicians were worried about his criticism of SED policies, yet neither were willing to let the other gain the monopoly over the presentation and interpretation of Brecht in the German-speaking field.[599] Lu Xun, however, was considered too closely associated with the Communist movement to be supported in Taiwan and remained banned through-out the entire period of Martial Law from 1949-1986. Indeed, most of the May-Fourth writers proved difficult for the Guomindang to accept due to their left-wing political tendencies, resulting in Lu Xun and many other writers being banned and used for culture political campaigns for the Anti-Communist cause which had striking similarity to those on the Mainland during the 1950s (D. D. Wang 2004, 181–82).[600] The complete rejection of Lu Xun in Taiwan thus did not allow for Taiwan to become a competing force over the presentation and interpretation of Lu Xun's life and work. No competing sites of memory

[599] The crucial years in which the political tension between East and West Germany grew and it was politically no longer acceptable to publish Brecht in full in the GDR was after 1964. Thus starting from 1964, Brecht's works were published in the West, but the publications in the East came to a stand-still. The reason why the politically sensitive works of Brecht were nevertheless finally published in the GDR in 1977 is discussed above in this chapter, incl. Minister of Culture Benzien ordering to continue the publication of Brecht's collected works even with the sensitive materials (Brecht's poem "The Solution" and Brecht's diaries the *Arbeitsjournal*) (cited in Braune 2011, 119).

[600] Many May-Fourth writers, apart from those who had also joined the Guomindang in Taiwan, including Hu Shi, Liang Shiqiu, Xie Bingying, Su Xuelin and others, or those who had died before 1949 such as Xu Zhimo and Yu Dafu, were banned in Taiwan. Both regimes in Taiwan and the PRC attempted to create a clear break from literary tradition of imperial times and recent literary developments of the Republican era, however continuities in the literary creation were far more prominent than either literary histories tend to admit, as David Der-wei Wang has emphasized in his *The Monster that is History* (D. D. Wang, David 2004, 151). Wang not only highlights the continuities from post-1949 literary production to May Fourth literature, but also the indebtedness of May Fourth literature to late-Qing literary production under Yan Fu and Liang Qichao. Wang hereby points to the similarities of how the Nationalist and Communist governments on each side of the Taiwan strait applied similar structural and political restrictions to literature. Since the Guomingdang had been structured according to the Soviet model as was the CPC, literary campaigns in the 1950s in Taiwan featured striking similarity to those in the PRC (D. D. Wang, 2004, 157). Similar to the Anti-Hu-Shi Campaign on the Mainland, Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Ba Jin and other writers were banned in Taiwan due to their support for the leftist cause and others, such as Shen Congwen and Qian Zhongshu for staying on the Mainland instead of joining the Guomindang in Taiwan (D. D. Wang, 2004, 157).

(constructing a counter-memory) were established for Lu Xun in Taiwan and even by the year 2014 Lu Xun is not considered an appropriate author to be displayed in museum space in Taiwan.[601] Thus Xu Guangping could not capitalize on multiple demands over Lu Xun's heritage which she could pit against each other.

Interestingly, neither Braune nor Wizisla speak of the Brecht memorial museum in their recent research, but focus solely on the Brecht archive. In Braune's contribution, the only comment she makes about the Gedenkstätte is:

> After Helene Weigel's death it becomes clear how far the GDR had lagged behind without her commitment. [..] At least a Brecht-Zentrum der DDR was established in 1976 and the living spaces of Brecht and Weigel opened as a memorial site (Gedenkstätte). The attempt hereby was to make up for a shortcoming on the one side, but ultimately it was but another instrument of censorship. (Nach Helene Weigels Tod wird deutlich, wie sehr man ohne ihr Engagement in der DDR hinterherhinkt. […] Immerhin werden 1976 das Brecht-Zentrum der DDR und zwei Jahre später Brechts und Weigels Wohnräume als Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte eröffnet. Damit wurde einerseits versucht, einen Mangel zu beheben, im Grunde war es aber ein weiteres Instrument der Zensur) (Braune 2011, 127).

Thus even the staff of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive, brush aside the memorial museum as an "instrument of censorship", without, however, bringing evidence to reinforce this claim for the case of the Gedenkstätte.

Taking into consideration the power struggle which took place over the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive, it is interesting that no information about such a struggle over the apartment or the objects displayed in the apartment has become known. As with most former residences which were turned into a museum, the main aim was to present the living surrounding "as it was in the past (*rugu* 如故)", as Guo Moruo had described in his diary after visiting the former residence of Mayakovsky in Moscow (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 223). Similar to Weigel and Strittmatter, director of the Brecht archive Wizisla explained that the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte offers the

[601] This was expressed by Zhou Limin 周立民, director of the Ba Jin Memorial Museum in Shanghai, who explained the outlook of Mainland Chinese literary exhibitions to be held in Taiwan (Zhou Limin 周立民 18.12.2013, 00:33:00). The Ba Jin Former Residence sent a delegation to Taiwan to organize a travel exhibition on Ba Jin with the support of the Taiwanese Journal *Wenxun Zazhi* 文讯杂志. While there had also been some contact with the Lu Xun Museum in Shanghai, Zhou Limin explained that the Taiwanese side "had also mentioned their museum [the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, referring to Li Hao, museum researcher and present at the interview], but they are afraid that Lu Xun is too intense, so they wanted to use Ba Jin as a [Mainland] writer, try what the reaction of the Taiwanese public will be. Ba Jin is in some respects easier to accept. 他們[臺灣的代表團]也提到他們館［上海魯迅紀念館]，但是他們怕魯迅太激烈，他們先用巴金，試一試臺灣觀眾的反應。巴金這方面容易接受一點" (Zhou Limin 周立民 18.12.2013, 00:33:00).

> opportunity to relate to (nachempfinden) the living conditions of the writer and the actress in an undistorted manner (unverfälscht). Nothing points to a museum; the apartment, its furnishing and its other inventory conform (entsprechen) to the original state. ([die] Möglichkeit, die Lebensverhältnisse des Schriftstellers und der Schauspielerin unverfälscht nachempfinden zu können. Nichts deutet auf ein Museum hin; die Wohnungen, ihre Möblierung und ihr sonstiges Inventar entsprechen dem Originalzustand)" (Wizisla 1996, 11).[602]

While the interpretation of this past is not likely to have been the same for all players involved in the maintenance of the Gedenkstätte, no major scandals of misrepresentation of these living spaces ordered by the MfK or the AdK (Ost) have surfaced so far. Also, no differing opinions have been voiced by museum staff since the dissolution of the GDR towards the museum leadership or the adequacy of the presentation of the former residence. Not even a call for change in the display has been voiced, as in Lu Xun's case of museum staff Ge Tao demanding the museum to restore the portrait of Leonid Andreyev on the wall of Lu Xun's former residence on *Xisantiao hutong* No. 21 in Beijing (see section on "*A Residence Remembered Anew*: Rectifying Xisantiao hutong" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis) (Ge Tao 葛涛 2013). Since the GDR did not have additional memorial museums built in Brecht's name, permanent exhibitions which would narrate his life and work were not organized by the AdK or the MfK. Thus the major encroachments that surfaced in the case of Lu Xun's display in the exhibition halls, such as when materials were partially altered (the removal of unwanted intellectuals and writers from photographs (e.g. Lin Yutang replaced by stones, as shown in detail in the section on "*Display*: Reintroducing Lin Yutang into the Display" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis), or when photographs of writers close to Lu Xun were omitted from the exhibition space (e.g. omission of Chen Duxiu or Zhou Zuoren interview with Wang Dehou 王得后, 2015, August 20 also discussed in the above section on Lin Yutang) and circulated among the people through the means of museum exhibitions, did not occur in Brecht's case. The museum was not chosen as an institutional medium of propagating Brecht, as it was with Lu Xun, thus the claim that the Gedenkstätte was a propaganda machine in the sense that it whitewashed or altered the image of Brecht considerably does not hold. After all, the AdK (Ost) could have organized exhibitions about Brecht or had attempted to remove some objects from display, for example taking down the religious statues of John the Apostel and the Holy Mary or John the Baptist. One reason why the objects on display that contain a considerable power of

[602] To support his claim that the apartment was in its "original condition (Originalzustand)", Wizisla refers to Klaus Völker (1938-), a contemporary of Brecht's.

ambiguity were displayed in the Gedenkstätte was probably not alone the aspiration of displaying everything accurately "as it was in the past", but also the constellation of power between those who had power over or owned Brecht's heritage, namely Weigel and later the heirs' strong positions in the posthumous presentation of Brecht.

In Brecht's case, Weigel provided the Gedenkstätte with the authority to claim authenticity, a power which drew from the fact that Weigel initially furnished the apartment with Brecht. This authority however prevailed in her descriptions and orders long after her passing, which the Gedenkstätte, in the act of being established, drew on. It is this posthumous authority of Weigel's accounts that arguably weighed stronger than those of Xu Guangping. This does not mean that the Lu Xun museum acted contrary to Xu Guangping's accounts and instructions. This was rarely necessary, since her claims were rarely in opposition to those of the museums in their earlier years. However, in some regards the museums can be argued to have turned a blind eye to her accounts or failing to give her their undivided attention (e.g. the lukewarm response Xu Guangping received from the Beijing Lu Xun Museums first Deputy Director). Xu Guangping would only regain strength as a posthumous actor through the voice of Zhou Haiying, who reawaked it in his letter to Mao Zedong in 1975. Thus when comparing the stories of these two women as actors in the making of authors, it becomes clear that when the time came to conjure up the authentic living surroundings of these authors, the political actors – sooner or later – turned to them to gain authority and a persuasive presentation of the writer's First Bodies.

Brecht – Re-Imagined: A Tale of Two Museums

This chapter on "Brecht – re-imagined" analyzes the spaces of two Brecht museums – the one in (Est) Berlin at Chausseestr. 125, whose opening by Erich Honecker in 1978 was discussed above. The other museum followed in 1985 (expanded in 1990), when Brecht's former residence at Auf dem Rhein 7 in Augsburg opened it doors to the public. By analyzing the means by which these memorial museums presented Brecht as a literary hero, this chapter offers an example of two conflicting narrative visualizations of one author and discusses the implications of their coexistence for their respective audiences.

The Official Birth of Brecht's Gedenkstätte in Berlin: Questions of Scope

A major difference between the Brecht and the Lu Xun museums is not only the degree to which these spaces of representation were altered, but also their difference in scope. Even though the Brecht-Zentrum and the Gedenkstätte are acknowledged in their function of valorization and charged for their restricting (censoring) function (Braune 2011, 127), the Brecht museum, when compared to the Lu Xun museums, was clearly smaller in scope as it did not reach as large an audience as the Lu Xun museums did. When comparing the numbers of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte to Lu Xun's house in Beijing, the visitor numbers are far less and Elke Pfeil, section head of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, stated in an interview that she did not consider the Gedenkstätte to be a "pilgrimage site (Pilgerstätte)". While the term Pilgerstätte mainly implied quantity, it was the quality of visiting experience that she instead emphasized.[603] As for the quantity, according to Gerhard Seidel, head of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive (in office 1977-92), the Brecht archive was used by 438 researchers and visitors from 34 countries in the year 1978/1979 (Seidel 1981, 124). The Gedenkstätte furthermore conducted 2,347 guided tours which were visited by 23,805 visitors from 57 countries (Seidel 1981, 124). The average of ten visitors per tour suggests that, similar to today, the visits were conducted in smaller groups. If the numbers are given for the time period of one year, this would suggest over six tours per day, with over 65 visitors coming to the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte per day in the first year of its opening. These are considerable numbers. Comparing these numbers with the Lu Xun museums, however, only serves to further highlight the vast numbers of visitors his sites drew. According to the museum's histories, the Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong in Beijing was visited by over 1,000 visitors on the 14th anniversary of Lu Xun's death on October 19, 1950, on this one day alone.[604] Lu Xun's birth house in Shaoxing also featured much higher visitor numbers, reaching up to 80,270 in the year 1957 (an average of 220 visitors per day across a whole year, and that in the comparatively small and remote town of Shaoxing, not East Berlin, the capital of the GDR). On the one hand, all of

[603] An interview with Elke Pfeil was published by the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* in 2004, see: (Matthes-Böhler, June 13, 2004). Pfeil explained in the interview that: "No, it is not a pilgrimage site. But there are visitors, who are very moved, of whom you can tell that they greatly admire Brecht and think it is wonderful to be allowed to stand here and see where he worked. Sometimes disputes take place as well, for example about Brecht's theatre theory or his relationship to women. (Nein, eine Pilgerstätte ist es nicht. Aber es gibt Gäste, die sehr ergriffen sind, bei denen man merkt, dass sie Brecht sehr verehren und es wunderbar finden, hier stehen zu dürfen und zu sehen, wo er gearbeitet hat. Es kommt auch mal zu strittigen Gesprächen, etwa über Brechts Theatertheorie oder sein Verhältnis zu den Frauen)" (Matthes-Böhler, June 13, 2004).

[604] Whether or not all one thousand visitors had the chance to enter the courtyard house (*siheyuan*) or whether they simply had come to the site, referring to the street in which the house is located, is not specified.

these numbers must be taken with a grain of salt. Some Chinese museum histories only give general estimates (e.g. over one thousand 一千多個) which were unlikely to have been counted in any structured manner. In addition, the emphasis on a large amount of visitors might not only have been used to boast of the institution's reputation and served as positive self-presentation in earlier and currently published institutional histories, but might have also been required from the superior institutions (the SACH or AdK (Ost) /MfK) at the time. On the other hand, there might be reason to accept the difference in visitor frequentation. With no additional exhibition halls and no larger space in front of the house to accommodate so many visitors, the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte would not even have been equipped to cope with visitor numbers as large as the three major Lu Xun memorial museums in Beijing, Shanghai and Shaoxing. The reason why the cultural politics of the SED did not chose to further invest in additional exhibition halls to increase the scope of Brecht's museum space in order to reach a larger group of potential visitors can be explained with regard to two constellations of power relations. The first and certainly more prominent was the very high involvement of Brecht's heirs in the construction of his heritage, an involvement which would have required integrating their right to be heard in any larger scale museum exhibition project on Brecht. The second further involves the macro power relations that took place in the (cultural) politics on a global scale. With the SU's process of Destalinization, the promotion of hero worship as it had taken place more prominently under Ulbricht was no longer as strongly supported by the SED under Honecker, which could have also had an inhibiting effect on any plans to create large-scale exhibitions to promote a cultural hero for the GDR in a similar form as it occurred in the years of the Cultural Revolution around Lu Xun. Both of these factors are likely to have resulted in the Gedenkstätte on Chausseestr. 125 to remain the only main site of commemoration of Brecht during the GDR. In any case, with an average of over 65 visitors daily in its first year of establishment, the expansion of the archive and opening of the Gedenkstätte in 1978, granted access to both the archive and the work and living spaces of Brecht and Weigel to a larger public.

Actors: Forging a Collective: The Power of the Narrator

What then changed, with the opening of the Gedenkstätte? (→ access) How did the quality of the spaces change? (personal→ collective) Which actors gained in power with the opening? (heir → guide) Even though visitors were welcome to come to the archive and consult materials for research when the archive was run by Helene Weigel prior to 1971, the appearance of the apartment had

been changed to accommodate the necessities of the archival work within the former work and living spaces of Brecht. Some rooms had however remained off limits even to the staff of the archive. As Pfeil explained, in the years when Helene Weigel ran the archive, the bedroom of Brecht was shut. Since Brecht had passed away in his bed, Weigel did not want anyone to enter the room, which was why she had placed a large chest (Truhe) in front of the door (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, ~57:00). The private ownership of Brecht's estate allowed for Weigel to make such a decision without consulting with anyone else. She therefore had the power to block this particular space of Brecht's former residence and by denying others access, she created an emotional inner space for herself to mourn. After all, the "living space (Wohnraum)" is, in some cases, also the space in which the person remembered passed away, a *Sterberaum*. Thus these spaces can bring grief to the surviving descendants. Xu Guangping also expressed personal grief which she associated with their shared residence on Dalu xincun No. 9 in Shanghai, which was why she chose to move shortly after Lu Xun's death. One object that especially grieved her was the portrait that had been set up along with Lu Xun's deceased body before his funeral (*yirong zhaopian* 遗容照片), which she did not take with her into her new apartment, but which was thereafter hung in their Shanghai residence where it remained when it was turned into a memorial museum [IC 163 From Personal to Collective Mourning 1a, 1b].[605] Weigel too associated grief with at least one of the rooms in Chausseestrasse, which is why this particular space was not turned into an "Arbeitsstätte", but remained outside of this space of work. After Weigel's death and with the opening of the Gedenkstätte in 1978, the chest blocking the door was removed and Brecht's bed room became accessible to the public.

Personal grief can thus be a reason to deny access and even today the room shows traces of this grief or is *communicated* as a place of personal grief. One object that points to the fact that Brecht passed away in this room is a dried wreath (Sterbekranz). Pfeil explained that "Weigel must have placed it there (muss die Weigel hingelegt haben)" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 55:23) as it was a South-German and Austrian custom very common in Vienna, Weigel's home town. The flowers are dry, porous and brown [IC 163 From Personal to Collective Mourning 2]. Visually this object points to Brecht's death. One further object, Brecht's death mask, is also preserved in the apartment. It, however, is not immediately visible, but is stored away in

[605] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 163. See: (McDougall 2002, 75); (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 4).

Brecht's standing desk, along with a number of other masks, including other life masks (Lebensmaske).[606] Even though the death mask is also shown to the visitors during the tour, it is not immediately visible to the visitor [IC 164 Deathmasks Brecht, Lu Xun, 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b]. [607] Certainly, one could argue that both of these objects, the Sterbekranz and Brecht's death mask, undermine Wizisla's ideal of an "Originalzustand" of the apartment, an original state that shows the rooms in a completely undistorted manner, "unverfälscht". But more importantly, they are signs that these rooms, while used as carriers for a collective memory, are simultaneously objects and spaces of personal *and* collective memories.

Grief is not limited to those who were close to Brecht. Once the access was granted, the room becomes a space for collective mourning as well. In this context, Pfeil explained that during the guided tours she has the ability to move the visitors to tears when standing in the room. "You can make people weep (man kann die Leute zum Heulen bringen)". With a mixture of pride, fascination and appreciation, Pfeil was highly aware of her power as the narrator (the museum guide) over the visitor and the spaces. Pfeil as the narrator, however, does not remain detached from this narrative:

> **Pfeil:** Was man manchmal machen kann: Bewusst durch Führungen kann man Leute echt zum Heulen bringen.
> **Graf:** Sind Besucher hier schon einmal in Tränen ausgebrochen?
> **Pfeil:** Ja, schon auch, wenn du hier die Tür aufmachst und er hier auch gestorben ist und du erzählst vom letzten Auftritt von Helene Weigel, vom Stoffhimmel der gespannt wurde, sie steht in einem Meer von Blüten[608], da bekommst du selber Tränen in den Augen, beim Erzählen schon (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:58:00).

The combination of the "authentic" Sterbezimmer of Brecht, the symbol of appreciation expressed towards Brecht's wife Weigel shortly before her death by the audience and the display of emotion on the side of the narrator (with Pfeil herself tearful), possesses the power to move visitors to tears. Pfeil is hereby not outside of the act of collective mourning (manipulating the visitors detachedly,

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[606] Among the other live masks are those of Brecht's close friends, such as that of Ruth Berlau (1906-1974 from Kopenhagen) and Isot Kilian (1924-1986 from Berlin), see: (Elke Pfeil 12.11.2014, 01:26:19).

[607] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 164. The death mask is also on display in Augsburg. The label explains that it was made by Gerhard Thieme, Meisterschüler of Fritz Cremer, who would become Vice President of the AdK (Ost) from 1974-83.

[608] Pfeil is referring to Weigel's last performance with the Berliner Ensemble on April 3, 1971 in Nanterre near Paris. Her performance in Brecht's adaption of Gorky's *Mother* (*Die Mutter*) as Pelagea Wlassowa was very well received, with the audience applauding for 30 min. In her tour, Pfeil echoes the part of Werner Hecht's biography on Weigel, in which he describes her last performance. When Weigel returned on stage alone to bow before the audience, the French stage directors opened a net of red roses, which fell on Weigel during the applause. "Hundreds of red rose blossoms fell down on her, beside her, around her. Helene Weigel in an ocean of roses! (Hunderte von roten Rosenblüten fielen auf sie und nebens sie, um sie herum. Helen Weigel in einem Meer von Rosen!)" (Hecht and Weigel 2000, 131).

impartially and fully intentionally), but is within the collective, moving herself to tears as well. Through the museum guide, who encompasses both roles of narrator and performer, Brecht's Sterbezimmer becomes a space of collective mourning, a mourning which is linked to the perceived authenticity of the space and the blending of Weigel's personal mourning and her eventual death (implied by her last performance), integrated into the act of collective mourning Brecht and Weigel. The access that is granted to the museum through its opening to the public can thus change the rooms from a space of personal to collective mourning, a place in which it can be performed and an emotional attachment to the "cultural hero", or better heroes, can be expressed, transmitted and collectively experienced (e.g. seeing the tears of the guide in turn moves the visitors to tears). For this transmission, the small size of the group of visitors (below 10 visitors per tour) is arguably more effective. In this way the visitors and the guide can stand relatively close together, close enough for the visitors to see the tears swell up in the eyes of the guide. In the large-scale tours depicted as having taken place in the Lu Xun Museum or in the long lines of visitors moving through the large scale exhibition halls in Beijing, Shaoxing and Shanghai (see: "*Display*: Lu Xun and Mao Zedong" including [**IC 74 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1960s/70s**] in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis), this form of intimacy between the visitor and the guide would be harder to attain.

But the power of the narrator is also limited to degrees: Firstly, Pfeil recollected that often visitors (especially official delegations) also would, as she perceived, intentionally attempt to provoke her. In the case of an official visit of the Swedish ambassador and his entourage from Berlin, who visited the Gedenkstätte, members of the delegation argued that Brecht had been excessively loyal to the SED-system, which Pfeil perceived as provocative (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:50:00). One member "always wanted to provoke me, would constantly imply that Brecht was so dependent and had Communist thoughts and was so loyal to the system ([er] wollte mich immer provozieren, wollte immer darauf hinaus, dass Brecht so anhänglich war und so kommunistische Gedanken hatte, systemtreu war" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:50:00). To engage in such dialogues but not to force her own opinion on the visitor was one of the difficulties the museum guide faced, explained Pfeil. It is interesting that it had been in the group of the Swedish delegation that Brecht's connection to Communism and the SED Party had been addressed, as it was the country which in 1979 had been the first place to host the international exhibition on Lu Xun, possibly due to Sweden's impartiality during the

Cold War as it was neither a member of the NATO nor the Warschauer Pakt.[609] The question of political control over cultural production or the support of writers and artists for an authoritarian or Communist system of government had certainly been a concern for Sweden in the past, due to the perceived threat from the Soviet Union, increased by the GDR acting as a satellite state. Yet, Pfeil emphasized that after their visit, she had received a letter from the Swedish ambassador expressing that he had enjoyed the visit very much. What this example highlights is the agency of the visitor and the museum guide. It becomes evident that Pfeil also engages with the visitor, which stands in contrast to her prior noted ability of the narrator to intentionally move certain visitor groups to tears. This engagement is not always controlled by the guide, as the guide in this case found herself in the defensive, feeling provoked and challenged in her narrative.

Secondly, the encouragement of visitors to engage with the narrative goes so far that the narration of the tour is in some cases passed on to the visitors themselves (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:51:12). Pfeil explained that especially with school groups, individual students take over the narration of the tour. According to Pfeil, students would indeed prefer to prepare the tours themselves, even though it would require additional preparation work. While the tour guide in these cases accompanies the students and is available for further questions, the reins of power over the narration are completely handed over to the students. What these two examples show is that the narrator in form of the tour guide has a certain power over the visitor, is aware that the narrator's own performance can increase the emotional intensity of the experience of visiting the Gedenkstätte, for example by moving the visitor to tears. But this power does not go unchallenged. At times the reins of power are handed over intentionally to other speakers, such as students, in order to encourage their engagement and active approach to the learning experience of visiting the Gedenkstätte. At other times, the power of the narrator is challenged on specific subjects which are entangled with larger questions of international politics and fundamental questions of the role of the artists in society, whereby the impartiality of the narrator can be called into question. Thus a larger shift in power can be retraced: While the power of Weigel over the spaces (denial of access) was lost after her death, the spaces were made accessible to visitors, who however were guided by museum guides (who have power over the narration and partially over the visitors' visiting experience). However, the agency on the side of the visitor should not be

[609] It is furthermore noteworthy that the Lu Xun exhibition when it traveled through a number of European countries in 1980 was displayed in West-Berlin and not in East-Berlin, as the international relations between the GRD and the PRC had only recently begun to improve (Meissner and Feege 1995, 353).

overlooked, as they have the power to refuse to accept the narration, to provoke and at times even to perform the role of the narrator. While this takes place in the immaterial world of narration, the gain of access for the visitor can also bring the power of the visitor over the material objects as well, as the following shows.

Protecting, Negotiating, and Creating the Authentic

With the opening of the Gedenkstätte, the rooms of Brecht's former residence were made accessible to individual visitors, state delegations and school classes alike. But the access to the public also had consequences that threatened the preservation of Brecht's estate. Allowing visitors access and presenting the living spaces of Brecht without wanting to "point to a museum" as Wizisla proudly exclaimed (Wizisla 1996, 11), had in its extreme resulted in visitors stealing from the display. Pfeil reported that a number of books from Brecht's collection were stolen by visitors.[610] Not only have the collections of writer's books had a great impact on the study of their literature as they serve as paper traces for claims of intertextuality, even the presence and location of the books within the apartment have been argued to be meaningful. [611] When it came to the question of where the books had been placed when Brecht lived in the apartment, the Gedenkstätte could not draw on any records or notes for all the books (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:17:27); (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007, 25–27). The later placement of the books is thus not undistorted (unverfälscht) either and indeed continues to be debated between the heirs and the museum staff. And yet, during the tour, the placement of the books within the apartment are used to explain how much value Brecht attributed to them. Hence, the books in the bedroom were described as those he wanted closest to him, thus belonging to his favorites, such as the German translation of the Czech *Der brave Soldat Schwejk* by Jaroslav Hašek (1883–1923) or the German

[610] Among those stolen were works by Rosa Luxemburg, for example (Elke Pfeil 12.11.2014, 00: 50:00).

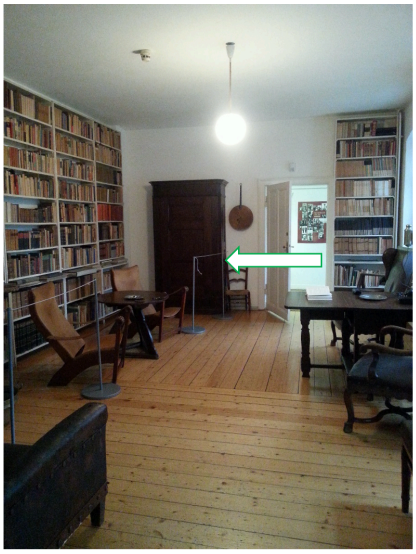
[611] The importance of providing a list of the writer's collected books for research has thus been emphasized at the very beginning of the management of the writer's literary estate, with Lu Xun's list of collected books published as early as 1958 (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1959b) and the index of Brecht's books published in a commented volume titled *Bertolt Brecht' Library* (*Die Bibliothek Bertolt Brechts*) (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007, 30), a library which over Brecht's many years in exile shrank considerably with each (forced) move. The compilation of such a list went back to the idea of Gerhard Seidel, head of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archiv from 1978-1992, who put forward the project in 1981, thus soon after the establishment of the Gedenkstätte. In 1992 Wizisla replaced Seidel as head (1992-today) and would bring the project to completion (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007, 30). Wizisla emphasizes that two elements of Brecht's library escape the archive's ability to document and remember collected books: the books that were lost (Verlust) (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007, 21–24) and the arrangement of the books (Aufstellung) (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007, 25–27). Only the books in the bedroom are exempt from this, as their arrangement had not only been photographed, but also described in detail by Brecht's contemporary Reinhold Grimm (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007, 25).

translation of Arthur Waley's *Lebensweisenheiten im alten China*. The books placed in the bedroom, next to his bed, were also photographed in the 1956 photographs that were taken soon after Brecht's passing and described in publications by his contemporaries.[612] Thus in their case it was possible to recreate the scenario at Brecht's time of death. The books and their placement within the apartment is also by no means a static state nor "authentic", but yet is argued to be a meaningful information for the visitor. As a result of books having gone missing after guided tours, the Gedenkstätte invested in barriers that were set up in the apartment [**IC 165 The Threat of Access 1**]. These barriers now separate the visitors from that which is meant to be on display, adding a visual boundary which would have to be crossed. There are, however, no other security systems added to the display (audio alarm etc.). The visual boundaries create both an additional legal and symbolical boundary which visitors have to cross in order to steal books. Whether or not the barrier ropes were effective in reducing these instances did not become clear. With the problem of accessibility and its effect on the institution's ability to preserve in mind, Helene Weigel is said to have made the decision to have The Doubter, the Chinese hanging scroll, placed behind glass [**IC 165 The Threat of Access 2**]. The scroll had not always been displayed behind glass, however. A 1956 photograph by Christian Kraushaar shows the presentation of the hanging scroll when it was still hanging on the wall without a glass frame (Pfeil 2003, 35). The glass showcase and the visual boundaries can be seen as both restricting and valorizing elements of the display, which both protect and impede access, and which argue against the possibility of presenting these spaces completely undistorted (unverfälscht) (Wizisla 1996, 11), highlighting that access by definition also entails an element of threat.

[612] Wizisla, however, cautions from reading too much into the arrangement of the books in the apartment: "One is well-advised not to conclude anything about Brecht's affinity or distance towards a book based on its position [in the apartment]. (Man ist gut beraten, aus Positionen dieser Art keine Schlußfolgerungen über die Affinität oder Distanz Brechts zu einem Buch zu ziehen", as they were not arranged systematically, but according to a "creative chaos (schöpferische Unordnung)" (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007, 26). In the case of the bedroom, he however emphasizes the arrangement's accuracy according to the descriptions of Reinhold Grimm and it is on this arrangement that the museum guide (Pfeil) based her suggestion of seeing it as a meaningful arrangement.

IC 165 The Threat of Access: The Adding of Boundaries

1.



1. Small study at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
2b. Bedroom, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.

2.



What all of the examples above show is that the Gedenkstätte is by no means a place which represents the original state of Brecht's living environment, but through means of protection (placing objects behind glass or putting up barriers) subtle changes are made and distance is created. The presentation of the spaces by means of a narration (the visit is only offered with the guided tour) can both control the reception and enhance it (emotional intensity), and through the addition of materials (the Sterbekranz and the death mask) the emotional intensity of the visit is enhanced. Yet, at the same time, through the reference to an original state, the visitor is encouraged to see the placement of objects on display as meaningful (the valorization of books placed near the bed).

The ideal of the "Orginalzustand" resurfaces again and again in negotiations that take place between different actors. Often, these negotiations occur behind closed curtains and reveal the tensions that remain between the actors (e.g. between the museum staff and the Brecht heirs as presented here, or between the museum staff and the visitors, presented later in this chapter). On the surface these negotiations discuss compromises between providing an "authentic" display approachable to the visitor on the one and the protection of a particular object on the other hand. However, beyond these negotiations, it is the power relations over the management of Brecht's heritage that is actually being negotiated.

When introducing the living spaces of Brecht, Pfeil often pointed out those elements which she understood as being different from what she believed to be "authentic". In these cases, Pfeil would refer to Brecht's heirs: "das hat die Tochter womöglich weggenommen (the daughter possibly removed it)" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:13:00), referring to a

piece of paper that is visible in the 1956 photographs but not on display or even an entire cupboard which is no longer included. In the case of the wreath (Sterbekranz), she added: "Weigel must have placed it here (muss die Weigel hingelegt haben)". Other changes that were made by Weigel included the floors of the apartment, which once had been dark oak brown. Weigel had the floors painted with a cotton white (wollweiß) color, Pfeil explained. The floor of the apartment that was laid in the reconstruction of the apartment in the 1970s attempted to reinstate its original state, but resulted in the wood now being considerably lighter in color than in Brecht's times (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 55:23) [**IC 165 The Threat of Access 1**]. It can be argued that wood as a material defied the attempt to presented it as authentic, as its appearance is altered by light over time. If the "authentic" wood (namely oak) had been chosen for a reproduction, it would not have the "original" tone of brown, thus the wood's shaping the atmosphere and the lighting of the room (the lighter room make the rooms appear lighter) can even be argued to have an agency of its own, even more so when it is attempted to be "restored" to its "original" shape instead of simply painted over. Pfeil further pointed out that the apartment as a whole, but especially the desks and tables in the Arbeitszimmer, are presented differently from the times when Brecht worked there. Similarly to Lu Xun's case, the desks were scattered with papers and books, only after the reconstruction of the memorial museums were the desks presented in a tidy, uncluttered, but arguably "unauthentic" manner. Brecht's standing desk (discussed in "Brecht – embodied") on which the two daguerreotypes of Marx and Engels remain is otherwise stripped of any papers, pens or other objects of writing. This is largely the consequence of focusing on protection, as the manuscripts in the case of Brecht and both the manuscripts and the books in case of Lu Xun were not on display in these former living spaces, but were stored in the archives, in Brecht's case at the archive of the AdK (Ost) and DAdK at the Robert-Koch-Platz (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 55:23), as Pfeil pointed out. Thus various objects had been removed or altered, mostly for reasons of protection or in the name of reproducing the "authentic" state.

Besides changing the appearance of the apartment through lighter floors and empty desks, additions were also made: The two Christian wooden sculptures on the wall representing those present at the crucifixion (John the Baptist and Maria), "were a gift from Weigel and she hung them here (hat Weigel ihm geschenkt und aufgehängt)", Pfeil explained, adding an explanatory line that "Brecht knew the Bible well, it was always an important book to him, that is why [the statues] are quite fitting here, but there is also no other place where we could put them (Brecht war genauer Kenner der Bibel, sie war für ihn immer ein wichtiges Buch, deshalb passen sie hier gut

rein, aber es gibt auch keinen anderen Ort, wo man sie hinstellen könnte)" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 01:21:33). Thus again the collective nature of those decorating and shaping Brecht's living spaces is highlighted. Pfeil was usually in agreement with Weigel's additions or changes, as she would add explanatory sentences in these cases.

As for the changes which were suggested by Barbara Brecht-Schall, Pfeil took issue with some of the, pointing out that Barbara Brecht-Schall could not fully remember the apartment, as she had been young when she had lived here. "Actually, the daughter cannot really remember these things (eigentlich kann sich die Tochter an solche Sachen gar nicht mehr erinnern)" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 01:00:45). When I inquired about the daughter's age, Pfeil insisted "she was over 20, she was born in 1930, but still, she cannot remember at all (Sie war über 20, sie ist 1930 geboren, aber sie kann sich gar nicht mehr erinnern)" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 01:00:45). Pfeil challenged the heir's personal memory in the explanations of her narration.

But not only regarding memory was the heir challenged by the museum staff, but also in questions of weighing authenticity and protection. Pfeil noted that Brecht-Schall would at times guide private visitors through the Gedenkstätte. The fact that Brecht-Schall could frequently not remember her name on these occasions was something Pfeil noted explicitly (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 01:21:33), implying a lack of respect or appreciation of the museum staff by the heirs from Pfeil's perspective. One recurring theme was the question of small details in the display in which Pfeil and Brecht-Schall would disagree. Brecht-Schall would insist that her father had always had a book on the table beside his bed, leaving it face down. When stating this, Brecht-Schall would take one of the books from the bookshelves, open it and place it face-down on the table. Pfeil explained that after such visits she would return the book to the shelf, as she argued that leaving the books like this would harm them. What is more, after some time, she would anticipate Brecht-Schall's visits and would take a book out of the shelf and carefully lie it on the table face-down, in order to stop Brecht-Schall from forcefully and demonstrably opening the book and pressing it down. Upon seeing the book during her visit, Barbara Brecht-Schall would be pleased (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 01:21:33). By changing the display according to the heir's visit, the museum staff took agency in altering the display to be "authentic" from the perspective of the daughter for her visit only and choosing to prioritize the books' protection over the "authentic" display by appeasing and circumventing the heir's involvement in the display.

Tensions also became apparent in the question of the placement of Brecht's Chinese scroll The Doubter (see "Brecht – embodied"). Brecht-Schall argued that the hanging scroll had hung on a different wall in the apartment.[613] The placement was discussed between Pfeil, Brecht-Schall and head of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive Wizisla. With reference to the photographs from 1956 (Pfeil 2003, 35) [**IC 165 Threat of Access 2**] and also due to Pfeil's and Wizisla's insistence, The Doubter remained on the wall in the bedroom. Pfeil concluded "I assume Barbara is really mistaken, yes. Next year she will turn 85. And she really is very strict, she does treat one like a bit of a maid, that is how it is. (Ich nehme an Barbara irrt sich wirklich, ja. Nächstes Jahr wird sie 85. Und sie ist schon sehr streng, sie behandelt einen schon ein bisschen wie ein Dienstmädchen, das ist so)" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 01:21:33). Thus the tensions between the museum staff, the director of the archive and the heir Barbara Brecht-Schall remained, with negotiations about how to display Brecht "authentically" and yet sufficiently protecting the material objects remained. But beyond these concrete discussions concerning the "authentic" display of Brecht's heritage and its protection, resonates a negotiation over the power and authority over these spaces and objects that embody Brecht.

Looking back, the museum staff and the heirs did not always agree on how these spaces ought to be presented (a tension that is not visible in the photograph of Honecker, Hecht and Barbara Brecht-Schall at the opening). The relationship between the private and state actors were not always mutually accepting (the museum staff's critique that the heir treated the Gedenkstätte as a service by the state, implied by Pfeil's term "Dienstmädchen") and the power over the "authentic" Brecht fed on different realms of authority (personal memory, institutional protection), which were at times called into question (Pfeil questioning Brecht-Schall's memory). Their common ground, however, was that all involved held tightly to the idea(l) of achieving a maximum of degree of "authenticity" with the methods and objects available. Even though the political discourse around the establishment of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte intended it to be a site of the "socialist national culture" of the GDR, as the political actors involved in the establishment of the Gedenkstätte had proclaimed (ADN/ Notate 1978, 1), the Gedenkstätte allowed for the ambiguous and multi-layered objects in Brecht's collection to be part of the display, as the common understanding of an "authentic" display connected the museum staff and the heirs (legitimizing those objects added by Weigel due to her highly-respected power in culture politics and to a lesser

[613] From the interview it did not become clear if Brecht-Schall even meant a different room.

degree Brecht-Schall). This common ground held together the actors on the production side of the equation, throughout the institutional history of the Gedenkstätte. This common understanding of "authenticity" enabled the display to be acceptable at large for the political elite, for the museum staff and for the heirs, with all of its ambiguous and arguably more straightforward visual and textual materials. But what can we learn about the reception of these materials and the overall trust between the producers and receivers in the overall making of Brecht in the case of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte? As the following discussion shows, this common belief in the "authentic" and indeed the trust that visitors had in the Gedenkstätte would prove lacking after a crucial political, social and historical change took place around the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, namely the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the GDR. The following will therefore briefly show what institutional consequences the dissolution of the GDR brought for the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte and how this political change would change how the Gedenkstätte was received by some of its visitors, pointing to two moments of distrust and revolt. I will emphasize the visitor's agency in the museum and also return to the agency of the material images which we encountered in "Brecht – embodied", and which was introduced when reflecting on how memorial sites (Denkmäler) gained their own voice and agency in Brecht's literary work (as described in the section on "Brecht's Heroes and Sites of Hero Worship: Conceptual Reflections").

Brecht re-institutionalized: The Second Birth of the Gedenkstätte

For over a decade from the opening of the Gedenkstätte in February 1978 until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte was a state-owned museum which provided a site for collective commemoration of Bertolt Brecht and Helene Weigel. By 1978, the cultural institutions, including the Akademie der Künste (Ost), to which the archive and Gedenkstätte was affiliated, were de facto directly subordinate to the state, i.e. the chairman of the council of ministers [Willi Stroph] and the Brecht-Zentrum der DDR which was located in the same house, was subordinate to the Ministry of Culture (MfK). The fact that the struggle over the Brecht archive (1956-1971/1978) was fought prior to the opening of the Gedenkstätte and was kept behind closed curtains, shows the importance of the opening of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte as a concern of the state and Party as a political as well as a cultural event, one performed for the public. It symbolized both a political valorization of Brecht as a representative of DDR Nationalkultur as well as the climax of state power over Brecht's heritage in the GDR.

Let us return to the opening day of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte. On the day of the festivities, a photograph of Erich Honecker, Barbara Brecht-Schall and Werner Hecht was taken in the courtyard [return to **IC 162 Opening with Honecker, Brecht-Schall, Hecht**]. By presenting the establishment of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte as a joint effort between the GDR and the SED (embodied by Honecker, who embodied both state and Party leadership) and the Brecht heirs (embodied by Barbara Brecht-Schall), the preceding struggle over the power of Brecht was demonstrably kept behind closed doors, communicating a message of unity between the GDR and the Brecht heirs. Even though the state or political actors are not recorded as having interfered with the display of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte and the Gedenkstätte featured materials that could be read both with and against the grain of Brecht as a representative of DDR Nationalkultur, one form of political interference did take place: Instead of encroaching upon the display in the "authentic" spaces of Brecht and Weigel attempting to remove any potential contradictions between the material heritage on display and the orthodox reading of Brecht as a hero of the GDR in line with Party ideology, the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte was presented including these contradictions and ambiguities. The way of taking control over the presentation was by "framing" the Gedenkstätte as a whole. This was undertaken by hanging a large reproduction of the photo of Honecker, Brecht-Schall and Hecht in the entry hall of Chausseestr. 125, which led the visitors into the courtyard and then further into the Gedenkstätte (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2015, July 3).

This photograph can be read analogue to the naming (*timing* 題名) of Lu Xun's memorial museums by high-ranking politicians such as Zhou Enlai, Guo Muoruo, Ye Jianying (at the time head of state of the PRC from 1978-1981 as the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC)) providing the calligraphy for the museum signs and thereby "framing" the memorial museum (see in section "*Structure*: The Research Room: From Maojiawan to Fuchengmen (1975-79)") [return to **IC 89 Naming the Lu Xun museums: A Bildakt**]. Both this photograph of the opening of the Gedenkstätte and the signs of calligraphy naming the numerous Lu Xun museums can best be understood with reference to Bredekamp's definition of the Bildakt (picture act) (Bredekamp 2010)[614], for the conceptual change from the writer's "former residence" (*guju* 故居) into a museum or Gedenkstätte is finalized by its renaming, by its official reframing. The photo is furthermore an index that points to the opening day of the museum when Honecker proclaimed to "hand over the house to the public" (ADN/ Notate 1978, 1). It is a

[614] For a definition of the term Bildakt, see: (Bredekamp 2010, 48–56).

documentation of an event of cultural politics, including his speech act of declaring the house open to the public, but also a finalization of the space's transformation from an apartment and Arbeitsstätte into a Gedenkstätte of the GDR. Indeed, the official birth of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte encompassed four elements: the (un-)lawful acquirement of Brecht's estate through the newly stipulated resolution (Gesetzesblatt) in 1971, the speech act of Honecker when announcing the house to be handed over to the public, the symbolic performative act of handing the keys over to Werner Hecht, head of the Brecht-Zentrum, and finally this picture act, hanging the courtyard scene photograph of Honecker, Hecht and Brecht-Schall at the entrance hall of the building.

The GDR state had thus acquired their Gedenkstätte. When the memorial museum was established in 1978 and was affiliated with the Akademie der Künste (Ost), it was one of the very first Gedenkstätten (the AdK (Ost) later managed six memorial museums all together) and it was assigned to the "memorial sites section" (Bereich Gedenkstätten) of the AdK (Ost).[615] While this section was conceptualized already in the 1950s, it was not until the 1960s when the first Gedenkstätte was listed under this section (Bereich). Previously it had merely existed as an empty potential category. The reason hereof is likely to be found in the adaption of Soviet models of museum management, for the conceptualization of this category was not based on necessity but on a vision. The GDR, just as the newly established PRC, was eager to institutionalize its own history in forms of museums and establish memorial museums dedicated to those who had been the cultural ground layers of this new political system. The newly established category of "Gedenkstätte" here is the counterpart to the Chinese memorial museum (*jinianguan* 紀念館). With regard to the category of memorial museums (*jinianguan* 紀念館), Su Donghai 蘇東海, former head of the exhibition department of the National Museum of the Chinese Revolution and leading museologist in China, sees it as encompassing a form of valorization in itself. As a category, the memorial museum was not as prominent in "museums in the West 西方博物馆", he explains, but were given an important position in the (early) Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (Su Donghai 苏东海 2010, 119–22). Certainly, such a clear distinction between West and East does not hold. When listing

[615] Pfeil explained she did not agree with the term Gedenkstätte and had hoped to have the name of the Gedenkstätte changed into "Brecht-Weigel-Museum." The term Gedenkstätte brought confusion for visitors, because Gedenkstätten are commonly associated with monuments or memorials dedicated to the Third Reich (Nationalsozialistische Gedenkstätten / Gedenksätten für Widerstandskämpfer). Barbara Brecht-Schall however did not agree with such a name change, according to Pfeil, since she did not consider it necessary (Elke Pfeil 12.11.2014, 01:28:17).

examples of similar sites featuring memorial objects (*jinianwu* 紀念物), Su Donghai not only lists Lu Xun's death mask and a hair lock of Pushkin, but also Shakespeare's wooden cradle from his childhood and Balzac's cast hand in bronze, revealing that such a distinction between Western and Soviet or Eastern-European museums does not exist when regarding museum practices. Concerning management categories and the institutional recognition of such museums, however, the emphasis on Gedenkstätten in the GDR and *jinianguan* in the PRC does apply, which the existence of a separate management category implies (Su Donghai 苏东海 2010, 119–22). In the GDR, the first writer to be given a memorial museum under the academy was the poet Johannes R. Becher (1891-1958 from Munich), who had served as the first Minister of Culture of the GDR (in office 1954-58). His house on Mayakovsky circuit 34 (Majakowskiring 34) in Berlin-Pankow, was opened in 1964. This establishment was followed by the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte in 1979, the Ernst-Busch-Haus in 1981, the Anna-Seghers-Gedenkstätte in 1985 and the Arnold-Zweig-Haus in 1987, and finally the Friedrich-Wolf-Haus in 1988 (Pfeil 2005, 134). As the continuous struggle of the state to gain control and ownership over the Brecht house has shown, Brecht's house – possibly their first choice – was not (yet) available for such a memorial site in the 1950s as it was still in ownership of Helene Weigel, and thus only became a site of collective commemoration in the late 1970s.

In this respect, it is very telling to look at which memorial sites continued to exist after the dissolution of the GDR. After the merger of the AdK (Ost) with the AdK in the West in 1993, the section Gedenkstätten was dissolved and the Gedenkstätten were associated with their respective archives within the newly founded AdK (Pfeil 2005, 135). This downgrading would support Su Donghai's claim that the concept of memorial sites (Gedenkstätten, *jinianguan*) were held in higher esteem in the GDR than in the unified Federal Republic. Indeed, the Akademie der Künste in the West did not have a specialized section for Gedenkstätten or memorial museums dedicated to writers and they did not seem to take an important position in the West German museum landscape.[616] In this merging process the Gedenkstätten of Johannes R. Becher, Arnold Zweig (1887-1968 from Glogau/ Prussian Silesiea), former president of the AdK (in office 1950-53), and Ernst Busch (1900-1980 from Kiel), actor in Brecht's Berliner Ensemble best remembered for his

[616] In a recent publication introducing the history of over 220 museums established in (houses in) Berlin, the section on the GDR history lists "Künstlermuseen und Literarische Gedenkstätten" as a chapter on East-Berlin, but in the history of West Berlin only provides "Künstlermuseen" (with the Kolbe-Museum established in 1950 and the Brücke-Museum established in 1967) and no literary memorial museums (K. Hiller von Gaertringen and H. Georg Hiller von Gaertringen 2014).

title role as Galilei in Brecht's *Life of Galilei* were all discontinued for both legal and financial reasons (Pfeil 2005, 135). The reunification of the AdK into one all-German institution thus had the effect that some memorial museums would not make the cut and their institutional commemoration in the spaces of former East Berlin would no longer continue. The continuation of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte (estab. 1978) and the Anna-Seghers-Gedenkstätte (estab. 1985), however, was guaranteed by the AdK in December 1992, which shows that these sites of memory experienced a second birth in a new metrics of cultural value. The Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, originally established to represent the "GDR national culture" withstood the rupture of the dissolution of the GDR and continued to display Brecht in a new metric of valorization.

Similar to the reshuffling of the canon of the various Gedenkstätten in East Berlin, a reshuffling took place in what had become known as GDR literature (DDR-Literatur). While the appropriateness of such a category is viewed critically today due to the straightforward claims of nationalism involved, it did exist as a category, both in East and West German literary histories (Rosenberg 1995, 10). These constructed categories and histories would of course not simply disappear by suggesting that it all ought to be once common German literature, or by highlighting the constructedness of such categories only due to political enforcement (Rosenberg 1995), as a critical approach based on the hermeneutics of suspicion would advise. This approach might have been taken in the new histories of German literature by literary scholars[617], but the category "GDR literature", and the importance attached to "Gedenkstätten" had been meaningful in the GDR, a social fact which had a practical impact on the material literary heritage concerning its ownership and management. This could not be easily discarded. Categories such as these did not automatically dissolve along with the dissolution of the GDR government, but needed to be either forgotten or introduced into a new cultural political landscape of managing literary memory.

So what happened to Brecht's material estate and the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte after the dissolution of the GDR? In 1992, the inheritance rights of the Brecht heirs were no longer claimed by the GDR but the Federal Republic, which finally acquired Brecht's literary and personal estate by purchasing it. This appropriation of Brecht's heritage was costly. The Brecht heirs sold Brecht's estate to the federal state of Berlin for 11 Mio DM. This acquisition was by no means undisputed.

[617] Publishing in 1995 and reflecting on the definition of GDR literature both in East and West German literary histories, Rosenberg concluded: "Jede geschichtliche Gestalt erscheint, wenn sie vergangen ist, in einem anderen Licht. So wird auch aus dem Untergang der DDR eine neue Sicht auf die DDR-Literatur gewonnen werden. Als eine eigenständige deutschsprachige Literatur neben der westdeutschen oder österreichischen wird man das, was in den Grenzen dieses Staates geschrieben wurde, in Zukunft wohl kaum noch verhandeln" (Rosenberg 1995, 19).

The *Sender Freies Berlin* reported on the purchase, exclaiming that it was "immoral, but legal" (Steinbeck, December 11, 1992). According to the newspaper, the federal state of Berlin was ultimately forced into buying Brecht's estate by the heirs at this price, as otherwise the heirs could have sold their inheritance privately through an auction which would have scattered Brecht's literary estate across the country. That the Brecht estate had to be acquired by the federal state of Berlin with money provided to the state for the "Aufschwung Ost" program, was considered "ironic" by the newspaper *Sender Freies Berlin* (Steinbeck, December 11, 1992). Even though this is not further clarified by the author, the fact that Brecht's estate was considered to fall under the financial support the former East would receive from the Federal Republic hereby indeed recognized his estate as a part of an East German heritage whose preservation was not guaranteed outside of the context of "helping the East".

Hereafter, Brecht's estate was owned by the Land Berlin, which handed it over to the newly merged Akademie der Künste (no longer separated in AdK (Ost/West) as a permanent loan (Dauerleihgabe). Thus instead of being legally owned by the heirs but practically controlled by the AdK (Ost) as it had been in the years between 1971-1992, after 1992 Brecht and Weigel's estate was now legally owned by the state (i.e. the Land Berlin) and managed by the Akademie der Künste der Länder Berlin und Brandenburg.[618]

The reshuffling of ownership, responsibilities and affiliation also brought other institutional changes. Concerning the propagation of Brecht's works, which had previously been the responsibility of the Brecht-Zentrum der DDR under Werner Hecht, the newly elected Ministry of Culture of the GDR, which only existed for a short time after the fall of the Berlin Wall, changed the statute of the Brecht-Zentrum. It was dismissed from its directly subordinate association to the MfK and was to be its own juristic person. Werner Hecht was given the task to run the Brecht-Zentrum as a self-reliant company of limited liability (GmbH) (Hecht 2003, 39). After 1991, however, the Brecht-Zentrum was eventually replaced by a new institution: The Literaturform im Brecht-Haus which would be run under the Trägerschaft of a literary society in form of a Verein (Trägerverein), namely the "Gesellschaft für Sinn und Form", established by Volker Braun (1939- from Dresden) and Heiner Müller (1929-1995 from Eppendorf). Müller was known for having struggled with cultural institutions of the GDR such as the Writers Association and censorship of

[618] Only in 2005 was the AdK again redesigned to operate under the direct Trägerschaft of the Bund, thus be a state-owned institution (bundesunmittelbare Körperschaft). This institution would come to replace the 1993 established AdK on federal state level (landesunmittelbare Körperschaften der AdK), thus replace the AdK owned (getragen) from the states Berlin and Brandenburg (Satzung der Akademie der Künste 2005); (Akademie der Künste 2005).

his work during the GDR. The Literaturforum was headed by Inge Gellert, and received financial support from the Senate of Berlin (Literaturforum im Brecht-Haus 2016). While this arrangement could guarantee the continued existence of the Gedenkstätte and a literary center/ forum, other affiliated institutions were dropped. The restaurant that had offered dishes based on Helene Weigels recipes (Kellerrestaurant), for example, was closed and the book store which too had all belonged to the Brecht-Zentrum der DDR was finally privatized and no longer belonged to the state-run institutions in the Brecht-Haus. The Gedenkstätte, which now no longer had its own place in the section of Gedenkstätte in the AdK, was thus down-graded and affiliated as an institution subordinate to the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive instead of being equal to it. In this new landscape of cultural institutions in the Federal Republic, the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte was continued and a high price was paid for the legal acquisition of Brecht's personal and literary estate, but the valorization through a high standing in the hierarchy of cultural institutions as in the GDR was no longer provided in the Federal Republic in which culture was a federal concern (Kulturhoheit der Länder) and not institutionally represented in the ministries on the national level.[619] But not only the structural conditions of a new Kulturpolitik changed the situation of the Gedenkstätte in East-Berlin. The other major change that was brought about by the German unification was the expansion of the Brecht-Haus in Augsburg, which will be briefly introduced here.

Brecht institutionalized II: A Gesamtdeutscher Brecht in Augsburg's Brecht-Haus

While the acquisition of Brecht's material heritage in the context of the Kulturpolitik of the SED (most notably in the shape of competing with Helene Weigel over the archive, passing the Gesetzesblatt of 1971 which claimed ownership over Brecht's estate and eventually institutionalizing Brecht in a Gedenkstätte) reveals the demand made over Brecht's material heritage in East Germany. The dealing with Brecht's material heritage in West Germany was in contrast largely characterized by neglect. The following cannot offer an in depth reading of the institutional history of the Brecht-Haus in Augsburg, but aims to show how a counter-memory to the "socialist Brecht" was formed in Augsburg. In form of a memorial museum this museum display overlapped with that in the GDR for only a few years, from 1985-1989, thus providing a coexisting counter-narrative for only a limited period. However, after the dissolution of the GDR,

[619] In 1998, however, a position was created on national level, namely the Beauftragter der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien, however, this position is not equal to that of a minister and is not institutionally represented through a ministry.

this counter-memory presented Brecht as an "all-German" (gesamtdeutscher) Brecht instead of a "socialist" Brecht by means of display.

In the immediate years after Brecht's death, little happened in Augsburg in form of spatial commemoration. In 1960, a privately funded plaque by sculptor Sepp Marstaller (1915-2004 from Augsburg) was placed on the wall of Brecht's birth house (Brechthaus Augsburg, Gier, and Hillesheim [~1998], 20), located at Auf dem Rain 7. However, representatives of the city council (Stadtrat) distanced themselves from such commemorations of Brecht by remaining absent from the ceremony of its unveiling (Zagler, July 28, 2014). Throughout the 1960s and 70s, the city of Augsburg did not make any noticeable effort to establish a museum or Gedenkstätte for Brecht. It was due to the protest of private residents and Brecht enthusiasts that the city finally purchased Brecht's birth house in 1981 and organized a small-scale photograph exhibition on the first floor of the building in 1985, addressing Brecht's childhood in Augsburg (Brechthaus Augsburg, Gier, and Hillesheim [~1998], 20). Only in 1990, with the reunification of Germany, was an expansion of this exhibition taken into consideration. Due to the lack of a larger collection of Brecht materials, the city decided to establish a combined "Brecht Forschungs- und Gedenkstätte", subordinate to the Staats- and Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, including the funds for expanding the existing collection of the library on Brecht and adding a research position for this purpose (Brechthaus Augsburg, Gier, and Hillesheim [~1998], 21); (Hutter 2015). But the initiative soon faced financial troubles, since the funding was not sufficient to redo and renew the exhibition.

The final push that led to the establishment of the Brecht-Haus as it exists today, with an exhibition on the first and second floors, was when the Ministry of the Interior (Bundesministerium des Inneren BMI) agreed to support the museum with funding in 1996 (Brechthaus Augsburg, Gier, and Hillesheim [~1998], 22). This flow of funds is unusual in German cultural institutions, as cultural and educational institutions are considered to be the responsibility of the individual states (in this case Bavaria) and not of the Federal Government in Berlin (Klein 2005). And indeed, the funds were only agreed to under one condition, namely: "the federal government attached its support to the condition that a national and all-[German] (*gesamtstaatlich*) site of poet commemoration would be established (der Bund [knüpfte] seine Zuwendung an die Bedingung, daß eine nationale, gesamtstaatlich bedeutsame Dichtergedenkstätte entstehen müßte" (Brechthaus Augsburg, Gier, and Hillesheim [~1998], 22). Therefore, this Gedenkstätte received its funding for promoting a so-called "gesamtstaatlicher Brecht", no longer a representative of the former socialist regime of the GDR, but instead a cultural hero all Germans could associate with.

This becomes manifest in the display as well.[620] While the first exhibition, organized by the city of Augsburg in 1985, had been restricted to Brecht's youth and childhood in Augsburg alone, the new exhibition introduced Brecht's full oeuvre. The two floors encompassing eight rooms focus on Brecht's literary production and on images and photographs of Brecht, as well as evaluations of his works by cultural figures from all over the world. On the ground floor, Room 1 gives an introduction to Brecht's life and Room 2 explains the reception and impact of Brecht's work. Rooms 1-5 on the second floor are arranged chronologically, starting from 1) Brecht's parents and childhood (1898-1917), over 2) the end of WWI and Brecht's time in Berlin (1918-24), on to 3) from Brecht's arrival in Berlin to his departure into exile (1924-33), over 4) from his years in exile in Denmark, Sweden, Finland and the US until his return to Europe (1933-1947) and finally 5) from his return to Europe until his death in Berlin (1947-1956) [IC 166 Augsburg: Groundplan].[621]

From this categorization alone it becomes clear that his return to the GDR is not seen as a major marker in his biography, but that instead his return to Europe (first to Paris, then to Zürich, only eventually to East-Berlin) forms the major milestone. His time in the GDR is only discussed in the 5th and last room of the display. Here one poster wall shows how Brecht's relationship to the GDR is presented in the display [IC 167 Augsburg: Exhibit 1, Soviet tank 1].[622] The poster includes the above frequently referenced poem "The Solution", which Brecht wrote in 1953 and which was censored in the GDR for well into the 1960s. Indeed, the poem "The Solution" is quoted in full along with three further quotes of Brecht's writing:

- june the 17th has alienated the whole of existence – 1953 (der 17. juni hat die ganze existenz verfremdet – 1953).[623]
- I emphasize that I only consider myself to be a poet and that I do not serve any particular political ideology nor would like to be seen as its representative – 1949 (Ich betone, daß ich mich nur als Dichter fühle und keiner bestimmten politischen Ideologie diene oder gar als deren Exponent angesehen werden möchte – 1949).
- When Germany is united in the future, and everyone knows this will come, no one knows when, then it will not be through war – 1956 (Wenn Deutschland einmal vereint sein wird, jeder weiß, das wird kommen, niemand weiß wann – wird es nicht sein durch Krieg – 1956).

(Brechthaus Augsburg, Gier, and Hillesheim [~1998], 22:66)

[620] The display was largely based on the presentation of the literary by displaying explanatory and literary texts, photographs, stage sketches etc., as most of Brecht's material estate had been with him in East Berlin.
[621] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 166.
[622] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 167.
[623] Since Brecht did not use capitalization in his diary, the quotation and translation are rendered without capital letters.

These quotations are listed under the photograph of a Soviet tank attacking protestors on June 17th, 1953 on Postdamer Platz in Berlin in the exhibition and in the exhibition catalogue [IC 167 Augsburg: Exhibit 1, Soviet tank 1a]. [624] The fact that Brecht publicly expressed support for the SED leadership immediately after the suppression of the revolt with the help of the Soviet military is, however, not referred to in the exhibition, thus veiling the fact that Brecht did not voice his criticism immediately in public. The poem as well as the above diary entry from 1953 about the 17th of June having alienated the whole of existence were only published posthumously and not at the time of the revolt (Brecht and Hecht 1973, 1009). As for the 1949 quotation on his withdrawal from *any* form of political ideology, it is a quotation recorded by Siegfried Melchinger (1906-1988 from Stuttgart), referring to a letter which Brecht allegedly wrote in the context of acquiring his Austrian citizenship. It is, however, not published by Brecht or under Brecht's name but only attributed to him.[625] Even the 1956 quotation on Brecht's anticipation of a peaceful reunification of Germany is not a very straightforward source. It is believed to be retraceable to a letter written on July 2, 1956, in which Brecht addressed the Bundestag and this declaration is claimed to have become publicly known at that time. This, however, is explicitly only assumed, not stated, in the annotation of Brecht's *Collected Works* and the letter itself has not been published or become retraceable to my knowledge (Brecht 1999l, 685). The choice of quotations clearly highlights that Brecht is presented as highly critical of the GDR without discussing his support for the GDR. Moreover, since the display of the quotations only references the year of their (in some cases assumed) authorship and not the time or source of their publication, the quotations situate Brecht's criticism in the time of his residence in the GDR. This arguably evokes the (false) impression that Brecht voiced these lines at those very times, highlighting his distance to the GDR and belief in a unified Germany while living in the GDR. The image of Brecht that is created can certainly be argued to reveal Brecht's silent (or silenced) criticism of the GDR (the critical approach), a critical Brecht who in this form would certainly not have been supported in a similar museum space in the GDR. However, the selection of the material, its at times debated sources, and the decontextualization of its publication history form a constructed image of Brecht as well, following the lines of the Kulturpolitik of the Federal Republic of the early 1990s, and must therefore be understood in its socio-historical context as well.

[624] I could not access this photo in the Bundesarchiv, but the website of the BSTU cites the signature of the photograph as belonging to the Bundesarchiv (B 285 Bild-L0004), see: (BSTU 2017).

[625] This quotation was published on January 5, 1963 by Siegfried Melchinger in the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* (No.4) in an article on "Bertolt Brechts Salzburger Totentanz", cited in (Eickhoff 1998, 139).

The museum made use of quotations of Brecht printed on labels and posters to undermine the close connection between Brecht and the GDR Kulturpolitik. In addition, it employs material objects to materialize the "all-German" Brecht the museum was hoping for. One exhibit which can be read as materializing the "all-German Brecht" is the train sign of the IC 819, which is included in one of the showcases on the ground floor of the exhibition [IC 168 Augsburg: Exhibit 2, Inter City Bertolt Brecht 1a].[626] The IC Bertolt Brecht ran from Kiel via Berlin Ostbahnhof and Leipzig to Augsburg and to München – paying no attention to the former boarders between East and West. The train connected the former East Germany and West Germany logistically and socially in the year of Brecht's 100th birthday anniversary in 1998. In an unbroken flow, the train carried passengers across a united Germany. The train sign thus acquires symbolic significance and its display in the glass showcase makes Brecht into a politically and geographically "all-German" Brecht, connecting what had earlier been territories of East and West.

The appropriation of Brecht's heritage by the SED in the GDR at first glance seems like the result of the unrestricted control of a one-party state. However, such an appropriation is not the prerogative of autocratic regimes. In recent years, democratic parties in the democratic political system of the Federal Republic have not only depicted Brecht as representing the German nation as a whole, but he has also been subject to an appropriation even by arguably opposing parties, such as the left-wing Die Linke and Christian Social Union in Bavaria (Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CSU)), politically situated at the conservative middle-right. This phenomenon becomes visible through interpretations of Brecht as a "left-wing" writer on the one hand and as a "bayrischer Dichter", as Ministerpräsident Edmund Stoiber (1941- from Oberaudorf; in office 1993-2007) described Brecht at the opening of the Brecht festival in 1998, on the other (Hutter 2015). But not only on occasions related primarily to Brecht did politicians make use of Brecht's fame to draw attention to local politics [IC 169 Die Linke Campaign poster 2014].[627] Brecht was presented as a loyal voter for the left-wing political party Die Linke on their posters as part of the election campaign for the municipal elections in 2014 by alluding to the iconic attributes widely associated with him, namely his glasses and his cigar. On the poster, the cigar is still lit, his reading glasses lying on the table beside a note reminding him to write a letter to Paula [Banholzer] (1901-1989 from Markt Wald), and to go vote for Die Linke. The party chose Brecht's first love from school

[626] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 168.
[627] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 169.

and mother of his first son[628] whom he had met in 1917 in Augsburg instead of his wife Helene Weigel, as the former was better known to potential voters in Augsburg. The party had refrained from portraying Brecht on the poster, but the iconographic imagery leaves the message of the poster unambiguous to those who know images of Brecht. While the effectiveness of one campaign poster cannot be judged by the outcome of an election,[629] in Bavaria, which remains a stronghold of the Union of CDU and CSU (CSU election results were at 40,1% in 2008 and 37,7% in 2014), the provocative poster was supposed to remind the voters of Augsburg of Brecht's left-wing political convictions thereby gain the party spotlight in the campaign.

In their public comment on the poster, the party tapped into past discourse to criticize the city council for neglecting Brecht's heritage and even implying that his heritage was not protected by the city but that the city indeed aimed to protect its citizens *from* his heritage in the so-called "Panzerschrank" of the state and city library: "Would Augsburg not prefer to see Brecht locked up in the safe of the state and city library? Quite possible, at least the unremarkable Brecht house in Augsburg's city center speaks for such an attitude. (Würde Augsburg den Brecht nicht am liebsten weiterhin im Panzerschrank der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek verschlossen sehen? Schon möglich; von dieser Haltung zeugt zumindest das unscheinbare Brechthaus in der Augsburger Innenstadt.)", the Party states on its website (Die Linke 2014). Concerning the protection of Brecht's personal estate, one further faux-pas was discussed in the newspaper *Augsburger Zeitung* later in 2014 when looking back at the city's past dealing with Brecht: In the 1970s, Brecht's furniture was temporarily stored in the Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek, wherefrom it was accidently taken to be bulk garbage, thrown out, never to be retrieved. This carelessness with which the city had dealt with Brecht's estate is from today's perspective an embarrassment for the city (Zagler, July 28, 2014). It was such unwillingness of the municipal authorities to adequately support the protection and propagation of Brecht which Die Linke drew in their political campaign, revealing the continuous relevance and impact of Brecht's heritage on the public in Augsburg. More importantly, this example shows how the late and inadequate valorization of Brecht by the Federal Republic has

[628] Brecht and Banholzer had a son in 1918, Frank Banholzer, who died during WWII in 1943.

[629] In 2014, Die Linke lost one seat in the city council in comparison to the 2008 election: 3,5% in 2008, 3,2% in 2014. Naturally, within the six-year development between the elections multiple factors played into the changes of the political landscape, such as the establishment of the AfD (Alternative for Germany) which entered the city council with 4 seats (5,9%) in 2014 for the first time. Both the CSU and the SPD (Social Democratic Party) as the major parties of the middle right and middle left experienced losses in this election (CDU 40,1%-37,7% and the SPD from 30,1%-22,4%) (Augsburg City Council 2008); (Augsburg City Council 2014). The election results should merely provide an approximate understanding of the political landscape of the city of Augsburg, not claim that a direct causal link can be drawn between this one campaign poster and the election results.

become a part of Augsburg history. Different from the overly aggressive appropriation of Brecht's heritage in the GDR, the Augsburg example shows how a city is coming to terms with its past (Vergangenheitsbewältigung) of not sufficiently valorizing his heritage.

Certainly, these forms of "instrumentalization" cannot be compared to the at times illegal acquisition of Brecht's heritage by the SED in the early 1970s and both references to Brecht were indeed legal references. And yet, both forms of political use of Brecht sparked heated debates about Brecht's political instrumentalization in the news and radio (Hutter 2014), (Hutter 2015), (Zagler, July 28, 2014). Thus the "political instrumentalization" of Brecht took and continues to take place both in Berlin and in Augsburg, and Brecht's institutionalization in museum space is certainly always a political process, a process in which the heritage of Brecht is reinterpreted and appropriated.

Brecht re-imagined: Defacing Honecker and Lenin

But changes not only occurred in the management of the Gedenkstätte, changes in the reception also took place. Elke Pfeil, whose position at the Gedenkstätte was also continued after the dissolution of the GDR, described how this political change also brought about changes in her narration of the museum space to visitors. Since the location of the books within the bookshelves of Brecht's studies could not be fully reconstructed and had not been ordered by Brecht in any coherent form (alphabetically or according to topics) (Wizisla, Streidt, and Loeper 2007, 25–27), the Gedenkstätte had generally come to place the books according to authors, and the authors clustered by themes. What had changed for Pfeil, a change she described as "lustig (funny)", was that she could no longer use the term "the classics" in her narration. Prior to the dissolution of the GDR, she had pointed to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin when referring to the "classics" (die Klassiker). Thereafter, however, the visitors gradually associated the term with Brecht's collection of works by Schiller and Goethe (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:27:38). When standing in front of Brecht's standing desk, pointing out the daguerreotypes of Marx and Engels, Pfeil further explained:

> Here are Marx and Engels; it is always exciting to watch, how the school students, who do know who Marx and Engels are, no longer have an image of them [in their minds], they no longer recognize them. (Hier sind Marx und Engels, das ist immer spannned zuzusehen, die Schüler die wissen schon wer Marx und Engels sind, aber sie haben kein Bild mehr von ihnen, sie erkennen sie nicht mehr) (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 01:24:35).

This might be enhanced by the fact that the images are relatively small and Marx is shown in full-body posture, not in the most well-known close-up portrait, and Engel's close-up portrait is one in his younger years, not yet with his full iconic beard (see detailed descriptions in "Brecht – embodied" of this thesis). But it is nevertheless telling that these photographic reproductions of the historic persons of Marx and Engels are no longer an image in the collective memory of the younger generation of school students. For Pfeil this gradual change can be witnessed in their reaction towards the photographs on display and also in their differing understanding of the term the "classics", which connotes different works according to the established literary histories.

The above example shows how certain images of "heroes" can slowly fall into oblivion in the sense that the younger generation no longer has an image in mind (ein Bild haben). And for those who continued to have an image of Marx or Engels in mind, the image would possibly evoke different reactions than before. One intriguing case in point is the photograph of Honecker, Hecht and Brecht-Schall from 1978 which framed the Gedenkstätte. Originally emphasizing the joint effort of the establishment of the museum instead of the competition of authority over the Brecht's heritage between the heirs and the state during the GDR, this message lost its valorizing function after the dissolution of the GDR. After Honecker's resignation on October 18, 1989 and the official dissolution of the GDR little less than a year later with the German reunification on October 3, 1990, neither head of state nor the state could serve as valorizing elements. According to Pfeil's recollection, it was in the year 1990 or 1991, soon after the reunification, that this photograph which hung at the entry of the Gedenkstätte was vandalized. While she could not recall what it had said, something had been written over the glass picture frame with a permanent marker. The message called for a removal of the photograph, but no records were made of the incident (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2015, July 3). Even though the museum had already planned to redesign the entrance, this occurrence gave further cause and urgency to do so.

When the entry of the Gedenkstätte was redesigned in the early to mid-1990s, this photograph was removed [IC 170 Re-framing the Gedenkstätte: A Bildakt made undone 3–5].[630] Today, the design of the entry includes a number of posters which are still the ones that replaced the Honecker/Hecht/Brecht-Schall-photo that had originally hung in this entry hallway. The posters were designed by the Literaturforum which had replaced the Brecht-Zentrum der DDR for an exhibition that was held around 1995, from which eight large posters were chosen for the entrance

[630] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 170.

hallway. No longer are the actors in the making of Brecht displayed, but instead photographs of Brecht and Weigel are shown with quotations from Brecht's works. Knowing whom they have come to replace, they read with a slight ironic touch. The first of the eight posters shows a black and white half-body portrait of Brecht, smoking a cigar, wearing his well-known leather jacket, a photograph from his younger years [IC 170 Re-framing the Gedenkstätte: A Bildakt made undone 5].[631] The poem which is added to the photograph, however, is from 1955, only a year before his death. It reads "If we lasted endlessly/ Everything would change/ But as we are endless/ Much remains as before (Dauerten wir unendlich / So wandelte sich alles / Da wir aber endlich sind / Bleibt vieles beim alten)" (Brecht 1999a, 444). The poem on the poster is dated around 1955 ("um 1955"). The *memento mori* theme of this poem can be read to have a resigning tone, especially when read biographically, taking into consideration that Brecht wrote it a number of years after the establishment of the GDR. His words of resignation have replaced the Bildakt of his political valorization. In this context these reflections could be read as voicing his thoughts or even his disappointment at how little actual change this new area of history (the establishment of the GDR) had brought about. It also has an appellative tone, rejecting man's ability to change everything. The poem also encourages the reader to be aware of his or her mortality and limited time and opportunity to bring about change, thus calling on the reader to accept that which inevitably will remain, and to focus on that which *can* be changed, even though it is only implicitly addressed by the discrepancy between "alles" (everything) and "vieles" (many things). The fact that the Gedenkstätte for Brecht continued to exist after the dissolution of the GDR, now in ownership of the federal state of Berlin, is one continuity that would link the history and collective memory of the GDR with the Federal Republic. Indeed, considering Brecht worthy of commemoration in form of such a Gedenkstätte was not questioned. Only the processes of valorization changed, and the "public", embodied by the lone vandalizer, indeed called for such a change. In order to maintain its valorizing functions in the Federal Republic, Brecht had to be detached from the making of Brecht through the cultural politics of the GDR state, exemplified by Honecker and, to a certain degree, by Hecht in the photograph. Elke Pfeil explained that actually the Gedenkstätte had been in agreement with this unknown visitor in as far as that they had planned to eventually remove the photograph from the museum's entrance, implying that the Gedenkstätte lagged behind in this change due to reasons of institutional inertia (as the affiliation and other management and personnel

[631] It was possibly taken in 1928 when Brecht was in Augsburg, see (Brecht et al. 1978, 83).

questions certainly would have to be prioritized). The fact, however, that the photograph was not immediately removed reveals that the power of the image was underestimated by the Gedenkstätte.

However, in another case in which the political iconography in Brecht's Gedenkstätte was read differently than in the past, the museum staff would not agree with the visitor's call for change. This second case again reveals that images came to be read differently in the new socio-political context that had come about through the dissolution of the GDR. This case was prompted by a guided visit to Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte. The awareness for or sensibility towards a political "instrumentalization" of Brecht by the GDR is prominent even among visitors of the museum today and this suspicion of censorship or instrumentalization can surface during a museum visit. The photograph of Lenin which was discussed in the beginning of this part in "Brecht – embodied" [return to **IC 155 Brecht's Lenin Portrait in his Small Study, Berlin**] is part of the exhibition space of Brecht's former living environment. If this photograph had been located exactly there on the book shelf is not clear, since there are no photographs of this part of the room with Brecht, but when the room was brought back to its "original" state, Weigel is said to have placed it there (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 00:42:10). During one of the tours, Pfeil recalled that this photo irritated a visitor up to the point that, during a tour she marched up to the photograph and slammed it down on its face, exclaiming that "these times [were] over" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 50:00). Pfeil explained that it was a professor from the University of Bremen who had visited the museum with her students, sometime in the 2000s. "My museum volunteer was so shocked, that she did not say anything – if it had been me – I would have corrected and scolded her! (Meine freie Mitarbeiterin war so geschockt, dass sie gar nichts mehr gesagt hat – wäre es ich gewesen hätte ich sie schon zurechtgestellt!)." Pfeil cited the visitor from memory saying angrily "These times are [really about] over – bam! (Die Zeit ist so langsam vorbei – bäm!)" (interview with Elke Pfeil, 2014, November 12, 50:00). The picture of Lenin can be read as an inspiration for Brecht during his life and had functioned as a means of "consecrating" Brecht as the socialist hero during the GDR when his apartment was turned into a state-run Gedenkstätte. Today Lenin has lost his consecrating function and in this one case unleashes angry and encroaching behavior in a visitor. This behavior shows a suspicion or at the very least a sensibility towards the framing of Brecht as a hero in the GDR as well as the refusal to accept Lenin as serving a "consecrating" function in this space. Lenin's spell is broken and his presence dishonors Brecht and must thus be removed from sight. Brecht's hero has fallen, reminding us that even our heroes' heroes are volatile.

It might not appear surprising that the image of Lenin evoked the strongest (emotional) reaction in this visitor, instead of the images of Marx and Engels, or the calligraphy of Mao Zedong (see beginning of "Brecht – embodied"), even though all could be argued to have contributed to the making of Brecht as a "socialist" writer. Even though the museum guide points out that the calligraphy is a poem by Mao Zedong during the tour, he does not feature as prominently in the apartment because his body and portrait are not visible, a visibility which can come to have the markings of a personality cult or hero worship. Instead Mao Zedong's presence in the apartment is veiled by his poetry, written in vertical lines of Chinese characters, which might appear strange, or even exotic, to the visitor, and thereby locates this particular political leader into a spatially distant realm, far away from the past Realpolitik of the GDR and the production of Brecht as its literary hero. The images of Marx and Engels on the other hand, point towards a moment in history which is temporally distant to the immediate experiences the visitor might have made in his or her everyday life during the reign of the SED. What is more, they themselves never put their ideas into political practice. Lenin, a major political leader of the twentieth century and head of the Soviet Union, the big brother of the GDR, will thus feature more prominently in the immediate experiences of visitors today, which is why it was this photograph that needed to be removed from sight.

It must be acknowledged at this point, that the interference of the visitor is closely connected to, or even made possible by, the dissolution of the GDR and the reevaluation of Brecht. One might argue that if the GDR regime were still in place, such an interference and encroachment upon the authority of museum display would not have occurred, and the question might arise: Can the stability of a political regime guarantee the consecrating force of a political leader in attributing value to a writer and elevating him as a literary hero in society? Does its dissolution automatically result in the dismantling of its cultural sites of commemoration? Brecht's case denies this and Lu Xun's case is also inclined to raise doubts about such a simplified approach, showing the changes the image of Lu Xun underwent despite the stability of Communist Party rule (see "New Approaches? (1980-2000s): History's Cul-De-Sac and the Rejection of Sagehood" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis). Yet, both cases remind us, time and again, that the ways of valorizing, commemorating, and evaluating these heroes changed.

In the end, the reasons as to why this particular image of Lenin provoked the visitor's disapproval cannot be fully clarified. What the act reveals, however, are two forms of agency that come to bear upon Brecht's heritage on display. On the one hand, the agency of the visitor is made

manifest. By questioning the narration of the tour guide and indeed implicitly accusing the museum of having altered the display, the visitor does not act as a mere recipient of the message communicated to him or her during the tour, nor is that visitor likely to be moved by the narrator's description as was the case in the performance of collective grief. Emotions are likely to have driven the action, but in this case they were more likely to have been emotions of anger, as the forceful slapping down of the picture frame indicated by the exclamation "Bäm!", emulating to the sound of the frame hitting the shelf. In the last two decades, visitors have become central in the content analysis of museum communication, since a crucial agency is ascribed to them. They are active in the "meaning-making process" as leading museologist Hopper-Greenhill has argued in her work on a model of museum communication since the early 1990s (Hopper-Greenhill 1991). This protest was most likely to be communicated to the receivers in form of the contemporary museum staff of the Gedenkstätte, not Helene Weigel, who could be argued to have been the other "sender" involved in this message which the visitor rejected. However, it is even more helpful to take into account the agency of the image in this incident at the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte. For as W. J. T. Mitchell has pointed out in his *Picture Theory*, images have the power to injure (Bilder verletzen), inquiring into how images hurt us and cause us to destroy them, hurt them, deface them in return. For Mitchell these emotions ultimately result from our misunderstanding the image for a speech act (Mitchell 2008, 392). Since a speech act is largely a human ability, we tend to treat images as if they were alive, hereby granting them power over us. In this case, the element of the life the image acquired is even more striking as the visitor was not even willing or able to "face" Lenin, choosing to turn him face-down, the only way in which she could stop the gaze of the image from meeting hers.

The importance of the iconoclasm which took place after the dissolution of the Soviet Union across the world is recognized as one of the gravest occurrences of iconoclasm in world history by art historian Horst Bredekamp (Bredekamp 2010, 211). Indeed, the visitor removing Lenin's face by placing the photograph face down resembles the defacing of catholic sculptures in the 16th century, during which faces of the saints were scratched or deformed (Bredekamp 2010, 208). In both cases, the underlying sentiment, but also the resulting consequence is the same, both deprecating and empowering:

> In all these forms the dilemma of iconoclasm manifests itself. The iconoclastic riot strengthens that which it opposes: It takes the images to be inanimate, but by destroying them, as if they were alive criminals, traitors and heretics, it thereby imparts on them the life which it initially denied them. (In all diesen Formen tritt das Dilemma des Ikonoklasmus

> zutage. Der Bildersturm bekräftig, was er ablehnt: Er hält die Bilder für leblos, aber indem er diese vernichtet, als wären sie lebendige Verbrecher, Hochverräter oder Ketzer, vermittelt er ihnen das zunächst abgesprochene Leben) (Bredekamp 2010, 210).

Thus by denying them life they are giving them the actual breath of life and appellative (handlungstiftende) qualities which the visitor hopes to strip them of. In his theory on the Bildakt (picture act), Bredekamp therefore differentiates between the "schematischer Bildakt (*Leben*)"; "the substituierender Bildakt (*Austausch*)" and the "intrinsischer Bildakt (*Form*)" (Bredekamp 2010, 327), whereby the defacing of Lenin in the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte would be understood to be the substitutive aspect of the Bildakt. For as Bredekamp argues: "In the belief that by destroying the image that which is depicted is also destroyed, iconoclasts are the agents in the destructive manifestation of the substitutive picture act (Im Glauben daran, dass mit dem Bild das von ihm Dargestellte vernichtet wird, sind Ikonoklasten die Agenten der destruktiven Ausprägung des substitutiven Bildakts)" (Bredekamp 2010, 210). Both the vandalization of the 1978-Honecker/ Hecht/ Brecht-Schall-photograph at the entry hallway and the removal of the Lenin imagery in the Gedenkstätte, can best be read as such substitutive aspects in a Bildakt. The message of presenting Brecht as a modern left-wing cosmopolitan or as a representative of a socialist national culture of the GDR were messages that were rejected after the dissolution of the GDR by these two visitors, but were thereby automatically enforced, giving additional life to these objects on display.

One additional element which can be witnessed in the case of the visitor defacing the Lenin photo is the performative element in the Bildakt. According to Pfeil it had been a professor visiting the Gedenkstätte with her students. Unlike in the case of the vandalization of the 1978 photograph which went unnoticed and was only discovered after it had occurred, the defacing of the Lenin imagery was not only an act of iconoclasm but also a performative act. By slamming the photo frame of Lenin face down, the visitor not only attempted to protected herself from Lenin's gaze, but also her students. By addressing the museum volunteer, the visitor is most likely to have directed her opposition towards the Gedenkstätte as an institution, an institution which she associated with functioning as a GDR state institution – despite the fact that at the time the Gedenkstätte and Brecht's estate were in state ownership of the Federal Republic. By exclaiming that "these times are over", she implied that in "those" times this kind of imagery had existed and possibly been accepted, and that this was no longer the case in her times. However, by defacing Lenin and sheltering her students from the image's gaze, she again accredited power to the image, as she arguably felt that the image (and *pars pro toto* the past propaganda of the GDR) could still

exert its power over her students. The only way to solve this situation was for her to eliminate it, and hereby "censor" the display of the Gedenkstätte on her terms. We hereby arrive at a second dilemma, one not inherent to iconoclasm alone, but one particular to iconoclasm and its relationship to modernity, one in which the times of the religious iconoclasm of the 16th century seems far past:

> Regulations of censorship, which apply to harmful images, modernity finds revolting, and their ethical agency, which Platon awarded to desired images, modernity distrusts. After all, the acknowledgment of the appellative qualities of images is fundamentally in danger of exercising censorship or exerting pressure on creative production. (Die Zensurgebote, die den schädlichen Bildern galten, sind der Moderne zuwider, und die ethische Wirkung, die Platon den gewünschten Bildern zuerkannte, ist ihr suspekt. In der Tat steht die Anerkennung der handlungsstiftenden Qualität von Bildern prinzipiell in der Gefahr, Zensur oder zumindest einen Gestaltungsdruck auszuüben) (Bredekamp 2010, 42).

This ambivalence is prominent especially in the field of modern sinology, which knows of the censorship of Lenin's image during the "White Terror" of the Guomindang in Shanghai (see: Lu Xun's written correspondences being searched and censored by the GMD in "Brecht – embodied") but not without simultaneously knowing of the icon worship of Mao Zedong that would arrive in the years ahead. In the case of this particular visitor, she jumped from one extreme to the other: by expressing her anger against the perceived pressure Brecht and other writers were exposed to in the GDR, she finally censored the image from Brecht's museum space, answering to that which modernity distrusts with that which it finds revolting. The censorship she exerted on the exhibition was directed at two different audiences: firstly, the Gedenkstätte and secondly her own students, thus directed at both the perceived producers of the Bildakt and at the receivers, her students. However, there were two likely results that resulted from her performance: Firstly, the staff of the Gedenkstätte could feel encouraged in their claim of presenting the "authentic" spaces by referring to the previous producer of this Bildakt, namely Helene Weigel, whose reputation as a heroine against pressures of the SED in the field of cultural production and the production of a collective cultural memory has become well established. Thus her act of iconoclasm will be considered an encroachment into an "authentic" or at least "authorized" space by the museum staff and thereby made undone. The picture frame was restored and is kept as a part of the display. Secondly, the students are likely to remember this image more visibly than any other object on display, as the power it has had over their professor will have revealed its power as such. Thus instead of indeed defacing the image, the visitor is likely to have burned Lenin's image into the student's mind instead of erasing it.

Looking back, one question which has resurfaced again and again, is how we can go beyond the two approaches of an "orthodox"/constructing approach to Lu Xun and Brecht and the critical approach which deconstructs, reveals the construction, reads against the grain. This too is a question which should be considered not only in the realm of discourse and speech acts ("Brecht ist die Sache des Sozialismus" – Honecker; "Lu Xun was the greatest revolutionary" – Mao Zedong), but in the realm of images, in the Bildakt which we encounter in various forms in the museums dedicated to Brecht and Lu Xun. When Bruno Latour asked: "Is there a world beyond the image wars?", he ended up with the famous concept of Iconoc*lash* (Latour 2002). The defining element of iconoclash is that, from the perspective of the viewer, you do not know if that which is depicted is destructive or constructing and as a result those involved in the depiction, the mediators, become uncertain in their roles of (de-)constructing (Latour 2002, 16). Latour's attempt at an archeology of hatred and fanatism brought about a rethinking of our understanding of iconoclasm, one in which the deconstructive role of the mediator is in the foreground. With regard to iconoclash, we are faced with the question of how to deal with iconoclasm, with the fact that after every "iconoc*risis*" the fragments are collected, the debris is protected (Latour 2002, 17), or in the case of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, the picture frame is rearranged on the shelf.

In the end, questions of authenticity do not lead to an objective, sanitized middle ground between "hatred" and "fanatism" to which all involved in the collective commemoration of Brecht and Lu Xun can withdraw, the common belief in the possibility of returning to their ultimately irretrievable historical "first bodies" (a belief in the "authentic" Brecht which formed the common ground between the heirs and the museum staff by the AdK (Ost)). The authority and power of persuasion of the Gedenkstätte suffered from the dissolution of the GDR and even though its institutional future could be guaranteed through the establishment of a unified AdK, the suspicion is deeply engrained. As the "constructedness" of authenticity and its inherent paradoxes have been revealed in cultural studies of the last decades (Straub 2012), claims of historical authenticity are by now regarded with similar skepticism in post-modern times as "censorship" and "propaganda" have been in modern times. Every claim of authenticity is merely an ascription of authenticity (*Authentizitätszuschreibung*) (Sabrow and Saupe 2014a, 10). Looking at these two scenes, they could well be termed moments of iconoclash instead of iconoclasm. In the definition, an iconoclash is "what happens when there is uncertainty about the exact role of the hand at work in the production of a mediator" (Latour 2002, 20). Apart from having been taken by surprise, this uncertainty might further explain the volunteer tour guide having been rendered speechless by the

visitor's act of iconoclasm, as Pfeil recalled. She did not know how to react to the defacing of Lenin that occurred and unsure of how to include this outburst into her narrative, into her role of mediating Brecht's Gedenkstätte to the visitors.

Conclusion: Brecht's Second Body

Looking back, this comparative approach to the museum spaces for the left-wing writers Bertolt Brecht and Lu Xun has provided insights into the complex negotiation that takes place in author museums, especially when regarded from a global perspective. The approach was to gradually "zoom out" from the specific objects on display at Brecht's Gedenkstätte in Berlin, starting with 1) a close reading of these objects as EMBODIED within its marked-off spatial context (museum space), 2) moving on to the history of becoming INSTITUTIONALIZED and how the objects came to be displayed in the memorial museum, and further on to 3) the imaginaries of Brecht shaped by the display, which are anchored and indeed inseparable from the objects on display and the specific histories of the institution, and how they were therefore repeatedly RE-INSTITUTIONALIZED and RE-IMAGINED. Even though the structure of this chapter roughly followed this trajectory, it is not always possible or helpful to rigorously separate between these levels (*embodied* / *institutionalized* / *imagined*), since the three levels are inextricably connected, thus neither can be fully discussed or understood without the knowledge of the other and the understanding of one level alone would certainly leave an incomplete picture of the making of Brecht in museum space. The reason why this chapter chose to begin with the micro- and move toward the macro-level lies in the additional layers of meaning that encapsulate every object and with this additional knowledge of the object's institutional framework and reception history, the semiotic density of the objects becomes visible, adding layer over layer, showing how the object is indeed heavy with meaning.

In order to call these layers into mind, the following looks back on the example of Lenin's portrait photograph:

Embodied

- A photograph of Lenin is on display on Brecht's bookshelf. This already carries meaning. It connects Brecht to a political and cultural sphere of modern left-wing cosmopolitanism of the early twentieth century, which gained a strong visual presence and enjoyed political success around the globe during Brecht's lifetime.

- Within the spatial context of the museum, Lenin's portrait further locates Brecht in a complex genealogy of heroes from around the globe, which along with this one example have a presence in the former living and working spaces of Brecht (Marx, Lenin, Mao Zedong, The Doubter, Confucius, John the Apostel, Holy Mary etc.)
  → all objects intrinsically encompass many (contradicting) layers of meaning and therefore remain ambiguous in their material presence and spatial context

Institutionalized

- That same photograph gains additional meaning in the context of the establishment of Brecht's Gedenkstätte under Honecker in the late 1970s in the GDR. The agency of political forces in Brecht's institutionalization both in from of personal actors (e.g. Honecker, Hoffman) and culture-political institutions (e.g. the MfK / AdK (Ost)) shows how the motivation to institutionalize Brecht as a "socialist" writer can profit from a certain reading of this photograph (if read unambiguously as Brecht's admiration for Lenin). The use-value of the display for political actors is acknowledged, see *opening quote I: "they honored him by drawing use from him, for themselves and for society"*.
- The agency of other (private) actors (Helene Weigel) reveals that this photograph's placement in Brecht's work and living space can neither be seen as a self-presentation in the sense of Brecht's self-fashioning or an "authentic" display of the historical person Brecht, nor as the result of a top-down cultural politics enforced upon the display.
  → the display is shown not to be "authentic", but to be the result of many actors (cultural politicians, heirs, contemporaries etc.). The belief in its authenticity is, however, the glue that brings these actors together and reconciles the actor's differences.

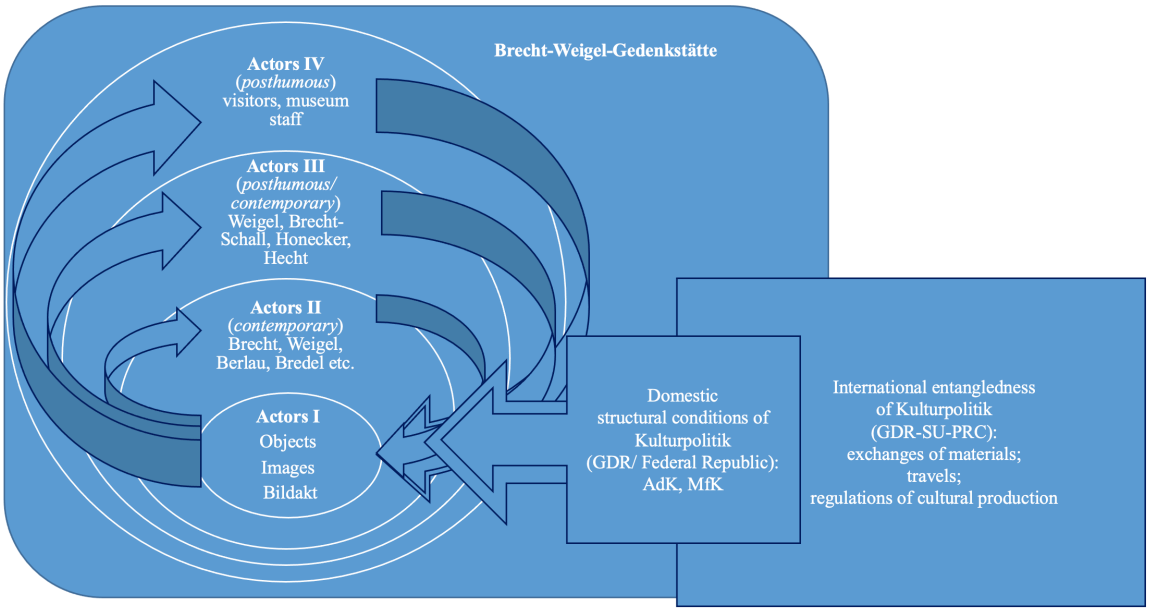
(Re)Imagined

- Due to the course of history and the dissolution of the GDR, Lenin becomes an icon which points to Soviet hegemony over GDR (cultural) politics. The display of Lenin appears strongly in agreement with the official cultural politics of the SED, a political regime which undergoes a reevaluation in the unified Federal Republic. Instead of being a valorizing element in Brecht's display, it is shown to have the potential power to evoke a strong emotional response in one visitor in particular, see *opening quote II: "these times are over!"*. The defacing of Lenin during the museum tour in the display reveals

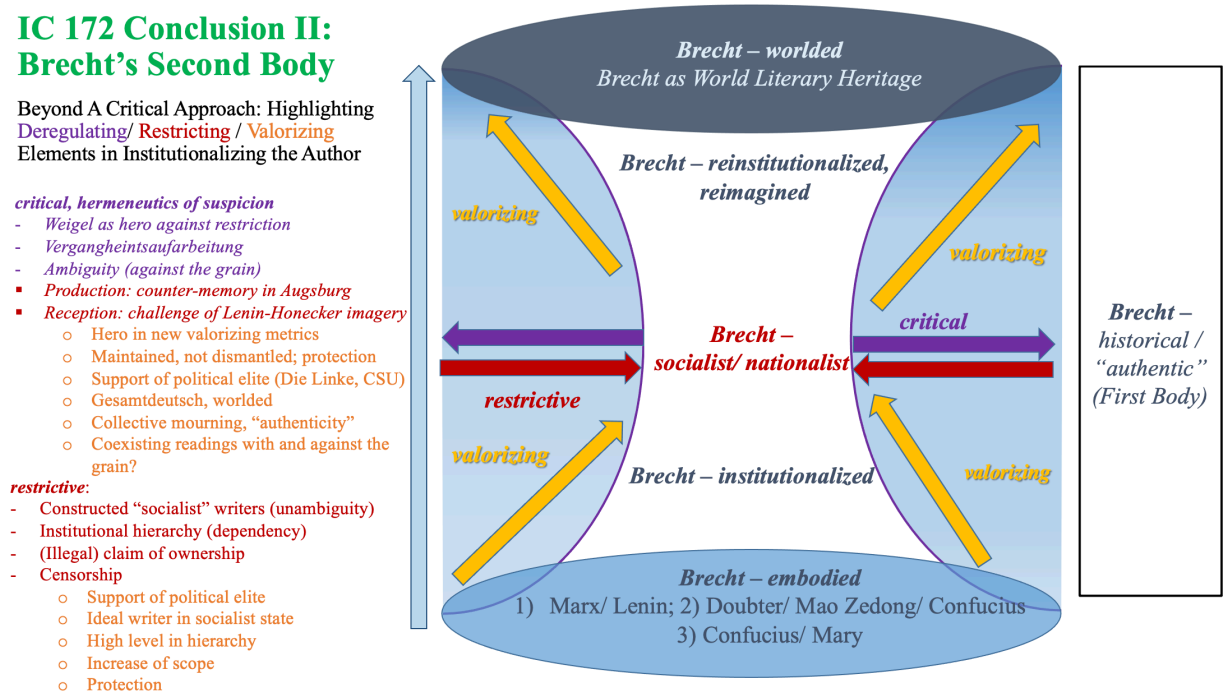
> the agency of the visitor in the meaning-making process of the museum visit, but also the agency of the image itself as a Bildakt (picture act), which is further empowered by the act of being defaced by the visitor.

By starting from the very object of Lenin's portrait on display and zooming out, one can take into consideration the additional layers of meaning this object has acquired over time. Firstly, agency is attributed to the objects on display. Many exhibits retain their ambiguity, as they allow to be read with and against the grain of an "orthodox" reading of Brecht and Lu Xun as "socialist" writers. We encounter a daguerreotype of Marx on Brecht's standing desk, Mao Zedong's calligraphy on his wall, but also scrolls featuring Confucius or statues of John the Apostel and of the Holy Mary decorating his walls. The same holds true for the collection of Lu Xun, with Kollwitz' prints from Germany, Marx imagery from the Soviet Union, but also a framed Buddhist image on his desk in Beijing. Objects are shown to encourage and resist regulated readings. But above all they acquire numerous layers of meaning. The additional layers resulted from changes that took place in the institutionalization and imagination of Brecht, changes which were caused both by political and socio-historic developments as well by the changing level of power individual actors and structures had over the objects over time. This one trajectory is, however, only one example among many, and it is important to rethink how the objects on display gain these levels of meaning. What underlying logic comes into play in the making of a material world literary heritage? When we encounter the object on display in the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte it is not simply a (linear) trace through time to the historic individual of the writer Bertolt Brecht [**IC 171 Conclusion I Agency**]. Instead, if we follow this object, the trajectory the object has followed reveals that it has moved through numerous "hands" before arriving at its current place. Hereby the objects can also be removed, hidden from display, in short: rendered silent. Thus Lu Xun's example has shown that it is important to secondly inquire into who owned or had power over their estate. Individual actors, ranging from Xu Guangping and Helene Weigel over Mao Zedong and Honecker to institutional actors (the East German Academy of Arts and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage) reveal the spaces to be highly complex spaces of negotiation. In Brecht's case, however, there has been surprisingly little interference with the display of Brecht's living spaces.

IC 171 Conclusion I: Agency in the Making of Brecht's Heritage



As is the aim of the thesis as a whole, this chapter aimed at going beyond a "critical approach" of Brecht's political "instrumentalization" which scholars anticipate to have taken place in his Gedenkstätte in East Berlin, and instead showed the restricting, as well as valorizing elements his institutionalization in museum space entailed for the Second Body of the author Brecht [**IC 172 Conclusion II Brecht's Second Body**]. In this part, Brecht's institutionalization in museum space is suggested to be one method of making Brecht into a cultural hero. This is indicated by the elevation that takes place (blue vertical arrow), moving from an object on display to the imaginary of Brecht as a hero, Brecht's Second Body. The critical approach, on the other hand, would focus on the restrictive forces of his institutionalization (red arrows). The complexity of his personal and literary estate (Brecht – embodied) would thereby be *squeezed* through state institutions (Brecht – institutionalized) to arrive at a narrow understanding of Brecht as a representative of the GDR's sozialistische Nationalkultur (Brecht, socialist/nationalist). However, many readings of Brecht's personal estate do not fit into this idea and would either be ignored (selection of focus) or distanced from Brecht (pointing out Weigel's agency in their placing) etc.



In the recent scholarly discourse on Brecht and his life in the GDR and his posthumous institutionalization in the GDR has been largely written in the spirit of a hermeneutics of suspicion, thus approaching Brecht's institutionalization critically by highlighting its restrictive function. Hereby the critical approach aims to pull apart a narrow "orthodox" reading of Brecht as a "socialist" writer institutionalized in the GDR (purple arrows). It does this by presenting Helene Weigel as a "heroine" against the restricting forces of his institutionalization and is, as a scholarly discourse, a form of Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung of the state regulated cultural production of GDR past. The scholarly publications form a self-reflecting and self-critical historiography of the archive and Gedenksätte, whose argumentation and reasoning is solely based on retrieving a "historical" truth of these processes, seeking the historical, "authentic" First Body of Brecht which has gone missing through the construction of his Second Body in the process of his instrumentalization (Brecht historical / authentic). Exclusively focusing the objects ambiguity and on reading his personal estate "against the grain" of the orthodox reading of Brecht during the GDR would follow suit in this critical approach and "apply" it to the museum display.

This thesis, however, argues this First Body to be irretrievable and instead suggests regarding the image of Brecht as a cultural hero, Brecht's Second Body, as an "authentic", i.e. phenomemonolgically truly existing body, which has developed its own life detached from this First Body. Many of these critical approaches end in a new form of making Brecht, thus highlighting their "critical", rectifying function but not addressing their own valorizing function.

For criticizing Brecht's instrumentalization also valorizes Brecht. Along with the critical reading, one could read Brecht's display in Augsburg as the production of a counter-memory directed against the way Brecht was believed to be represented in Berlin. The inclusion of Brecht's critical stance in 1953 is such a form of "rectification". But in its presentation of its materials, it is not merely a rectification but yet another making of Brecht into a "Gesamtdeutscher Brecht", who is to replace "Brecht the socialist writer". Hence, these changes in his presentation too must be analyzed from the perspective of their valorizing and restrictive functions. Certainly, these critical (deconstructing) approaches have made a necessary contribution in allowing for a more complex image of Brecht to form, but the critical approach also has its pitfalls. For the counter-memory produced in Augsburg is no less "constructed" than that in former East Berlin, and the hermeneutics of suspicion can also lead to reactions that arguably go too far. When Lenin's imagery in the museum was rejected by a visitor, the question arises whether this critique of past restrictive powers do not again result in new forms of restrictions (censorship though iconoclasm).

Generally speaking, the support cultural institutions received from the political elite must also be seen as one form of valorizing the author, not merely as a form of instrumentalization. Moreover, the past restrictive elements in Brecht's institutionalization often served valorizing functions at the same time: The "constructedness" of Brecht's unambiguous presentation as a "socialist" writer in the discourse around the Gedenkstätte's establishment was simultaneously the presentation of an "ideal" writer. The institutional hierarchy into which the Gedenkstätte was embedded meant that the Gedenkstätte was dependent on the AdK (Ost), but its level in the hierarchy was a sign of institutional recognition, both of Brecht and of the institution of the Literarische Gedenkstätte as a medium, and provided a larger staff for the museum and archive, one which the Augsburg counterpart lacked. While the interference of the state in the ownership of Brecht's personal estate was certainly at times an illegal claim of ownership and has been shown to have resulted in attempts of censorship in Brecht's publication history and the work of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archiv, this attempted interference created a competition of ownership between state and private actors, which in the case of his personal belongings resulted in the protection of his estate, unlike in Augsburg, where Brecht's furniture was accidentally lost in the library's bulk garbage.

This form of valorization lost its currency with the dissolution of the GDR and Brecht need to be reevaluated alongside a newly established metrics of value, e.g. Brecht representing a gesamtdeutsche Kultur. The success of transmitting Brecht from GDR-national collective memory

into the collective memory of the Federal Republic can be seen for one in the continued existence of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte by the federal state of Berlin, even though other Gedenkstätten from the times of the GDR were dismantled. The continued political support for Brecht is visible across a wide range of political parties, from Die Linke to the Bavarian conservative CSU, revealing that a less narrow definition of Brecht's heritage does not result in a lesser degree of political "instrumentalization", but in polarizing ones. In the increasingly globalized world, the presentations of Brecht as "gesamtdeutsch, European and worlded" do not in themselves provide valorization, but distance Brecht's Second Body from a narrow reading as a "socialist" "GDR-nationalist" writer. Thus the inherent ambiguity and complexity encountered in Brecht's personal estate can now serve to open the ideological boundaries of a "socialist" Brecht by reading it both with and against the grain of this narrowing definition of Brecht (purple arrows). Hereby the reading with the grain proves to pose more difficulties as the examples of the iconoclasm of Honecker's and Lenin's imagery have shown. Other past forms conveying a collective identity, such as collective mourning and the belief in the authenticity of Brecht's work and living environment continue to function as valorizing elements that allow for the continued existence of the Gedenkstätte and the protection of the objects on display.

Seeing the trajectory of the production of Brecht's image in museum space in comparison to that of Lu Xun has shown that similar developments have occurred over time: Both forms of Gedenkstätten or memorial museums (*jinianguan*) have adapted to new forms of valorization. While Lu Xun museums have proved highly adaptable portraying Lu Xun in different images (the Soviet-revolutionary, the Mao-revolutionary, the desacralized-historical, and the nationalized (see "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis), Brecht's image too has undergone changes in the course of the institution's history. Some questions, however, remain: Will the museums succeed in detaching themselves from their perceived (and at times actual) restricting elements in the making of the Second Body of the author? So far, the sites have proven more than examples of institutional inertia, but spaces that have produced various images over time. They have proven to surprise: They have protected ambiguous materials when an unambiguous image of the writer was to be propagated (Brecht's Confucius and John the Apostel on display). However, the goal of presenting the "authentic" Brecht or First Body of Brecht will prove to be a dead-end road once the critical approaches to museum space have become established in scholarship (as seen after the Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun in the 1980s or in the historiography of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive from the 2010s). For the First Body of Brecht and Lu Xun will remain irretrievable. Also,

the additional mediators and actors in the network of the communication taking place in the museum space will only increase in complexity [**IC 171 Conclusion I Agency**]. In Lu Xun's case a new reading of nationalizing Lu Xun can be gauged from the current display, one which is distancing itself from the critical 1980s movement (see "Nationalizing Lu Xun: The Chinese National Lu Xun (1990s/2000s)"). This development cannot yet be traced in Germany, but could well lie ahead. Is the creation of a counter-narrative the adequate reply, or necessary remedy for such a development? The problem with such a counter-narrative lies in that it does not address the making of Brecht that takes place any museum space. Instead it would be worth rethinking the separation that has taken place between a) the critical literature on the history of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive and the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte and their role in making Brecht (with Weigel as a heroine) and b) the continued presentation of the spaces as "authentic" historic spaces. What might instead make the spaces sites of a *collective* memory would be to let the visitors retrace the trajectories the objects before them have taken, the layers of meaning they have acquired over time, and the moments of iconoclash that have occurred in these spaces. Both the multiple forces of agency which have an effect on the objects as well as the intermateriality that can be retraced in the material heritage of world literature could provide one key to refraining from returning to spaces of cultural heroes representing a Nationalkultur and instead highlighting the interconnectedness of world literature even in the material realm. For the memory of that which was constructed can be equally important to that which is argued to be authentic.

大 INTERLUDE: Lu Xun – marginalized or centered?

Wen- and *Wu*- Readings: Cultural Politics in Taiwan and Lai He's Museum Space

If one aims to understand the making of Lu Xun in museum space from a global perspective, it is an imperative to look beyond the Chinese museum landscape and inquire into other processes that have occurred across the globe in which writers have been put on display in museum space. The comparative diachronic reading of the making of Lu Xun alongside the making of Bertolt Brecht in museum space in the part on "Lu Xun – worlded" shows how two "socialist writers" were institutionalized during the reign of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the PRC and the Socialist Unity Party (SED) in the GDR. It reveals how the political, cultural and socio-historical circumstances of their institutionalization differed and changed and how this affected the production of these two "cultural heroes" *over time*. This interlude introduces another representative writer of "left-wing" literature. As in Lu Xun's and Brecht's cases, the political and aesthetic in the making of Lai He 賴和 (1894-1943 from Zhanghua), today known as the "Father of New Taiwan Literature" (*Taiwan xin wenxue zhi fu* 台灣新文學之父)[632] are closely entangled as well (Liu 2000).

The Bertolt Brecht-Lu Xun-comparison in this thesis looks at the degree to which genealogies of numerous heroes (political and cultural) are entangled in the visual and material realm. After all, Brecht and Lu Xun were indirectly linked through numerous common heroes. This interlude now looks at the *direct* connection of the hero genealogy between Lu Xun and Lai He, since there are numerous biographical, literary and material traces that connect these two writers, which is why Lai He has often been referred to as a "Taiwanese Lu Xun". The direct connection which is made through this metaphor is valorizing, but simultaneously also implies a competition and hierarchy resulting from such an attribution.[633] In "Lu Xun – worlded", Lu Xun and Brecht the trajectories of how they continued to be part of a transcultural pantheon of left-wing writers within an imagined transnational sphere, institutionalized in tangible state-owned museums in socialist states. While the focus of Lu Xun's and Brecht's museum histories lay on their spatial arrangements and developments from a *diachronic* perspective, this interlude instead largely uses a *synchronic*

[632] For the origin and history of the term "Father of New Taiwan Literature", see (Chen Jianzhong 陳建忠 2004, 25–39).

[633] Lai He was first termed a "Taiwanese Lu Xun" during the Japanese rule in Taiwan by Huang Deshi 黃得時 in a 1943 Japanese publication (Lin Jui-Ming 2004, 196).

approach to read Lai He's museum space, since the establishment of the Lai He Museum was comparatively recent and does not yet allow for us to trace its development over a longer period of time. Space plays a crucial role in the whole of this thesis and this interlude increasingly prioritizes space over time and is therefore titled "Lu Xun – marginalized or centered?", as it raises the question of power distribution on this seemingly equal "worlded" literary stage.

By juxtaposing the literary "heroes" Lu Xun and Lai He, this interlude raises the questions: How have their museums enabled them to remain "charismatic"? To which extent is their "charisma" dependent on their juxtaposition in space? Drawing on the Chinese conceptual framework of *wen-wu*, I regard a writer's "charisma" as a harmony of his "cultural attainment" (*wen* 文) and "martial valor" (*wu* 武). This approach will help me overcome the man-god dichotomy (*ren* 人– *shen* 神) which has proven omnipresent and resilient in the debates on commemorating Lu Xun, but is prone to oversimplification. A strict separation of the presentation and reception of Lu Xun as a "god" from that of a "man", with the latter replacing the former in the course of the 1990s, ultimately ignores the numerous continuities in Lu Xun's presentation and commemorative practices across time and space, as well as the blurred borders between "religious" and "civic" practices connected to the museum as an institution of collective memory. This juxtaposition is equally fruitful to gain a better understanding of Lai He's charisma and his role as a literary hero of Taiwan Literature. By recognizing how his *wen* or *wu* qualities are being promoted and by seeing how he is spatially directed towards Lu Xun, engaged in a dialogue with him across the Taiwan Strait, we not only understand why Lai He is perceived as charismatic, but – as I will argue – as even more charismatic than Lu Xun.

Tracing Genealogies of Left-Wing Writers in Literary Centers and Peripheries

This interlude is based on the conceptual framework of "centers" and "peripheries" which require us to regard world literary heritage by taking into consideration its spatiality. The spatial and iconic turns belong to a number of cultural turns that have developed out of the linguistic turn in the realm of philology in the 1960s,[634] and they particularly point to the new role of museums as agents in the realm of (world) literature studies. These cultural turns have departed from the sole engagement with text and linguistics in an analysis of culture and instead focus on spaces (*Raum*). Especially

[634] Cultural theorists speak of a number of turns, including the interpretative, performative, reflexive, postcolonial, translational turns (Bachmann-Medick 2014).

from a global perspective and after the postcolonial turn, (re)mapping past cultural and hegemonic centers or peripheries has become a form of enquiry about where – within society and geographically – culture is "localized".[635] Here space becomes one category of analysis, an effective strategy of representation (e.g. visualizing the heroic), which constructs social behavior (e.g. venerating a hero), and a dimension of materiality with its own agency, meaning that A) space is one aspect of the material display, not the museum exhibits or collection alone (an added dimension of physical space) and B) museum space is a normative social space (a valorizing space, containing the power of ascribing authenticity and hardening memory ("Verhärtungen")).[636] I argue that space is not approached as given (a material dimension of an already existing state), but always as socially constructed. The spatial turn further encouraged scholars not to follow a temporal logic alone (which were so hardened in theories of evolution, development, and progress), nor to argue on the basis of a purely linguistic logic (not everything is a sign, symbol and text). Instead, the synchronic readings gain attention over the diachronic (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 42; 285). Contemporaneity (Gleichzeitigkeit) and constellation (Konstellation) became the focus instead of epochs of time, and both of these will also be at the center of this interlude on Lai He and Lu Xun's museum spaces. Similar to the authority and power of "the author" in literature studies, the new emphasis on "space" in geopolitics and cultural politics has, understandably, been met with suspicion by many scholars. The power and efficacy of spatial argumentation is well known from a geopolitical perspective in the realm of political expansion and identity building, which is why space has been treated with particular skepticism in the second half of the 20th century in German scholarship, for example.[637] Yet with the end of the Cold War and the acknowledgment of various forms of interrelatedness and interdependences between various spaces on the global arena, the spatial turn gained momentum. In particular, the reason why this interlude directs its attention to questions of spatiality is that the spatial turn has schooled us in a critical apprehension of the power of space (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 290).

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[635] The most frequently referenced work calling for such an awareness of space is Homi Bhabah's *The Location of Culture* (Bhabha 2004); (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 41).

[636] See: (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 41). The hardening "Verhärtungen" occur together with narrowing "Verengungen", according to Aleida Assmann (A. Assmann 2006, 15). Here they are rendered as "restricting forces", see **IC 2 Beyond Critical Approaches** in "Note to the Reader" at the beginning of this thesis.

[637] The dimension of space was long neglected in German scholarship among social scientists due to the experiences of Nazi propaganda, especially arguments of creating a racial identity in relation to geographical spaces (Blut-und-Boden-Ideologie) and arguing for a territorial expansion for a "Volk ohne Raum" (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 287).

Questions of center and periphery are crucial in the analysis of what has become known as "World Literature". Mapping the literary power centers diachronically from the perspective of a global literary history has led to Pascale Casanova's understanding of a so-called "World Republic of Letters" (Casanova [1999] 2003). Casanova divides up the world into territories "whose sole value and sole recourse is literature", whose borders are defined by rival languages competing for dominance (Casanova [1999] 2003, 4), a literary competition which she demasks as a violent one (Casanova [1999] 2003, 9). However, there is much congruity between the literary and political territories Casanova maps,[638] which continues to fall back on a two-dimensional cartographic understanding of the World Republic of Letters, an understanding which this thesis aims to break through by using the method of zooming in from and zooming out to a global stage (see "Note to the Reader"). This helps because it adds a third dimension of focus, not freezing these literary territories into a fixed position. For Lu Xun can be at the center of museum space in the PRC, but at the margin in museum space in Taiwan when zooming out to the global stage. Lai He can be at the center of museum space in Tainan (the cultural center of Taiwan), but when viewed from a global perspective, be pushed into the margins when displayed in Beijing (the political center of the PRC), as is shown at the end of this interlude. Centers become peripheries, peripheries become centers – not only over a period of time, but also at different degrees of focus.

To clarify, however, I do not agree with a cultural pluralist or better relativist argument that would argue from an inside perspective that each periphery can be its own center. Americanist Günter Leypoldt has described this as the "Herder-Effect", an "expressive-identity model of literature" which "converts scales of hierarchical universal values [Lu Xun is a better writer than Lai He] into a structure of differences in equality [both Lu Xun and Lai He are good writers, each of their voices representative of their own cultures]" (Leypoldt 2015, 773). Leypoldt however clearly points out that this expressive identity model is "at odds with the idea of a meridional authority" (Leypoldt 2015, 773), describing Casanova's hierarchical mapping of centers and peripheries with a standard of cultural authority by drawing on the system of global time measurement, referring to the cultural center as the "Greenwich meridian of literature" (Leypoldt

[638] Casanova's World Republic of Letters actually came into being at the same time as the political formation of the state gained in importance: "International literary space was formed in the sixteenth century at the very moment when literature began to figure as a source of contention in Europe." (Casanova [1999] 2003, 11). Due to its essential link to language, literary heritage [whereby Casanova focuses on intangible literary heritage] is of national interest and thus is key as a marker of difference from other states and nations" (Casanova [1999] 2003, 36). In the broadest sense, "[l]iterary authority and recognition came into existence with the formation and development of the first European states" (Casanova [1999] 2003, 11).

2015, 768); (Casanova [1999] 2003, 87). While I do not argue for a cultural relativist perspective, this thesis however also recognizes the problem of acknowledging only one literary meridian operating at a time. From a global perspective one must also register coexisting centers, such as Katharina Clarks Moscow as the center of left-wing literary production (K. Clark 2011) coexisting with Casanova's Paris as a center of modern avant-garde literature (Casanova [1999] 2003). While these systems might operate exclusively on the material, institutional level, the peripheries from which writers might have the opportunity to enter one of the systems through various forms of cultural consecration through winning the praise of important actors in the field or institutional cultural prizes, can certainly overlap (with Lu Xun being praised by Romain Rolland (1866-1944 from Clamency) in Paris in 1926 (Dooghan 2011, 134) or Bertolt Brecht receiving the Stalin Peace Prize in Moscow in 1954). To Leypoldt's remarks on Casanova's "suspicion of realism" (Leypoldt 2015, 785 footnote2) one could not only add naturalism but even more provokingly socialist-realism to point out that Casanova's center of authority addresses one particular standard of cultural production alone and arguably neglects others. This makes for one blind spot in her otherwise insightful theory of a meridian of literature. For indeed depending on the degree of focus, a global perspective can, when set to provide the *macro* level, arguably include more than one such literary center, resulting in coexisting, and only in their absolute centers (Paris/ Moscow) mutually exclusive, centers of authority.

From the perspective of Chinese, European or US-American historiography, of course, Taiwan embodies what can best be termed "*the* periphery". Taiwan, once home to Taiwanese indigenous people which today comprise little over 2.3 % of the population (Executive Yuan 2016),[639] was first colonized by the Dutch in the 17th century, then briefly by the Spanish and throughout its history experienced waves of immigration from Han Chinese (Holo 河洛人 and Hakka 客家人) from the neighboring provinces of Fujian and Guangdong across the Taiwan Strait. At the end of the Ming-Dynasty (1368-1644), Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (1661-1662 from Hirado/ Japan), a Chinese-Japanese loyalist of the Ming-Dynasty defeated the Dutch in 1662, but after the fall of the Ming-Dynasty (1644), the Manchu Qing-Dynasty (1644-1912) eventually took over power in 1683, leaving Taiwan at the periphery of the vast Qing empire. After the First Sino-Japanese War (1984-85), however, Taiwan would – once again – become a colony (this time of

[639] The indigenous people of Taiwan encompass 16 ethnic groups, which all together make 2,33 % of the current total population, according to estimates of the Executive Yuan in its *Republic of China Yearbook 2016* (Executive Yuan 2016, 46).

Japan) until 1945 and after the Guomindang's defeat against the Communists in the Civil War, it became a peripheral "refuge" for the Guomindang military and political elite, along with another wave of Han Chinese immigrants, who set up a preliminary government on the island from where they planned to win back the mainland and return to their political "center" by defeating the Communists, a plan supported by US-American international policy. With the economic and political rise of the PRC on the global stage, Taiwan was repeatedly placed on the margins, with the UN choosing the PRC over Taiwan as their member state in 1971 as one of the most prominent examples. In the context of these developments and due to a history of Taiwan's political centers being located elsewhere than on the island itself, the Democratic Progressive Party 民進黨 (DPP) was established as an opposition Party to the Guomindang in the 1980s, a party which took up the cause of placing the center of political attention on the island itself, envisioning an eventual independence of Taiwan from the Mainland. Be it as part of a colonial empire, an imperial empire or a soon-to-be-reconquered Republic or Anti-Communist front, Taiwan's place in the histories of other empires and nations was always in the periphery.

Casanova sees the danger of equating political and literary spaces in her work, as she explains: "Literary institutions, academies, school syllabuses, the canon – all these things now having become instruments of national identity, the idea of dividing up national literatures on the exact model of political units began to acquire assort of natural appeal and, indeed, inevitability" (Casanova [1999] 2003, 36). But despite her insight that the literary and political territories and power dynamics are not inevitably congruent, she too struggles to overcome the many overlaps she encounters, not only in territory, but also in questions of literary and territorial inequality. Indeed the literary and territorial disputes one encounters when approaching Lai He as a "Taiwanese Lu Xun" already foreshadow both the hero genealogy (the valorizing effect of such a comparison), and the simultaneous literary competition (i.e. Taiwan defining the founding father of its native Taiwan literature through a writer, Lu Xun, representative of a national literature against which it is trying to define itself). In the 1990s, when Lai He's memorial museum was established, forming the beginning of an institutionalization of native Taiwan literature, the "violent" literary Other against which and through which Taiwan literature defined itself was the Chinese literary sphere, especially that of the "left-wing" or Communist writers valorized during the reign of the CPC. In the 1930s and 1940s, during Lai He's lifetime, the dominant literary space against which the first Taiwanese writers defined themselves as Taiwanese was Japan, wherefore Lai He refused to write in Japanese and instead felt indebted to the Chinese literary sphere of the Qing-Dynasty. Thus the

geopolitical territorial disputes certainly spill into the "birth" of the literary space today known as Taiwan Literature and its later institutionalization in museums, but they do so with changing constellations of competing literary spaces.

The Threat of Being Forgotten: From Memorial Texts to Memorial Museums

When Lai He lay on his death bed in 1943, his close friend Yang Yunping 楊雲萍 (1906-2000 from Taibei)[640] visited him and would later recall his visit in his memoirs:

> We had a good talk. Then we spoke of Lu Xun and [his co-edited] *Beiping jianpu* 北平箋譜 [*Beijing Collection of Letter-Paper Designs*]….After a moment, Lai He suddenly raised his voice saying, "The new literature movement we engaged in was all in vain!" I looked at him with much surprise. He lifted himself up from a lying to a sitting position; his left hand pressed on his heart in pain. […] I rushed to comfort him: "They are not. Thirty or fifty years from now, we will be remembered by future generations." (cited in Lin Jui-Ming 林瑞明 2004, 197). 話說得起勁，就講到魯迅，便談到《北平箋譜》了。 … 過了一會，賴和先生突然高聲說：我們所從事的新文學運動，等於白做了！我詫然地注視著賴和先生。他把原來躺臥著的身體，撐起上半身來，用左手壓住著苦痛著的心臟。我慌忙地安慰他：不，等過了三、五十年之後，我們還是一定會被後代的人記念起來的 (cited in Lin Ruiming 林瑞明 1993, 316).

Both Yang Yunping's and Lai He's concerns show that the hope of being remembered is inevitably intertwined with the fear of being forgotten and vice versa. In her work on memory, Aleida Assmann[641] differentiates between individual and collective memory, which in this case might be best illustrated by how Yang Yunping remembers his friend and fellow writer Lai He (*individual memory*) and how in Taiwanese society today Lai He is commemorated as the "Father of New Taiwan Literature" (*collective memory*). Even though her research highlights those collective cultural memories that are remembered, Assmann emphasizes that the ability to forget is equally important to remembering in both individual and collective memory. Neither memory aims at being exhaustive, but they rely on a strict selection, turning forgetting into a constitutive part of the

[640] Only a few years later in 1947 after the Second World War had come to an end and with it the fifty-year-long Japanese rule in Taiwan (1895-1945), Yang Yunping became a professor of history at National Taiwan University, where he taught until 1977. His achievements both as a scholar and a writer were honored in 2005 when the National Museum of Taiwan Literature under the director Lin Ruiming 林瑞明 organized a special exhibition on his life and work, thus also introducing Yang into the collective memory of Taiwan literature through the means of museum space.

[641] Assmann's work builds on the scholarship on collective memory and its relation to history (Nora 1990) and the nation (Anderson [1983] 1991), as well as on Jan Assmann's conceptualization of a cultural memory (J. Assmann 1999).

process of remembering (A. Assmann 2008b). Yang Yunping's text is a piece of memory of an individual who made the crucial choice of writing down what he remembered, writing down what he recalled to have happened when he visited Lai He at his death bed. It is possible that Yang was aware that this would be one of the last moments he and Lai He would share, and thus he might have paid special attention to every word his friend said, every gesture he made and also remember clearly how he himself responded and reacted to his friend's despair. As a form of comfort, he had reassured Lai He that they "will be remembered by future generations". Or, could his response be what Yang wished he had said, but failed to state with such certainty at that crucial moment? As with all memoirs and (auto-)biographies, whether or not this conversation ever took place, can never be proven right or wrong. Nor does it have to be, for individual memory is always also constructed and selective. More importantly, the significance of Yang Yunping's decision to write down his memories and *publish* them shortly after the death of his friend in 1943 should instead be acknowledged at this point. For through this very act of translating his individual memory onto a material carrier, Yang Yunping's memory provided a possibility for a construction of a collective memory in which Lai He would come to play a key role as the "Father of New Taiwan Literature", a memory pillowed by material carriers, first as a text and eventually in form of monuments and museums.

That Lu Xun and Lai He have been compared to each other is due to the fact that Lu Xun had been an important inspiration to Lai He in Taiwan. Concerning their biographies and literary ambitions and goals, a number of corresponding aspects can be listed as well. Both Lu Xun and Lai He learned to be doctors before becoming known as writers, both introduced the vernacular into the realm of literature shaping a "new" literature, often understood as the starting point of a "modern literature", and both were strong critics of social injustice and wanted to use their writings to give voice to the weak, poor and oppressed. Yet these similarities are not all coincidental. The reason why Yang Yunping and Lai He knew of and conversed about Lu Xun had to do with the fact that Lai He had come into contact with Lu Xun's work and writings from the New Culture Movement when he left the island of Taiwan at twenty-five to work at a hospital in Xiamen from 1919-1920 (Haddon 2007, 74), thus five years before the first works by Lu Xun were published in Taiwan.[642] National Cheng Kung University-based historian and Lai He scholar Lin Ruiming 林

[642] Huang Wenqian from Taiwan Shifan University provides an overview over Lu Xun's publication history on Taiwan. His first works were published in 1925 in *Taiwan Minbao* 台灣民報, such as his "Hometown 故鄉", "Diary of a Madman 狂人日記", "The True Story of A-Q 阿 Q 正傳" and others. Lu Xun's writings were read either in Chinese

瑞明 has established in his numerous publications that Lai He was not only an enthusiast for Lu Xun's work, but a major actor in the new literature movement in Taiwan in the 1920s, which featured parallels to those of the New Culture Movement on the mainland.

From a historical perspective, Lai He's worries of being forgotten were justified and indeed his connection to Lu Xun was at times a supporting and sometimes a hindering factor in Lai He's commemoration. When Lai He was but one year old, Taiwan as a political territory was ceded to Japan by China after its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1985, which meant that Lai He lived under Japanese rule until his death in 1943. Lai He was trained as a medical doctor but also regarded himself as a writer. His medical career,[643] but especially his writing, were greatly shaped by his critical attitude towards the Japanese. Lai He died two years before Japan's defeat in the Second World War, leading to Taiwan being returned to China, which would spend the following years diving into a civil war, thus Lai He would not live to see Taiwan being "reunited" with what he considered the "motherland", nor the division this would entail, politically and (de facto) geographically dividing "China" into a People's Republic ruled by the CPC and a Republic of China by the GMD.

Accordingly Lai He's potentiality of being forgotten was two-fold: On the one hand, the political regime during his lifetime did not value Lai He or consider commemorating him. On the other, as discussed later on, the Guomindang, which was to rule in Taiwan after his death, also would see little value in commemorating Lai He. Lai He refused to write in the Japanese language or try to enter the literary "center" of Japan by publishing in Japanese language journals. Not only in his writing, but also in his behavior did Lai He show his loyalty to a/ the Chinese imperial culture by, for example, intentionally growing a Manchu queue in 1909 to symbolize his anti-*Japanese* sentiments (Haddon 2007, 73) [IC 173 Lai He and Lu Xun].[644] Even though his hair is not freshly shaved in the photograph taken in Taibei that year, one can see that his front hair is very short while his hair at the back is long and tied together in the back (even though the queue is not visible in this image). This is the very opposite of Lu Xun, who would cut off his queue in 1902 during his

or, more frequently, in Japanese translation by writers such as Yang Kui, Lai He, Zhong Lihe, Zhang Wojun and Ye Shitao. Only Zhang Wojun is believed to have met Lu Xun in person, when Lu Xun received copies of the *Taiwan Minbao* 台灣民報 by Zhang Wojun in 1926 (Huang Wenqian 黃文倩 2011, 212).

643 Lai He experienced an inequality between local and Japanese doctors when he obtained a position at a hospital in Jiayi 嘉義, where his salary was lower than that of Japanese doctors. In 1917 Lai He finally resigned from another hospital position and opened a private clinic in his hometown Zhanghua (Haddon 2007, 74).

644 To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 173.

time in Japan to symbolize his anti-*imperial* sentiment,[645] distancing himself from the Manchu-style not only by cutting off his hair and brushing it towards his forehead, but also by wearing a military-style jacket, close-fitting with metal buttons buttoned down the center, which were common not only in Japan, but would also become increasingly popular in mainland China, as the status of the soldier became re-evaluated and elevated in Chinese society in the early years of the Republic.[646] Thus by cutting off his queue and wearing a military jacket, Lu Xun fashioned himself as no longer identifying with the Manchu-regime of the Qing Dynasty. Lai He, when he was young, intentionally grew a queue and instead dressed in a long gown (*changpao* 長袍) and a sleeveless embroidered vest or "horse [riding] jacket" (*majia* 馬甲) sitting on a embroidered couch, presenting himself as an elite member in Manchu dress.[647] By comparing the two photographs of Lai He in 1909 in Taibei and Lu Xun in 1903 in Tokyo, one can see differences in their self-presentation and self-fashioning. But despite his self-fashioning, Lai He was not fully detached from the literary "center" of Japan either (as his self-fashioned image in the photograph might first suggest). His first publications, Chinese poems written in classical Chinese (*wenyanwen* 文言文), were published in Japan in the journal *Taiwan* in Chinese for the overseas Taiwanese community who lived in Tokyo in 1917 (Haddon 2007, 74).

Lai He not only published in Chinese, but he would later become one of the first writers to introduce the Taiwanese vernacular into his writing. After a first draft in classical Chinese (*wenyan*), Lai He would translate his writing into what he considered to be a Taiwanese vernacular (Chinese

[645] For an overview over the debate on queue-cutting at the end of the Dynasty (1644-1912) and its role as a symbol of a newly conceptualized Republican citizen, see (Harrison 2000, 30–40). The queue was enforced as the mandatory hair style in a decree issued in 1645 and was a symbol for Manchu dominance over the Han Chinese population. During the Manchu rule, cutting one's queue was regarded as an act of defiance of the Qing. With the end of the Qing Dynasty, the arguments for and against the queue were openly discussed. The argument against the queue was first and foremost the foreign response which ridiculed the hair style. This ridicule outweighed arguments of the queue being unhygienic, dangerous for students when taking part in military exercises or for factory workers handling machinery, as well as the questions of cost and time involved in maintaining the hairstyle (Harrison 2000, 31–32). Arguments for not simply discarding the queue was the refusal to unreflectingly appropriate standards of foreign hairstyle which was furthered by the argument that the queue had established itself as a symbol of not only Manchu but Chinese identity over the long period of Manchu rule.

[646] Finnane has traced this change in her chapter on "Soldiers and Citizens", where she shows that the Manchu regime gave primacy to literary (*wen*) ideals over martial (*wu*) identity in society, yet the military weakness of the Manchu regime would ironically excite a military response in Chinese society in the nineteenth century, also in the realm of dress (Finnane 2008, 71). Especially military schools would provide a bridge between these seemingly distinct worlds of the military and the civilian, after filling a vacuum that had been created with the old examination system having been abolished in 1905. These new military schools and military academies, which requested students to wear military uniforms, spread around the country in its place (Finnane 2008, 76).

[647] For a description of the common dress practices at the turn of the twentieth century in China, see: (Finnane 2008, 1–4).

baihuawen 白話文 with terms of the Min-nan/ Holo dialect spoken in Fujian province) (Haddon 2007, 74). Fueled by the oppressive language policies of the Japanese colonial regime, the vernacular voice of the people living in Taiwan created a new linguistic and literary space. Huang Deshi 黃德時 was as one of the first writers to capture the self-awareness of this New Taiwan Literature in publications from 1943 (Chen Jianzhong 2004, 34); (Lin Jui-Ming 2004, 197), the year Lai He passed away.[648] In the 1930s, increased Japanese militarism led to new laws in the colonial government, making it obligatory for Taiwanese to speak Japanese and take Japanese surnames. In 1937, when the war broke out between Japan and China, Chinese language sections of Taiwan's newspapers and journals were banned and, as Haddon explains, "the New Literature Movement came to an end" in Taiwan (Haddon 2007, 78). In 1941 Lai He was imprisoned (for the second time in his life) for violating Japanese colonial law, where he fell ill and never fully recovered. Lai He died two years later, never having experienced Taiwan not ruled by the Japanese colonial and language politics. Thus it is not surprising that Lai He worried about being forgotten when lying on his death bed, as his position and convictions left him at the margin of a literary center that was predominantly located in Japan.

Yet arguably, the period during which he sunk further into oblivion was only to come. For the 50-year-long Japanese rule was followed by a nearly 40-year-long period in which Taiwan was ruled by the GMD under Martial Law 戒嚴令 (1949-1987), introducing language policies to reintroduce Mandarin Chinese as the official language in a manner reminiscent of the language policies of the Japanese (Chen Fangming 2007, 32). This led to a marginalization of new Taiwanese literature visible in the commemorative practices developing during that time. Some writers contemporary with Lu Xun who had belonged to the New Culture Movement in the 1920s, but left mainland China, were eventually "institutionalized" in museum space in Taiwan. Among them were Hu Shi (1891-1962), for whom the Academia Sinica (of which he became president from 1958-1962) transformed his former residence on their campus into a "Former Residence of Hu Shi 胡適紀念館" in 1962, with the help of private funding from the US,[649] and Lin Yutang (1895-

[648] From the perspective of Japanese literary history published in 1940, three years prior to Huang Deshi, writers publishing in Taiwan would be discussed as Japanese literature in the form of "literature from the outside territory" (*gaichi bungaku* 外地文學), a subcategory of Japanese literature (Chen Jianzhong 陳建忠 2004, 35). This again clearly places Taiwan's literary space at the periphery of Japan's.

[649] The Hu Shi Memorial Museum was established by the Academia Sinica in December 1962 and expanded the exhibition on the third anniversary of Hu Shi's death in 1965 through the donation of 25,000 US Dollars by American businessman C.V. Starr (1892-1968 from Chicago) (Egan and Zhou 2009, 412); (Hu Shi Memorial Museum 胡適紀念館 2017b). The Academia Sinica further cooperated with the Taipei City Government to

1976) whose house on Mt. Yangming near Taibei was opened to the public in 1985, first as a memorial library (*jinian tushuguan* 紀念圖書館), later renamed the "Former Residence of Lin Yutang 林語堂故居" [IC 174 Hu Shi and Lin Yutang]. [650] Local writers such as Lai He, however, were not considered as valuable by state institutions of the GMD, thus again Lai He was in oblivion. Chen Wan-Yi 陳萬益 from Qinghua University Taiwan and chairman of the board of directors of the Lai He Foundation points out the spatial aspect of how Lai He initially succeeded but finally failed to become valorized by state institutions under the GMD. In the early 1950s, Lai He had "entered" the so-called Martyr Shrines (*zhonglieci* 忠烈祠), which served to encourage a De-Japanization (*qu Ribenhua* 去日本化) and Re-Sinification (*zai Zhongguohua* 再中國化) in Taiwan under the GMD. Yet while Lai He's criticism of the Japanese regime had resulted in his enshrinement, GMD suspicion against his Communist "left-wing" sentiments (and readership) finally resulted in him being removed from the Martyr Shrine in 1958 in the context of the Anti-Communist (*fangong* 反共) endeavors of the GMD. Hereafter, Chen argues, he was completely forgotten in his hometown and was only rediscovered in the mid-1980s (Chen Wan-yi 陳萬益 2015).

Lu Xun can be regarded as having experienced a similar fate in Taiwan. He had been commemorated by a number of Taiwanese newspapers in 1946 on the 10th anniversary of his death and was a symbol of "Taiwan cultural circles 台灣文化界" having "returned to the motherland 復歸祖國". In the years 1947-48 a number of his works were published in Chinese-Japanese bilingual editions (Huang Wenqian 黃文倩 2011, 213). Yet after this short-lived "Lu Xun craze 魯迅熱" the February 28th Incident followed in 1947, a Taiwanese uprising against Chiang Kai-shek and the GMD, which was violently cracked down by the GMD military. Lu Xun's longtime friend Xu Shoushang who had written many commemorative essays on Lu Xun while living in Taiwan was

construct a Hu Shi park near the site of his grave on a hill near the Academia Sinica in 1974. The Memorial Museum is currently affiliated with the Institute of Modern History of the Academia Sinica (Hu Shi Memorial Museum 胡適紀念館 2017a). Hu Shi's papers are collected at Cornell University (the letters he wrote in English as a young man) and at the Hu Shi Memorial Museum (his post-1948 writings), yet most of his writings are collected in Beijing. The papers were considered important sources for the Anti-Hu-Shi Campaign, thus his papers were well preserved, which is ironic according to Egan and Chou since had they remained in private ownership of his friends and family, they would likely have been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution as it would have been too dangerous to be discovered owning them (Egan and Zhou 2009, xiii).

[650] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 174. For more information on Lin Yutang's museum in Taiwan, see footnote in the section on "*Display*: Reintroducing Lin Yutang into the Display" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized".

among the victims. The declaration of Martial Law that followed in May 1949 made "left-wing" literature such as the works of Lu Xun unpublishable in the three decades to follow (Yeh 2010, 623). Thus Lu Xun too was meant to be removed from cultural memory, with only highly critical voices published on this persona non grata.[651]

While this is not to say that Lu Xun's works were not read by individual intellectuals secretly, a public commemoration of Lu Xun in the years after 1949 was unthinkable. Partially due to Lai He's connection to Lu Xun, Lai He's "enshrinement" in Taiwan was hindered as well. When Yang Yunping's commemorative text on Lai He was first published in Japanese in a Japanese journal in 1943[652] after Lai He's death, the literary center from the perspective of a Taiwanese writer was still in Japan, where Lu Xun as a writer was well-known in leftist circles. When Yang's commemorative essay was later reprinted and included in the first *Collected Works of Master Lai He* in 1978 (Yang Yunping 楊雲萍 1978), the political situation had changed. In this 1978 Chinese translation of the article, Lu Xun's name could not yet be mentioned, but was instead changed into "a Chinese writer 中國一位文學家". This shows that Lu Xun had remained a taboo subject in Taiwan throughout the Martial Law period (Lin Ruiming 林瑞明 1993, 317). The extent to which his name was to be avoided regardless of the political message of the text can be seen by the fact that Lai He and Yang were conversing about Lu Xun's *Beijing Collection of Letter-Paper Designs*. This publication of Lu Xun clearly carries none of the left-wing "fighting spirit" of some of his other literary works, but presents various floral and other designs for letter paper. His name was removed nevertheless. While Lu Xun's name within a hero genealogy continued to have a valorizing function in literary history during the Japanese colonial period, this same connection between Lu Xun and Lai He in a hero genealogy was precarious for the GMD, which is why it needed to be unhinged if commemorative works on Lai He were to published. Thus during the early period of Martial Law both Lu Xun and Lai He had slipped away from cultural memory in Taiwan.

Only after the abolishment of Martial Law under Jiang Jingguo 蔣經國 (1919-1988 from Fenghua / Zhejiang) in 1987 did what is commonly termed "Nativist" Taiwan Literature (*Xiangtu Wenxue* 鄉土文學) grow more prominent in scholarly research endeavors, enter school curricula and finally private, and later also state-owned *Erinnerungsräume* in the form of memorial museums.

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[651] For the most notable Lu Xun-critiques written by Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋, Su Xuelin 蘇雪林 (1897-1999) and others, see: (Huang Wenqian 黃文倩 2011, 214).

[652] Yang Yunping published his memories of Lai He in Japanese in an article published in the Journal *Folk Custom Taiwan* 民俗台灣 in 1943 (Yang Yunping 楊雲萍 1943).

The political foundation of this development was the founding of an opposition party in 1987, the Democratic Progressive Party 民進黨 (DPP), which played an important role in local politics, especially in Southern Taiwan, and formed the government in Taiwan from 2000 to 2008 (under Chen Shuibian 陳水扁 and since 2016 under Cai Yingwen 蔡英文). Under the DPP, a policy of de-Sinicization (*qu Zhongguo hua* 去中國化) took place, including Taiwanese into the school curricular and changing Chinese street names associated with the cities and place names of the mainland into streets named in Taiwanese and indigenous languages (Yeh 2010, 674). This policy was in line with the main political goal envisioned by the DPP which until this day remains the eventual independence from China.

The academic foundation for the establishment of museums of nativist writers was literary historian Ye Shitao's 葉石濤 *An Outline of the History of Taiwan Literature* 臺灣文學史綱 published in 1987 (Ye Shitao 葉石濤 2008), which contributed to an initial surge of the nativist movement in the academic field in the mid-1980s. By 2012 the City Government of Tainan, where the DPP formed the local government, dedicated a state-owned memorial museum to Ye Shitao for his contributions to Taiwan Literature. Before that, the National Museum of Taiwan Literature in Tainan was established in 2003 and following suit were state-funded museums for Yang Kui 楊逵 (1906-1985 from Xinhua) in 2005 and the former residence of Wu Zhuoliu 吳濁流 (1900-1976 from Xinzhu), which was designated as a piece of historical architecture in 2009 and renovated to become the "Former Residence of Wu Zhuoliu 吳濁流故居" [**IC 175 Institutionalizing Native Taiwan Literature**].[653] Lai He's museum, which was established in 1994, was one of the first museums dedicated to a local Taiwanese writer, realized through the private Lai He Foundation 賴和基金會. That Lai He is remembered and institutionalized certainly was made possible through the changes in the political landscape. Indeed, Lai Shuoyan 賴碩彥, grandson of Lai He, remembered that when the family was first given a large wooden sign for a Lai He museum as early as 1984 [**IC 176 Lai He Museum sign 1**], ten years prior to the museum's eventual opening

[653] (Cultural Affairs Bureau of Hsinchu County Government 新竹縣政府文化局 2009). For more information on the restoration project of the Former Residence of Wu Zhuoliu, see: (Architectural Research Center of Donghai University 東海大學建築研究中心 2008).

IC 175 Institutionalizing Native Taiwan Literature (1994-)

1.



1. / 1a. Lai He Memorial Museum, established 1994; source: Photographed August 27, 2014.

1a.



2.



2. NMTL established 2003; source: Photographed March 1, 2013.

3.



3. Yang Kui Museum, established 2005; source: Photographed August 13, 2014.

4.



4. Ye Shitao Museum, established 2012; source: Photographed August 28, 2014.

to the public, the descendants felt obligated, even to a certain degree pressured, to provide a memorial museum.[654] The sign read "to commemorate the re-entry of Lai He into the Martyr Shrine 賴和先生復祀忠烈紀念祠", thus a symbolic gesture of rehabilitating Lai He and reintroducing him into a Taiwanese cultural memory.

The first imaginaries of a Lai He museum had taken material shape in form of this "sign", a sign that demanded a corresponding space. However, the houses, the actual buildings Lai He once lived in, no longer existed. When visiting the Lai He Memorial Museum (*Lai He jinianguan* 賴和紀念館, hereafter Lai He Museum) today, one only finds traces of these houses on display in the museum in the form of sketches of the groundplan or photographs of the buildings and in form of a wooden entrance sign, inscribed with the characters "Lai He's Doctor's Office 賴和醫館". In addition to these indexical signs evoking the former existence of Lai He's houses, a miniature model of one of the buildings is further on display in a glass cabinet [**IC 176 Lai He Museum sign 2**].[655] Despite the original building having disappeared, Lai He's family settled in the apartments

654 Lai Shou-Yen recalled this feeling during his presentation at the conference on "Forging Literary Memory in Taiwan: The Commemoration of Writers in Museum Space '展示作家：博物館空間形塑的台灣文學記憶'學術研討會" at Heidelberg University on December 11, 2015 (Lai Shuoyan 賴碩彥 2015).

655 The most recent house Lai He lived and worked in was torn down after his passing when the city of Zhanghua directed a city road through the property (today: Zhongmin-Street 中民街). In its place two high apartment buildings (each 9 and 10 stories high) were built on the same property, separated by the street inbetween, now (slightly ironically) designated as Chiang-Kai-shek-Road, Section 1, No. 242 中正路一段 242 號 and Zhongmin-

of these two new buildings and the Lai He Museum is today located on the fourth floor of building No. 242, and his descendants continue to live in different apartments of the building. Even today, members of the family meet for Chinese New Year's at this location, on the 9th floor of the building. In this sense, the Lai He Museum shows features of Assmann's concept of the "Generationsort". "A [Generationsort] is a place where members of a family live and are buried at in an unbroken thread of generations. (Ein Generationenort ist ein Ort an dem die Mitglieder einer Familie in einer ununterbrochenen Kette der Generationen geboren und begraben werden)" (A. Assmann 2006, 299). The city of Zhanghua is where Lai He lived most of his life, where he lies buried, and it is also the city his descendants chose to settle down in.[656] The descendants, in a similarly significant decision as that by Yang Yunping above when he wrote down his personal memory, chose to leave their apartment and Lai He's literary estate in the hands of a cultural foundation and memorial museum, thus transforming the space and objects from evoking personal memories to constructing collective ones. The "Generationsort" (a place linking generations) was thus transformed into an "Erinnerungraum" (space of commemoration).

IC 176 Lai He Museum sign,
commemorating Lai He's Return to the Martyr Shrine, 1984



1.



2.

1. Hallway of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
2. Model of Lai He's former residence on display at the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

Street No. 93 中民街 93 號, see: (Zhang Caifang 張綵芳 30.11.2015). For more information on establishment, see (The Lai He Foundation 賴和文教基金會 2015).

656 In Assmann's example of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), this kind of place has a negative connotation of being a contrast to the modern "mobile" society. This negative connotation is not intended here, instead the circular continuity of time and generations in one place is highlighted. As is common in Taiwan, the family visits Lai He's grave on Tomb-Sweeping Day 清明節. In regard to the "Totengedächtnis", Lai He's tomb is a further place which has been translated into collective memory: Visitors are offered to join relatives of Lai He in their rituals of the "Totengedächtnis" by visiting the tomb together as a collective outing.

At First Glance

When entering the Lai He Museum, visitors are asked to take off their shoes. The visitor enters the exhibition rooms as if stepping into a private family home. The whole of the apartment is lit in a warm light, reflecting off the beige colored tapestry and a warm beige-brown laminate floor. Spatially, the exhibition is separated into three areas. The first is the space immediately at the beginning of the exhibition after entering through the main door. Here the visitor stands opposite of a bronze bust of Lai He and a dark gray wall with large golden characters on the right. One then turns left into the largest room, the main exhibition room. Here large posters provide with short texts and photographs introduce the visitor to different aspects of Lai He's life and work and behind glass showcases objects from Lai He's everyday life, books and reproductions of manuscripts are on display. The content is not ordered strictly chronologically, but according to themes. Some themes are broad and abstract such as "World Literature and Lai He 世界文學與賴和", pointing to Lai He's literary connections to writers such as Russian writers Mikhail Arzybaschew, Ropshin, Anton Chekhov, the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen, the French writer Anatole France and Lu Xun, or "The Left-Wing Spirit 左翼精神" as well as "The Value of One's Native Country 本土價值". Others are more concrete biographical themes, such as "Lai He opens a Clinic 賴和醫院開業", "At Bo'ai Clinic in Xiamen 前往廈門博愛醫院" and "Lai He's Family 賴和家世" etc. The exhibition only runs along the four walls of the room, leaving the space inside free for group activities and a set of tables and chairs. Finally, the visitor enters the back room of the exhibition which is set to recreate Lai He's study and doctor's office. Here, Lai He's original collection of books, which is placed behind glass doors, covers most of the walls. In addition, a marked off space displays Lai He's furniture from his study/doctor's office, which also includes a second bronze bust. The miniature model of Lai He's former house is on display next to a marked-off area and another movable showcase displays some of his personal objects, such as his suit, a collection of his seals and a notebook. The back room contains no narrative guidance in form of posters or short introductory texts, but instead features the former belongings of Lai He in an arrangement resembling a spatial living environment. Through this means of display, these three exhibition rooms introduce the visitor to this "Father of New Taiwan Literature", a man of whom they are likely to have no personal, individual memory.

Display, at a second glance: Portraying Lai He's *Wen* and *Wu*

When trying to comprehend the transition of Lai He from a historical person (First Body) into an iconic "founding father" of Taiwan Literature in collective memory (Second Body), the following questions arise: What memory of Lai He does this museum space construct? How does it commemorate him materially and spatially? And do these memories circulate outside of the museum? And if so, how and how far? This interlude now provides a synchronic reading of the museum by drawing on two valorizing, or in this thesis better understood as "heroizing", concepts of masculinity, termed *wen* 文 (cultural attainment ~ the man of letters) and *wu* 武 (material valor ~ the warrior).

The two concepts of *wen* and *wu* have been theorized in Louie Kam's analysis of Chinese masculinity (Louie [2002] 2009, 4) and are fruitful in analyzing Lai He as he is constructed in the exhibition display. The *wen-wu* 文武 dyad overcomes the man-god (*ren-shen* 人神) dichotomy which I have encountered in debates around Lu Xun's representation in museum space as the additional diachronic reading of Lu Xun's museum space in Shaoxing at the end of this interlude illustrates. Unlike the *ren-shen* dichotomy, the *wen-wu* dyad serves as a means to describe what is "heroic" in a literary hero as it is an ideal or model of manhood. The terms have a long history in Chinese historiography and refer back to the ancient kings of the Zhou Dynasty. Here, King Wen and King Wu feature in the *Book of Rites* 禮記 in the chapter the "Law of Sacrifices 祭法" and are described as "King Wen used culture to rule and King Wu used military power 文王以文治，武王以武功", thus providing two models which Kam and Edwards see as models signifying the way of culture *wen* and the way of force *wu* (Louie 1994, 140). However, it is important that unlike in the case of the *ren-shen* dichotomy, *wen* and *wu* are two poles of the same person, thus they can be in harmony, but also to a certain degree in dynamic opposition with one of the two superior to the other (Louie 1994, 145).

As exemplary iconic figures of the *wen*- and *wu*- principles, Kam presents Confucius 孔子, the philosopher from the Spring and Autumn Period (~771-476 BC) of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty and Guanyu 關羽, the general from the late Han Dynasty (206 BC- 220 AD). While they feature elements of the other principle in their presentation as well, as for example Confucius is often depicted with a sword (Murray 2009, 398) and Guanyu at times depicted reading a book at candle-light (Louie [2002] 2009, 22–57), they usually present one of the principles primarily. Confucius, who never regarded himself as a "sage" (*shengren* 聖人), was posthumously elevated to become *the* sage in Confucian thought by his disciples. Since it was due to his *wen*-qualities, he would more precisely be understood as the *wen*-sage (*wensheng* 文聖) (Louie [2002] 2009, 22–57), thus

arguably growing not only larger-than-life, but even larger-than-King-Wen himself, to whom Confucius never attributed the term sage (*shengren*) in the *Analects* 論語 (Taylor 1990, 41). King Wu had not been given this honor either. Only the more ancient mythological figures of Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 had been described as sages in the *Analects*. Thus while the terms and the importance of the various iconic figures changed during the course of history, Confucius' assigned role as sage and embodiment of *wen* would result in the *wen*-principle occupying a superior position in Chinese society for many centuries, which became manifest in the higher social position of the official over the soldier (Louie [2002] 2009, 1–21); (Finnane 2008, 71). Only by the mid-20th century was the writer called on by Mao Zedong in his "Talk at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Arts 在延安文艺座谈上的讲话" to serve the soldier, making the change in this (im)balance unmistakably manifest.[657]

In this interlude, the terms *wen* and *wu* are not used to describe different figures, but two faces of Lai He and Lu Xun respectively. First they are used to grasp two faces of Lai He, faces which the museum communicates and attempts to negotiate and merge in the exhibition. Even so, one is emphasized over the other by setting it into the foreground. This being the case, a more fundamental tension between two conflicting interpretations of Lai He is revealed. This tension stems from the change of focus in regard to the respective Other against which both Lai He and the entire body of Taiwan Literature are constructed, namely the Chinese literary space which replaced the Japanese literary space. It is this Other or better these Other(s) which bring Lai He's *wu*-principle into the foreground.

[657] The emphasis of the unity of the *wen*-*wu* dyad separates my use of the terms from what Mao Zedong famously referred to as the *wen* and *wu* fronts in his "struggle for national liberation 中国民族解放斗争", in his "Talk at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Arts 在延安文艺座谈上的讲话" in 1942. Here Mao opened his speech by exclaiming that two fronts exist in this struggle, "the wen and wu, two fronts, that is to say a cultural front and a military front 文武两个战线，这就是文化战线和军事战线" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 111). Certainly they were to complement each other as "a part 组成部分" of the "whole revolutionary machinery 整个革命机器" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 112), yet his talk on literature and art addressed cultural production alone. The writer was to write for the revolution, the solider was to fight for the revolution, yet the writer and soldier were not embodied by the same person. The balance between *wen* and *wu* in society had, by this time, clearly shifted. The writer had to serve the peasant, worker and solider (*nong gong bing* 農工兵). Thus the terms of *wen*- and *wu*- have resurfaced again and again in Chinese history, yet with ever-changing implications and weight.

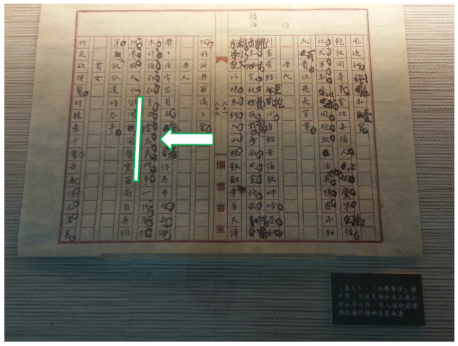
Let us return to the museum display. Immediately upon opening the door to the Lai He Museum, the visitor encounters a carefully constructed image of the writer [**IC 177 Entry 1**]. The visitor stands in the entrance of the museum with the first Lai He bust facing him and a row of large characters on a wall to his right. There are two busts on display in the museum, created by two different sculptors, the one at the entry by Li Qingxiang 李慶祥, the other in the writer's studio in the back by Wang Yingxin 王英信 (1948- from Taizhong).

IC 177 Entry of the Lai He Museum: A "Buffer Zone"

1.



2.



1. Entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
2. Lai He "My People 吾人" (1924), "the courageous warrior thus ought to fight for a cause 勇士當為義鬥爭"; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

Museum guide Zhang Caifang 張綵芳 (1975-) explained that since the museum space was rather "narrow" (*xia'ai* 狹隘), they hoped the entrance would not look so crammed and that instead there would be a "spot of light" (*liangdian* 亮點) at the entrance:

> Because our memorial museum is very small [and] you know our front door is very ordinary. […] Everyone thought about how one could make everyone's eyes light up when entering and not give them the feeling of a narrow space, so we decided that the entrance should not be filled with too many things, that instead there should be a buffer zone, a space that provides a spot of light visually. One of the professors therefore suggested that we should use a poem and place it at the entrance. 因為紀念館很小，［而妳］，知道我們門面很普通啊 ［…］，那大家想說怎麼樣讓大家進來有一個眼睛一亮的感覺，又不會覺得空間太狹隘，所以就說進來的地方不要有太多的東西，然後要有一個緩冲，一個讓大家視覺上有一個亮點，所以那時一位老師講，要不我們用一個賴和的詩文放在門口 (interview with Zhang Caifang 張綵芳, 2014, August 29, 00:23:16).

After some discussion with the Board of Directors, one of the professors suggested a quotation in Lai He's handwriting, that could be placed at the entrance on the visitor's right when he or she

enters through the rather unremarkable entrance to the apartment. All agreed that it should not be any poem or quotation, but "the most powerful 最有力量". After further discussion the following line was chosen: "The courageous warrior ought to fight for a cause" (*yongshi dang wei yi douzheng* 勇士當為義鬥爭). This line is taken from a poem Lai He presumably wrote in 1924 [**IC 177 Lai He Entry 1, 2**]. The poem reads:

吾人 (1924)

鬱鬱居常恐負名，[祇緣羞]作馬牛生。
世間未許權存在，**勇士當為義鬥爭。**
一體有情何貴賤，大千皆佛[不]聞聲。
靈苗尚自無均等，[又]敢依違頌太平。[658]

My People (1924)

Every day I worry that I will fail my name -
for I am ashamed of living the life of a slave.

As yet, our world does permit for our rights to exist –
the courageous warrior thus ought to fight for a cause.

We are all but flesh filled with emotions,
how can we then separate between the noble and the lowly? –
All Buddhas of the Cosmos fail to hear our prayers.

We are all the offspring of sages, yet we are still not even equals –
how dare we then dubiously sing the praises of peace?

Having gained a reputation for himself in society, Lai He worries about failing to live up to his name, as he too lives the life as a slave (literally, the life of a horse and ox) for which he is ashamed. It is in this feeling of shame that he calls for a courageous warrier. Written in classical Chinese, the poem features various Buddhist terms and images such as the Buddhas (*fo* 佛) or the (Buddhist) ideal of Great Peace (*taiping* 太平). He attacks the inequality he sees in society, by pointing out

[658] Lai He made changes to his poem, making minor revisions, which remain visible in the manuscript on display. Instead of "I am ashamed of living the life of a slave 祇緣羞作馬牛生", the original line reads "my people should not be living the lives of slaves 吾人不作馬牛生". He also made other sublte changes, exchanging *bie* 別 for *bu* 不 and *he* 何 for *you* 又. For a collection of Lai He's manuscripts, see (Lin Ruiming 林瑞明 2000). Lai He wrote the poem in 1924 when he was 31 years old. For detailed biographic information on Lai He, see: (Lin Ruiming 林瑞明 2001). This was after he had been to Xiamen and come into contact with Lu Xun's work and had returned to Taiwan in 1920, yet still before he started writing his short stories in vernacular in 1925.

that we are all descendants or the seedlings (*miao*) of spirits (*ling*), which since the Tang Dynasty referred to the ancestors of Buddhist sages.[659]

In his essays and short stories written in the vernacular, Lai He often straightforwardly describes Japanese policemen who come to embody the injustices committed by the Japanese colonial regime against the people living in Taiwan, a motif which reoccurs thoughout his literary oeuvre (most notably in "The Steelyard 一桿秤子" from 1925 and "A Dissatisfying New Year 不如意的過年" from 1927). This poem, however, does not feature the Japanese directly nor any outside culprit, but instead turns inward and addresses the collective "we/ us / my people" (*wuren* 吾人). The appellative function of the chosen line of poetry is particularly strong, for instead of using rhetorical questions as are used in the later part of the poem ("how can we?", "how dare we?"), the chosen line addresses the reader more directly, stating that a courageous warrior *ought to* fight for a cause (*dang* 當 in the sense of *yingdang* 應當). This call is directed at the reader and was chosen as the single line to be placed at the entrance of the museum.

To give the words the ring of Lai He's voice, the design of the characters was modeled after his calligraphy, with the manuscript of the poem also displayed in the museum [**IC 177 Lai He Entry 2**]. The characters are very large, reaching across the whole of the wall like an outcry – further enhanced in immediacy through the frayed fringes implying the absorbing *xuan*-paper over which the ink-drenched brush or pen glided in the moment of writing. But at the same time the characters are neither placed in a vertical line – continuing the reference to the authentic manuscript written in vertical lines, nor are they written from right to left – as is the traditional and in Taiwan still very common direction of writing on signs or monuments. Instead, the characters are written in the horizontal direction now also commonly used, written from left to right, adding an immediacy and contemporaneity to the words as well and thus emphasizing their relevance. With regard to the coloring, the gold of the characters harmonizes with the golden-beige color of the wallpaper of the museum. The gold shines particularly bright due to the indirect lighting-system installed behind the dark-grey wall, which serves as a dark background to the golden letters. The source of the light seems to be from behind the line poetry or even from the line itself, surrounding it almost like a halo.

[659] According to the *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典, *lingmiao* refers to "the ancestors of sages (*sheng* 聖) and men of virtue (*xian* 賢)" (The Commercial Press 2002).

In regard to its content, the poem highlights the *wu*-element in how Lai He is presented, especially when taking into consideration the context in which the poem was written. In her guided tours, Zhang explains to the visitor that Lai He wrote this poem after his release from his first prison sentence in December 1923, when he was first incarnated due to his activities in a Taiwan Society. He was imprisoned for 20 days, first in a prison in Taizhong and later moved to Taibei. In the light of this intimidating experience, Lai He composed this poem in the summer after his release.[660]

Next to the line of poetry on the visitor's right, the bronze bust of Lai He is facing him straight ahead [**IC 178 Lai He's *wu*-Portrait**]. The bust does not face the visitor directly, but instead has his head tilted slightly towards the wall on the right, looking upwards to the large letters of calligraphy. The visitor therefore is likely to first see the bust when entering the museum, but is then to follow the gaze of the bust to the shining line of poetry. In a way, the author's image leads the visitor to his own words. And yet, at the same time, the bust is not illuminated as is the wall to the right. Instead the light radiating from his words on the wall reflects onto his bust, his words literally shine on his image. One might even go so far as to say that this arrangement of space and light stands metaphorically for the interplay of valorization between the written text and the image of the author, one illuminating the other, both constructing each other. Recalling Thomas Carlyle's understanding of the hero poet, Lai He is displayed with a "mild shining of the poet's light", with

IC 178 Lai He's *wu* 武 - Portrait

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1./ 2. Lai He bust at entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

[660] For more information on Lai He's time in prison, see (Chen Jianzhong 陳建忠).

his line of poetry constituting the "fountain of light" which enlightens the darkness of the world (Carlyle [1840] 1966, 117).[661]

This bust of Lai He is, however, not the only bust on display in the museum. As described above, once the visitor moves from the "buffer zone" (*huanchong* 緩衝), into the first room with the main exhibition, and further into the back room, he finds himself in Lai He's writer's studio, where another bust of Lai He is on display. The bust is placed in a marked-off area with Lai He's furniture and writing accessories and tools. In reply to why Li Qingxiang's bust was placed at the entrance and the other in the back room, museum guide Zhang explained:

> "The courageous warrior ought to fight for a cause", that just is… ough… like this. So we thought the one with the stronger outlines was more fitting. You know, [Lai He] is very gentle looking, more affable and agreeable, and because the one inside happens to restore his appearance when he was in the consulting room, so that one is more conform with his original appearance (*benxiang*), it was shaped in a way almost completely imitating him. But with this one, lines were added so that his spirit of resistance and struggle would emerge more clearly. Thus lines were added, and therefore we thought, well, placing it here would be more fitting. 因為 "勇士當為義鬥爭" 就覺得。。。哦 。。。就這樣。所以就得線條比較[合適]，有沒有。他就很溫柔啊，就比較和藹可親 ,因為裡面剛好也是還原他那時候診療室的樣子，所以說那比較符合他的本像，比較符合他的本像，那個幾乎完全模擬他去所造的，這個加了一些線條， 比較能夠呈現那個抗議,跟鬥爭，的那種精神。 這加入了一些線條，所以想說，哎，就放在這個比較合一點 (interview with Zhang Caifang 張綵芳, 2014, August 29, 00:29:33).

When taking a closer look [**IC 180 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Lai He Museum (synchronic)**], one can indeed detect that the first bust features Lai He with clearer outlines in his facial features: a stronger jaw line, a bigger nose and a protruding brow ridge. His hairline is also clearly visible and his protruding Adam's apple is in view due to the unbuttoned shirt. All in all, his features are indeed more distinct, which might be linked to the meaning attributed to facial features in Chinese history.

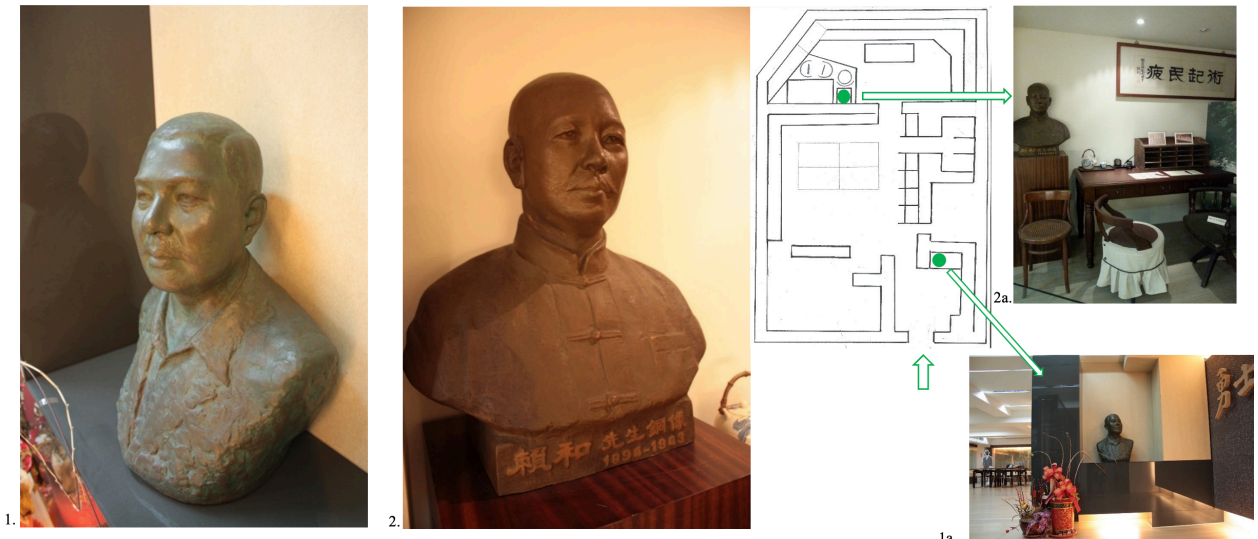
The size or height of the nose, cheekbones or other facial features played an important role in Chinese physiognomy (*mianxiangxue* 面相學 or *xiangshu* 相術),[662] a practice of reading the

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[661] "The light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world; and this not as a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary shining by the gift of Heaven; a flowing light-fountain, as I say, of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness; – in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them" (Carlyle [1840] 1966, 2).

[662] The face is mostly read like a map of a landscape and is combined in the modular system by various "types" of noses, cheekbones or eyebrows, of which each type has a name (often referring to animals, i.e. a snail eyebrow, a tiger nose, a donkey ear, but also according to other objects (the broom eyebrow, the fan ear, the boat mouth etc. or other names), see: (Rottauscher 1964, 56–135); (Li Ling 李零 1994, 207–304) [IC 179 Physiognomy 1]. To

IC 180 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Lai He Museum (*synchronic*)



1./ 1a. Lai He bust at entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
2./ 2a. Lai He bust next to the writer's studio at the back of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

face which developed into a systematic science of divination in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) and is until today still practiced in Taiwan.[663] The logic underlying the reading of the face includes various logic systems of divinatory thought, but also relies on the written word, with the height of the cheekbones representing high power, for example, since "high cheekbones" are homophone to "great power" (*gaoquan* 高權 / 高顴) (Stuart 2005, 222–23). According to instruction manuals based on this science of divination, physiognomy became the main guideline in depictions of the face in the field of portraiture since the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368).[664] While the precise readings

view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 179. Despite the various subdivisions in different types, the nose is seen as the mountain of the face which should be straight, strong, voluptuous and shiny, and small noses usually have more negative connotations (Rottauscher 1964, 84);(Li Ling 李零 1994, 86–87). However, Chinese and European readings of the face were also often merged. In a publication from Hong Kong from 1974, Gall's theory of phrenology and concepts of European physiognomy (as discussed in "Lu Xun embodied" of this thesis) with drawings of Caucasian faces are introduced to a Chinese readership, for example (Su Langtian 蘇朗天 1974) [IC 179 Physiognomy 2].

663 During Kohn's research on physiognomy in the 1980s, she describes physiognomy as still being widely practiced in Taiwan and Japan and during my studies in Taiwan in the 2010s two friends of mine in their late 50s attended classes on physiognomy as their leisure activity alongside practicing the martial art Taijiquan in their neighborhood communities. For Kohn's analysis on *The Complete Guide to Spirit Physiognomy* 神相全編 from the early Ming Dynasty in the 10th century, see: (Kohn 1986). First references to practices of reading the face lead back to the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) (Kohn 1986, 233), but the earliest instruction manuals are dated to the Tang Dynasty (618-907), when for the first time clear instructions are given on how to judge a person's character from someone's facial features. Kohn argues that by the 10th century, a "modern" Chinese physiognomy developed through the compilation of *The Complete Guide to Spirit Physiognomy*, modern in the sense that such manuals became increasingly independent from Daoist readings of the human body in relationship to the sciences of divination. For Kohn's reading of Laozi's body and face in Daoist terms, see: (Kohn 1996).

664 Wang Yi 王繹's *Secrets of Portraiture* 寫像秘訣 (literally: secrets of "writing the face") was written for portraitists in the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) (Wang Yi 王繹 2017) and in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) the *Manual of the*

dictated by the numerous works on Chinese physiognomy cannot account for the shape of the sculpture, the museum guide nevertheless associates distinct facial features with a strong personality. Furthermore, when it comes to his gaze, the bust at the entry has a clear direction. The curators had skillfully positioned the bust so that it would gaze directly towards the line of poetry. However, the bust was not commissioned by the museum, but highly praised by the museum staff after its production and had thus been ordered in form of a duplicate to integrate into the museum exhibition. Hence, the implementation of having the gaze meet his literature was not planned ahead, but skillfully assembled with existing parts (the quote and the duplicate of the bust).

The bust with the softer contours was instead placed in the back of the museum beside Lai He's desk [IC 181 Lai He's *wen*-Portrait].[665] Surrounded by Lai He's original collection of books, this space gives the visitor the impression of a study. On the desk no medical tools are on display, instead there is a set of shelves, a tea set and an ink stand set up. Furthermore, pens and papers of manuscripts are placed on the desk. The scene recalls a photograph of Lai He, sitting at his desk and writing, which is also shown in the main exhibition room. Instead of placing Wang Yingxin's bust at the entrance, his bust was set up in this *wen*-surrounding of cultural attainment. The bust, according to museum guide Chang, was very much like his actual appearance, very "kind" and "affable". His gaze is not clearly oriented in any direction, but is gazing straight ahead into the distance, with his eye-lids slightly hanging down on the sides, giving him a calmer, also more worried expression. Above the writing scene, a work of calligraphy is hung on the wall. The characters read "skillful method emerges from the weakness of the people" (*shu qi min pi* 術起民疲).[666] The words recall no struggle, fight or warrior. Instead it speaks of how skillful methods for healing the people from their weakness emerge from their own weaknesses. In other words, it is through your own weakness that you learn to improve and strengthen yourself by improving your skills and methods, be they medical or artistic. The term *shu* 術 here is a very general term, which

Mustard Seed Garden 芥子園劃傳 (Li Yu 李漁 [1679] 2017) served as a similar manual of instructions, with printed diagrams of frontal faces (Stuart 2005, 222–23), yet no detailed written description on the individual facial components are given (nose, ears etc.) and the frontal faces are not presented isolated, but as part of a full-body sketch. For a translation, see: (Sze 1977).

665 To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 181.

666 This reading implies that a skillful method arises as a result of it being needed due to the weakness of the people 術起[於是]民疲. A second possible interpretation of these characters can read: "Skillful method takes away the weakness of the people" (e.g. the advances in medical treatment take away the weakness of the people, in which *qi* would invoke the sense of raising an anchor 術[拔]起民疲 implying that the method does away with the weakness 術[去]民疲. Thanks to Xu Chun and Sun Liying for their support in the translation.

can be translated as method, skill or technique.[667] Dedicated to "Dr." Lai He by his friend and fellow poet Shuo Jian 說劍, the term does not imply struggle and a courageous warrior as much as it does the educated skill of a caring doctor or skilled poet and writer, who chooses to help the people, including himself, through an advancement of his skills. Through literature and medicine, Lai He is presented as a caring healing figure to the visitor, embodying the *wen*-principle.

While the facial features and the spatial context are clearly articulated and lend themselves to a reading that can make a distinction between Lai He as a "courageous warrior" (*wu*) and a "caring doctor" (*wen*), the clothing of the busts is more ambivalent. In each portrait materially sketched in these busts, Lai He wears different clothes. In the first he is depicted with an unbuttoned shirt and suit-jacket, in the later one with a piece of clothing resembling a *magua* (Manchu-style jacket or gown) with a high collar with round edges. The choice of one's dress can be very meaningful, with clothing understood to be used for purposes of *self-fashioning* (Sennett [1977] 2002) and possibly for purposes of communicating a political message, as was the case of his queue which he had grown in 1909.[668]

In the case of Lai He, conflicting memories of the past (Lai He as *wen* or *wu* during the Japanese Rule) clash with new contemporary conflicts of the present in which Lai He is constructed (Lai He as a voice for a Taiwanese identity distancing itself from Mainland China). Historically speaking, depicting Lai He in a *changpao* and *magua* as in this 1909 photograph or in a very simple cotton *magua* jacket and cotton pants (described by Lai He scholar Lin Ruiming as the "island dress" (*bendaofu* 本島服) (Lin Ruiming 林瑞明 2000, 48–49)) could have been read as emphasizing Lai He as a rebel and thus his *wu*-side, as this clothing was associated with the Chinese Manchu-regime by the Japanese. Even though Lai He always denied to have intended to make a political statement with his clothing, his contemporaries, especially the Japanese, but also fellow Taiwanese, regarded it as a protest against the Japanese, who introduced the suit to Taiwan. After Zhu Dianren 朱點人 wrote about the political meaning of Lai He's dressing habits in 1936, there was both a positive response from the Taiwanese and a critical or even threatening response from the Japanese side. In his prison diary, Lai He wrote in 1941 during his second prison sentence:

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[667] The term *shu* 術 is also used as "arts" in the sense of *fangshu* 方術, the field of astrology and medicine. They include medicine (*yi* 醫), divination (*bu* 卜), astrology (*xing* 星), physiognomy (*xiang* 相)), see entry of *fangshu* in the *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典 (The Commercial Press 2002).

[668] Lin Yutang, unsatisfied with wearing a shirt and suit, had famously proclaimed in 1937 that "the prestige of the foreign dress" and the superiority it entails is "simply and purely political", arguing that a "Chinese gentleman" ought to wear the changpao and magua instead of the suit (Lin Yutang 1937, 261).

> I do not want questions to be raised about my clothing as well, this is really a disaster. […] Ever since Zhu Dianren wrote about it in "On Lai He"[669], people think that my wearing Taiwanese clothes (*Taiwan fu*) means that a bit of Taiwanese spirit exists. From here on after, I have heard more and more voices attacking me. When people start paying attention to it, no matter how I try, I can't seem to explain my way out of it. 我不想在衣裝也會生起問題來，這真是吾生的一厄. […] 有一位點人氏的＜懶雲論＞，就以為我的穿台灣服，似有一點台灣精神的存在。自此以後，便聽到了非難的聲了。人家注意，我辯解總辯不清 (Chen Jianzhong 陳建忠 2004, 30).

Lai He was actually photographed wearing at least two kinds of attire and continued to deny that his clothes were to be read as a political statement even in his diary. However, during the Japanese rule in Taiwan, wearing a *changpao* and a *magua* or sleeveless *majia* was read as a political statement. In these cases, the differentiation between Chinese and Taiwanese clothing was not clear cut as they both sufficed to contrast oneself to the suit promoted by the Japanese.[670] To wear what Lai He himself also described as "Taiwanese clothing" (*Taiwanfu* 台灣服) was indeed received (if not intended) as a *wu*-like statement. In today's political landscape of a local Taiwanese identity, however, this contrast to Western/Japanese attire crumbles away, for the new counterpart against which Taiwan's identity is defined is China. However, since it is not distinguishable whether this gown Lai He is depicted in in the latter bust is "Taiwanese" or "Chinese", the clothing no longer

[669] Note given by Chen Jianzhong: "Lai He misremembers, the correct title of the essay by Zhu Dianren which is 'Lai He: The Person and his Oevre' 案：應為賴和誤記，正確篇名為〈賴和先生的人及其作品〉" (Chen Jianzhong 陳建忠 2004, 30).

[670] By 1941 dressing on the mainland meant that one, broadly speaking, had the choice between the long gown (*changpao*), the suit and the so-called Sun Yat-sen jacket (which had its origins in military jackets as worn in the photograph by Lu Xun in 1909). This jacket was intentionally "civilized", meaning that it was attributed certain symbols and ascribed characteristics which were understood to be civil instead of military by Sun Yat-sen. Its simplicity in contrast to Yuan Shikai's Prussian military armor, for example, enhanced its "civil" appearance (Finnane 2008, 181–88). The *changpao* remained the most common dress in early Republican China. It was partially understood as a conservative dress, but it would also simply pass without much comment, as it remained the most common (Finnane 2008, 177). The suit was often seen as a symbol of colonial power (as in Lai He's time). In the 1920s it had first been a sign of cosmopolitanism in the eyes of May Fourth intellectuals, however it was quickly abandoned in the 1930s in their effort of nation and identity building and as a reaction against foreign dominance (Finnane 2008, 177) . Another component that played into the decline of the suit as a popular choice of clothing was the cost (Finnane 2008, 179). Lu Xun also wrote about this "decline" of the suit in 1934. Humorously he describes how the suit was first worn by young people of revolutionary thought as a way to demonstrate their willingness to reform (*weixin* 维新) by discarding Manchu-clothing (*magua, paozi* 袍子) as they did the queue as a hairstyle (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005z). The irony is revealed by the fact that in the end either choice would lead the citizens of the Republic to "wear foreign clothes 穿的是外国服" (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005z, 478). Therefore the popularity of the suit declined and the *paozi* and the *magua* enjoyed a revival. Even though they did have a certain counter-revolutionary taste (*fandui geming de yiwei* 反对革命的意味), as they were proposed by Yuan Shikai as the adequate dress, they nevertheless seemed to end up being the most safe and reliable (*laowen* 牢稳), according to Lu Xun, despite this remaining somewhat strange (*xiqi* 稀奇) (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005z, 478–79). Thus Manchu clothing had filled the vacuum of China's need for appropriate clothing (Finnane 2008, 187), he himself wearing it (almost exclusively) in his later days in Shanghai.

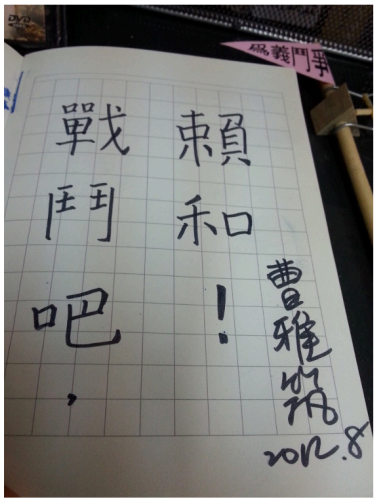
emphasizes the *wu*-nature of Lai He fighting as a "courageous warrior" in today's contemporary context. The literary and political counterpart (Mainland China) is not set apart visibly from the Taiwanese when it comes to clothing styles and design. In this way, the Lai He bust dressed in "Chinese"/ "Taiwanese" clothing would not further underline the fighting-spirit Lai He radiates at the entry of the museum, but instead fits well into the *wen*-surroundings of the writer's studio further inside the exhibition space. Whether or not the sculptors had particular reasons for choosing one clothing style over the other is not known. But the open shirt and suit-jacket of the first Lai He bust in the exhibition could also make Lai He seem more accessible to today's viewers in Taiwan, both with regard to contemporary dressing customs (suits outnumber *magua* in contemporary society), as well as simply presenting a more casual appearance, due to the less "buttoned up" neck area.

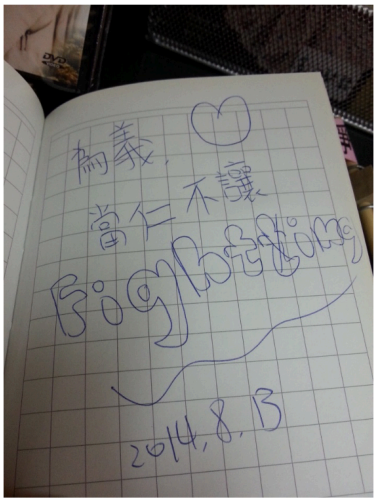
Looking back at these two busts and their placement in the exhibition space, another description may be enlightening: Lai Yueyan 賴閱顏, Lai He's grandson who is active in the board of directors of the museum, explained that the bust by Wang Yingxin (placed in the writer's studio) "appears more steady and introverted 顯示較沈穩內斂" while Li Qingxiang's bust at the entrance appears "more radiant and vigorous 較為飛揚挺拔". The discrepancy between the two presentations, he adds, are due to the fact that "they were two different kinds of understanding of the same person 為兩種對人物所不同的見解". [671] While Lai Yueyan's descriptions are more metaphorical, they can indeed be traced back to the clearer facial outlines Zhang spoke of (*xiantiao* 線條) above.

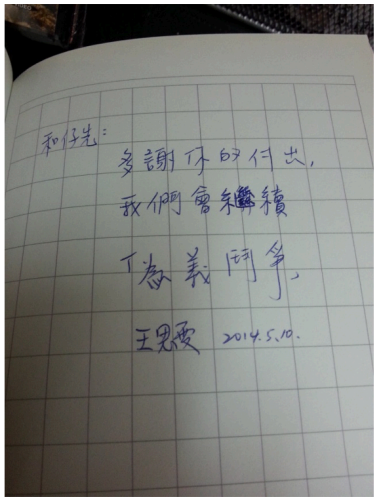
To what extent this message is received as such by the museum visitors is of course another question. It is undoubtedly the case that Lai He is not presented only in one way to the visitor, but has been given at least two faces, two profiles in the display. The "gentle" "affable" and caring doctor and writer and the "radiant and vigorous" "courageous warrior". Which of these two leave the stronger impression is hard to grasp and the probability that it is neither the one nor the other, but a mix of both or a third face of Lai He the museum might not have even intended to communicate, is always possible. However, a few traces of the museum's reception can be found in the guest book within the museum, as well as in the circulation of these faces of Lai He outside

[671] The museum's website features a virtual museum tour online, which includes short films of Lai He scholars and experts, namely Lai Yueyan, Lin Ruiming, Chen Wanyi giving short explanations to individual exhibits. Source: (Lai He Memorial Museum 賴和紀念館).

IC 182 Guestbook: Remembering Lai He's *wu* 武

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2. 

3. 

1-3. Museum guestbook at the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

of the museum. One guest for example left the message: "For Justice – Yield to nobody when doing what is right / 'Fighting' 2014.8.13 為義 / 當仁不讓/ Fighting / 2014.8.13", while another wrote "Master He: Thanks for your sacrifices, we will continue to 'fight for a cause" 和仔先：多謝你的付出，我們會繼續〈為義鬥爭〉 2014.5.10", and another simply wrote "You go and fight, Lai He! 2012.08 戰鬥吧，賴和！ 2012.08" [**IC 182 Guestbook**]. While these messages must be seen as individual responses and the fact that any museum guest book is not merely an expression of one's impression, but also always written with the museum staff as reader in mind, these messages nevertheless show that the first impression, the introductory line of poetry, was what left the greatest impression with these visitors, strongly influencing their choice of words in their response to their visit. These words had a curious way of circulating outside of the museum as well. The museum offers a small gift shop, which among other things features the manuscript of the poem "My People", cited in the buffer-zone, as loose-leaf binders, as well as a small narrow towel (which can be placed around one's neck on a hot day, for example) with the words "the courageous warrior thus ought to fight for a cause" written across it [IC 183 A Towel].[672] In August 2013 a blogger reported on a demonstration against the local government of Miaoli in Taiwan and described how "this quote came to be the slogan which was shouted collectively on the site of the evening get-together 這句話成為了晚會最後現場民眾共同高喊的口號" .[673]

[672] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 183.
[673] Source: (Li Yilin 李宜霖 2013).

Lai He's *wu*-embodiment in the form of a towel had come to form the slogan sign of a local demonstration against the then-current GMD government (2008-2016). Thus, one particular face of Lai He came to resonate stronger with some of the visitors, carrying the introductory line from the museum's buffer zone into Taiwan's streets. The museum hereby forms an active force in forging literary memory in Taiwan today, placing one interpretation of Lai He up front, but also offering a further depth and complexity to Lai He when entering farther into the museum. Drawing on the concepts of *wen* and *wu* (Louie [2002] 2009, 4), it was the "courageous warrior", the *wu* radiating from Lai He's image that stayed with the visitors and circulated outside of the Lai He Museum. Lai He's "gentle" and cultured side does not seem to carry as easily.

Stabilizing Lai He's and Lu Xun's Charisma

The two busts are two representations of Lai He's Second Body as both representations aim at constructing a certain kind of image of Lai He that is communicated to the visitor through their shape (facial features), their spatial context (lighting, surrounding exhibits) and their placement in relation to each other in the whole of the memorial museum (foreground: "buffer zone" / background: writer's studio). By reading the two faces with an eye for their spatial context, I have provided a *synchronic* reading to Lai He's visual and material representation in museum space, arguing that while both co-exist at the same time, they are spatially positioned and thereby hierarchized, with *wu* outweighing *wen*. Lai He's comparatively recent institutionalization in museum space (established in 1994) and the relative independence of the private museum from changes in the democratic transition of government from one political party to another (DPP-GMD) have not (yet) revealed major changes of Lai He's visual and material representation over time.

Lu Xun's memorial museum on the other hand provides a longer institutional history through which the *wen-wu* readings of the author's representation can be further developed to include the variable of time, thus providing a *diachronic* approach to Lu Xun's representation in museum space. In "Lu Xun – institutionalized" I have explained this with a focus on the power dynamics and changing levels of agency between objects on display, human actors and institutional structures. To understand the current constellation of their busts today, first a *diachronic* reading of the visual representation of Lu Xun's busts and statues in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum is required. This interlude then crystalizes this *one* example by providing a *synchronic* reading of Lai He's bust in relation to Lu Xun's. I hereby juxtapose the writer's representation in their respective birth towns

Shaoxing and Zhanghua, both of which lie far off from the (political) centers of Beijing or Tainan (which I address at the very end), but have become known for having brought forth these literary heroes.

When one enters the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum today, a bronze sitting statue of Lu Xun is placed in the "buffer zone" before the exhibition begins [**IC 184 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武 - Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (synchronic) 1a, 1b**]. The quotation that is added behind the statue on the back wall in gold is the famous quote also referred to in Mao Zedong's Talk at the Yan'an Forum of Literature and Art: "Fierce browed, I cast a cold glance at the thousand pointing fingers. Head bowed, I gladly agree, an ox for the children to be 横眉冷对千夫指，俯首甘为孺子牛."[674] Yet the bronze statue does not show a "stern browed" image of Lu Xun. Instead, Lu Xun is depicted seated, leaning back into a wicker chair with his arms casually folded. The statue is larger-than-life, but not over-towering, as it is placed at the side of the quotation, slightly turned towards the visitor, surrounded by potted plants. The visualization of Lu Xun is closer to *wen* than to *wu* in its visual grammar.

A museum staff member of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, who had started her work at the museum in the early 1990s, pointed out that in the 1990s there was a general change in the depiction of Lu Xun in the museum:

> From his appearance [one can see it] is much softer, it no longer is the "fierce browed, I cast a cold glance at the thousand pointing fingers" kind; originally during the Cultural Revolution his hair was combed upward, combed very strongly, and with many edges and corners, a portrait that you would recognize immediately, a statue tall, large, above, but in the 90s, his glance would change, his eyes, no matter where you were standing in the exhibition, would follow you. 从他的形象已经很柔和了, 没有那种 "横眉冷对千夫指"的那種，原先，文革各时期的那个，他的頭髮是梳的，很梳的那種，很有棱角的那种，就一看是一個高大上的塑像，到九十年代，他的眼睛，不管你站在哪一個展位，魯迅始終是看著你的 (interview with museum staff member, Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, 2014, September 16, 00:05:08).

[674] For translations of this couplet see: (McDougall 1980, 85), (Kowallis 1996, 180–81), (Lee 1985b, 21–23). For more information on Mao Zedong's reference to this quotation in 1942, see section on "Circulating Praise and Images during the Cultural Revolution" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized".

IC 184 A *wen* 文 *-wu* 武 -Reading of Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (*synchronic*)



1b.



1a.



2a.

1a./ 1b. Front: *wen*-Lu Xun, sitting bronze statue
2a./ 2b. Back: *wu*-Lu Xun marble bust.

Source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.



2b.

It is telling that Lu Xun's line of poetry which was cited by Mao Zedong has developed into an adjective for his visual representation. Text has turned into image. The glance he describes in his poem comes to stand for a particular stern and over-towering visual portrait of Lu Xun which this bust is considered to have left behind. When taking a second look at the bronze bust, its features indeed do not have the traits the museum staff member describes to have been those of the Cultural Revolution, during which a sterner portrait of Lu Xun with more prominent features was common.

However, the sterner *wu*-image of Lu Xun is still found at the very end of the exhibition, after the visitor has walked through the chronological display of his life, with the first floor entirely dedicated to his youth and childhood in Shaoxing and the Second Floor discussing his adult life, death (see Interlude: Lu Xun-embodied) and posthumous reputation. At the very end, in the last exhibition hall discussing Lu Xun's posthumous reputation, a monumental over-sized marble bust of Lu Xun is displayed, with further golden characters, namely the three characters "Soul of the Nation 民族魂" in the background [**IC 184 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (synchronic) 2a, 2b**]. It is flanked by Mao Zedong's famous quotations of Lu Xun, reemphasizing his valorizing, praising words of Lu Xun as "the first-rate sage of modern China 新中国第一等圣人" with the three traits of Lu Xun's spirit on the one hand, and praising Lu Xun with the five superlatives (the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history 最正确、最勇敢、最坚决、最忠实、

最热忱的空前的民族英雄) on the other.[675] This marble bust was created by Ye Qingwen 葉慶文 (1925- from Lanxi/ Zhejiang)[676] in 1996 for the 60th anniversary of Lu Xun's death. Lu Xun's facial expression is not stern in the sense that it features a strong mimic in form of a frown. But the prominently angular facial features, the strongly protruding and combed hair, eyebrows and moustache, and especially the very large nose, strong chin and Adam's apple, give Lu Xun an almost Caucasian, arguably stern appearance and certainly present a highly stylized image of Lu Xun.

How does his depiction relate to his status in Communist historiographical narrative? Mao Zedong had termed Lu Xun a sage (*shengren* 聖人), not a god or saint (*shen* 神). Sage (s*hengren*) is a term that has been used by Confucians, Daoists and Legalists alike, even though the term's implications vary. In its earliest usage in the *Classic of Poetry* 詩經 and the *Book of Documents* 書經 it was used as a positive adjective with which wise rulers, but also ministers, could be described. However, to be *sheng* was not a permanent state. A person could become *sheng*, but those who were *sheng*, if careless, could also lose this quality (Yao 2003, 545). In Confucianism, the term instead denoted a man who is and remains *sheng*, a *shengren*, which points to the perfection of a person's intellect (*zhi* 知) and a perfection of his humanity (*ren* 仁). The opposite of the *shengren* is the man among the masses (*zhongren* 眾人) (Unger 2000, 104–5) or also the petty, literally "small", man (*xiaoren* 小人) (Yao 2003, 545).

Depending on the various readings and interpretations of the concept, there are various processes through which a *zhongren* or *xiaoren* might become a *shengren* (Unger 2000, 104–5). While Confucius' position as the first sage was uncontested among his disciples, Confucian thinkers such as Mengzi 孟子, but also Xunzi 荀子, believed that "every man can become Yao and Shun 人皆可以為堯舜", as Mengzi wrote in the "Gaozi II 告子下" chapter of the work titled in his name *Mengzi* (Legge [1885d] 2017). Mencius emphasized the development of one's human mind (i.e. one's human nature), while Xunzi believed sagehood to be achieved through acquired knowledge, practice of goodness and political achievements (as did his student Han Feizi 韓非子, the advocate of Legalism). Later Neo-Confucian interpretations, during the Sung- (960-1279) and

[675] For the five superlatives, see (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1970, 191–92), for the reference of Lu Xun as modern China's sage, see: (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 280–81).

[676] Ye Qingwen graduated from the Huadong branch of the Central Academy of Fine Arts (CAFA) 中央美術學院華東分院 in 1951 and specialized in sculptures.

Ming-Dynasties (1368-1644), focused on sagehood being the end of a cultivation process, realizable within one's own lifetime (Taylor 1990, 43). In this process, the life of the sage gained importance over the state of sagehood, as it was instructive to the realization of the goal (Taylor 1990, 46). Daoist usage of the term vary in *Laozi* 老子 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子, with the first containing more elements of (political) leadership (orderly governing by nondoing), while the latter approaches *shengren* as one manifestation of an individual spirit which reaches absolute freedom, with his acts and achievements not taken into consideration (Cua 2003, 698). And even Buddhists included the term *shengren* into their theories, linking the process of attaining sagehood to reaching enlightenment, thus resulting in the term *shengren* being drawn on by both Buddhism and Confucianism which otherwise have little in common concerning their theories of human nature (Cua 2003, 698).

Yet even though Mao Zedong had famously proclaimed Lu Xun to be a sage (*sheng*), the terminology one encountered in the discourse around his visualization was that of the god or saint (*shen*). According to the staff member of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, the sculptor Ye Qingwen depicted Lu Xun differently from representations of the past: "Prof. Ye decided to sculpt him according to the image of a man, not according to the image of a god. 叶教授把他從一個人的形象來塑的，不從一個神的形象來塑的" (interview with museum staff member, Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, 2014, September 16, 00:05:08). While in her description Lu Xun's image had *changed* from being deified to being humanized, this change is actually not traceable in this visual material. Photographic images of a prior bust on display in the late 70s, early 80s actually speak for a continuity of the *wu*-representation in a diachronic reading of Lu Xun's museum space. In 1980, the royal family of East Cambodia visited the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum. Norodom Sihanouk (1922-2012 from Phnom Penh/ Cambodia) and Norodom Monineath (Princess Monique) (1936- from Saigon, French Indochina) visited the museum when they were living in Exile in China (during Pol Pot's totalitarian regime) (1979-1991) and they were photographed standing in front of a monumental Lu Xun bust during their visit, as part of one of the many official diplomatic visits which the museums' histories record meticulously [**IC 185 *wu* 武-Continuities: Lu Xun**]. When one takes a closer look at the bust in the background, which was included in the exhibition prior to the current marble one, it becomes evident that the bust itself is actually very similar in style to the one on display today, mainly differing in the material having been changed from plaster to marble. The new bust was brought to Shaoxing from Suzhou in September 1996 and cost well over ten

thousand US dollars,[677] a sum which, also taking into consideration the transportation of a 6.5 ton heavy marble bust would have been too costly in the early years of the Reform and Opening Period. If one is to speak, as the museum staff member does, about the visual *change* that took place in the 1990s in the representation of Lu Xun's features, these changes actually were only minor, if at all visible, in this case. Thus, in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum today, the *wen*-Lu Xun is presented in the foreground of the display while the *wu*-Lu Xun *continues* to be present at the end. Unlike the Lai He museum, the Lu Xun museum covers a much larger exhibition space and also exits at the end of the display, thus one could argue that it is the *wu*-Lu Xun that is stressed at the end. But from a purely spatial perspective, the *wu* and *wen* in Lu Xun's presentation in this case is reversed when compared to Lai He, placing the *wen*-Lu Xun in front, while in Taiwan the *wu*-Lai He occupies this prominent spot.

IC 185 *wu* 武 -Continuities: Lu Xun Changing from God to Man? (1980-1996-2014)


1. 1980


3a.


3b. 1996-2014


3c.


2. 1996

1. 1980s Lu Xun plaster bust, Cambodian prince and princess, Norodom Sihanouk and Norodom Monineath (3rd and 4th from the left); source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. 1996 Lu Xun by Ye Qingwen in marble; source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
3a-d. Lu Xun bust (marble by Ye Qingwen), visitors and quotation by Mao Zedong in 2014; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.


3d. 2014

Changes in the representation of Lu Xun, however, *did* take place in the museum when viewed across time, which is why a diachronic reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun museum is useful. For in the past, the front representation of Lu Xun was not a *wen*- but also a *wu*-representation. While the debates in the scholarly and literary community became quite heated in The Movement against the Sacralization of Lu Xun 反對神化魯迅運動 in the 1980s and its language ("image of

[677] The final costs of the bust were 90.000 RMB costs were originally estimated by Shaoxing mayor Ji Gengli 紀跟立 to cost 75.000 RMB (Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum 绍兴鲁迅纪念馆 2003, 192).

a man 人的形象”，“image of a god 神的形象”) echoes in the narratives of many museum staff members, the course of action within the various Lu Xun museums across China was characterized by diffidence and caution. The reintroduction of repressed materials (such as Zhu An or contemporary writers discussed at length in “Lu Xun – institutionalized”) became a cause through which the museum reinstated itself as an authoritative trustworthy institution, presenting a rediscovered “authentic”, “scientific” Lu Xun (also see “Lu Xun – institutionalized”). The introduction of new materials reasserted the museum’s role in Chinese society, but the removal of old materials did not offer such an opportunity of institutional reinstatement. Yet certain visual representations of Lu Xun were no longer considered adequate and therefore had to be weeded out. Large sculptures constituted a particularly awkward dilemma in this process. While their monumentality was no longer considered suited for Lu Xun’s visual representation, it was precisely their monumentality and plain weight which made it difficult to (re)move them subtly. A literal fall and smashing of a Lu Xun statue or bust, as it had occurred with images of Stalin in the Soviet Union or the GDR during the period of Destalinization (as discussed in the Part “Lu Xun – worlded”), was something that one hoped to avoid.

While the concluding *wu*-bust shows little iconographical change, a strong change over time can be detected in the *wen*-bust at the front in comparison to its preceding statue. The museum staff member described the past arrangement of the exhibition display:

> Originally, we placed a statue in our first great hall, the “preface” hall, from there one can see our change; the plaster one we gave as a present to the Shaoxing Lu Xun Middle School, in the south of the city, the one we took down in the 1990s. 始终是放在我们第一个大厅，叫序厅，从这个塑像里可以看到变迁，石膏像我们送到绍兴鲁迅中学。送给了他们，在城南。我们把换下来的，九十年代的鲁迅塑像送给他们 (interview with museum staff member, Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, 2014, September 16, 00:07:34).

One solution to this awkwardness was moving the no longer adequate statues of Lu Xun to other acceptable, less iconic spaces, and replacing them with a different imagery of Lu Xun in the representative spaces of the museum display. The statue of Lu Xun located at the entrance of the Lu Xun museum in Shaoxing had not made the cut of being considered “appropriate”.[678] It had been placed at the beginning of the exhibition prior to the 1990s, possibly even before the Reform and Opening Period but was later moved spatially to the South of the City, thus in other words to

[678] For another example of how specific images of Lu Xun (paintings and prints) were removed from or recycled in the Lu Xun Museum in Shaoxing, see museum director Xu Dongbo’s description in the section on “Display: Questioning Sacralizing Ties? – The Telegram to Mao Zedong” in “Lu Xun – institutionalized” of this thesis.

the periphery. It is a large monumental half-body statue of Lu Xun [**IC 186 A *wen* 文 -*wu* 武 -Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (diachronic) 2**], in which Lu Xun, standing erect, is facing a strong headwind, his scarf blown straight back, yet his expression is stern and his hair standing up straight. His eyebrows form a straight line and his expression is immobile, his body posture archaic with little movement. According to the museum staff member, this was a typical iconic image of Lu Xun during the Cultural Revolution. This over-towering statue was moved from the museum to the Shaoxing Lu Xun Middle School 紹興魯迅中學 away from the tourist-filled center of the town. What is more, not only is it not in the city center, it is also no longer placed in a public space, as its placement in the school courtyard situates it in a space which one can only enter with the permission and in company of one of the school's teachers. Thus this image of Lu Xun was subtly moved out of the center of attention, out of public space.

IC 186 A *wen* 文 - *wu* 武-Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (*diachronic*)

1. 

2. 

1. Lu Xun bronze statue (sitting) at the entrance of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, Shaoxing; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lu Xun stone statue (standing) in front of the Shaoxing Middle School; source: Photographed September 17, 2014.

In its place, the bronze sitting statue of Lu Xun was placed in the museum [**IC 186 A *wen* 文 -*wu* 武 -Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (diachronic) 1**]. Lu Xun leaning back casually in his wicker chair is meant to make Lu Xun more accessible to the visitors of the museum, no longer giving them the over-towering, stern and monumental impression of the plaster statue. The museum staff member repeatedly emphasized that, depicted in this form, Lu Xun was not presented as a god (*shen* 神) in the museum any longer.

> In the new exhibition hall of 2004, at the beginning of the hall, you know, there is a statue of Lu Xun in his older years sitting in a wicker chair, a bronze statue, it has the [everyday-] life atmosphere, that of a kind and amiable (*he'ai*) old man, as if we was inviting you into his home to be a guest, it is increasingly connected to [everyday-]life, not like past statues, the moment you set foot in the hall surrounding the statue, you see the statue immediately, as if on a pilgrimage (*chaosheng*), a feeling as if you were to revere and venerate (*jingyang*) him/it. Now you come into the exhibition hall, it is full of a new flavor. […] When those responsible for form and design prepared this exhibition, we voiced the opinion that we did not want a very serious Lu Xun, we need a more life-like (*shenghuohua de*) Lu Xun, especially in this new century. 2004 年建起来的陈列馆，前面不是有一个鲁迅做在藤椅上晚年的塑像嘛，青铜的，比较有生活气息, 一个和蔼的一个老人,就像坐在哪里欢迎你到他家里来做客, 比较生活化的， 没有像以前塑像一进这个塑厅，就看到一个塑像，就好象来朝圣，来敬仰这个感觉。现在进去这个陈列厅，充满了一个新的气息. […]跟他们做形式设计， 我们就跟他们提出来我们不要一种很严肃了，因为给人鲁迅太严肃了，我们需要一个生活化的鲁迅，特别是在新的世纪里 (interview with museum staff, Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, 2014, September 16, 12:04:09).

The museum staff influences, or believes itself to have influenced, the visual representation of Lu Xun created for the display. Again, threads of discourse from the Movement Against a Sacralization of Lu Xun appear in her description. The museum should create a home-like space, like one "is a guest at Lu Xun's home", conveying a private within this public space. This "increasingly life-like" (*shenghuohua* 生活化) presentation of Lu Xun is to replace a fighting (*wu*) Lu Xun, because the latter was too serious and unapproachable and further evoked rituals of worship (*chaosheng* 朝聖/ *jingyang* 敬仰).

Yet within the life-like presentation of Lu Xun a paradox seems to lie which recalls Max Weber's thoughts on the "Veralltäglichung" of charisma. For that which is "everyday" and charisma are actually opposites for Weber. The everyday is to be found in structures such as patriarchy and bureaucracy, which aim to cater to the ordinary needs of a society as they provide continuity and stability. However, for extraordinary needs a charismatic leader is necessary, one who transcends the sphere of the everyday, not a "professional" or "office-holder", but rather a bearer of specific gifts of body or mind, which are seen as super-natural, extraordinary, and endow the "hero"[679] with charisma (Weber [1922] 1978, 1111–12).

[679] "The power of charisma rests upon the belief in revelation and heroes, upon the conviction that certain manifestations – whether they be of religious, ethical, artistic, scientific, political or other kind – are important and valuable; it rests upon 'heroism' of an aesthetic, military, judicial, magical or whichever kind. Charismatic belief revolutionizes men 'from within' and shapes materials and social conditions according to its revolutionary will" (Weber [1922] 1978, 1118). Bureaucracy and rational organizations, however, revolutionize "from the outside".

Weber uses the terms "charisma", "bureaucracy" and "patriarchy" value-free as he does not define them according to hierarchic fields, or better strata of high and low, but by their proximity to the everyday, to everyday (economic) needs. Precisely because of its extraordinary quality, charismatic authority is "naturally unstable" and only exists in the time in which the hero is seen as charismatic by those with extraordinary needs (Weber [1922] 1978, 1114). The "routinization" or "Veralltäglichung" of charisma is challenging, because it contradicts the nature of charisma (Weber [1922] 1978, 1111–20). For charisma is "undiminished, consistent and effective only in *statu nascendi*. […] When the tide that lifted a charismatically led group out of everyday life flows back into the channels of workday routines, at least the 'pure' form of charismatic domination will wane and turn into an 'institution'", Weber argues. Yet in societies there is nevertheless a fundamental "desire to transform charisma and charismatic blessing from a unique, transitory gift of grace of extraordinary times and persons into permanent possession of everyday life". This explains why one encounters so many "transformations of charismatic authority" (i.e. kingship, democratic suffrage and "the office" of the politician, but also the transformation from artist to academy, from prophet to church or sect etc.) in which a succession from the individual to an institution should provide a certain element of stability (Weber [1922] 1978, 1121). In the Lu Xun museum, however, there is no successor of the charismatic Lu Xun. Instead, his charisma is supposed to be retained while using the "Veralltäglichung" of his charisma (which would result in its "slow death by suffocation" according to Weber) in order to keep it alive within these museum spaces (Weber [1922] 1978, 1120). However, this Veralltäglichung (*shenghuohua*) only takes place on the level of his presentation (*how* is he presented in museum space), yet does not undermine the museum's function of separating him from the everyday by the social space of the museum itself. While his imitability increases in the museum's display, his inimitability is guaranteed by safe-guarding Lu Xun's image through the museum's walls from the everyday, thus newly igniting his charisma without suffocating it.

How then is Lai He's and Lu Xun's "charisma" (in Weber's terms) or their heroic traits embodied in *wen*- and *wu*- elements and kept "stable" and "alive" in these museum spaces? How does the "fountain of light", according to Carlyle, keep shining through their images? Lu Xun's image needed to undergo a change, allowing for him to move into the sphere of the everyday, allowing him to be more "approachable" in his presentation. Yet, that this everyday image of Lu

This is the reason why charisma, which revolutionizes "from within", makes it, according to Weber, able to disrupt rational rule.

Xun evokes fewer rituals of worship is not necessarily the result, as the museum staff member believed. Here it is intriguing to note Lu Xun's hand on the statue in this context [**IC 187 Lu Xun's Hand 1, 2**]. As is often seen in divine images in bronze, the hand has been gradually rubbed into a shiny gold by the visitor's touch. Did the so-called "De-Sacralization" of Lu Xun through the replacement of the *wu*-plaster statue with the bronze statue not also have the effect that he could *remain* an object of worship in the twenty-first century, providing visitors with a physically approachable and haptically experienceable Lu Xun? Do these rituals not encourage other or additional performative rituals of worship, continuing in keeping him at sufficient distance from the everyday? Is it indeed the image of a "man" (*ren* 人) that is depicted? Not a different "sacralizing" portrait of a *wen*- Lu Xun, who had been pushed not only into the "background" but into oblivion in the past, when the belief in an "enemy" and "cause" demanded a fighter, resulting in a superiority of *wu* over *wen* which formed an instable form of charisma, with changing causes and enemies being replaced too frequently (see: Lu Xun – institutionalized "The Cultural Revolution")?

IC 187 Lu Xun's Hand:
The "Veralltäglichung" of Charisma? *shenghuohua* vs. *shenhua*

1. 

2. 

1./ 2. Lu Xun, sitting bronze statue at the entrance of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum;
source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

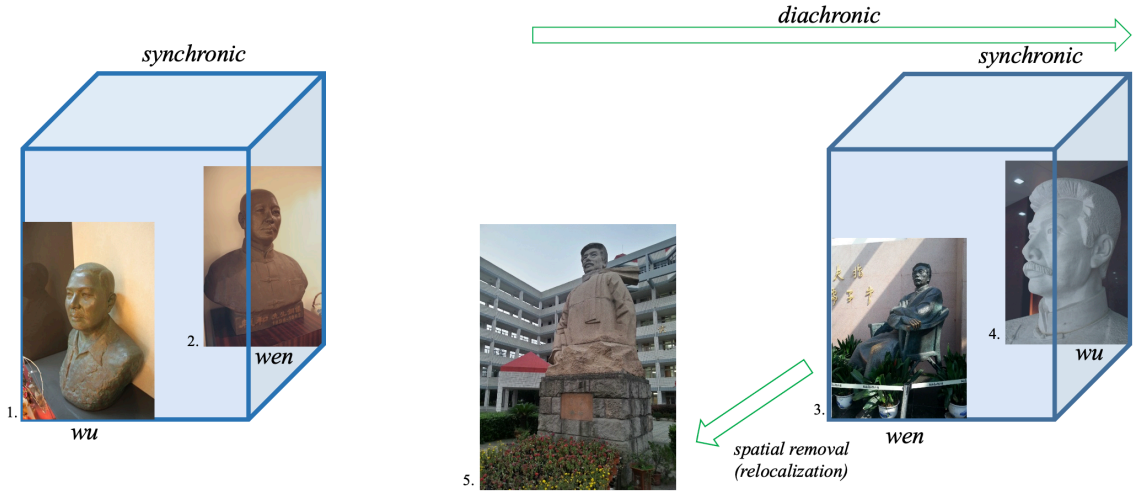
A "Veralltäglichung" (*shenghuohua*) thus seems irreconcilable with divineness and even with Weber's understanding of charisma. Again, the distance to the sphere of the everyday, the distance to the everyday person seems to be the key. One similarity between saints (or the divine) in Christian thought and the concept of the *shengren* in Confucian thought is the balance between

imitability and inimitability.[680] To strive to be *closer to* Lu Xun, to strive to be *like* Lu Xun is the appellative reading implied by a "Veralltäglichung" of the presentation of Lu Xun. This is encouraged by making the first step in the sense of making Lu Xun more approachable, more "like" those who are to imitate him. The balance of imitability and inimitability had been broken in the same way that the balance between *wen* and *wu* had been disturbed. This balance between closeness and distance was always the key for Confucius' "charisma" as well: "The creative tension between the ontological reality that we are intrinsically sages and the existential fact that we can never become sages defines the human condition in a most vivid way: we are not what we ought to be, as dictated by our moral sense of rightness, but we learn to become what we ought to be by taking as our point of departure what we are here and now," as "New Confucian" scholar Du Weiming 杜維明 has pointed out (Tu Wei-ming 1993, 39). This leads to both a "realistic appraisal of human limitation" and "awe-inspiring demonstration of human excellence" (Tu Wei-ming 1993, 39) of Confucius as a sage. By presenting Lu Xun more life-like, by adding a balance to his presentation by presenting him more *wen*, a step was made towards the addressees. In the case of the museum, it seems that this step towards the visitor was indeed successful. Lu Xun's shining gold hand reveals that visitors had reciprocated this approach by extending their hands towards his, approaching the previously unapproachable Lu Xun. The touch has reopened a dialogue, has in a way rekindled Lu Xun's charisma, not suffocated it in a slow death.

[680] Taylor's *The Religious Dimensions of Confucianism* attempts to shed the term saint from Christian traditions and examine whether it is appropriate for Confucius in the early texts and in the Neo-Confucian use of the term. The main common ground he highlights between the term saint and the Neo-Confucian use of the term finally is the sense of a balance between exemplariness/ imitability and inimitability which is common for both, whereby the distance to the common person of the saint would be farther (Taylor 1990, 49–51). Du Weiming clearly pointed out the tension between the sage being imitable, sagehood thus attainable, and yet at the same time inimitable and unattainable. "The Confucian conviction that virtue can be learned and that the highest exemplification of virtue, sagehood, is attainable has been a source of inspiration for both the educated elite and the general populace in China" (Tu Wei-ming 1993, 29).

The question remains: How is Lai He's and Lu Xun's charisma in form of the heroic traits embodied in *wen* and *wu* kept stable in these museum spaces? For Lai He's case, this interlude shows that the tension that lies in the direct connection of their hero genealogy provides the necessary dynamic force to position Lai He in relation to Lu Xun and Chinese Literature as a body of national literature and *thereby* stabilize his charisma. This interlude has offered a spatial reading of Lai He's museum space [**IC 188 Conclusion I**], arguing for a spatial coexistence of a *wu*- and *wen*-reading of Lai He, whereby the *wu*-reading carries outside of the museum. This is also due the presentation of Lai He *on apar with* (left-wing internationalism) and simultaneously *positioned against* Lu Xun (nativism) in his role as a "Taiwanese Lu Xun", both of which prioritize a *wu*-reading of Lai He. A parallel synchronic reading of Lu Xun's museum space in Shaoxing has revealed that this coexistence of *wen-wu* readings exists here as well, whereby the *wen-wu*

IC 188 Conclusion I: *wu* 武 -Lai He is charismatic / *wu* 武 -Lu Xun's charisma is waning



1. *wu-Lai* He bust at entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
2. *wen*-Lai He bust next to the writer's studio at the back of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
3. *wen*-Lu Xun bronze statue (sitting) at the entrance of the museum; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
4. *wu*-Lu Xun bust (marble by Ye Qingwen) at the back of the museum; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
5. *wu*-Lu Xun Stone Statue (standing) in front of the Shaoxing Middle School; source: Photographed September 17, 2014.

emphasis is reversed. By further developing this *wen-wu*-reading of Lu Xun into a temporal diachronic reading, which expanded the spatial arena of the synchronic reading to the liminal space of the school courtyard, a space which continues to co-exist with the synchronic *wen-wu*-display of Lu Xun yet outside of the representative, public spaces, I have presented a process of re-localizing an outdated *wu*-image of Lu Xun into a peripheral sphere and thereby avoiding any form of involuntary iconoclasm.

With the *wen-wu* dyad present in both Lai He and Lu Xun, the question of stabilizing charisma can be answered by looking at the dependencies of these concepts in relation to other literary heroes and other literary spaces. The re-localization and replacement of Lu Xun's image in Shaoxing suggests that the charisma of a *wu*-Lu Xun has begun to wane, since Lu Xun no longer is defined as fighting for a cause or positioning himself against a dominant literary Other. The contrary is the case for Lai He. This can best be shown when taking a look at the museums not only displaying the individual writers Lu Xun and Lai He, but the canons of Chinese and Taiwanese literature as they are institutionalized in the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature 中國現代文學館 (NMMCL) in Beijing (established in 1985) and in the National Museum of Taiwan Literature 國立台灣文學館 (NMTL) in Tainan (established in 2003). For Lai He continues to be claimed by both spatial canons simultaneously. From April 2000 to August 2011, overlapping with the rule of the DPP in government (2000-2008), Lai He's writer's studio was moved from Zhanghua, his hometown, to Tainan and turned into its own exhibition room within the permanent

IC 189 Lai He in NMTL, Tainan, 2011



1./ 2. Lai He's Writer's Studio in the National Museum of Taiwan Literature (Tainan); source: Photographed June 29, 2011. Courtesy of the National Museum of Taiwan Literature.

exhibition of the "Development of Taiwan Literature" exhibition at the NMTL [**IC 189 Lai He in the NMTL 2011**], which through this exhibition spatially constructed an independent literary history for Taiwan Literature. In these spaces, Lai He was presented as the "Father of New Taiwan Literature", creating a new center of a literary space, marginalizing Lu Xun in as far as that he became but one voice of "World Literature", an intellectual "input 輸入" that played into Taiwan Literature. Unlike in the times of Martial Law, Lu Xun was visible in the display in the introductory

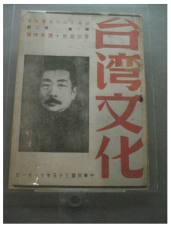
poster as the most prominently presented Chinese writer and also in the form of Yang Kui's publications commemorating Lu Xun in 1947 [**IC 190 Lu Xun in the NMTL 2011, 2-4**].

IC 190 Lu Xun in the NMTL, Tainan, 2011

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

1-4. Lu Xun in the in the National Museum of Taiwan Literature (Tainan); source: Photographed June 29, 2011. Courtesy of the National Museum of Taiwan Literature.

The NMTL, unlike the Lai He Museum, is a state-run public museum of literature, influenced visibly by changes of government (Graf 2022).[681] The Lai He Museum on the other hand is a private museum. This does not make its message or constructed history less political, however. On the contrary, it makes it possible for the museum to claim a certain independence from changes in government and uphold a collective memory of Lai He regardless of the current ruling party. As extra project funds are offered by the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan) upon application, the strong focus on a cross-strait dialogue (*liang'an jiaoliu* 兩岸交流) made it less attractive as a source of financial support after 2008, as the Lai He Museum hoped to lay the focus of its exhibition on Taiwan exclusively.[682] Thus the reading of Lai He as a voice for Taiwan and to a certain extent an oppositional voice to the GMD can be communicated in this private museum space despite the GMD forming the ruling party in Taiwan. Nevertheless, the overemphasis of Lai He's role as a "Father of Taiwan Literature" in opposition to Chinese literature can seem strained since Lai He did feel a strong connection, even homesickness for China during his lifetime. The likeliness of Lai He having rethought his concept of home had he lived beyond 1943 to see Taiwan return to the "homeland" is high, as Sinologist Helmut Martin acknowledges. He would very likely have been

[681] Alternatively see Chapter 2 in (Graf 2012, 26–35).
[682] (Zhang Caifang 張綵芳 29.08.2014, 00:50:57).

imprisoned as a government oppositional by the GMD during the reign of White Terror 白色恐怖 under Martial Law (Martin 1996, 14) – a line of thought which often recurs in debates on Lu Xun, who never lived to see the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the CPC. From the perspective of the state-owned NMTL in the early 2000s, however, Lai He's home was inarguably the island of Taiwan, placing Lai He and his writer's studio into its historical narrative of a native Taiwanese literature distinct from that of China.

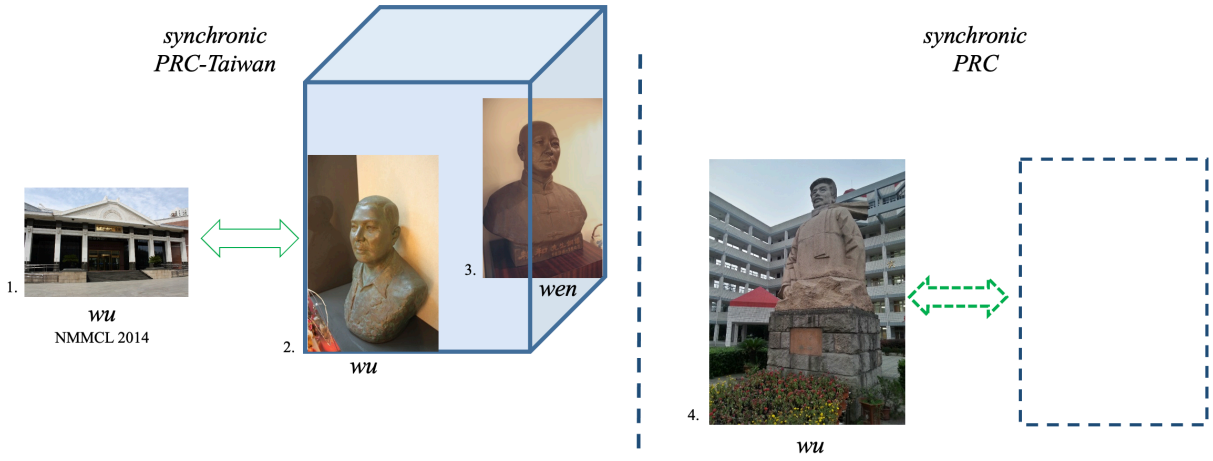
When the writer's studio was returned to the Lai He Museum in Zhanghua in 2011, with Lai He's *wu* being presented at the entry and *wen* at the back, the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature (NMMCL) displayed Lai He in Beijing simultaneously as well. Here, however, Lai He is included in a vast canon of Chinese writers. His portrait appears in the chronological display of the NMMCL, where he is listed as writing in the time from 1937-1949, titled "Literature Baptized by the Fire of War 战火洗礼中的文学" .[683] The display of the NMMCL further gave Lai He the subtitle of "Literature of the Occupied Territory 沦陷区文学", "Taiwan Region 台湾地区". Keeping the room dark and adding steel fences covered with barb wire, the museum uses visual aids to represent the oppressive times in which these writers were "baptized".

The explanatory texts emphasize that this literature was written by those living in the territory of the "Chinese nation 我国" that was under Japanese control. The literature from the occupied territories is described as having similar traits to the "Literature of the Liberated Zone 解放区文学" of those times, thus valorizing Taiwan's literature in terms of its connection to the literature produced in the geographical territories in which the Communists were in power. Lai He is introduced with a portrait image, a sketch of the photograph on which his *wu*-bust is based, and an introductory text referring to only one of his short stories, namely "Clamor, Spat and Fuss" (*Dou Nao Re* 都鬧熱) from 1926, presenting him as the first Taiwanese writer to introduce vernacular (*baihua* 白話) into his writing. A direct comparison with Lu Xun is not explicitly made, possibly due to the fact that this could place too much attention on this writer from the occupied zone. Instead he is introduced as an example of "presenting clear anti-imperialist and patriotic national sentiment 表现鲜明的反帝爱国的民族感情", also discarding the awkward fact that Lai He's patriotism was linked to the imperial regime of the Qing-Dynasty, the other "Anti-" (*fan* 反) through which Chinese left-wing literature defines itself (i.e. anti-imperialist (*fandiguo* 反帝國)

[683] The description and quotes from the display are based on my visit to the NMMCL from August 6, 2014.

and anti-feudal (*fanfengjian* 反封建))[684], a contradiction which is obscured by the term "patriotic" (*aiguo* 愛國). Hereby the literary history constructed in mainland China continues to regard Taiwan Literature as a subgenre of Chinese literature and not as an independent body of literature as the NMTL has argued in the past and as the Lai He Museum continues to argue by having the visitor come face to face with Lai He's *wu*-portrait from the very beginning of his visit. The charisma of Lai He's *wu* is stabilized by the spatial claims made by the NMMCL [**IC 191 Conclusion II**]. These claims continue to create an extraordinary need which fuels Lai He's charisma, for despite the rhetoric which recall Mao Zedong's Yan'an Talks from the early 1940s, the display claiming Lai He with pathos or bathos, depending on the visitor's view point, continues to exist in the 2010s. Whether or not Lai He and Lu Xun can ever be translated into a memory without coming to represent contradicting bodies of national literatures, nor by having the one devour the other by subsuming it into its own single narrative of one national literature remains to be seen.

IC 191 Conclusion II: Lai He's and Lu Xun's *wu* 武



1. The National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature (NMMCL) in Beijing; source: Photographed August, 6, 2014.
2. Lai He bust at the entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
3. Lai He bust next to the writer's studio at the back of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
4. Lu Xun Stone Statue (standing) in front of the Shaoxing Middle School; source: Photographed September 17, 2014.

[684] (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1971, 112). The third enemy against which Mao Zedong defines "correct" (*zhengque* 正確) literature in his Talk at the Yan'an Forum of Literature and Art beside imperialism and feudalism were revisionists (*fandongpai* 反動派), which would call for a *fan-fandong* 反反動 literature, which however is not named so, probably because it would have made for a cumbersome term.

大大 ZOOMING IN: The Materiality of World Literary Heritage

Literary Heritage: Three Assumptions of "World" Made Undone

This thesis on the making of writers into heroes and the making of world literary heritage from their literary estates takes a close look at processes that seem unremarkable or even natural at first glance, but at second reveal deeper social values that are being challenged, vindicated, newly established or discarded. In the case of the three writers Lu Xun, Bertolt Brecht and Lai He, all of whom are well-established in their respective literary canons, the fact that museums are dedicated to their commemoration and that their literary estates are preserved until today will not strike any scholar or reader of comparative or world literature as surprising. Yet in each of their cases, there is more than first meets the eye. Their institutionalization as it took place must be seen as anything but natural or inevitable. When approaching these three cases *from a global perspective*, numerous questions arise about what we assume to be world literary heritage. Even more fundamentally, numerous assumptions are challenged about what we might have considered to be "literature" (*wenxue* 文學), an "artifact" (*wenwu* 文物) or "heritage" (*yichan* 遺產) more generally. [685]

[685] Heritage as a concept which "denotes equal ownership of cultural property among citizens" as it is defined by UNESCO only came to China with the concept and discipline of archeology in the 1920s (Lai 2016, 314). Heritage is translated as *yichan* 遺產, "the inherited property". The Chinese term *yichan* is a relatively recent term. In the past what today is termed heritage (*yichan*) was commonly referred to as *wenwu*, translatable as "cultural relics" or "artifacts", or *chuancheng* 傳承 (to receive and transmit), which would be closer to the concept of heritage in the definition of UNESCO. *Yichan* was, however, used after 1987 in official documents of UNESCO, followed by the renaming of the English translation of the SACH 國家文物局 into the State Administration of Cultural Heritage instead of the State Administration of Cultural Relics in 2003. Yet while the English term "cultural relics" was removed, the Chinese term *wenwu* remained, which recalls similar changes in official translations while keeping the Chinese terms as, for example, the propaganda departments being renamed publicity departments, while keeping the Chinese *xuanchuan* in their official Chinese names. Lai argues, that for the case of the renaming of the SACH, this meant to symbolize a closer international bond between China and UNESCO (Lai 2016, 315). Both the Chinese term *wenwu* and the English term "heritage" evoke numerous normative associations. For a helpful definition of revolutionary *wenwu* in China, see: (Denise Y. Ho 2011). UNESCO defines cultural heritage in Article 1 of its 1972 Convention as encompassing a universal value from the perspective of history, art or science: "*monuments*: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; *groups of buildings*: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; *sites*: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (UNESCO 1972).

1. Shanghai: Masterpieces, Giants and Equal Heritage?

The first assumption this thesis challenges can best be visualized with the help of the newly established "World Literary Giant Square 世界文豪广场", which opened in 2015 in the Lu Xun Park in Shanghai. Bronze statues of "world literary giants", as the official translation of the square terms them, such as Dante, Goethe, Balzac, Dickens, Gorky, Tagore, and others are standing on a square – casually standing about, detached from each other, paying no attention to each other, gazing in different directions [**IC 192 Giant Square**]. The square is adjacent to the Lu Xun Museum and does not feature Lu Xun, since a bronze sculpture of Lu Xun is placed in front of the Lu Xun Museum. When looking closely, the sculptures show clear differences. Lu Xun is elevated higher on a marble pedestal and created in a less linear and realistic and instead painterly more abstract style, with strong edges in the bronze material which recall stronger brushstrokes. The

IC 192 World Literary Giant Square, Shanghai 2015



1-2. World Literary Giant Square, Shanghai; source: Photographed March 12, 2015.

differences can be explained by the fact that the Lu Xun sculpture was created especially for the museum by the contemporary sculptor Wu Weishan 吳為山 (1962- from Dongtai/ Jiangsu) in September 2013.[686] Wu Weishan had become the center of international media attention after his statue of Confucius, which he created in 2011 and which had originally been placed in front of the National Museum of China on Tiananmen Square, had been moved a few months later to a less prominent spot beside the museum, sparking a debate on the how important a role Confucius is to play in China today.[687] As for the Lu Xun sculpture created by this renowned sculptor, the museum

[686] Wu Weishan donated the bust free of charge to the museum (CCTV.com 2013).

[687] For the responses in the *New York Times* for example, see (Jacobs 2011). The statue was removed on April 21, 2011. For a photo of the statue placed in front of the National Museum of China on April 4, 2011, see: (Sina.com

placed it centrally in front of the museum entrance. The World Literary Giant Square, however, was not part of the museum, a museum staff member emphasized.[688] Due to the bronze material, however, the display on the square likens Lu Xun. The park authorities who had added the world literary giants two years after the unveiling of the Lu Xun statue apparently aimed to have the writers correspond with Lu Xun, thus expanding the theme of the Lu Xun museum to something one might call "world literature".

Much could be said about this display, but for my purpose it should visualize a definition of world literature from which this thesis sets itself apart. On the one hand, the above setting implies that world literature consists of "giants" (referring to the genius writer, or *wenhao*[689]) who produce masterpieces which rank as the best in the world. Thus, the quality of the literary work is inherently defined, the source of this quality is traced back to the intangible genius of its writers, extraordinary writers who are set apart form average literary production. While this definition presupposes a form of exclusivity (the genius is by definition not average), the display nevertheless implies a degree of equality in another respect. Each statue one approaches represents a nation in the pantheon of world literary giants. For each nation or culture seems, at first glance, to have had – at some time or other – a giant writer emerge from its midst. Of course, it is not necessary to count the statues to see that equal representation can never be fully achieved, neither in theory, nor in practice. The stage of world literature, especially in this definition of a collection of masterworks, is not equal. Neither vertically, nor horizontally.

The catch-22 such a display finds itself in is that of any anthology of world literature. Dooghan's 2011 PhD thesis has pointed out this dilemma in the case of Lu Xun.[690] For the call for representation is quickly translated into a voice of cultural relativism. France has its Balzac, Germany its Goethe, China its Lu Xun. Yet, how many international tourists to this park will fail

新浪 2016). The fact that Lu Xun and Confucius were created by the same artists seems ironic when recalling the way in which Lu Xun was visually used in campaigns criticizing Confucius during the Cultural Revolution during which Lu Xun was presented as Confucius' strongest critic and opponent. For more on the visual presentation of Lu Xun during the "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" campaign in 1974, see chapter on "Hibernating Museums? (1966-74) Of Crowds and Desolate Spaces" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

688 Shanghai museum staff member Li Hao 李浩 pointed this out when guiding me through the park on March 12, 2015.

689 The Chinese term *wenhao* is defined as an "outstanding, great writer 傑出的大作家". In the Sung Dynasty the term was first used by poet and statesman Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) describing the writer Yang Danian 楊大年 (940-1020) as "really a great writer of his period 真一代的文豪也", see entry in the *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典 (The Commercial Press 2002).

690 In his *Lu Xun and the Production of World Literature*, Dooghan discusses Lu Xun's inclusion into the *Norton Anthology of World Literature* (2002) and *The Bedford Anthology of World Literature* (2003), see and the "failure" of world literature's claim to represent the world in Chapter 5 of his thesis (Dooghan 2011, 226–76).

to find their respective counterpart cast in bronze to photograph her or himself with, as the social practice around such busts call for? Thus while the statues are on equal footing and in no recognizable hierarchical arrangement (Balzac is not implied to be better than Goethe, but both "great" in their respective ways), this thesis challenges both the claim of inherent literary quality and genius *and* any claims of cultural relativism (you have your hero, we have ours). Instead this thesis uses museums displaying writers to show the hierarchies between the literary fields, the impossibility of adequate representation and the social construction of the author and literary value as such.

2. Nanjing and the CCLM: Heritage in Competition?

The second assumption this thesis challenges is that cultural heritage has an inherent value that national or supra-national organizations can merely "designate" and not create. Instead this thesis argues that these processes of valorization, even by supra-national organizations, cannot stand for any universal and delocalized value. Rather than a "competition" for recognition on a global stage, supra-national organizations are seen here as engaging in a joint-effort with member states in valorizing that which they define as "heritage", a definition which is by no means stable or absolute.

China is often presented as being "preoccupied" with gaining designations of global value, be it in the realm of contemporary literature in the form of globally valued literary prizes, such as the Nobel Prize of Literature (Lovell 2010), or in world heritage designated by supra-national organizations such as UNESCO (H. Yan 2016, 229) or the International Council of Museums (ICOM). When taking a closer look at the realm of literary heritage, the PRC has made an effort to gain a voice in the International Committee of Literary Museums (ICLM)[691], for example. As the PRC hosted the 2011 General Conference of ICOM in Shanghai, the Chinese Committee of Literary Museums (CCLM) 中國文學館專業委員會 was founded for this occasion, in order to create a corresponding network of the 30 special committees on the national level, matching up their national and international structures (interview with Fu Guangming 傅光明, 2014, August 5, 01:10:42). In charge of managing the CCLM is Fu Guangming 傅光明 (1965-), editor and researcher at the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature (NMMCL) 中國現代文學館 in Beijing. His descriptions implied a strong encouragement and drive of higher institutions of

[691] The ICLM has been renamed the International Council for Literary and Composers' Museums (ICLCM) recently in order to include the realm of music (ICOM 2017).

government to build up these structures in time for the General Conference in 2011,[692] thus highlighting that the urgency to link up their national structures with the ICOM was felt on the Chinese side as well.

A more recent example in the field of literature is the city of Nanjing which is bidding to become a UNESCO City of Literature. Since 2004, UNESCO supports so-called Creative City Networks, which connect cities across the globe around thematic fields such as crafts and folk art, design, film, gastronomy, music, media arts and also literature. Nanjing hopes to become a member of this global literature network. The application process from Nanjing has occurred in a highly regulated manner (see Conclusion "Lu Xun – institutionalized"), with much support coming from the government. For the application, a so-called China (Nanjing) City of Literature Promotion Center 中國（南京）“文學之都”促進中心[693] was established by the Nanjing Publicity Department 南京宣傳部, the local propaganda department of the CPC.[694] The Promotion Center consists of contemporary writers, publishers, bookbinders, literature scholars, and government officials. The center was provided with the funds for, among other things, coordinating the application process, creating a high-quality promotion video and inviting representatives from current member cities from Melbourne, Iowa City, Krakow, Edinburgh and Heidelberg to Nanjing for feedback on their application. The highly regulated manner in which the application is taking place can evoke two different impressions. On the one hand, the dedication of those involved as well as the high prioritization of the endeavor by state institutions is likely to be much appreciated by other members of the network. On the other hand, the applicant's insistence also risks being perceived as aggressive or seen in the above mentioned context of China's "preoccupation" or "complex" with such prizes and awards (Lovell 2010, 217); (H. Yan 2016, 229). I would describe the latter as a critical approach and suspicious reading of China's entry onto the world stage through its "soft" (cultural, rather than economic or political) power. This thesis does not reject these critical approaches, but aims to go beyond them. I argue that this is necessary since there is a limit to which

[692] Fu Guangming explained that his role as the Executive Deputy Director 常務副主任 of the CCLM was on voluntary basis and did not belong to his work responsibilities. However, he had not applied for this position but he had "been delegated the position 收到委派" by his superior unit, the NMMCL, which is the institution to which the CCLM is affiliated, its so-called *guakao danwei* 挂靠單位 (Fu Guangming 傅光明 05.08.2014, 00:47:59; 00:46:43). This positon was thus an honor, but also an additional responsibility to his duties at the NMMCL.

[693] This is the official English translation of the center.

[694] Since this introduction/ conclusion is directed at a wide readership that might not be familiar with Chinese government structures, both the current official translation of the department as "publicity" and the commonly used, however often negatively connoted, term "propaganda" is provided here.

these international prizes can be understood under the definition as a "competition". A suspicious reading of China's entering international "competitions" is often not driven by questioning the nature of such competitions or designations, but by calling into question the participant's *motivation* to enter into them.

In almost every year for the last two decades, new sites in China have been designated as World Heritage Sites and scholarship continues to debate China's motivation and intention in applying for these designations so thoroughly or aggressively.[695] In the 2016 *Companion to Heritage Studies*,[696] Yan describes how Chinese cities large and small try themselves in this international "competition" (H. Yan 2016, 230). Yan explains the popularity of world heritage in China by revealing that it – counterintuitively – is first and foremost a *nationalist* endeavor, revealing world heritage to be but another instrument of nation-building (H. Yan 2016, 230). Its universalistic claims are minor, as the designations are used as "discursive tools" to create a national self-image and enhance national self-esteem. This however is not unique to China. According to Askew's contribution to *Heritage and Globalization*, most nations "use" rather than "abide" to UNESCO discourses, and the "laudable" "universalistic" ideals of UNESCO have been described as having enhanced nation-state power-structures and national agendas instead of overcoming them (Askew 2010). The designations are used (i.e. instrumentalized) to enhance the appearance of historical continuity, create territorial unity, and also to educate the people (or to *jiaohua* 教化 (i.e. transform the masses through education) as historian Timothy Cheek would argue (Cheek 1997, 15)), with the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) 國家文物局 being presented as propagating a civilizing mission (H. Yan 2016, 235). Thus through China's entrance onto the global stage of heritage, the issue of the self-interest of rational-actors (nations as member states) is demasked.

But the demasking of this (self-)interested nationalist endeavor is little productive if it forms the endpoint of the discussion. The cosmopolitan and universal goals of supra-national organizations have been revealed as idealistic and not feasible in the practical management and valorization of heritage on a global scale. For indeed, national benefits *are* drawn from international recognition. This is true for any member of such a supra-national network (not only China).

[695] Today, China features 52 properties inscribed in the World Heritage List, 36 cultural, 12 natural and 4 mixed. In comparison, in 2017 Germany features only 42, 39 cultural and 3 natural. For the current list of World Heritage Sites (cultural, natural and mixed), see: (UNESCO 2017c).

[696] For an overview over Heritage Studies, see: (Logan, Nic Craith, and Kockel 2016).

Furthermore, the universalistic claims that first gave rise to these structures have been strongly undermined by theories and the actual experiences of post-colonialism and postmodernism. The calls for diversity and representation to which these movements have given a voice, have indeed resulted in a diversification of the awarding of titles by international networks that aim to represent world and not merely European culture. Together with an increased diversity, also came the rethinking of past, arguably Eurocentric, value categories, such as that defined as "authentic". One such example is the "Nara Document on Authenticity", drafted in the mid-1990s which acknowledged that the authentic was no longer to be understood as a fixed category, but a process of valorization dependent on local cultural systems.[697] Yet the decrying of national interests when dealing with the PRC, continues to lay the focus on China's "instrumentalization" of its "soft power". It shows skepticism and arguably anxiety towards the indirect promotion of its political system that is not democratic in the sense of a multi-party system, nor aspires to become one[698] (Huang 2014). The state ruled by one party holds a highly restrictive power over all areas of cultural, economic and political life in the PRC. Thus China as a nation represents a value system which in many respects is at odds with that of the United Nations or the European Union and other universalistic values on which the UNESCO networks and others are based (i.e. freedom of speech (*yanlun ziyou* 言论自由)).[699] China's success in this field of competition (if regarded as such) is thus viewed critically as national interests having prevailed over universalistic ideals which were

[697] Here it states that: "It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must [be] considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong" (UNESCO 1994). Also see section on "The Beginning of Authenticity" in "Lu Xun – embodied" of this thesis.

[698] For Xi Jinping expressing this explicitly in 2014, see (Huang 2014). For Xi Jinping restating the sole leadership of the CPC in future policies, see his report at the 19th CPC National Congress in October 2017 (CPC.People.com 中国共产党新闻网 2017). Among the main goals are "to maintain the leadership of the Party in all work 坚持党对一切工作的领导", as well as maintaining "the cooperation with multiple parties under the leadership of the CPC and the system of political consultation [i.e. by the People's PCC] 中国共产党领导的多党合作和政治协商制度".

[699] One of the seven major themes of UNESCO is "Fostering Freedom of Expression". It states that "UNESCO's work in all these areas is part of our support for freedom of expression as an inalienable human right set down in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 联合国教科文组织支持《世界人权宣言》中第十九条将言论自由看做不可分割的人权这一条例，而我们在以上领域开展的工作体现了这一点" (UNESCO 2017b); (UNESCO 2017a). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948 as a common standard (United Nations [1948] 2017). Article 19 reads: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (United Nations [1948] 2017). As for the EU, Article 11 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights states the "Freedom of Expression and Information" as "1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. 2. The freedom and pluralism of the media shall be respected" (European Union 2000).

bound to fail (caught in the trap of cultural relativism). International value categories feel threatened from "outside" and increasingly from "within" (China's increasing representation), but also have experienced an even greater threat at their core, having been revealed as not being universal from the start, but based on a historically specific understanding of heritage which cannot and arguably should not alone be the standard against which world heritage is to be measured.

This thesis takes up the dilemma of what has come to be termed as "world heritage". Instead of focusing on the international networks encouraged by UNESCO in the form of creative cities or the ICLM and its Chinese counterpart, the CCLM, I focus on the institutionalization of writers and their location primarily in *national* networks. By understanding the national networks of the PRC, of the former GDR and of Taiwan, this thesis reveals the interconnectedness of these structures, showing that even national structures are never merely national. Furthermore, this thesis complicates the "rational-actor" model by showing the complex negotiation that takes place in processes of valorization. It shows that it is not possible to see "China" or the "PRC" as a *unity* on this international stage. By acknowledging the *restrictive* forces that bear on domestic processes of cultural valorization, it also shows *deregulating* forces and – by not prioritizing one over the other (i.e. by tracing these forces and not imposing normative terminology on them) – this thesis reveals the ways in which both have been valorizing in the making of one particular author. That this value exists a priori (i.e. Nanjing *always has been* a center of literary production of global importance, Lu Xun *was* a great writer among world authors) is, however, called into question from the very moment of approaching the subject matter of the author museum.

3. Stockholm's Decline to Comment: Seeing Heritage in Mirror Image?

This thesis investigates the role of the museum in the making of the author by observing museums' practices, by critically reading their self-presentation in their official historiography, as well as carefully listening to their self-description in the voices of some of their main actors. One phenomenon which struck me as especially intriguing was the self-awareness and self-reflection, as well as at times the lack of it, which I found myself confronted with in the interviews. While the conclusions one draws from the (self-)observations of the involved actors can differ from their own – I did not often arrive at the same conclusions as my interview partners – their ability to speak and willingness to communicate their self-image and their role in the making of Lu Xun, Bertolt Brecht and Lai He has greatly enriched this study. The fact that space was allowed for self-reflection was of major importance to this sociological approach to the literary field. This thesis sees it as

especially important for an approach to the role of museums in the global literary field. For it is in this arena that mirrors are rarely held up to institutional structures, and far more rarely does a reader have a chance to look over the shoulder of an institution and see it react to its own reflection.

Thus, as a third point, this thesis aims to break the silence which surrounds institutions in their making of world literature. This silence is best illustrated with my brief encounter with Sara Danius, the Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy (2015–2018). Danius spoke as a guest lecturer at the 2017 Summer School of the Institute of World Literature (IWL) about the awarding of the Nobel Prize of Literature to Svetlana Alexievich and Bob Dylan.[700] In the Q&A I expressed my interest in sociological approaches to literature and inquired how she – if not speaking for an institution, then possibly from a personal viewpoint – saw herself as an actor in the literary field, how she saw her role in the social processes that turn text into literature. Danius responded in a firm and self-assured tone and gesture that she declined to answer my question. Other questions that followed on the role of politics in the awarding of the prize, along with further inquiries over her claim in her talk that the prize was "not political" were equally turned down. The audience learned that Danius had little to add to what she had been prepared to say when she had stepped up to the desk of the auditorium. While my expectations to how much room for self-reflection would be possible in such a setting were not high, her decline to comment in any form about her own role spoke volumes, especially to the students and scholars analyzing the workings of the field of world literature.

Of course, members of prize committees and literary scholars are faced with similar dilemmas and restrictions. In a more diplomatic tone, a subtle evasiveness could also be detected in David Damrosch's opening lecture held during the same summer school when he raised the question: "What isn't World Literature"?[701] Insightful in many ways, the lecture concluded without Damrosch naming any one work or writer he did not consider world literature, thus hinting at Damrosch's awareness of his role as a gate-keeper of world literature due to his qualification as a literary scholar. The claim – and simultaneous rejection – of being inclusive becomes visible in both of their voices (or silences) with respect to the current global literary field. To return to Danius' speech, the question of inclusiveness surfaced in her repeated emphasis on "including Chinese" when pointing to the fact that the Members of the Swedish Academy in power of awarding the

[700] Sara Danius gave a guest lecture at the 2017 IWL Summer School organized by Harvard, Aarhus and Copenhagen University. Her talk on July 12, 2017 was titled "How to get the Nobel Prize in Literature".

[701] David Damrosch raised this question in this talk on "Globalization and Its Discontents" on July 3, 2017.

Nobel Prize were fluent in no less than eleven languages. Apart from Chinese, she did not single out any other of the languages in her response. Claiming the potential to include, yet not including, is by definition one of the main mechanisms by which the literary and museum fields operate and also the one for which they have received the most criticism. This criticism has been especially loud in the contemporary field (be it contemporary literature or contemporary art, for example). It is therefore interesting for the subject matter of this thesis to include one question Danius did reply to, namely how she could separate her judgment in her roles as both a literary scholar at a university and Permanent Secretary at the Swedish Academy. The answer was short and witty. In her scholarly work, she exclusively wrote about authors who were dead, she replied jokingly. With this answer she believed to circumvent questions on her own role as an actor in the social process of how present or past literature is made in society, and arguably the world.

It is not possible to object to Danius' claims, for her decline to comment and her use of humor make no explicit claims, they remain ambiguous, impalpable. But the role of prizes in the making of contemporary authors has become an important discussion in literary studies, best represented by James English's 2005 work on *The Economy of Prestige* (English 2005). This thesis rejects the belief that dead authors, once established, are less affected by such processes of social valorization, as Danius' answer implied. On the contrary, keeping a dead author alive requires many societal and institutional mills that might grind slowly and quietly, and the processes are not as glaring as the spotlight shone on literary prizes, but operate steadily nevertheless. The literary memory of a society requires commemoration and *continued* valorization. This can occur through the act of being chosen as worthy of analysis by literary scholars, especially by those with the kind of academic weight as Damrosch or Danius (when wearing her scholarly hat). Yet, in the field of social practice that breaks out of the narrow field of academe, it is literary prizes that give fame to the living and museums that give life to dead writers.

State of the Field: Literature and Writers on Display

Guide books to literature museums come in many forms. Some are short introductions and remain descriptive, others take literary forms and are more reflective.[702] But literary museums have also been receiving more and more attention in recent scholarly literature in the German-, French- and

[702] Examples of guide books in form of short introductions or literary and non-literary essays in the German-speaking countries of Germany, Austria and Switzerland would be (Schwedt 1995); (Plachta 2011); (Wisskirchen 2002). For a guide book covering England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, see (Marsh 1993), for example.

English-speaking scholarly academe in Europe and the US. There are different reasons for this. On the one hand, past understandings of material literary heritage have been challenged. Especially with the accelerated progress of the technological revolution, there is a perceived loss of the materiality that the production of literature once entailed. The writing brush and seal in Asia (used by Lu Xun and Lai He for example), or the quill or steel nib (used by Goethe for example) [IC 193 The Materiality of Literature][703] have been replaced by typewriters (used by Bertolt Brecht and adapted for the Chinese language by Lin Yutang) and in the recent decades by computers. With this latest digital revolution authorship in general but also the material process of text production in particular has greatly changed, resulting in the gradual disappearance of the material paper manuscript, for example. Archives confronted with new forms of literary estates thus grapple with the perceived loss of the original and have come together to discuss new forms of displaying literary heritage in a digital age.[704]

On the other hand, an unease has prevailed in academic circles when dealing with the material literary estates of writers. The proclaimed "death of the author" in literary theory in the mid-1960s (Barthes 1977) resulted in biographies of writers losing their authority to steer interpretations and their power over justifying literary quality. This (in)directly rendered the scholars' engagement with the personal estates of writers either into futile endeavors or into a remnant of past practices of worship, now demasked as a fetishization of the author through the authentic and its implied aura.[705] In reality, a strict separation between a "traditional emotional museum visit" and a visit motivated by culture historical inquiries into the aesthetics of genius (Genieästhetik) cannot easily be upheld. This is clearly shown by literary scholars in reference to their experiences of researching

[703] To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 193.

[704] The edited volume by Sabine Brenner and Sikander Singh (eds.), both from the field of German literature studies, addresses the reactions of numerous museums and archives to the challenges of the digital age in *"--das hohe Geistergespräch": Über Literatur im musealen und digitalen Raum* (Brenner and Singh 2008), for example.

[705] Prior to the digital revolution, past techonological revolutions have already been perceived as threatening that which was considered authentic and encompassing an aura (Benjamin 2008 [1936]). Fetishism as a term was first coined in the mid-18th century to describe religious practices held to be primitive. The term was later appropriated in the field of sociology (by Auguste Comte), in the critical engagement with commodity capitalism (by Karl Marx) and at the end of the 19th century in the field of sexology (by Sigmund Freud). The term describes a perceived over-privileging of things, meaning the elevation of things to a status that is preserved for humans or deities. While the emotional bound between humans or the bound between humans and deities is considered legitimate, the same emotional bound between humans and material objects is regarded as inappropriate. Janell Watson argues from the outset of her study on the relation between literature and material culture that neither relationship is normatively preferable to the other (Janell Watson 1999, 170–94). In this study the elevation of the writer (human) to a god/deity (divine), as well as the emotional connection to the material literary estate of a writer (objects) instead of to the writer (human/divine) have equally been considered inappropriate, thus rendering the study of the materiality of the author as doubly problematic.

literary displays (Kroucheva and Schaff 2013, 20). Yet the contribution of literary museums in communicating and mediating literature, i.e. as a major actor in the field of "Literaturvermittlung", is slowly being acknowledged in European and US-American literature studies, even though still located at its margin[706] and despite the fact that the impossibility of displaying literature remains a constant voice in the debate.[707] The more recent debate in Germany was closely linked to the establishment of the Literaturmuseum der Moderne (LiMo) in Marbach am Neckar, next to the Schiller National Museum and the Marbach Literature Archive. The planning of the LiMo started in 2002 and in 2006 it opened its door to the public. Its director Heike Gfrereis (director from 2006-2016) also contributed to the scholarly debate explaining her position and goals for the institution (Gfrereis and Lepper 2007).[708] The new establishment of a literature museum in Germany required if not a justification most certainly a self-reflection about its function in society. By explaining its goals, these publications implicitly positioned the LiMo outside of political discourses. Firstly, in form of distancing itself from so-perceived naïve forms of Genieästhetik, which, especially in Germany's history, carries at least some of the heavy baggage of the cult of personality practiced in the political realm. Secondly, yet not addressed explicitly, by distancing itself from the political implications of producing collective identities as a museum of literature encompassing numerous authors in form of a literary canon. While neither subjects are explicitly addressed, it is certainly no coincidence that the museum, unlike its Beijing counterpart, did not choose to name itself the National Museum of Modern German Literature.

In the English-speaking academe, it was especially the works of Janell Watson, Diana Fuss, Elisabeth Emery and Nicola Watson that have contributed to my understanding of literary spaces and displays. Janell Watson's 1999 work on *Literature and Material Culture from Balzac to Proust: The Collection and Consumption of Curiosities* puts at its center a genre of material objects, the bibelot (the modern French term for knick-knack or curiosity) and analyses its bearing on 19th century literary and non-literary writing in France (Janell Watson 1999). This literary history of

[706] Lange-Greve aims to define a more general cultural value of displaying literature (Lange-Greve 2005), whereby Ruf clearly sees this value in the museum's ability to mediate (Ruf 2013). For only a marginal mentioning of museums in studies focusing on "Literaturvermittlerung", see (Neuhaus 2009, 243–45). Relevant edited volumes dealing with the display of literature in the Geman-speaking realm include: *Atelier und Dichterzimmer in neuen Medienwelten: Zur aktuellen Situation von Künstler- und Literaturhäusern* (Autsch 2005); *Deixis: Vom Denken mit dem Zeigefinger*(Gfrereis and Lepper 2007); *Kafkas Gabel: Überlegungen zum Ausstellen von Literatur* (Kroucheva and Schaff 2013).

[707] For a summary of the discussion on the impossibility of displaying literature, see (Ruf 2013, 96).

[708] For another contribution elaborating on the possibilities the LiMo in particular offers in mediating literature, see (Ruf 2013).

the bibelot shows the interplay between the material world and literary production which grew in importance with the industrialization and the rise of the consumer society. This thesis on what I term world literary heritage builds on Janell Watson's critical reading of what is commonly termed as "material culture" and the logic that lies beneath it. Taking the bibelot as a category, Janell Watson highlights the contradictions and ambiguities that come to light in the very practice of categorizing objects. She connects her observations about the everyday object of the bibelot (which can be seen as a counterpart to the artifact displayed in a museum) to Bourdieu's notion of the "logic of practice" (Bourdieu [1980] 2014). The "logic of practice" is the counterpart to the logic of analysis used by modernist scholars in the structuralist (anthropology), positivist (sociology) or Kantian tradition (literature studies) (Janell Watson 1999, 27). This (by now dated) formalist analytic logic fails to understand the logics underlying social patterns and value systems of cultures, which are "only logical up to a point" (Janell Watson 1999, 28). She shows that "the formal taxonomic logic of the encyclopedia and of the modern museum is not the only logic of material culture. Practical logic is at work as well, even within the walls of the museum" (Janell Watson 1999, 29). Many acts of classification and structuring in everyday life are actually products of *practical* logic and not an analytical one. This is exactly the point from which this thesis departs. For while Janell Watson turns her attention to the objects outside of the museum (the bibelot) and furthermore exclusively to the objects described in text (not to the materiality of the material objects described), this thesis follows up on this side-remark on the fact that museums might not be governed by analytical principles alone, but that a practical logic (in whatever form) holds these spaces together in their task of defining that which we consider to be heritage.

A work which examines the materiality and spatiality of writers is Fuss's *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms that Shaped Them*, published in 2004, which analyzes the houses of Dickinson, Freud, Keller and Proust, all of which have been turned into public museums. Fuss examines how these writers dealt with the sensual challenges they encountered during their life time (Dickenson's approaching blindness, Freud's deafness, Keller's loss of the sense of touch and Proust's' over-sensitive sense of smell) by changing the interior of the rooms they lived in. With the help of understanding the interior of the author's living environment, one comes to better understand "the interior" of the author, meaning his/her psychological state, which in turn strongly influenced their writing. Unlike Fuss' approach, my thesis does not analyze author museums as "places in which literature was produced", aiming at a better understanding of the writers' literary works by grasping the writer's state of mind at the moment of production. For this again falls into

a biographical reading of literary works using the author museum as a tool to gain source materials, a provider of information – even though in the hands of Diana Fuss it is a very effective one. Instead, my thesis does not only see author museums as places in which literature was once produced, but examines how these places themselves can be made to produce the authors – even long after their death. I argue that these places and institutions can come to create a literary hero – a cultural icon that transcends the literary works he/she produced – someone, who can embody an entire value system of literary production, as well as an entire nation, and even come to cross national and cultural boundaries and thereby turn into a literary hero on a global stage.

Turning the attention from the object created through text to the reader created through text, Nicola J. Watson's *Literary Tourist* attempts writing a history of literary tourism in Britain, focusing on 19th century literary and non-literary texts (N. J. Watson 2008).[709] Analyzing the implied tourist in literary texts, her study argues that it is indeed the text itself that invented and solicited tourism. She reconstructs the reader-tourist by detecting the sensibilities implied by texts (be they literary or non-literary) which result in readers responding to them by engaging in acts of tourism (N. J. Watson 2008, 12–13). By analyzing how literary places were called into being by texts, Nicola Watson attributes all agency within the text itself.

A more recent publication, Emery's *Photojournalism, and the Origins of the French Writer House Museum (1881-1914)* published in 2012, comes closer to acknowledging the author museum as a producing force operating posthumously, long after the author has exerted direct influence on his surroundings. Her focus on the importance of the birth of photography as a technology for the rise of the author museum as a concept has greatly enriched my work. But Emery's limitation, both in respect to time and space, also results in a specialized approach, which rarely looks beyond the French context and fails to acknowledge the important role author museums have played in the production of the author around the world.

Publications which have attempted this crucial point of seeing the workings of author museums as a global phenomenon have mostly taken the form of edited volumes, in which

[709] A different approach to literary tourism is taken by Strobbe's analysis of strategies and practices of contemporary literary tourism. By raising the question of whether a new form of literary tourism is developing in the digital age, Strobe sees literary tourist sites as offering a "promise of authenticity" (Echtheitsversprechen), a promise today's tourist engages in without expecting it to be fulfilled. In his contribution, Strobbe attempts to separate between the tourism centered around "great writers" and tourism that draws on writer's references to specific places in order to "instrumentalize" these references for their local tourism industry (Strobbe 2013). A separation in a seemingly "natural" author worship and one that is evoked calculatedly, however, is not a fruitful approach to these highly complex social practices, as this thesis argues at the beginning of "Lu Xun – institutionalized". For an analysis on literary tourism to Mark Twain's houses, see (Lowe 2009).

numerous contributors covered writers institutionalized in different countries. Three publications should be mentioned here as examples. In Harald Hendrix' (ed.) *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory* (Hendrix 2008) the role of the author's self-fashioning through his house receives center attention, after which its transformation into a site for the production of a collective cultural memory[710] emerges in its place, when the house becomes an attraction for literary tourism. The focus on the power of the author on the one, and the reader on the other hand, however, often risks skipping the step of curation. Historian Kate Hill's (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities* (Hill 2012b) enquires into the mutual effect biography as a text and genre has on person museums and vice versa. The question of the curator and his agency in the production of meaning are explicitly included. Furthermore, the agency of objects also receive a new level of attention, shifting the agency from the text to the material object on display (Hill 2012b, 2–3).[711] The dominant number of (art) historians and museologists contributing to the volume explain this focus on exhibition practices and the power of the display.[712] One contribution highlights an important aspect this thesis has also followed up on, namely the reading of author museums as collective biographies. English literary scholar Alison Booth remarks that "[a]rtefacts have a way of moving around from hand to hand, from heir to collector to donor to curator, and from room to room when no one is really looking" (Booth 2012, 235). This has proven more than true in the reading of Lu Xun's institutionalization, which is why this thesis analyses the implications of these movements and changes over time.

And finally Joseph Leerssen and Ann Rigney's (eds.) *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-century Europe: Nation-building and Centenary Fever* (Leerssen and Rigney 2014) turns its focus to the political project of producing a national identity via writers who come to embody a nation. This publication is significant as it brings to light an aspect of crucial importance to this thesis. It makes apparent that author museums do not exist separate from each other, working only within the memory production of one culture alone. For one shortcoming of the three volumes

[710] For more information on collective memory and its role in sociology and cultural studies, see: (B. Schwartz, Fukuoka, and Takita-Ishii 2004).

[711] Linda Young's contribution on "Magic Objects/ Modern Objects: Heroes' House Museums" compares how Virgin Mary is presented in Santa Casa of Loreto, Abraham Lincoln at his birthplace in Kentucky, as well as Captain Cook's cabin in Great Ayton, England revealing the transformation from "historical" into "sacred" objects and vice versa. The power of the object is further at the center of attention in other contributions to *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation* (Dudley and et al 2011).

[712] For a state of the art of the museum's role in the twentieth-century, see Marontate's contribution on "Museums and the Constitution of Culture" (Marontate 2004) in the *Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Culture* which introduces the museum in its role of "mediating". Museums are no longer seen as merely collecting and making that which is collected accessible to a public, but instead it is an active mediator of that which it collects.

lies in their exclusive focus on European writers. Only the most recent volume focusing on nation-building manages to include writers from Eastern Europe or Russia as well and furthermore including Europe as a disclaimer in its title. Yet not a single case study on an Asian, African or (non-US-) American writer has been included in these collective works. As for their ambition to nevertheless bring together a wide range of individual case studies, this is achieved at a certain cost. Despite their claims to offer comparative perspectives, the comparison of the respective contributions is left to the reader. As the histories are presented to be individual, each coming to exist in their specific socio-historic and cultural contexts, such a comparison is difficult to be made. In the contribution dealing with Sándor Petőfi's and other East European writers' visual presentation, it becomes clear that these spaces and displays do not exist in a vacuum.[713] John Neubauer notes that "[t]he cult of Petőfi and the other East-Central European national poets is not limitless in the geographic sense, for their poems, written in 'minor' languages, have difficulty in reaching a global audience" (Neubauer 2014, 260). Yet as a national icon his image and its spatial placement fulfilled an important function. "National celebrations constitute a ritual that extend their cultural lifespan indefinitely", Neubauer explains (Neubauer 2014, 260). His reference to "minor" languages, which he marks with quotation marks, raises the question of centers and peripheries in a global literary field and the crucial role national identities have played in the dynamics within it. While this is carefully touched upon in Neubauer's contribution, the power of national identities in the rise of cultural heroes takes center stage in this thesis.

Lai He, Bertolt Brecht and Lu Xun: The Political Principle

My thesis seeks to overcome the Anglo- and Eurocentrism which remains prevalent in the academic field of literary studies and is already visible in these foundational works that opened up the author museum as a new field of academic inquiry. This study thus deals with the author museum in a global context of interconnections between Europe and Asia. The main focus lies on the author museums dedicated to Lu Xun in China, which played a crucial role in the production of Lu Xun as a literary hero in Chinese society. At the same time, author museums of Lai He in Taiwan and Bertolt Brecht in Germany will contextualize the Lu Xun museums in a global arena, with the Brecht museums located in the perceived European "center" on the one hand, and the Lai He

[713] Especially in the comparison of Lu Xun and Lai He's museum space in the interlude "Lu Xun – centered or marginalized" of this thesis.

Museum located in the Chinese "periphery" on the other. While all three writers are associated with left-wing literary production and have lived as well as worked during the 1930s, the museums in which they are produced as literary heroes faced very different histories of the author museum as an institution, as well as different cultural and political expectations towards a literary hero more generally. Local conditions greatly influence the museum's establishment, its means of displaying their author, and its possibilities of circulating the author outside of the museum walls, and even outside of the author's own cultural context. It is exactly due to these differences in their socio-historic contexts that it is possible to gain insights into the general and specific mechanisms that come into play in author museums around the globe when they form their literary heroes.

Choosing three left-wing writers from different cultural realms in this sociological approach to museums spaces aims to highlight the fact that literature and politics are inevitably entangled. For certainly, when thinking in a global perspective, concepts such as Bourdieu's cultural capital require revisiting, as Michael Hockx' (ed.) *The Literary Field of Twentieth-Century China* (Hockx 1999) has suggested. Reading the Chinese literary field, Hockx introduces the political as a third principle (in addition to economic and symbolic capital), explaining that modern Chinese literary practice requires this third "political capital". Even though it is not possible to see it strictly speaking as part of the "autonomous principle", it is an indispensable element when trying to understand the inner workings of the Chinese literary field (Hockx 1999, 12–19); (Hockx 2012).[714] I argue that it is not only true for Chinese literature specifically, but for so-called "left-wing" writers more generally, also outside of the Chinese context. It is not surprising that Bourdieu, who looked at the case of the GDR only a month before the fall of the Berlin Wall, deliberated over whether the model of distinction he had proposed for understanding France would also be applicable for the GDR. Whether one would rediscover all (and only) the same principles of differentiation as he had found in France and, if one did, whether they would bear the same relative weight (Bourdieu 1998, 16). He too concluded that "political capital" would have to be a necessary principle especially in what he called "Soviet" regimes, in which the accumulation of economic capital was officially out

[714] Hockx summarizes that "[i]t would be incorrect to view this 'political principle' as part of the autonomous principle, for two reasons: first, because overly utilitarian writing has never been accorded high literary value by the Chinese literary community and, second, because 'politically correct' writers can be upwardly mobile in terms of 'political capital' within the field, even if they are immobile in terms of 'symbolic capital'. [….] What can be said is that in this case, too, the most acclaimed literary producers are those who seemingly effortlessly combine 'literary excellence' with political efficacy and economic success, while never giving the impression that they sacrificed the first principle for the other two, or the second for the third. The best example is the writer who, perhaps exactly for these reasons, is considered to be modern China's finest: Lu Xun" (Hockx 1999, 12).

of bounds and where therefore distinction could be achieved only through the accumulation of political capital, which again allowed for private appropriation of public goods.[715] In this thesis, political capital plays an important role in two regards. Firstly, the granting of political capital to the authors displayed is of major importance. It is through a political iconography that symbolic capital (in form of political capital) is granted to the left-wing writer. Displaying Mao Zedong in the Lu Xun museum, displaying Lenin in Brecht's apartment, framing Brecht's house with a photograph of Honecker – each of these processes of localizing the left-wing writer into a *political* genealogy of heroes is a form of valorizing the author. The "political picture act" is shown to be one crucial mechanism through which value is attributed to left-wing writers on display. Secondly, the political capital which human actors who play a part in the museum's establishment and management stand to gain before, after or through their work at the author museum. For the case of Wang Yeqiu, the Director of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), his political capital enabled him to affiliate the Lu Xun museum with a high-level government institution, and this affiliation would in turn grant political capital to the Lu Xun museum as an institution. Thus the power of museums in China rests on their position in the political and administrative hierarchy of other institutions and on the political power of those establishing and running it.

Findings from a Global Perspective: A Conclusion

When zooming in to Lu Xun (*big* 大) from the starting point of world literary heritage, I first offer a synchronic reading of Lai He's and Lu Xun's museum spaces. I show how their museum spaces are engaged in a spatial dialogue across the Taiwan Strait. The display of Lu Xun and Lai He not

[715] The main difference between France and the GDR, was that economic capital was officially out of bounds in the GDR. The private possession of the means of production were thus not a possible form of gaining capital, resulting in the relative increase of the worth of cultural capital. But Bourdieu quickly came to realize that the absence of economic capital did not, however, result in cultural and educational capital becoming the only means of differentiation. Instead he added a form which he simply termed "political capital", which guaranteed its holders a form of private appropriation of goods and public services. This political capital he thus regarded as one form of social capital. "The regimes that are properly called "Soviet" (rather than communist) have carried to the limit this tendency toward *private appropriation of public goods and services*" (Bourdieu 1998, 16). "When other forms of accumulation are more or less completely controlled, political capital becomes the primordial principle of differentiation, and the member of the political "nomenklatura" have hardly any competitors in the struggle for the dominant principle of domination which takes place in the field of power, other than the holders of academic capital" (Bourdieu 1998, 16). Thus the main rivalries take place between the holders of political capital and the holders of academic capital, who however themselves either come from or are later included in the political nomenklatura (Bourdieu 1998, 16–17). In the context of the social unrest in the GDR, Bourdieu argued that the holders of academic capital would be those who were most inclined to be impatient and to revolt against the privileges of the holders of political capital.

only has developed a power within their respective cultural fields, but can be understood to orient itself *towards* its mainland or Taiwan counterpart in its spatial composition and visual design. After juxtaposing Lu Xun's presentation with that of Lai He in Taiwan, I further zoom in to compare the specifics of Lu Xun's institutionalization to Brecht's in the GDR and unified Germany (big-medium 中大), and only then further zoom in to the specifics of Lu Xun's institutionalization alone until arriving at one single object on display. What this thesis hereby overcomes is presenting literary fields and spaces (the Chinese, Taiwanese, German literary fields) as individual cases detached from each other. Instead, I highlight the entanglements of the memories and materiality these three authors inhabit.

These entanglements reveal the importance of not only *comparing* numerous cases presented within different nations and cultures, but of going *beyond* understanding their cultures as coherent or their institutional traditions as homogenous (the French Writer House Museum). Instead, one has to be aware that the exchange of cultures, institutions and concepts has always already occurred at some point of time (the adaption of the "Soviet" author museum in China,[716] Lai He understanding himself to be a "Chinese" writer when later being staged as a "Taiwanese" author, neither of which are undisputed). Many actors are shown to engage in these cultural exchanges, but especially writers of the twentieth century – even when they come to be transformed into national heroes – have been crucial facilitators in transcultural exchanges, which can be traced not only in their writings (in form of intertextuality), but also in their literary and personal estates (in form of what I term intermateriality).

The circulation of objects from around the world that are collected by writers and later designated as literary heritage thus expands David Damrosch's definition of World Literature as "all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language" (Damrosch 2003, 4). World literary heritage thus can be defined as the material traces of transcultural literary encounters of many kinds that materialize in the literary estates of writers. Be it by the author acting as a cultural broker (Lu Xun's collection of German woodblock prints or Brecht's collection of Chinese hanging-scrolls which find their way into their writings) or the objects entering into a transcultural debate between literary peripheries and centers (Lai He's

[716] This is not to say that literary sites of commemoration writers did not exist in China prior to the 1940s. While it was not in the form of a public museum, sites dedicated to poets existed in China before. Yet the institutionalization of these sites actually took place after that of Lu Xun, with a museum dedicated to Du Fu 杜甫 (Tang Dynasty, 618-907), opening in the 1980s (as was Qufu as the birth place of Confucius).

bust in Zhanghua facing off Lu Xun's bust in Shaoxing). These transcultural encounters can lie in the past (e.g. during the writer's lifetime) or still dominate discussions in the present (debates about Chinese, Taiwanese or Sinophone literatures). The intermateriality we detect in their displays show that neither the literature these writers produced nor the material world with which they surrounded themselves can be understood within the category of the national. Moreover, the "Chinese" objects one encounters in Brecht's former residence and the "German" objects one encounters in Lu Xun's have at times been subjected to the regulative force that was needed to enable political actors (Mao Zedong or Honecker) to transform Lu Xun into "a national hero 民族英雄" (Mao Zedong 毛泽东 1970, 191–92) or present Brecht as a "component of [our] socialist national culture (Bestandteil unserer sozialistischen Nationalkultur)" (ADN/ Notate 1978, 1). Yet their valorization due to their perceived *national* value resulted in the valorization of their *transcultural* literary estates, thus already encompassing the power of deregulation, the power to deconstruct the national hero.

However, not only objects are shown to circulate in this thesis. At an abstract level, I also highlight the circulations of valorizing mechanisms. The author museum as a concept itself circulated, to start with. In the case of the PRC it was appropriated from the Soviet Union in the mid-1940s. Not only institutional concepts circulated, concepts of valorizing objects also are shown to be on the move and continuously in a state of flux. This valorization is realized by creating fixed levels (Grade One to Three) and fixed categories, such as "revolutionary" or "historical" in the PRC or "of universal value for art, history or science" in form of "heritage" as defined by UNESCO. This thesis shows that these categories are neither stable over time, with the PRC switching from "revolutionary" to "historical" *wenwu* in their categorization in the mid-1990s or UNESCO increasingly expanding the definition of "authenticity" in its effort to allow for a more inclusive engagement with other "cultures" and their valorizing categories in the mid-1990s as well. Nor are these mechanisms inherently stable beyond a localized system, with the PRC adapting some of UNESCOs language (*yichan*) and categorizations, such as the CCLM or the CMA as self-proclaimed NGOs, partially mirroring UNSECO structures, but also continuing to operate within national institutional structures, like the SACH.

Human agency in form of valuing and claiming a writer's estate has, of course, remained a crucial mechanism in creating heritage and "the author". The comparative diachronic reading of the institutional histories of the Lu Xun and Bertolt Brecht museums in "Lu Xun –worlded" show the different roles similar actors played in their institutionalization. An example are Helene Weigel (1900-1971 from Vienna) and Xu Guangping (1898-1968 from Guangzhou/ Guangdong) in their

power over the literary estate through private ownership and how their power increased and decreased over time. Due to the over-representation of (dead) men (granted in the selection made in this thesis not all white Europeans), the power through ownership and inheritance often falls into the hands of their wives or life partners. That is not to say that these roles define their actions, nor that their actions lead to predictable results. Even though Xu Guangping ceded her ownership of Lu Xun's estate to the state and had limited control over Lu Xun's estate in the 1950s, her death in the mid-1960s had a great impact on the future trajectory of the Lu Xun museums, turning the attention of the highest political leaders (e.g. Mao Zedong) to the museum's function to protect, which she experienced lacking. Often, as in this case, the agency one gained as an actor was not the result of a rational choice, as past theories of institutionalism would predict.[717] In contrast, Helene Weigel's death set an end to her strong control over Brecht's literary estate and resulted in the GDR state attempting to fill this vacuum of power by subtly disinheriting the heirs not of Brecht's publications rights, but of his material literary heritage in form of the archive. One contribution of this thesis is thus to show the importance of gaining power and authority over the material estate of a writer, which in its symbolical value to the state by far outweighed the economic value through revenues which first and foremost remains important to the heirs of writers. Another contribution this thesis offers to the field of world literature is a feminist or sociological reading of the production of male writers in which especially female actors as heirs have claimed much power over their estates and are thereby shown to have had a strong impact on what is considered world literary heritage. Especially in regard to re-creating the "authentic" display of former residences, the female counterpart to the male writer has the strongest voice in determining the display of a former private residence that transforms into a public space of commemoration. Their authority over the inner spaces of society (*nei* 内) provided them with the power over those which would become the outer spaces (*wai* 外).[718] To clarify, there certainly are female writers which have become central to many literary canons and by no means are all relationships resulting in inheritance and heterosexual relationships in form of marriage or cohabitation. Further research into cases in which inheritance did not or could not follow the legally prescribed order of marriage

[717] For an introduction into the theory of institutionalism and neo-institutionalism, see: "Institutionalism and Charisma" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis.

[718] I am drawing on the terminology used by historian Dorothy Ko, who works in the field of women's studies, who has challenged the simplified dichotomies between "inner" and "outer" domains as fields of action in Chinese society, especially during the 17th century, arguing that even though these dichotomies existed as theoretical concepts, the boundaries between them were far more fluent in practice (Ko 1994, 13;144).

would thus be worthy of further investigation. Yet there is little doubt that literary scholars still grapple with a male-dominated world literary canon. It almost goes without saying that none of the writers from the World Literary Giants square mentioned at the outset of "Zooming In: The Materiality of World Literary Heritage" were women. This thesis thus highlights one of the results which, at first glance, seem unremarkable, but have deeper consequences for the production of world literary heritage: The silencing of women in the production of literature has given an especially strong voice to women in the production of authors.

Beyond this one example, this thesis highlights the complex negotiations that take place in author museums between various actors, going beyond rational human agency. This shows that author museums are collective biographies written by both human actors as well as non-human actors such as structures and material objects on display which can acquire their own agency. A photograph of Lenin can thus not only acquire multiple layers of meaning over time, it can also gain a certain agency. Such a photograph (again – whose authenticity is vouched for by Weigel, as seen in the section on "*Display, a quick glance*: Moving, Losing and Placing Lenin), can transform from a valorizing element in a restrictive reading of Brecht as socialist writer into a valorizing element in a de-regulative reading of Brecht by the act of the photograph's defacing at the hands of a visitor who performs the valorizing act by turning the photograph face down in a guided tour. That which was used to restrict is used to deregulate, yet in both cases the political iconography is used to *valorize* the author.

More than anything, this thesis argues against mono-causal explanations for an author's canonicity, instead seeing the processes of canonization in the material world as linked to displays, human actors and structures. It further argues against seeing the relationships between authors and their texts as unilateral processes of valorization, instead recognizing how man and text, material display and Second Body, mutually attribute value to each other – and against seeing author museums as culturally-specific phenomena and instead acknowledging their global impact on canon formation. My transcultural perspective on author museums thus goes beyond a history of "the French", "the German" or "the Chinese" author museum, as well as seeing the author museum as a mere source for (archival) material in order to open a window into the private lives and minds of writers, but instead recognizes the author museum as a producing force in the process of attributing value to authors both in Asia and in Europe.

The findings of this research, of course, again open up new questions both for the academic discipline of (World) Literature Studies and for the profession of museum work in practice. For the

academic field it is time that social mechanisms of value creation are reflected upon more generally. The silence upheld by some of the main players in the granting of cultural capital in the global literary field (see Danius) needs to be broken. Self-initiative as in the case of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive has proven to be a powerful tool. And yet, these institutional self-reflections have to be subjected to investigation as this thesis reveals in the cases of both the Lu Xun and as well as the Brecht museums, in which claimed deregulation at times reveals itself to be a new form of restriction.

In museum practice, the question will be how to creatively engage with one's own work of producing the Second Body of writers. How can the visitor be informed about the museum's role as a *mediating* force without overburdening him or her with a multitude of master and counter narratives about Lu Xun's life or a lengthy introduction into the numerous Lu Xun's created in the past to facilitate the visitors' understanding for the kind of Lu Xun presented to them in the museum in the present. How could museum collaborations, for example co-curations of a Lu Xun-Lai He-exhibition on both sides of the Taiwan Strait and in Japan open up new forms of understanding the cultural conflicts which the creation of a global literary canon entail? And to keep this question for last: What will a Museum of World Literature look like? I am confident that an attempt to put World Literature on display in museum space will not be long in coming. It will be very difficult to argue away with the political principle in this effort. And it is likely that the impetus will not come from past centers of literary production in Europe. It will not come as a surprise that the only National English Literary Museum (NELM), established 1972, is located in Grahamstown, South-Africa. Or that a Museum of Esperanto opened its doors in 2013 in Zaozhuang, Shandong Province in China. When a Museum of World Literature does come into planning, the questions raised here for the case of Lu Xun will resurface and museum professionals and scholars alike will be required to move far outside their comfort zone: What form would this institution take? Where would it be localized – in the world and in existing networks of national and global mechanisms of valorization? Who and what would be put on display? Which actors would join into the making? Who would this global literary tourist be? And which objects would start to talk back and refuse to communicate that which they were intended to? Much of what we have believed either culturally specific or universally valid would have to be thoroughly rethought.

Note to the Reader

> [A]n immortal pen has always been required to record the deeds of an immortal man, the man becoming known to posterity through the writing and the writing known to posterity through the man – until finally it is not clear who is making whom known.
> Lu Xun 1921 The True Story of AQ

> 不朽之笔，须传不朽之人，于是人以文传， 文以人传 —— 究竟谁靠谁传，渐渐的不甚了然起来。
> 鲁迅 1921 阿 Q 正传[719]

This thesis tries to understand the Chinese writer Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936 from Shaoxing/ Zhejiang) in the context of world literary heritage and – at the same time – to better understand world literary heritage through the case of Lu Xun. The term literary heritage in this thesis primarily addresses the material heritage of literature. This might seem like an inherent contradiction at first glance, since literature is often understood as something immaterial, something that goes beyond the material (the text, the pen and paper, or the writer's study), something that only comes to life and takes shape in the mind of the reader.[720] But this study will focus precisely on the materiality of literature and especially on that of "the author". On the pen he wrote with, the spaces in which he wrote and the author museums[721] where both are put on display.

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[719] (Lu Xun 鲁迅 2005a, 512). For the English translation, see: (Lu Xun [1956d] 1980, 102). Lu Xun raises the question of interdependency in the genre of biography, with immortality only to be achieved through "great writers" who pass on one's life story to posterity. In my thesis this interdependency is expanded to include the dependency of "great writers" on their texts in order to become known to posterity themselves. The "great writer", like the "great man" relies heavily on text, for example in form of hagiographies, to achieve immortality. Yet only the writer encompasses the power to achieve his own.

[720] For representative voices from the field of reader-response criticism, see for example (Fish 1982) and Barthes' concept of the "birth of the reader"(Barthes 1977, 148). At the outset of her chapter on whether one ought to display literature in museums, Heike Gfrereis, director of the Museum of Modern Literature (LiMo) in Marbach, Germany acknowledges: "Of course we cannot display literature. [Literature] comes to exist in the mind of the reader. (Natürlich kann man Literatur nicht ausstellen. Sie realisiert sich erst im Kopf des Lesers)"(Gfrereis 2007, 81).

[721] This thesis choses the term "author museum" instead of "a writer's house", "literary museum", "former residence", "person museum" or "memorial museum" etc. for two main reasons. Firstly, it is not the historical architecture that is meant to be emphasized (as in the house or residence). At times the author museum is the former residence (Brecht's apartment in Berlin), at times it encompasses a former residence (Lu Xun's former residence at Xisantiao hutong located within the larger premises of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum), and at times the former residence no longer exists and is thus recreated within a memorial museum or literary museum (as in Lai He's museum). Secondly, the above terms are often used interchangeably. This is why in museum management, for example in the International Council of Museums (ICOM), museums dedicated to authors often struggle with the decision to which committee they should best be affiliated with, as there are special committees for historic houses (DEMHIST), literary museums (ICLM) and memorial museums (ICMEMO). This ambiguity was, for example, addressed by Fu Guangming 傅光明, head of the Chinese Committee of Literary Museums (CCLM) (Fu Guangming 傅光明 05.08.2014, 00:03:43). Thus instead of attempting to define a specific museum genre with the term, this thesis highlights the implications of the museum's social practices when they put writers on display: The museum does not (re)trieve a historical person who is defined by his profession of writing. The museum creates an author, the authoritative second body, not the historical first body of the writer. For more information, see "Lu Xun's Two Bodies" in "Zooming Out: Lu Xun on Display" of this thesis.

Three representatives of left-wing literature, Lu Xun in China, Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956 from Augsburg) in Germany, and Lai He 賴和 (1894-1943 from Zhanghua) in Taiwan, are the objects of this research. During their lifetime in the first-half of the twentieth century, these three figures had aesthetically been connected in their roles as left-wing writers, remote from the literary and political center of left-wing literature localized in Moscow but stretched across national borders into China, Germany and Taiwan. In the processes of their institutionalization the aesthetic and political realm are strongly entangled and their museums are thus prone to be dismantled by critical approaches as mere ideologically motivated instrumentalizations of writers. Lu Xun was institutionalized in museum space in the PRC in the 1950s, Bertolt Brecht in the GDR in the 1970s and Lai He in Taiwan in the 1990s. Their institutionalization, however, took place each in a different temporal and socio-historical setting, revealing differing processes of valorization of the heroic. Before diving into the subject matter of the writers' institutionalization in the form of author museums, this note to the reader provides a short introduction to the overall structure of the thesis, its primary sources and its main research questions.

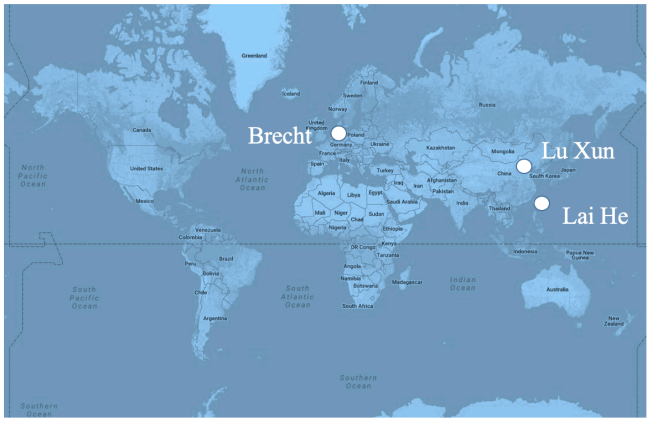
Concerning the structure, I do not provide a look down "onto" the larger field of world literary heritage by describing the single case of Lu Xun, or even describing multiple individual cases. That is to say, I do not look down "onto" a two-dimensional field, which one could imagine as a map of the world, literally speaking [**IC 194 Methodological Approach 1**]. Instead, my ambition is to analyze Lu Xun, as well as Bertolt Brecht and Lai He as additional cases, by approaching them from one of two directions. Either to start from the specific "piece" of literary heritage (for example Lu Xun's pen) and *zoom out* to the field of world literary heritage. Or to start from the field of world literary heritage and *zoom in* to Lu Xun's study – to his table – on which his pen is lying [**IC 194 Methodological Approach 2**]. Accordingly, this thesis can be read from two directions. The reader can either choose to start with the macro or micro level, can choose to take a step closer or a step back. The reader will thus find this "note to the reader" in identical wording at the beginning and at the end of this thesis and will also find that the thesis has two official titles:

- Lu Xun on Display: Memory, Space and Media in the Making of World Literary Heritage
- The Materiality of World Literary Heritage: Memory, Space and Media in the Making of Lu Xun

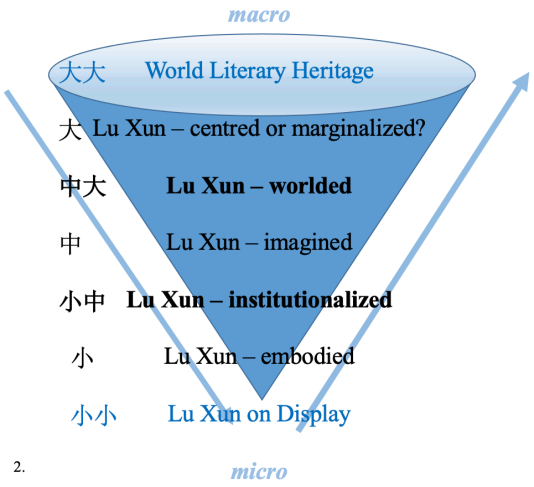
Since the individual parts and interludes of this thesis do not follow a prescribed sequence, I have refrained from arranging them according to numbering (1-7) or the Latin alphabet (A-G). For

reading the thesis from macro to micro level is equally correct and the reader should not feel that he or she is reading the thesis in the wrong order. The parts and interludes are therefore arranged by the degree to which the reader has zoomed in or zoomed out. Unlike the linear Latin alphabet, the Chinese writing system does not imply a linear direction in the arrangement of characters. With this in mind, the parts and interludes are ordered according to three characters: 小 (*xiao* small), 中 (*zhong* medium), 大 (*da* large). The seven individual parts of this thesis are thus ordered as following: 小小 small-small < 小 small < 小中 small-medium < 中 medium < 中大 medium-large < 大 large < 大大 large-large. The reader can choose large-large or small-small as his or her starting point.

IC 194 Methodological Approach:
Lu Xun and World Literary Heritage – Zooming in and Zooming out



1. World map; source: Maps.google.com.



2.

My motivation to order the thesis in this manner is methodological. It has two main objectives. Firstly, it aims to tackle one of the fundamental challenges of interdisciplinarity in today's academic order, which recurringly confronts us with the crucial question: What readership do I address? By offering two starting points, my aim is to address two different readerships in particular. Sinologists trained in Chinese history, literature and culture are very familiar with Lu Xun and can start from a specific object on display, well aware of the degree to which Lu Xun as writer and historic figure has been valorized in Chinese literary criticism and historiography more generally. Readers who are not familiar with Chinese literature but have a background in (trans-) cultural studies, (comparative) literature or material heritage studies can start from the global perspective on what I term "world literary heritage" and slowly, step by step, approach the Chinese writer Lu

Xun to learn more about his specific institutionalization in museum space. Secondly, the two directions aim to question a unilateral process of valorization in society, addressing the question: Who attributes value to whom? Read back to back, the two titles of this thesis reveal that the process of attributing value to the writer Lu Xun is circular, not unilateral. It is not Lu Xun's inherent value as a writer that inevitably leads him to be displayed in a museum (the author makes the museum), nor can his institutionalization in museum space guarantee his value in society (the museum makes the author). Especially in a globally interconnected museum landscape, in which literary tourists travel to pilgrimage sites outside of their own linguistic and cultural sphere, both directions of valorization take place.

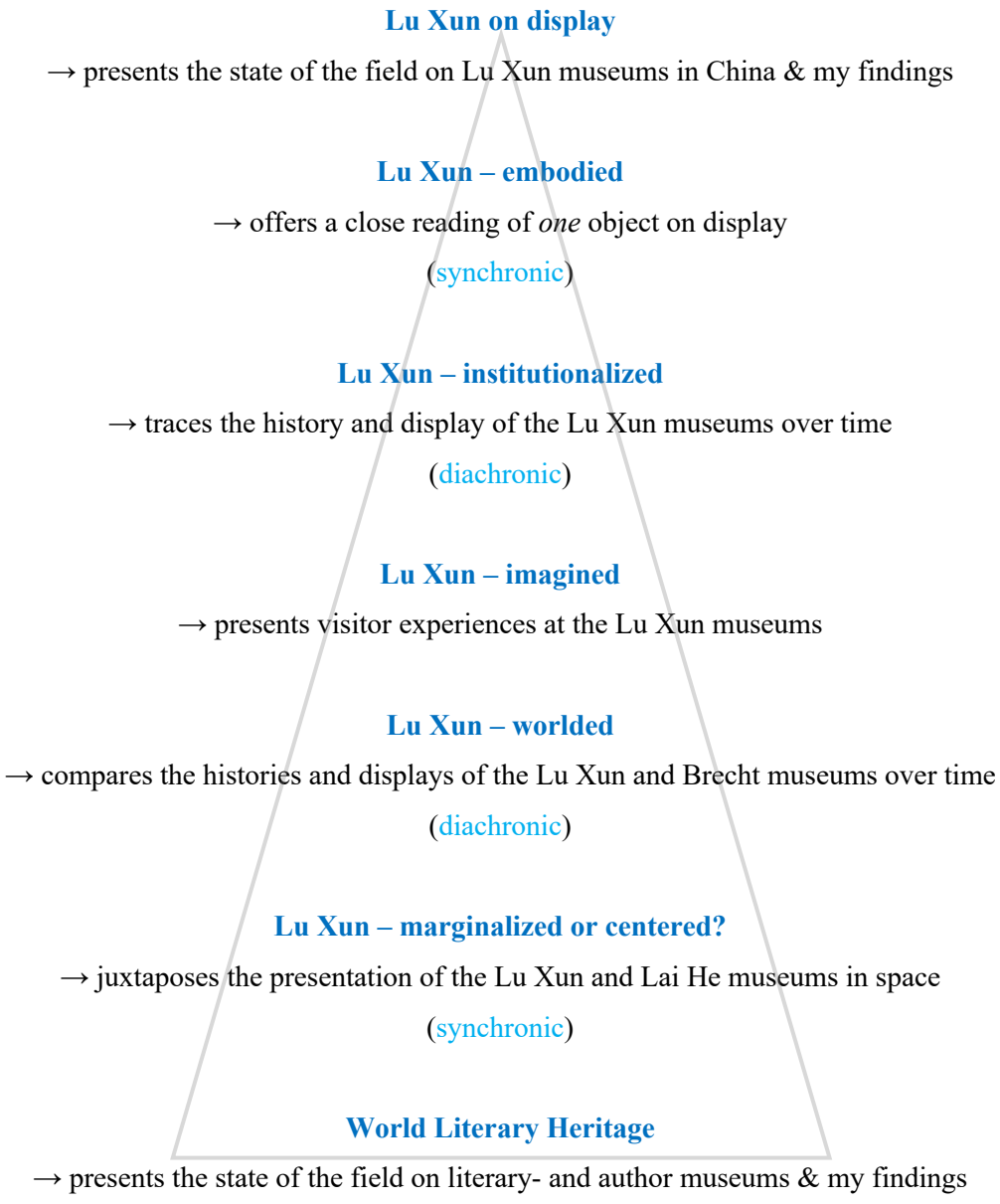
Finally, the thesis does not, in the traditional sense, offer a conclusion at the end. Instead, one reader's introduction will serve as another reader's conclusion. One leads the reader to Lu Xun's situatedness in Chinese literary studies, or so-called "Lu-Xun-ology" and explains the contribution this study has made to the field. The other leads the reader to what I define as the intermateriality of world literary heritage, highlighting in which way author museums provide possible answers to the questions addressed in the transdisciplinary and transcultural field which has in recent years come to be defined as World Literature.

The primary source materials which provide the foundation of this analysis range from written and oral histories of the museums (published and unpublished chronicles or yearbooks and interviews recording the memory of museum staff), over visual representations of the authors (photographs, drawings, woodblock prints – turned into posters, busts, statues or comic books), to past and present visual records of the material displays (either historic renderings and recordings of the display, for example as photographs, or my own). Expert interviews with the museum directors and museum staff members greatly enrich the textual materials and visual representations of the dispay at times support, at times challenge, in short – further enrich – these written and oral narratives. Visitor interviews give an important voice to the reception side, which in other materials can often only be heard indirectly (e.g. the recollection of the museum staff of how they perceived visitors to have perceived what they saw). Guest book entries allow for another form of accessing visitor's voices, even while certainly being diluted to varying degrees or at the very least mediated through the medium of the guest book itself. Personal observations on-site, personal encounters

with producers and recipients, and on-site access to the respective collections and archives of the museums which opened a door to past displays,[722] were thus crucial to this investigation.

As this thesis offers a reading of museum displays not only across national borders (reading Lu Xun alongside Lai He and Bertolt Brecht), it also offers readings of the museums both across time (diachronic readings of the institutional histories) and across space at one specific moment in time (synchronic readings of the display in its spatial arrangement). Both the diachronic and synchronic readings are necessary to understand the power Lu Xun museums developed. They not only have contributed to the making of Lu Xun as a literary hero for as long as the People's Republic has existed and arguably longer, they have had an impact well beyond their own cultural context (reaching Moscow, Berlin or Tainan) and thereby setting up an institutional power center in the global literary field. The two main parts are arranged diachronically while the interludes are largely arranged synchronically.

[722] Among them are the photo archive and general archive of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, materials provided to me directly by the Lu Xun museums in Shanghai, Shaoxing and Xiamen and the Lai He Museum in Zhanghua, Taiwan, as well as the photo archive of the Akademie der Künste and the Betolt-Brecht-Archiv.



The sinologist W.J.F. Jenner commented in an article titled "Lu Xun's Disturbing Greatness" that one should return to Lu Xun's writing instead of analyzing the hagiographies that claim him to be a "great writer".

> Chinese and foreign commentary on Lu Xun tends – with honourable exceptions – to do everything except to look at him as a writer who put words on paper. We have had to endure decades of stuff about him as a Great Writer that sets the work into this or that construct of May Fourth history [a cultural movement associated with the demonstrations against imperialism in China on May 4th 1919 in reaction to the Treaty of Versailles] but does not really read what he wrote. The aim of this essay is not to chisel a new statue of a dead Great

> Writer to replace old ones but to urge everyone to find their own Lu Xun and make him dance (Jenner 2000, 4).

In a way, this thesis looks in the opposite direction to which Jenner points. Instead of focusing my attention on Lu Xun's writing, which some of the recent research on Lu Xun has done,[723] this thesis turns to the many statues presenting Lu Xun as a "great writer". Taking Jenner's metaphor far more literally, this thesis takes a close look at how Lu Xun's image was indeed chiseled into stone, who held the chisel at what time, and how the many statues differ in their style and implications. For even though it seems true that many of Lu Xun's hagiographies are difficult to "endure" for Sinologists such as Jenner, the material hagiographies that have been written through material display in museums are more than deserving of attention. By closely examining how these spaces have produced Lu Xun as a "great writer" this thesis offers an alternative approach from returning to the text: To face directly the chiseled image and to look behind the scene at the actors involved in the statue's making.

Regarding this study as a whole, the three key research questions in which all inquiries converge are:

- How was Lu Xun produced as cultural hero in Chinese society (→ the making of Lu Xun)?
- How is literary heritage produced when regarded from a global perspective (→ the making of world literary heritage)?
- How are these two productions intertwined?

As the two titles of this thesis reveal, the relationship between the two productions is that of a reciprocal process of valorization: It is the author as a hero who makes his pen valuable for display, but it is also the singularization, display and worship of the pen as an object of value, that makes the author a hero.

When inquiring further, more specific questions are addressed from different levels of scale. From the *macro (World Literary Heritage)* perspective the following questions arise. Synchronic: When looking at Taiwan Literature as a periphery in World Literature, how is this periphery put

[723] See, for example, Gloria Davies' *Lu Xun's Revolution: Writing in a Time of Violence* (Davies 2013). Recent scholarship on the role which memory plays in Lu Xun's literary works includes works by E. Shan Chou's *Memory, Violence, Queues: Lu Xun Interprets China* from 2012 (Chou 2012), Wenjin Cui's "The 'Symbol of Angst' and the Poetics of Remembrance: Lu Xun and Chinese Literary Modernity" from 2016 (Cui 2016) and Shakhar Rahav's "Blade of Remembrance: Memory, Objects, and Redemption in Lu Xun" from 2015 (Rahav 2015). In these studies, the literary works and not the author are central to their investigations. This thesis, however, does not focus on Lu Xun's literary works alone, but instead on how the writer is remembered and commemorated in society.

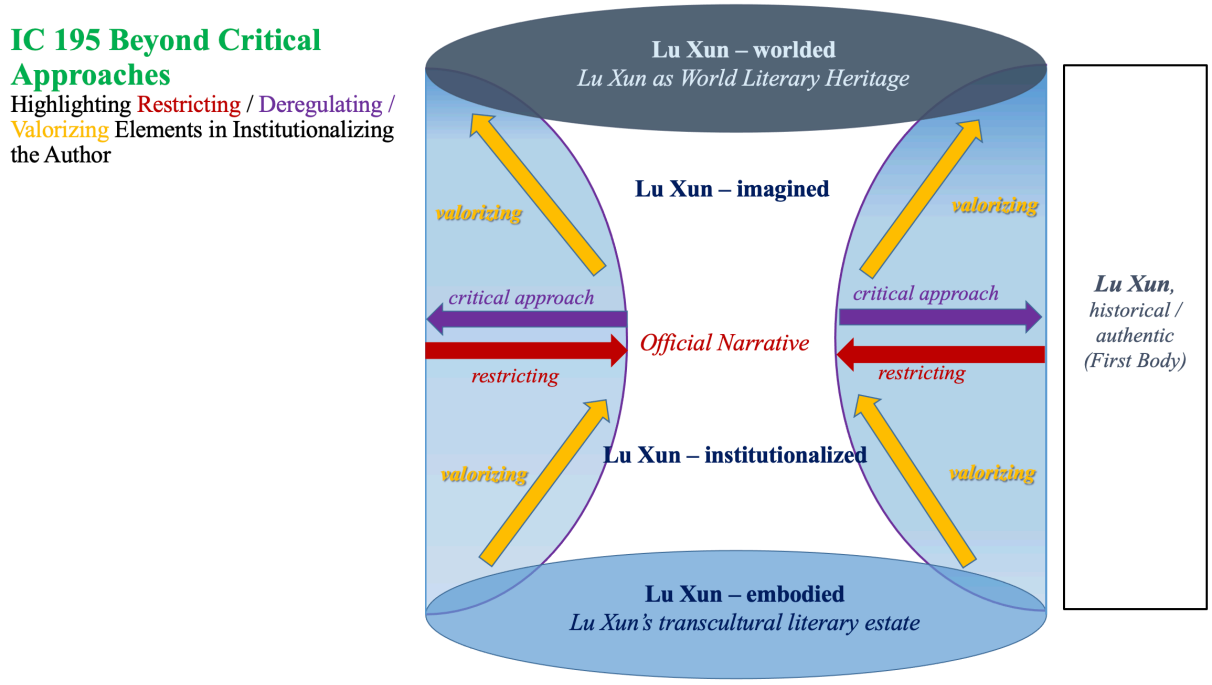
on display? What spatial dialogues between displays can be detected across the Taiwan Strait? How do the writers Lu Xun and Lai He valorize each other? Diachronic: From a historical perspective, which actors are involved in these processes of making an author in museums space? How have museums adapted to major political changes? Which similarities and differences can be detected in author museums in the PRC, in the GDR or in unified Germany? How have socialist states shaped the museums of their left-wing writers? How has Taiwan coped with its major left-wing writer when taking an anti-communist stand politically? To answer these questions I trace human actors such as heirs, museum directors, and visitors, as well as non-human actors such as objects on display or institutional structures in form of affiliations (either granted or rejected) or of titles and awards (either awarded or rejected) along with the institutional hierarchies these entail.

The questions which might instinctively arise are: Was the display censored or manipulated? How did states instrumentalize their writers for political purposes? What was the writer really like? What form of presentation would be historically correct and appropriate to represent the author and his literary oeuvre? To avoid the numerous pitfalls these questions pose (discussed in detail in "Lu Xun – institutionalized"), I instead ask a question which has proven a more fruitful approach: Which restricting and deregulating forces can be traced in the displays over time?[724] By tracing these forces, I provide components to a diagram of their valorization, a diagram which visualizes the intangible social forces at work when a writer's heritage comes to be considered valuable in society [**IC 195 Beyond Critical Approaches**].

From the *micro (Lu Xun on Display)*-perspective, other questions arise. Synchronic: Starting from Lu Xun on display, I inquire: How can an object gain agency when it is placed in a glass showcase? In the course of zooming out, this question will further evolve to: Can an object transform itself into an artifact on its own accord? Can an object mislead a visitor? Can a visitor overpower the object? Diachronic: When taking a historical perspective, how have Lu Xun's museums changed over time? Which Lu Xun is put on display when? Which Lu Xun is pushed into the background or stored in the museum attic? How relevant is it that a museum belongs to one specific government institution and not another? How can we go beyond looking at Lu Xun's museums as a political instrumentalization of the author and understand the power of the author museum instead of rejecting it by labeling it as propaganda or personality cult? Depending on one's

[724] For more information on the separation between restricting and deregulating forces on the display of Lu Xun, see: "Institutionalized – A Conclusion" in "Lu Xun – institutionalized" of this thesis. For means of emphasis and argumentative clarity, the terms restrictive and deregulating are highlighted in red and purple throughout this thesis when references to this conclusion are made.

preference, the reader can follow the question of his or her choice and now move to the *macro* or *micro* starting-point of this thesis to continue.



This thesis cannot answer Lu Xun's implied question whether the literary work makes the man or the man makes the literary work. Who makes whom and what makes what will remain hard to fathom. Yet this thesis provides insights into how they make each other and into one of the key institutional mechanisms that greatly amplified the man: the author museum.

List of Image Clusters

The images cited in this thesis are organized in image clusters (IC). I have included a selected number of image clusters in this version. When the image cluster is included, its title is marked in bold print in the text. The complete set of image clusters (IC 1 to IC 195) are available here: https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN. Due to potential copyright restrictions, the access to the remaining image clusters can require compliance with specific terms of use.

Note to the Reader

IC 1 Methodological Approach: Lu Xun and World Literary Heritage – Zooming in and Zooming out

1. World map; source: Maps.google.com.
2. Structure. Figure by Emily Graf.

IC 2 Beyond Critical Approaches

Figure by Emily Graf.

Zooming Out: Lu Xun on Display

IC 3 Liu Jian 2011 "Lu Xun Lu Xun": Representation, Reproduction and the Lure of Lu Xun's First Body

1. Liu Jian 劉建 "Lu Xun Lu Xun 鲁迅鲁迅" (2011), 7:22min; source:(The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 373).
2. Lu Xun Portrait (drawn); source: (People's Education Press 人民教育出版社 1958, 56).
3. Lu Xun Portrait (photograph); source: (People's Education Press 人民教育出版社 2006b).

To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 003.

IC 4 The Study of Political Leaders: Xi Jinping/ Mao Zedong

1. Xi Jinping's office 2016; source: (Xi Jinping 习近平 2016).
1a. Xi Jinping's office 2016, close-up; source: (Jing Shi 荆石 2015).
2. Mao Zedong at his desk in Yan'an, ~1938-43, displayed at the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 16, 2014.

To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 004.

IC 5 Cao Xueqin as Intangible Cultural Heritage

1. Entrance at the Cao Xueqin Museum; source: Photographed March 15, 2014.
2. Sign designating site as Immaterial Cultural Heritage of National Importance: Cao Xueqin *chuanshuo*; source: Photographed August 9, 2014.
3. Reproduction of the wall scripture discovered at this site and displayed at the Cao Xueqin Museum; source: Photographed August 9, 2014. Courtesy of the Cao Xueqin Museum.

IC 6 Petőfi Bust at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum

1-2. Petőfi bust at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum one day after Hungarian National Day; source: Photographed March 16, 2015.
3-4. Hubei TV News March 15, 2013; source: (Jin Shiyu 靳诗羽 2013).
5. Lu Xun bust in Kiskőrös, 2013; source: (Sára 2013).

To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 006.

IC 7 Death Mask, Beijing Lu Xun Museum
1./ 2. Lu Xun's death mask in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed February 19, 2013.

IC 8 History of Death Masks: Death Cult and Likeness
1. Death mask, Jericho, 7.000 BCE; source: (Belting 2013, 48).
2. Death mask, Sanxingdui 三星堆, Sichuan Province, China, 13.000-12.000 BCE; source: (Wu Hung 1997, 65).
3. Ancestor Portrait of Old Lady, China, late 1400s – early 1500s; source: (Kesner 2007, 48).
4. Buddhist Luohan figure, late 1000-1100s, China; source: (Kesner 2007, 47).
5. Beijing Lu Xun Museum, Xisantiao hutong No. 21, North building; source: Photographed February 19, 2013. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
6. Lu Xun's brother Zhou Chunshou; source: (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 374).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 008.

IC 9 Death Masks of Writers I, Germany
1. Lessing (plaster cast) 1781; source: (Davidis 2000, 69).
2. Schiller (terracotta) 1805; source: (Davidis 2000, 70).
3. Brecht (plaster cast) 1956; source: (Davidis 2000, 232).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 009.

IC 10 Death Masks of Writers II, Russia / Soviet Union
1. Dostoyevsky (plaster cast) 1881; source: (Hertl 2002, 182–83).
2. Tolstoy (plaster cast) 1910; source: (Hertl 2002, 182–83).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 010.

IC 11 Heroic I: Soul of the Nation
1. Banner "Soul of the Nation" (replica), Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lu Xun's Tomb 1937; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2013, 130).
3. Lu Xun's Tomb with inscription by Mao Zedong (1956); source: Photographed March 13, 2013.
4. Lu Xun's Tomb 1936 with inscription by Xu Guangping and Zhou Haiying, source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1996, 101).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 011.

IC 12 Heroic II: The Coffin Bearers
1. Partition wall, exhibition hall, Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Enlarged image of partition wall, source: (Wen Da 闻达 2013).
3. Additional photograph in adjacent exhibition hall discussing Lu Xun's posthumous reputation; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 012.

IC 13 Heroic III: Bridging "Last Days" and Posthumous Reception
1./ 2. Partition wall in the permanent exhibition; Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 19, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 14 Morbid Ia: Lu Xun's Last Days
1. Lu Xun October 8, 1936, photograph displayed in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

2. Lu Xun on his death bed October 19, 1936, photograph displayed in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. Source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 15 Morbid Ib: A Sense of Urgency

1./ 2. Small partition wall with excerpt of Lu Xun's "Death" (1936); Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 16 Morbid II: Records of Bodily Decay

1. / 2a. / 2b. Display of Lu Xun's last days in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Bejing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 17 Morbid III: Reception of Lu Xun's Death on Display

1. Display of Lu Xun's last days in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijng Lu Xun Museum.
2. Visitors observing the display; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijng Lu Xun Museum.

IC 18 Lu Xun's Dentures: Limits to documentary precision?

Postcards, based on photographs of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, ~1950-56; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.

IC 19 Ironic: Lu Xun's Will

Manuscript of Lu Xun's "Death" (1936), enlargement of seven-point will above; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 20 Sheng Tianye's 2011 "The Master, his Death Mask"

1. Lu Xun's death mask in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed, February 19, 2013. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Sheng Tianye 盛天曄, 2011, "The Master, [his] Death Mask 先生·遗容 "; source: (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 361).

IC 21 Death Mask, Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum

1./ 2. Lu Xun's death mask in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 18, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 22 Death Mask, Shanghai Lu Xun Museum

1./ 2a-c. Lu Xun's death mask in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013.

IC 23 (Dis-)Trust in the Institution: The Death Mask in Museum Space

1. Lu Xun's death mask in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 18, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lu Xun's death mask in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed, February 19, 2013. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Lu Xun's death mask in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

Before the Birth of the Lu Xun Museum (1936/49): Lu Xun in Limbo

IC 24 Letter from Xu Shoushang to Xu Guangping
Letter from Xu Shoushang to Xu Guangping [Jing Song] October 8, 1936; passage highlighted by editors, but only parts included in description; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 2).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 024.

IC 25 Shanghai Lu Xun Dalu xincun 1936 I
Lu Xun's Former Residence at Dalu xincun No. 9; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 20–26). Numbering according to publication:
First Floor: No. 20, 21, 22: Front living room, No. 21: Back dining room.
Second Floor: No. 24: Book storage room, No. 25, 26: Lu Xun's bedroom and study.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 025.

IC 26 Shanghai Lu Xun former residence 1936 II
Lu Xun's Former Residence at Dalu xincun No. 9; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 27–29); Numbering according to publication:
No. 27: Second floor, books in Lu Xun's bedroom and study.
No. 28: Third floor, guest room.
No. 29: Third floor, Zhou Haiying's room.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 026.

IC 27 Comparison Shanghai Dalu xincun 1936 or 1950s
1. Photo Living room left 1950s; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 20). This image is the same as IC 25 Shanghai Lu Xun Dalu xincun 1936 I No. 20.
2. Photo Living room right: 1950s; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.
→ nearly identical, one colored, one black and white; only difference: Photo frame with text.
3. Reference Image: Funeral Parlor; source: (Xu Guangping 许广平 2012, 148).
4. Photo Lu Xun's study 1936; source (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 26). This image is the same as IC 25 Shanghai Lu Xun Dalu xincun 1936 I No. 26.
5. Photo Lu Xun's study 1950; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.
→ different photographs from 1936 and 1950s.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 027.

IC 28 Guo Moruo 1945 My Suggestion
Guo Moruo's article "My Suggestion 我建議" from November 19, 1945; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 4).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 028.

IC 29 A Letter in Reply to Guo Moruo, 1945
Reply to Guo Moruo, October 1945, by Ge Baoquan, Hu Qiaomu and others; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 3).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 029.

IC 30 Mayakovsky Museum in Moscow, 1940s
1. Mayakovsky's clothes in an apartment in Gendrikov Lane; source: (Mayakovsky Museum Музеий В.В. Маяко́вский).
2. Mayakovsky Museum exhibition, 1940; source: (Mayakovsky Museum Музеий В.В. Маяко́вский).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 030.

IC 31 Guo Moruo's Poem After Visiting the Mayakovsky Museum, July 25, 1945
Guo Moruo's poem on Mayakovsky, written in stepped verse, a form in which Mayakovsky often published his poetry; source: (Guo Moruo 郭沫若 1997, 225–26).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 031.

IC 32 Wang Yeqiu visiting the Ostrovsky Museum in Moscow in 1950/55
1. Wang Yeqiu (far left) visiting a museum in the Soviet Union. Source: (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 194). Note: The bust strongly resembles Ostrovsky. Wang Yeqiu visited the Ostrovsky Museum in 1950; source: (Hung 2005, 919).
2. Photograph of Ostrovsky on which bust is based (military clothing); source: Wikipedia public domain (Wikipedia.org 2017).
3. Photograph of Ostrovsky in gown with high collar, see: (Kaganovsky 2003, 278).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 032.

IC 33 Forgetting Zhu An at Xisantiao hutong No. 21 (1950-1986)
1. Ground floor of Xisantiao hutong No. 21, Beijing. Figure by Emily Graf.
2. North building, Xisantiao hutong No. 21, Beijing; source: Photographed March 23, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 34 From Study to Mourning Hall, 1936
1. Zhu An sitting next to Lu Xun's portrait and a table of sacrificial offerings after Lu Xun's death on October 1936. The photograph was published in the *Shibao Bimonthly* 實報半月刊 on November 1, 1936 with the caption "The study (*shushi* 书室) of Lu Xun's former residence in Peiping has already been turned into a mourning hall (*lingtang* 灵堂)"; source: (n.a. 1936, iv). For Tao Yuanming's portrait of Lu Xun from 1926, see (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 260).
2. Replica of Lu Xun's portrait at Lu Xun former residence, photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 35 Zhu An and Lu Rui, 1936
1. Groundfloor of Xisantiao hutong No. 21. Figure by Emily Graf.
2. Lu Rui (left) and Zhu An (right) standing in front of the Southern Building, 1936; source: (n.a. 1936, iv).

IC 36 Wang Yeqiu Inside and Outside "The Nameless Society", 1926
Group photograph, 1924, Beiping; from left to right: Wang Qingshi 王青士, Qiu Yunbai 瞿雲白, Wei Suyuan 韋素園, Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋; source: (Wang Ke 王可 2007, 21).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 036.

IC 37 Beiping local court seals off Xisantiao hutong No. 21, 1947-1949
1. Entrance of Xisantiao hutong No. 21, Beijing; source: (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 495).
2. Entrance of Xisantiao hutong No. 21, Beijing; source: (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 2016a).

3. Entrance of Xisantiao hutong No. 21, Beijing; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 4).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 037.

IC 38 A House's Number of Courtyards (*jin*)
1. Guo Moruo Former Residence in Beijing, source: Photographed February 20, 2013.
2. Mao Dun Former Residence in Beijing, source: Photographed February 20, 2013.
3. Lu Xun's drawing in a letter to his Japanese friend Wataru Masuda 增田涉, explaining to him the meaning of "two-entries (*liangjin*)", which appears in the Qing-Dynasty novel *The Scholars* 儒林外史; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2006, 56).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 039.

IC 39 An Institution's Level and Rank: Lu Xun & Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Ba Jin
Figure by Emily Graf.

The Official Birth of the Lu Xun Museum (1950/56-66): The Revolutionary Lu Xun

IC 40 Lu Xun's Second Body
Beyond Critical Approaches? Highlighting Restricting / Deregulating / Valorizing Elements in Institutionalizing the Author. Figure by Emily Graf.

IC 41 Certificate of Donation: Lu Xun's Personal Estate Transforms into State Heritage, 1950
Xu Guangping and Zhou Haiying donate Lu Xun's literary estate to the state, receiving a certificate from the Ministry of Culture on June 12, 1950; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 6).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 041.

IC 42 Guo Moruo names Lu Xun's Former Residence, 1950
1. Guo Moruo's handwriting in gold on marble on the entrance of Lu Xun's former residence at Xisantiao hutong No. 21; source: Photographed August 20, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Xu Guangping in front of Xisantiao hutong No. 21 around 1955; source: (Raoul David Findeisen 2001, 1955).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 042.

IC 43 Tang Tao at Dalu xincun No. 9 and No. 10, 1950-1951
1. Tang Tao in front of Dalu xincun No. 9 in 1950; source: (Qin Haiqi 秦海琦 2013, 85).
2. Tang Tao introducing the exhibition on Lu Xun to Chen Yi on January 7, 1951; source: (Qin Haiqi 秦海琦 2013, 85).
3. Entrance to Dalu xincun road, 1951; source: (Qin Haiqi 秦海琦 2013, 85).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 043.

IC 44 Zheng Zhenduo, Wang Yeqiu letter to Xu Guangping: Preparations for a Lu Xun Museum in Shanghai (July 27, 1950)
Letter to Xu Guangping by Zheng Zhenduo and Wang Yeqiu on the establishment of a memorial museum for Lu Xun in Shanghai; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2013, 128).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 044.

IC 45 Shanghai Dalu xincun No.10, ~1950
1. Entrance to Dalu xincun; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地博物馆 / Photo 0620290. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

2. Display of Dalu xincun No. 10; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地博物馆 / Photo 0620291. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 46 Zhou Enlai naming the Lu Xun Museum, Shanghai, 1950

1. Zhou Enlai's calligraphy written for the sign for the Lu Xun Museum, dated November 1950; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 4).
2. Shanghai Lu Xun Museum entrance; source: Photographed December 18, 2013.
3. Shanghai Lu Xun Museum entrance in approximately 1956; source:(Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 16).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 046.

IC 47 Lu Xun Tombstone, 1956

1./ 2. Lu Xun's tomb in Shanghai, Lu Xun Park, calligraphy by Mao Zedong; source: Photographed March 13, 2015.

IC 48 Beijing Construction 1955-1956

1. Construction site; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146): Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo: 0620008. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Workers on site; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146): Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo: 0620005. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Building completed; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146): Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo: 062009. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 49 Shanghai Construction 1955-1956

1. Construction site; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 16).
2. Construction site; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 14).
3. Building completed; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 16).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 049.

IC 50 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum ~1950s

1. Lu Rui's Room in Shaoxing, May 8, 1950; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.
2. A Lu Xun exhibition at the Three-Flavor-Studio in 1949; source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; received September 2014.
3. Entry to the Shaoxing Lu Xun "Culture House" from 1951-72; source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; received September 2014.
4. Exhibition room at the Shaoxing Lu Xun "Culture House" in October 1952; source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; received September 2014.

IC 51 Xiamen University I Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1952

1. Desk in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620337. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lu Xun's bed in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620335. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Corner in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620336. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
4. Table and chairs in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620334. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 52 Xiamen University II Lu Xun Memorial Room, ~1956

1-6. Lu Xun exhibition in 1956 in the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.

IC 53 Guangzhou, Sun Yat-sen University, ~1957

1. Tower with Sign Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620338. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Display with Lu Xun bust; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620343. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Display with Lu Xun bust and star; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620344. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
4. Display with Poster; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620341. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
5. Display about Lu Xun at Sun Yat-sen University; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620340. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 54 Architecture: Beijing Exhibition Hall, 1956

1. Exhibition hall, Beijing; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 06200039. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Exhibition hall and bust, Beijing; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 0620048. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 55 Architecture: Shaoxing's Big-Roof Design

Shaoxing big-roof architecture, 1972-2003; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo: 0620328.

IC 56 Sculpture: Bust of Lu Xun 1956, Old Exhibition Hall, Beijing

1. Lu Xun bust 1950s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (147) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620084. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Bust 1950s with girl; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620159. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Inscription by sculptor on bust, source: Photographed May 14, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 57 Portraits and Composition, Beijing: Lu Xun and Gorky

Lu Xun and Gorky Portraits, 1950s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (174) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620088. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 58 Portraits and Composition, Shanghai: Lu Xun and Gorky

Special Exhibition on Lu Xun and the Soviet Union 鲁迅與蘇聯; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 22).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 058.

IC 59 Political Iconography: The Communist Star over Lu Xun

1. Bust and star in Sun the Lu Xun Memorial Room at Yat-sen University, Guangzhou; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620344. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

2. Bust and star in the Lu Xun Memorial Room 鲁迅紀念室, Artifacts exhibition 文物陳列室, October 19, 1956 at the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.

IC 60 Circulation: International Lu Xun Exhibition in Moscow, 1956
Photograph from 1956, taken at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory of Music in Moscow, on display in the permanent exhibition of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 61 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1959
Lu Xun bust with Mao Zedong quote, February 1959; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (147) Beijing Lu Xun Museum/ Photo 0620083. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 62 Mao Zedong's Praise, Shanghai, 1950s
1. Display of Dalu xincun No. 10, Shanghai; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地博物馆/ Photo 0620291. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Presumably display at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; provided to me by Ge Tao, October 2014.

IC 63 Lu Xun's Unyielding Integrity, Guestbook Beijing, 2004
Guestbook entry November 17, 2004; source: Photographed August 20, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 64 Mao Zedong's Praise, Shaoxing, 1962
Shaoxing, presumably 1962 (estimated by the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum); source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; received September 2014.

IC 65 Mao Zedong's Praise, Guangzhou, 1950s
1. Display of Lu Xun bust, Guangzhou Sun Yat-sen University; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620344. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Display of Lu Xun bust, Guangzhou Sun Yat-sen University; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620343. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 66 Mao Zedong's Praise, Comic, 1951
Opening pages of comic book "Lu Xun Museums"; source: (Zhu Mo 朱沫 and Gao Menghuang 高孟煥 1951, ii).

IC 67 Mao Zedong's Praise, Outdoor Exhibition, 1958
1./ 2. Beijing Lu Xun Museum, outdoor exhibition, 1958; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 / Photo 0620115. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 68 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1960s/70s, Figures
Museum Tour of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, ~1960s/70s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620160. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 69 Lu Xun and Mao Zedong Pins, 1949/ 1950

1. Commemorative pin with Lu Xun and Mao Zedong 1949, National Representative Congress of Literature and Art Workers 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會 [Today: Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles (CFLAC) 中國文學藝術界聯合會 (文聯）], pin worn by Ba Jin, on display at the Ba Jin Former Residence, Shanghai; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Ba Jin Former Residence, Shanghai.
2. Commemorative pin with Lu Xun and Mao Zedong 1950, Shanghai branch of the Representative Congress of Literature and Art Workers, pin worn by Ba Jin, on display at the Ba Jin Former Residence, Shanghai; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Ba Jin Former Residence, Shanghai.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 069.

IC 70 Portraits of Left-Wing Leaders, 1968/ ~1930

1. "Long live Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong-thought! 马列主义毛泽东思想万岁！", ~1968; source:(Chineseposters.net 1968).
2. Postcard collected by Lu Xun, sent by Cao Jinghua 1929-1933; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 250).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 070.

IC 71 Lu Xun and Mao Zedong: CRCoLAW 1949 in Beijing

1-3. The CRCoLAW 1949 in Beijing on display in the permanent exhibition of the NMMCL, Beijing; source: Photographed August 5, 2014.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 071.

IC 72 Lu Xun and Sun Yat-sen: Hu Feng 1939 Chongqing Commemoration

1-3. Lu Xun and Hu Feng, Nanjing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed March 12, 2015. Courtesy of the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 072.

IC 73 Transferable Iconography: Lu Xun as the Sun, 1966-76

1. "A Great Fighter 伟大的战士", by Chen Jianxin 陳建新, estimated 1966-1976; source: (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 325).
2. Mao the Sun I: Red Guard Materials (segment), 1967; source: (Mittler 2012a, 271).
3. Mao the Sun II: Comic book cover of *The story of Li Wenzhong, Model for Support the Left and Love the People*, 1969; source: (Mittler 2012b).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 073.

IC 74 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1960s/ 70s

Museum Tour of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, ~1960s/ 70s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620160. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. This image is the same image as IC 68 Mao Zedong's Praise, Beijing, 1960s/70s, Figures.

Hibernating Museums? (1966-74): Of Crowds and Desolate Spaces

IC 75 Affiliation of Lu Xun Museums in the PRC, mid-1950s

1. Figure by Emily Graf.
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Beijing; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146): Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo: 062009.
3. Shanghai; source:(Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2010, 16).

4. Shaoxing; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (151) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo: 0620328.
5. Guangzhou; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620338.
6. Xiamen; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620334.

IC 76 Lu Xun exhibitions, Beijing, 1958-1962

1. Entrance to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 1958; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 17).
2. Traveling Exhibit on display from 1956-1962; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2006, 22).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 076.

IC 77 Circulating Images I: Poster 1967 "Learning from Lu Xun's Unyielding Revolutionary Spirit"

"Learning from Lu Xun's Unyielding Revolutionary Spirit 学习鲁迅的革命硬骨头精神", 1967; Source: (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 309).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 077.

IC 78 Circulating Images II: Comic Book 1972 *Lu Xun* 鲁迅

1. Lu Xun in his study in Shanghai; source: (Lu Huanhua 路煥华 1972, 31–32).
2. Lu Xun's bedroom and study, 1936 at Dalu xincun No. 9, second floor; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 26).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 078.

IC 79 Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum, 1950s

1. Tower with museum sign; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620338. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Exhibition chapter 3; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/Photo 0620340. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3. Exhibition chapter 5 including large poster; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (5) Other Memorial Museums 各地纪念馆/ Photo 0620341. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 80 Guangzhou Museum Manual, 1966, crowded/ entangled/ circulating

A short introduction to the Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum; source: (Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum 广州魯迅紀念館 1966).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 080.

IC 81 Removing/ Restoring Qu Qiubai's desk, Shanghai (1968-1974)

1. Qu Qiubai's desk, ~1950s; source: (Guo Fengzhen 郭風珍 and Zhu Jiadong 朱嘉棟 1982, 7).
2. Qu Qiubai's desk, October 19, 1936; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 22).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 081.

IC 82 Mao Zedong Portrait, Beijing, late 1960s

Square in front of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (147) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 0620065. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 83 Affiliation of Lu Xun Museums in the PRC by the mid-1960s
Figure by Emily Graf.

IC 84 House Number: Attacking Lu Xun's Former Residence in Beijing
Sign with house number of Xisantiao hutong No. 21; source: Photographed February 10, 2013. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

The Second Birth of the Lu Xun Museum (1975-80)? The Letter

IC 85 Upgrade: Affiliation of Lu Xun Museums in the PRC, 1975
Figure by Emily Graf.

IC 86 Stalin's Reply to Brik's Letter, 1935
1. Stalin's Reply written on Brik's Letter; source: (Mayakovsky Museum Музеий В.В. Маяко́вский 2016).
2. Stalin's Reply published in *Pravda*; source: (Mayakovsky Museum Музеий В.В. Маяко́вский 2016).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 086.

IC 87 Posters of the "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" Campaign, 1973/ 74
1. Poster designed by Chen Yaoyi 陳堯伊 in 1973, titled "Study Lu Xun's revolutionary spirit to become a pathbreaker in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius 学习鲁迅的革命精神做批林批孔的闯将"; source: (Chineseposters.net 1973).
2. Poster designed by Chen Yanning 陳衍寧 in 1974, titled "Study Lu Xun's revolutionary spirit, to become a revolutionary vanguard in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius! 学习鲁迅革命精神，做批林批孔德革命先锋！"; source: (Chineseposters.net 1974).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 081.

IC 88 Establishment of a Lu Xun Research Room on museum grounds, 1978
Copy provided to me by Huang Qiaosheng, August 13, 2014.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 088.

IC 89 Naming the Lu Xun museums: A Bildakt
1. Zhou Enlai naming the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, 1950, source: Photographed December 18, 2013.
2. Guo Moruo naming Lu Xun's Former Residence at Xisantiao hutong No. 21 in Beijing, 1950; source: Photographed February 19, 2013.
3. Guo Moruo naming Xiamen Lu Xun Museum 1952/1979; source: Photographed March 10, 2015.
4. Mao Zedong naming Lu Xun's tomb, 1956; source: Photographed March 13, 2015.
5. Zhou Jianren naming the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum, 1980; source: Photographed March 12, 2015.
6. Ye Jianying naming the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, 1980; source: Photographed February 19, 2013.

New Approaches? (1980-2000s) History's Cul-de-Sac and the Rejection of Sagehood

IC 90 Lu Xun Exhibition in Europe, Sweden 1979
1. From left to right: Wang Yeqiu (SACH), Zhou Haiying (Lu Xun's grandson, Consultant of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum), Li Helin (Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum); source: Photograph provided to me by Michael Schoenhals, November 2, 2016.
2. Li Helin sitting at the table, discussing; source: Photograph provided to me by Michael Schoenhals, November 2, 2016.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 090.

IC 91 Cheng Shifa 程十发 (1956 /1978)
1. True Story of A-Q, 1978, by Cheng Shifa; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1986, 95); (Baqué and Spreitz 1979, 75).
2a. Kong Yiji, 1956, Cheng Shifa; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1986, 93).
2b. Kong Yiji, 1956, Cheng Shifa; source: (Andrews 1994, Figure 46).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 091.

Desacralizing Lu Xun: The "Historical" Lu Xun (1980s)

IC 92 Hierarchy of Affiliation: Lu Xun & Mao Zedong
Figure by Emily Graf.

IC 93 Comic 1972: Lu Xun's Telegram to Mao Zedong → claimed 1936, published 1947, questioned 1979
Excerpt from Comic Book titled *Lu Xun: A Great Revolutionary, Thinker and Writer* 鲁迅:伟大的革命家，思想家，文学家; source: (Lu Huanhua 路焕华 1972, 28–29).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 093.

IC 94 Sketch 1974 "Lu Xun's Telegram Congratulating the Success of the Great March"
"Lu Xun's Congratulatory Telegram on the Success of the Long March 鲁迅电贺长征胜利" from 1974 by Zhang Wenxin 张文新; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1986, 87).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 094.

IC 95 Lu Xun's Last Study (1933-1936)
Lu Xun's study at Dalu xincun No. 9, dated around 1950 by museum exhibition catalogue; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2013, 129).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 095.

IC 96 Museum Booklet of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, 1974
Museum booklet; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1974, 8).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 096.

IC 97 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum Oil Painting: The "Congratulatory Telegram 賀電", 2014
Oil Painting in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 18, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 98 Beijing Lu Xun Museum Reports on the "Congratulatory Letter 賀信", 2014
1-3. Reports on display at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 24, 2014.

IC 99 "Leaving Home 离家"-Woodblock Print on Display, "Appropriate", 2014
1-2. Print included in the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 17, 2016.

IC 100 Lu Xun's Image during the Cultural Revolution, not "Appropriate", 1968
1. "Learning from Lu Xun's Unyielding Revolutionary Spirit 学习鲁迅的革命硬骨头精神", 1967; Source: (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 309). This image is the same as IC 77 Circulating Images I: Poster 1967 "Learning from Lu Xun's Unyielding Revolutionary Spirit".
2. Oil Painting at the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 18, 2014. This image is the same image as IC 97 Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum Oil Painting: The "Congratulatory Telegram 賀電", 2014 1.

To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 100.

IC 101 The return of Lin Yutang (and others) in early 1980s
1. Group photo, 1935; source: (Benton 1994, 100–101); (Raoul David Findeisen 2001, 375); (Davies 2013, Image 7).
2. Group Photo, 1927; source: (Benton 1994, 100–101); (Raoul David Findeisen 2001, 309).
3a. Group Photo (below), 1927; source: Photographed at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, September 23, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
3b. Group Photo (above), 1927; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1976, 42).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 101.

IC 102 Family Photo, Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum: Barthes (1965) "The Social Function of Photography"
1. Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, display; source: Photographed September 18, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Full body portrait photograph, 1860s; source: (Thiriez 1999, 82).
3. Lu Xun, Xu Guangping, Zhou Haiying, Family Photograph, 1933; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 27).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 102.

IC 103 Lin Yutang in the Lu Xun Exhibitions
1. Lin Yutang in Shaoxing; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Lin Yutang in Shanghai; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.
3. Lin Yutang in Beijing; source: Photographed September 23, 2016. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 104 The Portraits of Chen Duxiu
1. Chen Duxiu in Shaoxing; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Chen Duxiu in Shanghai; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.
3./ 3a-3b. Chen Duxiu in Beijing; source: Photographed September 23, 2016. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 105 Lin Yutang Memorial Library/ Former Residence in Taibei, estab. 1985
1./ 2. Lin Yutang Former Residence, Taibei; source: Photographed August 23, 2014. Courtesy of the Lin Yutang Former Residence.

IC 106 Lin Yutang Memorial Museum, Zhangzhou/Fujian, estab. 2001
Entrance of the Lin Yutang Memorial Museum, Zhangzhou Fujian; source: Photographed August 8, 2014 by Swift.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 106.

IC 107 Zhou Zuoren in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum
Group Photograph on display at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 23, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 108 Zhou Zuoren in the Shaoxing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museums
1a./ 1b. Zhou Zuoren on display in Shaoxing; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

2. Zhou Zuoren on display in Shanghai; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

IC 109 Badaowan Hutong No. 11 Groundplan

Groundplan Badaowan No. 11; source: (Huang Qiaosheng 璜乔生 2015, xi).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 109.

IC 110 Badaowan Sign "Old Residence of Brothers Zhou", 2016

Entrance of Badaowan hutong No. 11, photograph published May 05, 2016; source: (Taotie Laile 饕餮来了 2016).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 110.

IC 111 Badaowan Construction Site, August 2014

1-2. Badaowan hutong No. 11, source: Photographed August 14, 2014.

IC 112 Badaowan Building Surface, August 2014

1-3. Badaowan Hutong No. 11; source: Photographed August 14, 2014.

IC 113 Badaowan hutong recorded

1. Architecture, Badaowan hutong No. 11; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (30): Beijing Shaoxing huiguan, Badaowan, Zhuanta hutong 北京绍兴会馆，八道湾，砖塔胡同/ Photo 0350022. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Entrance, Badaowan hutong No. 11 ; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (30): Beijing Shaoxing huiguan, Badaowan, Zhuanta hutong 北京绍兴会馆，八道湾，砖塔胡同/ Photo 0350021. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 114 Badaowan "Old Residence of Brothers Zhou", Display, May 2016

Display at Badaowan hutong No. 11, photograph published May 05, 2016; source: (Taotie Laile 饕餮来了 2016).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 114.

IC 115 Lu Xun's sketches of Xisantiao hutong 1923

1. Original setting of Xisantiao, early 1923; source: (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 479).
2. Copy of the setting from Lu Xun's diary; source: (Ye Shusui 叶淑穗 and Yang Yanli 杨燕丽 1999, 479).
3. Lu Xun's drawings adding a Tiger's Tail to the central building and initial sketches of buildings in the far South of the property; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2006, 43).
4. Lu Xun's sketches from his diary in October 31, 1923, closest resemblance to today's setting, with the Tiger's Tail, all main architectural structures in the south part of the property, and the building in the North removed, leaving a free space in the back yard; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2006, 43).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 115.

IC 116 Restoring the Original Appearance of the Former Residence 1986

Groundplan of Xisantiao hutong No. 21 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum premise, sketched by Emily Graf.

IC 117 The Tiger's Tail in Comic Book, 1978

1-4. *Lu Xun Biography* 鲁迅传, 1979; source: (Guangzhou Lu Xun Museum 广州鲁迅纪念馆 1978, 45-47,61).

To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 117.

IC 118 Restoring the Original Appearance, comparison pre-1986 and 2015

1. View from backyard onto the Tiger's Tail (before 1986); source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (31) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0350088. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. View from backyard onto "restored" Tiger's Tail in 2015; source: Photographed March 21, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 119 The return of Zhu An, 1986

1. Inside description "Ms. Zhu An's Bedroom 朱安女士的卧室"; source: Photographed August 20, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2./ 2a. Front view of the main central building, main sign outside; source: Photographed March 21, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2b. Additional sign inside behind window; source: Photographed March 21, 2015. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 120 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 1a–1c

1a. Desk in Tiger's Tail; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0350107.
1b. Desk in Tiger's Tail, 2014; source: Photographed May 14, 2014.
1c. Photograph of Mr. Fujino on display, 2014; source: Photographed September 23, 2014.
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 121 Tiger's Tail, East wall, authorized 2a–2d

2a. Illustration "His study at No. 21, Xisantiao hutong…", in Volume 2 of Gladys and Xinyi Yang's 1956 translation, with Buddha; source: (Illustration [1957] 1980, 224).
2b. Illustration "The 'Tiger's Tail' in the Beijing Xisantiao Residence 北京西三条寓所之'老虎尾巴'" in Volume 2 of the 2005 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集, without Buddha; source: (Illustration 图 2005, vi).
2c. Illustration "The 'Tiger's Tail' at Beijing Xisantiao Residence 北京西三条寓所之'老虎尾巴'" in Volume 2 of the 1981/ 1989 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集; source: (Illustration 图 [1981] 1989, iv).
2d. Tiger's Tail detail of display 2014; source: photographed May 14, 2014.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 121.

IC 122 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 3, in context with Mr. Fujino

3. Images included in Volume 2 of 2005 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集, source: (Illustration 图 2005, v–vi).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 122.

IC 123 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, authorized 4a–4b

4a. Illustration "The 'Tiger's Tail' in the Beijing Xisantiao Residence 北京西三条寓所之'老虎尾巴'" in Volume 2 of the 2005 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集, without Buddha; source: (Illustration 图 2005, vi). This image is the same as IC 121 Tiger's Tail, East wall, authorized 2b.
4b. Tiger's Tail, without Buddha; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0350092. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 123.

IC 124 Tiger's Tail, West Wall, authorized 5a–5c
5a. Stone hedgehog in Tiger's Tail; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0332111.
5b. Stone hedgehog on display in the exhibition hall of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, 2014; source: Photographed September 23, 2014.
5c. Tiger's Tail display, 2015; Photographed July 24, 2015.
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 125 Tiger's Tail, East wall, alternative 1a–1e
1a. Andreyev a) over desk in the Tiger's Tail; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0352119. This image is the same as IC 126 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1a.
1b. Andreyev b) over desk in the Tiger's Tail; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0353088.
1c. Andreyev, portrait; source: (Ge Tao 葛涛 20.11.2013).
1d. Andreyev, portrait on display in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum exhibition hall; source: Photographed September 23, 2014.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 125.
1e. Illustration "Desk in 1924 Beiping Santiao hutong lodging 一九三四年北平三條胡衕衙住室中之書桌" in Volume 11 of 1938/1948 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 魯迅全集; source: (Illustration Xisantiao [1938] 1948, iii).
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 127.

IC 126 Tiger's Tail, East Wall, alternative 1a
1a. Andreyev over desk in the Tiger's Tail; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0352119. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 127 Tiger's Tail, East wall, alternative 1f
1f. Illustration "The Study Inside the Lodging at Beijing Xisantiao 京西三条胡同住宅内之工作室", Volume 9 of 1973 edition of *Lu Xun's Collected Works* 鲁迅全集 by Renmin wenxue chubanshe; source: (Illustration 图 1973, i).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 127.

Nationalizing Lu Xun: The Chinese National Lu Xun (1990s/2000s)

IC 128 Wang Xiaobo exhibition at Beijing Lu Xun Museum, 2005
1./2. Online news reports on Wang Xiaobo special exhibition in 2005; source: (Wang Xiaoyi 王晓易 2005).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 128.

IC 129 Building 1956: Old Exhibition Hall
1. Exhibition hall; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 06200039. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2. Exhibition hall and Lu Xun bust; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (146) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京魯迅博物館/ Photo 0620048. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 130 Building 1994: New Exhibition Hall
1-2. Exhibition hall, Beijing Lu Xun Museum, built 1994; source: Photographed September 24, 2014.

IC 131 Beijing Lu Xun Museum, Groundplan 2014
1. Front gate; source: Photographed March 21, 2015.
2. Front square; source: Photographed March 21, 2015.
3. Exhibition hall, built 1994; source: Photographed September 24, 2014. This image is the same as IC 130 Building 1994: New Exhibition Hall 1.
4. Exhibition hall, built 1956; source: Photographed May 14, 2014.
5. Former Residence at Xisantiao hutong No. 21; Photographed May 14, 2014.

IC 132 Bust of Lu Xun 1956, Old Exhibition Hall, Beijing
1-2. Lu Xun bust; source: Photographed May 14, 2014.
3. Exhibition hall, built 1956; source: Photographed May 14, 2014. This image is the same image as IC 131 Beijing Lu Xun Museum, Groundplan 2014, 4.
4. Lu Xun bust; source: Photographed May 14, 2014. This image is the same as IC 56 Sculpture: Bust of Lu Xun 1956, Old Exhibition Hall, Beijing 3.
5. Lu Xun bust, 1950s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (147) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 / Photo 0620084. This image is the same as IC 56 Sculpture: Bust of Lu Xun 1956, Old Exhibition Hall, Beijing 1.
6. Lu Xun bust, with girl, 1950s; source: Beijing Lu Xun Museum Photo Archive; Album 62 (148) Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆/ Photo 0620159. This image is the same as IC 56 Sculpture: Bust of Lu Xun 1956, Old Exhibition Hall, Beijing 2.
All images courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 133 Portraits of Russian Writers at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum
Russian writers, portraits in Beijing Lu Xun Museum exhibition hall; source: Photographed September 24, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 134 Removing Gorky, on the Attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum
Bust of Maxim Gorky on the attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 135 Mao Zedong in Shaoxing, 2014
1-3. Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, exhibition hall; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 136 Mao Zedong in Shanghai, 2013
1-3. Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

IC 137 Minimal Mao, Beijing, 2014
1-2. Beijing Lu Xun Museum, exhibition hall; source: Photographed September 12, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 138 Removing Mao Zedong, Attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, 2014
Bust of Mao Zedong on the attic of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 17, 2014.

IC 139 Yan Lianke Conference 2007 at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum
1. Contemporary Writer Yan Lianke; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2007).
2. Museum Director Sun Yu; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2007).
3. Preface Hall at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2007).

To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 139.

Die Mühen der Ebenen: Lu Xun in the 21st century, Continuities and Changes

IC 140 Visible Structural Valorization: Awards, Titles
1-5. Awards and titles at the entrance of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013.

IC 141 Lu Xun's Grave 1936/56, designated: "Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level", 1961
Lu Xun's grave in Lu Xun Park in Shanghai; source: Photographed March 13, 2015.

IC 142 Xiamen's Treasure
1-2. Lu Xun's "Short Guide to The Princess of the Crimson Cave" by Chen Mengshao, written 1927, at the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed March 10, 2015. Courtesy of the Xiamen Lu Xun Museum.

IC 143 Xiamen Lu Xun bust: Transformation into *wenwu*
1-5. Lu Xun wooden bust at Xiamen Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed March 10, 2015.

IC 144 Merger of the Beijing Lu Xun and the Beijing New Culture Memorial Museum
The appointment of 5 leading officials for the Beijing Lu Xun Museum (Beijing New Culture Movement Memorial Museum) by the SACH, as result of the merger between the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and the Beijing New Culture Movement Memorial Museum in 2014. Issue date: July 18, 2014; source: Photographed August 13, 2014.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 144.

IC 145 Conclusion I: Lu Xun's Second Body – institutionalized
Figure: By Emily Graf.

IC 146 Conclusion II: Lu Xun's Second Body – institutionalized
Figure: By Emily Graf.

Lu Xun – imagined

No Images.

Lu Xun – worlded

Brecht – Another Restive Hero

IC 147 Worlds Apart? Lu Xun's translations at Anna-Seghers-Gedenkstätte, Berlin
1./ 2. Anna-Seghers-Gedenkstätte in Berlin; source: Photographed November 11, 2014.
3. Lu Xun. 1954. Selected Stories of Lu Hsun. Peking: Foreign Language Press. Anna-Seghers-Archiv No. 312; source: (Lu Hsun 1954).
4. Lu Ssün. 1959. Morgenblüten – abends gepflückt. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Johanna Herzfeldt. Berlin: Rütten & Loening. Anna-Seghers-Archiv No. 291; source: (Lu Hsun 1959).
5. Lu Ssün. 1960. Die Flucht auf den Mond: Alte Geschichten – neu erzählt. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Johanna Herzfeldt. Berlin: Rütten & Loening. Anna-Seghers-Archiv No. 306; source: (Lu Ssün 1960).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 147.

IC 148 Heroic behavior in Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder
1-4. Angelika Hurwicz as Kattrin, Helene Weigel as Mutter Courage, filmed 1961; source: (Palitzsch and Wekwerth, Manfred [Buch und Regie] 1961, 02:12-02:17).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 148.

IC 149 Historical Background: Personality Cult and Political Iconography in the GDR in the early 1950s
1. Museum für Deutsche Geschichte, East Berlin, estab. 1952; source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-18544-0002/ Photographer: Gielow.
2. Exhibition in 1952 in the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte, East Berlin; source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-15457-0007/ Photographer: Horst Sturm.
3. Stalin-Denkmal Berlin (1951-1961); source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-11500-0375/ Photographer: Walter Heilig.
4. Burning of Stalin portrait on Brunnenstrasse in east Berlin, June 17, 1953; source: Archive of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; Bild 6/FOTB037506.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 94.

Brecht – embodied: Left-Wing Cosmopolitans, Cultural Brokers and the Intermateriality of Literature

IC 150 Groundplan of Brecht's and Weigel's apartments, Chausseestr. 125, East Berlin (res. 1953-1956/1971)
Groundplan of Brecht's and Weigel's apartments; source: (Akademie der Künste 2000, sleeve).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 150.

IC 151 Daguerreotypes of Marx and Engels: Two Readings of Brecht's Standing Desk
1./2. Brecht's Standing Desk in the large study at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.

IC 152 Marx in Lu Xun's Collection
1. Postcard of Marx, Engels and Lenin (produced in the Soviet Union), sent to Lu Xun by Cao Jinghua 曹靖華 (between 1929-1933), collected by the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2006, 250).
2a. Marx woodblock print; source: (Wang Xirong 王锡荣 2009, 40).
2b. Marx woodblock print on the Nameless Woodblock Print Collection from 1933; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1996, 54).
3. Cover of the Chinese translation of the Communist Manifesto, 1920; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1996, 37).
4. Cover of the Japanese translation of the Communist Manifesto, 1933; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1996, 37).
5. Portrait poster collection from the SU, including Marx; source: (Zhou Lingfei 周令飞 and Ge Tao 葛涛 2012, 197).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 152.

IC 153 Marx imagery in the Beijing and Shanghai Lu Xun Museums, 2014 → Marx not in prominent position
1a-c. The Communist Manifesto on display at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 24, 2014. Courtesy of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum.
2a-b. The Communist Manifesto on display at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013. Courtesy of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum.

IC 154 Marx imagery in Lu Xun's study (imagined in early 1970s) → Marx in prominent position
1. Oil painting 1973 by Chen Yifei 陳逸飛, titled "Only the uprising Proletariat has a future 惟新兴的无产者才有将来"; source: (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 315).
2. Woodblock print 1974 by Li Yitai 李以泰, titled "Marxism is the most forthright philosophy 马克思是最明快的哲学", source: (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 319).
3. Comic book drawing 1972; source: (Lu Huanhua 路煥华 1972, 19).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 154.

IC 155 Brecht's Lenin Portrait in his Small Study, Berlin
Portrait photo of Lenin in Brecht's small study at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.

IC 156 Brecht's "The Doubter" (1937)
1. Chinese scroll hanging in Brecht's bedroom; at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
2. Flyer at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum, including Brecht's poem "The Doubter" (1937) and the depiction of Brecht's collected Chinese scroll.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 156.

IC 157 Kollwitz' "Outbreak" (1903) and "The Sacrifice" (1922) in Lu Xun's museums in Beijing/ Shanghai
1a. Kollwitz' "The Outbreak (Der Losbruch)", 1903; displayed in Beijing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed, September 24, 2014.
1b. Woodblock print 1974 by Li Yitai 李以泰, titled "Marxism is the most forthright philosophy 马克思是最明快的哲学", source: (The Zhejiang Fine Arts Museum 浙江美术馆 and the Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 2011, 319).
2a-c. Kollwitz' "The Sacrifice (Das Opfer)", 1922, in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 157.

IC 158 Brecht's heroes and China's omnipresence in Brecht's apartment
Groundplan of Brecht's apartments; source: (Akademie der Künste 2000, sleeve).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 158.

IC 159 Mao Zedong and Confucius
1. Small study, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
2. Calligraphy of Mao Zedong's poem "Snow 雪", translated by Brecht into "Beim Flug über die Große Mauer", small study, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
3. Confucius Stone Rubbing, small study, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
4. Ink Stone Rubbing of Confucius, from a Qing-Dynasty (1644-1911) stone tablet; source: (Murray 2009, 402).

IC 160 Mao Zedong and Confucius
Ink Stone Rubbing of Confucius, from a Qing-Dynasty (1644-1911) stone tablet; source: (Baba 1940, 40 cited in Murray May 2009, 402).

To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 160.

IC 161 Confucius, John the Apostel, and Buddha

1. Confucius and sculpture of John the Apostel, large study, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
2a. Buddhist imagery on Lu Xun's desk on Xisantiao hutong No.21, ~1950s, Beijing; source: Album 35 (32) Beijing Xisantiao 北京西三条/ Photo 0350107.
2b. Buddhist imagery on Lu Xun's desk on Xisantiao hutong No.21, display in 2014; source: Photographed May 14, 2014.

Brecht – institutionalized: A Gedenkstätte Put on Hold

IC 162 Opening with Honecker, Brecht-Schall, Hecht

1. Erich Honecker (right), Barbara Brecht-Schall (middle), Werner Hecht (left) at the Opening of Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, 1978; source: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Maria-Steinfeldt-Archiv, Steinfeldt No. 572, Photographer: Maria Steinfeldt.
2. Courtyard of the Chausseestr. 125, the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed September 13, 2016.

Brecht – Re-Imagined: A Tale of Two Museums

IC 163 From Personal to Collective Mourning

1a. Funeral Parlor; source: (Xu Guangping 许广平 2012, 148).
1b. Living Room Dalu xincun No. 9, photographed in 1950s; source: (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海鲁迅纪念馆 1981, 20).
2. Brecht's bedroom and "Sterbezimmer", with dried wreath; at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 163.

IC 164 Deathmasks Brecht, Lu Xun

1a. Brecht's death mask (black), beside Brecht's Lebensmaske (brown); at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
1b. The standing desk in which Brecht's death masks are stored, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
2a./ 2b. Lu Xun's death mask (original) on display at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed December 18, 2013.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 164.

IC 165 The Threat of Access: The Adding of Boundaries

1. Small study at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.
2. Bedroom, at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed November 12, 2014.

IC 166 Augsburg: Groundplan of the Brecht-Haus

1. Entrance of the Brecht-Haus at Auf dem Rain 7 in Augsburg; source: Photographed September 27, 2013.
2a./ 2b. Groundplan of the Brecht-Haus in Augsburg; source: (Brechthaus Augsburg, Gier, and Hillesheim [~1998], 24–25).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 166.

IC 167 Augsburg: Exhibit 1, Soviet tank
1. Poster wall, including "The Solution" (1953), exhibition in room 5, Brecht-Haus in Augsburg, source: Photographed September 27, 2013.
1a. Detail, Soviet tank on Potsdamer Platz on June 17, 1953; source: (BSTU 2017).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 167.

IC 168 Augsburg: Exhibit 2, Inter City 819 Bertolt Brecht
1. IC Sign on display in glass show case in room 2, at the Brecht-Haus in Augsburg; source: Photographed September 27, 2013.
1a. Detail of IC Sign and IC keychain on display; source: Photographed September 27, 2013.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 168.

IC 169 Die Linke Campaign poster 2014: Coming to Terms with Augsburg's Past
Campaign poster of Die Linke for the local elections (Kommunalwahl) in March 2014 in Augsburg; source: (Die Linke 2014).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 169.

IC 170 Re-framing the Gedenkstätte: A Bildakt made undone
1. Erich Honecker (right), Barbara Brecht-Schall (middle), Werner Hecht (left) at the Opening of Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte, 1978; source: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Maria-Steinfeldt-Archiv, Steinfeldt No. 572, Photographer: Maria Steinfeldt. This image is the same as IC 162 Opening with Honecker, Brecht-Schall, Hecht 1.
2. Brecht-Haus at Chausseestr. 125, on February 15, 1978; source: Bundesarchiv Bild 183-T0411-347/ Photographer: Hubert Link.
3-5. Entry hallway of Chausseestr. 125 in 2016 with poster featuring photograph of Konrad Reßler from the Stadtmuseum München; at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Brecht-Weigel-Museum; source: Photographed September 8, 2016.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 170.

Conclusion: Brecht's Second Body

IC 171 Conclusion I: Agency in the Making of Brecht's Heritage
Figure by Emily Graf.

IC 172 Conclusion II: Brecht's Second Body
Figure by Emily Graf.

Lu Xun – marginalized or centered?

IC 173 Lai He 1909 – Lu Xun 1903
1. Lai He, 1909 in Taibei; source: (Lin Ruiming 林瑞明 2000, 8).
2. Lu Xun, 1903 in Tokyo; source: (Beijing Lu Xun Museum 北京鲁迅博物馆 1976, 1).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 173.

IC 174 Commemorating Hu Shi (1962) and Lin Yutang (1985)
1a./ 1b. Lin Yutang Former Residence, established 1985; source: Photographed August 23, 2014.
2a./ 2b. Hu Shi Memorial Museum, established 1962; source: Photographed August 13, 2014.
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 174.

IC 175 Institutionalizing Native Taiwan Literature (1994-)
1./ 1a. Lai He Museum, established 1994; source: Photographed August 27, 2014.
2. NMTL established 2003; source: Photographed March 1, 2013.
3. Yang Kui Museum, established 2005; source: Photographed August 13, 2014.
4. Ye Shitao Museum, established 2012; source: Photographed August 28, 2014.

IC 176 Lai He Museum sign, commemorating Lai He's Return to the Martyr Shrine, 1984
1. Hallway of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
2. Model of Lai He's former residence on display at the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

IC 177 Entry of the Lai He Museum: A "Buffer Zone"
1. Entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
2. Lai He "My People 吾人" (1924), "the courageous warrior thus ought to fight for a cause 勇士當為義鬥爭"; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

IC 178 Lai He's *wu* 武-Portrait
1./ 2. Lai He bust at entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

IC 179 Physiognomy (*xiangshu* 相術)
1. Manual of Chinese physiognomy from 1994; source: (Li Ling 李零 1994, 188–89).
2. A Manual published in Hong Kong in the 1970s, introducing Gall's phrenology and other forms of physiognomic theories from Europe; source: (Su Langtian 蘇朗天 1974, 64–65).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 179.

IC 180 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Lai He Museum (synchronic)
1./ 1a. Lai He bust at entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014.
2./ 2a. Lai He bust next to the writer's studio at the back of the Lai He Museum; source: source: Photographed August 29, 2014.

IC 181 Lai He's *wen* 文-Portrait
1. Lai He's study in the Lai He Museum, calligraphy reads: *shu qi min pi* 術起民疲 which can be translated as "skillful method emerges from the weakness of the people" or "skillful method takes away the weakness of the people"; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum. This image is the same as IC 180 A wen 文-wu 武-Reading of the Lai He Museum (synchronic) 2a.
2. Lai He photograph, ~1930s; source: (Lin Ruiming 林瑞明 2000, 8).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 181.

IC 182 Guestbook: Remembering Lai He's *wu* 武
1-3. Museum Guestbook at the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.

IC 183 A Towel: Circulating Lai He as *wu* 武
Towel with line of Lai He's poem held up at local demonstrations; source: (Li Yilin 李宜霖 2013).
To view this image cluster, please visit https://doi.org/10.11588/data/82ZUXN and select IC 183.

IC 184 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (synchronic)
1a./ 1b. Front: Wen-Lu Xun, sitting bronze statue
2a./ 2b. Back: Wu-Lu Xun marble bust.
Source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 185 *wu* 武 -Continuities: Lu Xun Changing from God to Man? (1980-1996-2014)
1. 1980s Lu Xun plaster bust, Cambodian prince and princess, Norodom Sihanouk and Norodom Monineath (3rd and 4th from the left); source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
2. 1996 Lu Xun by Ye Qingwen in marble; source: Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.
3a-d. Lu Xun bust (marble by Ye Qingwen), visitors and quotation by Mao Zedong in 2014; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum.

IC 186 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (diachronic)
1. Lu Xun Bronze Statue (sitting) at the entrance of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, Shaoxing; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum. This imge is the same image as IC 184 A *wen* 文 -*wu* 武 -Reading of Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (*synchronic*) 1b.
2. Lu Xun Stone Statue (standing) in front of the Shaoxing Middle School; source: Photographed September 17, 2014.

IC 187 Lu Xun's Hand: The "Veralltäglichung" of Charisma? *shenghuohua* vs. *shenhua*
1./2. Lu Xun, sitting bronze statue at the entrance of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum;
source: Photographed September 16, 2014.

IC 188 Conclusion I: *Wu* 武 -Lai He is charismatic / *Wu* 武 -Lu Xun's charisma is waning
Figure by Emily Graf.
1. *wu*-Lai He bust at entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum. This image is the same image as IC 180 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Lai He Museum (synchronic) 1.
2. *we*n-Lai He bust next to the writer's studio at the back of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum. This image is the same image as IC 180 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Lai He Museum (synchronic) 2.
3. *wen*-Lu Xun bronze statue (sitting) at the entrance of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum. This image is the same as IC 184 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (synchronic) 1.
4. *wu*-Lu Xun bust (marble by Ye Qingwen) at the back of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum; source: Photographed September 16, 2014. Courtesy of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum. This image is the same image as IC 185 *wu* 武 -Continuities: Lu Xun Changing from God to Man? (1980-1996-2014) 3b.
5. *wu*-Lu Xun Stone Statue (standing) in front of the Shaoxing Middle School; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. This image is the same image as IC 186 A *wen* 文 - *wu* 武-Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (*diachronic*) 2.

IC 189 Lai He in the NMTL, Tainan, 2011
1/ 2. Lai He's Writer's Studio in the National Museum of Taiwan Literature (Tainan); source: Photographed June 29, 2011.

IC 190 Lu Xun in the NMTL, Tainan, 2011
1-4. Lu Xun in the in the National Museum of Taiwan Literature (Tainan); source: Photographed June 29, 2011. Courtesy of the National Museum of Taiwan Literature.

IC 191 Conclusion II: Lai He's and Lu Xun's *wu* 武
Figure by Emily Graf.
1. The National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature (NMMCL) in Beijing; source: Photographed August, 6, 2014. This image is the same image as IC 180 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Lai He Museum (synchronic) 1.
2. Lai He bust at entrance of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum. This image is the same image as IC 180 A *wen* 文-*wu* 武-Reading of the Lai He Museum (synchronic) 2.
3. Lai He bust next to the writer's studio at the back of the Lai He Museum; source: Photographed August 29, 2014. Courtesy of the Lai He Museum.
4. Lu Xun Stone Statue (standing) in front of the Shaoxing Middle School; source: Photographed September 17, 2014. This image is the same image as IC 186 A *wen* 文 - *wu* 武-Reading of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (*diachronic*) 2.

Zooming In: World Literary Heritage

IC 192 World Literary Giant Square, Shanghai 2015
1-2. World Literary Giant Square, Shanghai; source: Photographed March 12, 2015.

IC 193 The Materiality of Literature
Goethe's stationary from the 1830s (including quills and quill knife); Name of Object: 100-2012-1190; photographed by Alexander Burzik, 2012; source: (Fotothek Klassik Stiftung Weimar 2012).

Note to the Reader

IC 194 Methodological Approach: Lu Xun and World Literary Heritage – Zooming in and Zooming out
1. World map; source: Maps.google.com.
2. Structure. Figure by Emily Graf

IC 195 Beyond Critical Approaches
Figure by Emily Graf.

Appendix I Expert Interviews of Museum Staff

Lu Xun /China

Interviewee Name + Date of Birth + Occupation	Gender	**Interview** Date	Place	Duration/ Medium
Beijing				
Ye Shusui 葉淑穗 (1931-) Museum researcher (1956-early 90s)	female	2015.08.22	On-site interview at Lu Xun's former residence (Xisantiao hutong No. 21) + Beijing Lu Xun Museum exhibition hall	02:50
Biographical Information: Ye Shusui graduated from Beijing Normal University from the Institute of Psychology. She worked as a museum researcher at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum from the 1950s and had been in personal contact with Xu Guangping during her work. Her publications have focused on analyses of Lu Xun's personal estate and has in the recent years published a number of interviews in which she orally recounts the museum's history. Her main publication is *Getting to Know Lu Xun Through His Relics* 从鲁迅遗物认识鲁迅 from 1999. *Establishment of contact:* I met Ye Shusui at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum on August 22, 2015. We had been brought into contact via telephone by Wang Dehou, with whom I had conducted an interview in March that same year. Since I was interested in the museum's history and development, Wang Dehou recommended that we meet as Ye Shusui was his good friend, former work-colleague and three years his senior and had thus acquired even longer work experience at the museum. *Interview:* The interview was an on-site interview, which led through Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong No. 21 and through the main exhibition building. The interview was a semi-structured interview, in which I drew on the key questions of previous interviews, see example of a questionnaire in the appendix. The order of the questions was adapted to the circumstances of the interview (beginning with Part 2 – Communication Lu Xun and then returning to structural questions) as I did not want to disturb the interviewee's flow of speech and much she referred to was inspired by the objects she saw around her.				
Wang Dehou 王得后 (1934-) Museum researcher (1957-84) Deputy Director (1984-92)	male	2015.03.19	Living Room of Emily Graf on Dongzhimen Beixiaojie	01:42
		2015.08.20	On-site interview at Lu Xun's former residence (*Xisantiao hutong* No. 21) + Beijing Lu Xun Museum exhibition hall	~ 01:00 written notes
Biographical Information: Wang Dehou (from Hankou/ Hubei) graduated from the Chinese Department of Beijing Normal University in 1957. His most notable publication is Research on "Letters Between Two" 《两地书》研究 from 1982. *Establishment of Contact:* The contact to Wang Dehou was made possible through the introduction by Sun Yu. Wang Dehou had introduced Sun Yu into the Lu Xun Museum and belongs to the researchers a generation before Sun Yu. *Interview:* I met Wang Dehou at my apartment on Dongzhimen Beixiaojie in Beijing on March 19th, 2015. The interview was not an on-site interview, but took place at my apartment, as this was preferred by Wang Dehou as it would offer a quiet surrounding, unlike a restaurant, and due to his age and hearing ability he preferred this surrounding to a venue in the city. Wang Dehou was very eager to share his thoughts on the Lu Xun Museum, which had the effect that I did not use the questionnaire in this interview, but instead listened to the structure he proposed and asked follow-up questions during his descriptions. His suggested structure was 1) The Establishment of the Lu Xun Museum 2) The Change in its Architecture 3) The Change of the Content of the Exhibitions. The interview took 1h 42 min. Later, we continued talking for 30-40 min off record. On August 20th, 2015 we met again for an on-site interview, which was not recorded, but I had permissionto take notes.				

Tour guide at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum	female	2015.03.21	On-site interview at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, permanent exhibition	02:00
Huang Qiaosheng 黄乔生 (1964-) Museum researcher (1986-2005), Deputy Director (2005-)	male	2014.08.13	Office at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum	03:00
Biographical Information: Huang Qiaosheng had worked as the Deputy Director under Prof. Sun Yu, with work experience at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum of 28 years, of which he has been the Deputy Director for 6 years. Since the merger between the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and the New Culture Movement Museum in 2014/ 2015, Huang is currently the Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum (New Culture Movement Museum). Huang Qiaosheng graduated from the Chinese department form Henan University in 1983 and from Nanjing University in 1986. Since 1986 he has been working at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum, from 2001-2003 as head of the Research Room, from 2005-2009 as assistant to director Sun Yu, and since 2009 as Deputy Director. *Establishment of contact:* We first met at a conference on "Lu Xun and his Legacy" in November 2012 in New Delhi, and met on several occasions during my stay at Renmin University in 2013/ 14. *Interview:* The interview was a semi-structured interview, adhering to my outline of the questionnaire. The questionnaire is included in the appendix of this thesis as an example of a questionnaire. Huang Qiaosheng furthermore agreed to me conducting interviews with visitors in the museum.				
Ge Tao 葛涛 (1971-) Museum researcher (2000-)	male	2014.05.14	Office at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and on-site interview at Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong	~ 02:00 written notes
Biographical Information: Ge Tao started working as a museum researcher at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in 2000 and is a postdoctoral fellow at the Chinese Department at Fudan University in Shanghai. His major publications deal with the contemporary reception of Lu Xun in a digital age, such as *A Study on Internet-Lu Xun* 网络鲁迅研究 from 2012. *Establishment of contact:* We first met at a conference on "Lu Xun and his Legacy" in November 2012 in New Delhi, and met on several occasions during my stay at Renmin University in 2013/ 14. *Interview*: Ge Tao introduced Lu Xun's former residence, responding to my questions on specific exhibits. The interview in his office was an unstructured exchange.				
Sun Yu 孫郁 (1957-) Museum researcher (1975-2002) Deputy Director (2002-2005) Director (2005-2009)	male	2014.03.15	Office at the People's University of China	01:24
Biographical Information: Sun Yu graduated from the Chinese Department of Shenyang Normal Academy (today Shenyang Normal University) in 1988. Sun Yu worked as a researcher at the Beijing Lu Xun Museum in the late 1980s and then as editor at the *Beijing Daily* 北京日报 from 1992-2002. In 2002, Su Yu became the Deputy Director of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and after three years the Director. In 2009 he took over the position as Dean of the Literature Department at Renmin University of China, but continued to work as the museum's director until 2010. He was the main editor of the museum's journal *Lu Xun Research Monthly* 鲁迅研究月刊. Among his publications are *The Maligned Lu Xun* 被亵渎的鲁迅 from 1994, *Records of Lu Xun's Troubled Thoughts* 鲁迅忧思录 in 2012 and *Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren* 鲁迅与周作人 in 2013. *Establishment of contact*: Sun Yu supervised my research project at Renmin University in 2013/ 14 as part of the "Confucius China Studies Program". *Interview:* The interview was a semi-structured interview adhering to my outline of the questionnaire.				

Shanghai				
Wang Xirong 王錫榮 (1953-) Director (2009-) Deputy Director (1995-2008)	male	2013.12.19	Office at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum	~ 01:00 written notes
		2013.12.19	On-site interview at Lu Xun's former residence (*Dalu xincun* No. 9)	00:47
Biographical Information: Wang Xirong contributed to the work of the 1981-edition of Lu Xun's Collected Works. In 1981 he started working at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum as an editor, establishing the journal *Shanghai Lu Xun Studies* 上海鲁迅研究 in 1987. Wang Xirong graduated from the Chinese Department of Shanghai Fudan University in 1994 and worked as the Deputy Director of the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum from 1995-2008 and as its director from 2009 onwards. Among other works he has edited *Lu Xun, the Collector* 藏家鲁迅 in 2009. *Establishment of Contact*: I first met Wang Xirong at the Lu Xun Culture Forum 魯迅文化論壇 held at the National Political Consultative Hall in Beijing on December 5, 2013 and scheduled an interview for December 19th. *Interview*: The interview was a semi-structured interview adhering to my outline of the questionnaire, of which I took written notes. He furthermore offered me a guided tour of Lu Xun's former residence at Dalu Xincun No. 9 which I recorded.				
Li Hao 李浩 (1966-) Museum researcher (1988-) and Deputy Director	male	2013.12.19	On-site interview at Lu Xun's former residence (*Dalu xincun* No. 9)	00:57
		2013.12.18	Office at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum	00:22
Biographical Information: Li Hao (1966-) received his BA in history at Shanghai University in 1988 and a Masters in Literature at Shanghai Normal University in 2002. He has been working at the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum since 1988. He published a *Pictorial Biography of Xu Guangping* 许广平划传 in 2008, *A Collection of Essays on Lu Xun Research* 鲁迅研究杂集 in 2019 and is editor of the journal *Shanghai Lu Xun Studies* 上海鲁迅研究. *Interview*: Li Hao introduced me to Lu Xun's former residence on Dalu xincun No. 9, responding to my questions on specific exhibits. The interview in his office was an unstructured exchange. *Establishment of contact:* Li Hao received me at the museum when I first visited in December 2013.				
Shaoxing				
Xu Dongbo 徐東波 (1958-) museum researcher (1981-1994) Deputy Director (~1994-)	male	2014.09.16	Office at the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum	02:00
Biographical Information: Xu Dongbo has worked at the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum since 1981 and as its Deputy Director since 1994. *Establishment of Contact*: Sun Yu provided me with the contact information of Xu Dongbo, who agreed to meet with me, as well as agreeing to me conducting interviews with visitors during my stay. *Interview*: The interview was a semi-structured interview, adhering to my outline of the questionnaire.				
Museum staff member of the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum (since mid-1990s)	female		On-site interview at Lu Xun's former residence, Hundred-Flower-Garden, Three-Flavor-Studio, Lu Xun Native Home	01:40
Nanjing				
Teacher at the Middle School Affiliated to Nanjing Normal University	male	2015.03.12	On-site interview at the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum	02:10
Establishment of Contact: Sun Yu provided me with the contact information of a Chinese teacher of the school, who agreed to meet me at the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum on March 12, 2015. *Interview*: The teacher gave me a tour of the Nanjing Lu Xun Museum, responding to my questions on specific exhibits.				

Xiamen				
Su Yongyan 蘇永延 (1970-) Museum Director (2011-)	male	2015.03.11	Office at the Lu Xun Museum, Xiamen University	01:17
Biographical Information: Su Yongyan graduated from Xiamen University and received his PhD from Fudan University, Shanghai. In 2005 he returned to Xiamen University to teach as an Associate Professor at the Chinese Department. *Establishment of contact:* I first visited the museum and met volunteer staff. They provided me with the contact information of Su Yongyan. *Interview*: The interview was a semi-structured interview, adhering to my outline of the questionnaire.				

Literature/ China

Interviewee Name + Date of Birth + Occupation	Gender	**Interview** Date	Place	Duration/ Medium
Beijing				
Fu Guangming 傅光明 (1965-)	male	2014.08.05	Office at the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature	03:38
Biographical Information: Fu Guangming graduated from the Chinese Literature and Language Department of a branch school of Beijing University in 1986. He started working as a researcher and editor of the NMMCL in 1986. He furthermore is Permanent Secretary of the CCLM since 2009. His most notable publications deal with the oral history of Lao She's death *Oral History Records on Lao She's Death* 老舍之死口述史实录 in 2009. *Establishment of contact:* I first met Fu Guangping at the NMMCL in December 2013 and afterwards scheduled an interview via email. *Interview*: The interview was a semi-structured interview, adhering to my outline of the questionnaire.				
Zhou Limin 周立民 (1973-) Deputy Director (2008-)	male	2013.12.18	Office at the Ba Jin Former Residence	00:41
Biographical Information: Zhou Limin graduated from the Chinese Department of Dalian University in 1996 and received his PhD in Chinese Contemporary Literature from Fudan University in Shanghai in 2007. His research focus lies on research on Ba Jin, for example *The Other Ba Jin* 另一个巴金 from 2002, as well as editorial work for the publication of Ba Jin's manuscripts. *Establishment of Contact:* Sun Yu provided me with the contact information of Zhou Limin. Li Hao, museum researcher from the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum, accompanied me to the Ba Jin Former Residence and was present during the interview. *Interview*: The interview was a semi-structured interview, adhering to my outline of the questionnaire.				

Lai He / Taiwan

Interviewee Name + Date of Birth + Occupation	Gender	**Interview** Date	Place	Duration/ Medium
Zhanghua				
Zhang Caifang 張綵芳 (1975-)	female	2014.08.29	On-site interview at the Lai He Museum	01:44
		2014.08.28	On-site interview at the Lai He Museum	~ 01:30 written notes
Biographical Information: Zhang Caifang graduated from the History Department of Donghai University in 1998 and has worked as the Managing Secretary of the Lai He Foundation since 2000. She furthermore is in charge of organizing museum tours and coordinating the volunteers working at the museum. *Establishment of Contact:* I came into contact with Zhang Caifang when calling the museum to schedule a visit and interview. *Interview:* The interviews consisted first of a tour through the exhibition, followed by a semi-structured interview, adhering to my outline of the questionnaire, which took place in the sitting area in the middle of the first exhibition room.				

Bertolt Brecht / Germany

Interviewee Name + Date of Birth + Occupation	Gender	**Interview** Date	Place	Duration/ Medium
Berlin				
Elke Pfeil (1957-) Leiterin der Sektion Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte der Akademie der Künste	female	2014.11.12	At the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte	02:25
		2015.07.03	telephone interview	notes
Biographical Information: Elke Pfeil was born 1957 in Saxony and studied physics and mathematics to become a teacher at the Technischen Hochschule Karl-Marx-Stadt (THK) from 1975 to 1979. She worked as a research engineer at the THK from 1979 to 1983 and afterwards as a stage director's assistant at Friedrichstadtpalast in Berlin. She has worked at the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte since 1987. Here she is the head of the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte (since 1990) and of the Anna-Seghers-Gedenkstätte (since 2001). *Establishment of Contact:* I came into contact with Elke Pfeil when calling the museum to schedule a visit and interview. *Interview:* The interview consisted first of a tour through the exhibition, followed by a semi-structured interview, adhering to my outline of the questionnaire, which took place in a café near the Brecht-Weigel-Gedenkstätte.				

Example of Questionaire:
Interview with Deputy Director Huang Qiaosheng 黃喬生

- How long have you worked at the Lu Xun Museum? As its director? 您在魯迅博物館工作了多長時間？ 擔任館長多長時間？
- As the director of this museum, which tasks are you responsible for? 作為本館的館長，您主要負責哪些工作？

TOPIC 1) 主題一： National Structural Conditions 國內的條件

Organizational Structure I 組織結構 I

- Which domestic cultural and political institutions and organizations is the Lu Xun Museum subordinate to? Why? What practical consequences does this entail? 魯博附屬於哪一些國內文化與政治性的機構和組織？為什麼？這會有什麼樣的實際影響？
- Which domestic cultural and political structures and organizations is the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum subordinate to? Why are different Lu Xun museums affiliated with different government institutions? How does their affiliation influence the power of a museum or its exhibition content? 上海魯迅紀念館隸屬於哪一些國內文化與政治性的機構? 不同的魯迅博物館為什麼屬於不同的國家機構? 他們的從屬關係會如何影響到館的實力和展覽內容?
- Concerning the museum's affiliation, have there been any larger changes since the museum's establishemnt? Will there be any changes in the future? How did or does its affiliation affect the museum? 關於本館的所屬，建立博物館以來是否曾有比較重要的變動？未來會不會有所變化？這對本館有了如何的影響呢？
- Does the Lu Xun museum have a professional state and Party representative, such as a Party Branch Secretary)? What are their concrete responsibilities? 本館是否有專職的政府和共產黨的代表人，比如說黨委書記？他們實際的工作任務是什麼？
- What is the relationship between the Beijing Lu Xun Museum and other Lu Xun (Memorial) Museums in China? Compared with the other Lu Xun museums, what is the strength and weakness of the Beijing Lu Xun Museum? 北京魯迅博物館跟國內其他的魯迅紀念館和博物館的關係如何？跟其他館相比，本館擁有哪些優勢和局限？

Administrative Ranking 行政級別

- What administrative rank does the Beijing Lu Xun Museum have? Does this ranking have any specific effect for the Lu Xun Museum? Does it have practical meaning? Does it have symbolical meaning? Recently, the national government seems to have conducted reforms concerning different forms of administrative ranking, has this had an effect on the Beijing Lu Xun Museum? 北京魯迅博物館屬於哪一個行政級別? 這個行政級別對魯博有具體的效果嗎？ 它有實踐的內涵嗎？ 有象徵性的內涵嗎？ 最近國家政府好像對不同行政級別進行了一些改革，這對魯博也會有影響嗎?
- Is it benificial to be of a high administrative rank when applying for state programs or funds? Does a high administrative rank have an impact on visitors? For example, do schools or units in the surrounding area organize visits for students due to the museum's administrative ranking? Does it have an impact when applying for programs abroad or in the application process for international exhibitions? 申請國家項目和資金時，屬於高的行政級別是否帶來好處？ 行政級別對參觀者有影響嗎？ 比如，鄰近的學校或單位是否會因為本館的行政級別安排學生去參觀？ 是否會影響到申請國外項目/ 國際的展覽的過程?

Titles and Awards 稱號，榮譽

- The Beijing Lu Xun Museum is a "Level 1 National Museum". It also has been awarded a "Red Tourism Site" and other titles. Do these titles, awards and categories have any concrete effect on the museum? Do they have practical meaning? Do they have symbolical meaning? 北京魯迅博物館是《國家一級博物館》。本館也被授予《紅色旅游點》等等。這些稱號、獎項和分類，對本館有具體的效果嗎？它們有實踐的內涵嗎？有象徵性的內涵嗎？
- When a Level 1 Museum is examined, who comes to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum for the examination? Are there any differences in the process of applying to become a "Level One Museum" for bureau- or division-level museums? 申請一級博物館的過程中，誰會到北京魯迅博物館來審查？處級博物館或局級博物館申請"一級博物館"的過程中是否有不同點？
- Does the museum actively take part in awarding literary prizes? How is it involved in the Lu Xun Prize, the Mao Dun Prize or the Lao She Prize? How do you see the Lu Xun Prize or the Lu Xun Culture Prize? 本館自己是否頒發文學獎或其他榮譽？本館與魯迅文學獎，茅盾文學獎，老舍文學獎等獎項有什麼樣的關係？ 您對魯迅文學獎或魯迅文化獎的看法如何?

Funding 資金

- This museum is a state-run museum. What is its financial situation? Does its financial situation have an effect on the exhibition's content? 本館是國營的博物館，它的財政運營情況如何？它的財政運營是否影響到展覽的內容?

Responsibilities and Experiences 個人工作職責

- As the museum's director, do you feel like you can influence the content, method and style of the exhibitions? Which parts are were you responsible for? Do you feel that your influence in the museum and power in decision making is strong? 作為本館的館長，您覺得您能影響展覽的內容，方法和模式嗎？您主要負責哪一些方面？ 您認為您的決定權和影響力大嗎?
- Which exhibition which was held under your leadership did you consider to be successful? Why? 您在魯博工作與擔任館長時，您認為哪一個展覽辦得特別成功？為什麼？
- Have you felt unsatisfied with an exhibition under your leadership? Why? 您擔任館長時，魯博是否辦過一個您認為不太成功的展覽？為什麼？

Museum Categories 博物館分類

- Is the Lu Xun Museum a literary museum or a person museum? Why? 魯迅博物館是個文學館還是人物類博物館？為什麼？
- The categories of person museums in China encompass different kinds of famous individuals, for example politicians (Sun Yat-sen, Zhou Enlai), writers (Lu Xun), scientists (Hua Luogeng) etc. Is there a difference in displaying a writer or a political persona? How does it differ? Does an author museum presenting a writer have more or less freedom in presenting politically sensitive issues in its exhibition in comparison to other person museums? 中國的人物紀念館包括不同領域的名人，比如政治家（孫中山，周恩來）文學家（魯迅），科學家（華羅庚）等等。 展出一位文學家跟展出一位政治家是否不一樣? 有哪些不同? 一家作家博物館在對文學家的展示中，如果牽涉到政治敏感問題，那麼，它對這些問題的展示，是否比其他類型的博物館更自由?

TOPIC 2) 主題二：Communicating Lu Xun傳播魯迅

- ***General*:** Which turning points in exhibiting Lu Xun in the Beijing Museum since its establishment in 1956 do you consider important? 1956至今，北京魯迅博物館展示魯迅的方法或途徑發生過，您認為，那些重要的轉折點？

- ***Literary value***: Do you consider Lu Xun a left-wing writer? When displaying a left-wing writer, are there any specific methods in displaying the literary value of leftist literature? 您認為魯迅是否是一位左翼作家？ 展示一位左翼作家時，是否有特定的展示方能表達左翼文學的價值觀？
- ***Architecture*:** When the new exhibition hall was built in 1996, who was involved in the choice of architect and architectural style? 1996年建立新的陳列廳時，誰參與選擇建築家和建築風格的決策過程？
- ***Past Sculptures***: Why is the 1956 Lu Xun bust donated to the museum by the SU / Belarus no longer in the exhibition? Where are statues from old exhibitions kept? How many are there? Has the Beijing Lu Xun Museum commissioned any images of Lu Xun (busts or portrait paintings)? Who is responsible for commissioning them, who is responsible for whether or not the style of the image is appropriate or not? 1956 年蘇聯/ 白俄羅斯捐給魯博的魯迅半身銅像為什麼不展示在新的陳列廳? 以前在展覽中擺設過的雕像，現在會在哪裡收藏？已經有多少個?北京魯迅博物館是否有定做的魯迅像(雕像，畫像)？誰負責定做，負責肖像風格是否恰當？
- ***Sacralization***: In the 1980s and 190s, a Movement Against the Sacralization of Lu Xun took place. In your opinion, what did the term "sacralization" (*shenhua*) mean at the time? How did this movement influence the Lu Xun Museum and its exhibitions? 80，90 年代發生了一個"反對神化魯迅運動"。 您認為那時"神化"有了什麼意思? 此運動怎樣影響了魯迅博物館和它的展覽?
- ***Text-Book Debate***: In recent years, fewer of Lu Xun's texts have been included in school text books. How do you see this change? Will it have an impact on the Lu Xun museum? How, in your opinion, is an author museum to react to such a change? In which respect does it have power? In which respects is it powerless? 這幾年中學課本中減少了魯迅的文章。您對這個變化有如何的想法? 這是否會影響到魯博？您認為作家博物館對這種變化需要做出什麼反應？ 您認為它哪方面有能力去做些什麼，哪一方面無能為力？
- ***Controversial Authors*:** The relationships between Lu Xun and Lin Yutang, Lu Xun and Lin Yutang, Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu and other writers, have been re-evaluated over the course of time. How were these authors presented differently in the Lu Xun museum over time? 迄今為止，魯迅與周作人，魯迅與林語堂，魯迅與梁實秋等作家的關係已經得到了重新的評價。這些作家在魯迅博物館的歷史上得到了怎樣的展示？
- ***Badaowan**:* Beside Xisantiao hutong, Lu Xun's former residences in Beijing furthermore included his residences at Badaowan and Zhuanta hutong, as well as at the Shaoxing guild house. As media coverage suggests, Lu Xun's other houses on Badaowan and Zhuanta hutong repeatedly faced destruction. When did you enter the debate on whether the houses ought to be dismantled, preserved or reconstructed? What was your opinion of the debate? Did you feel that your impact on the debate was strong? Did you feel the media reporting was adequate? Will the "Zhou Brothers Former Residence" belong to the Lu Xun Museums? Why/ why not? Has Zhou Zuoren fully recovered in Chinese society? Do you consider it likely that a Zhou Zuoren Museum will be built in the near future? 北京魯迅故居，除了西三條，還有八道灣，磚塔胡同與紹興會館等故居。從媒體的報道能得知，八道灣胡同與磚塔胡同以前好像反復面臨拆遷。您何時參加對此故居是否拆遷、保留或重建的辯論？您的看法如何？您認為在此爭論的過程中你的影響力大不大？您覺得媒體的報道恰當不恰當？ "周氏兄弟舊居"會隸屬於北京魯迅博物館嗎？為什麼（不）會？周作人在中國社會是否完全恢復了？在不久的將來，您認為建一家周作人紀念館的可能性大不大？為什麼？
- ***Contemporary Authors/Artists***: Under Director Sun Yu, the Lu Xun Museum organized exhibitions on Chen Danqing, Wang Xiaobo, Wang Zengqi and other Chinese writers. Do you consider them appropriate for the Lu Xun Museum? Why? Did these writers gain anything from the exhibitions? Did the museum gain anything through their exhibition? 當時孫館長在魯博辦過關於陳丹清，

王小波和汪曾祺等中國作家的展覽。 您覺得他們很適合進入魯博嗎？ 為什麼？ 進入魯博，這些作家獲得了什麼？魯博因為展示他們而獲得了什麼？

- ***Historical Accuracy:*** When a writer's former residence is turned into a museum, do you consider it important to be strictly historically accurate in the display? Are there limits to historical accuracy? Are there any limits [a historically accurate display] might have in China in particular? Are there any aspects of the display of Lu Xun's former residence on Xisantiao hutong that are not strictly historically accurate? 把作家的故居作為博物館時，您認為嚴格得按歷史原貌去擺設重要不重要？ 這個做法是否有限？ 是否在中國比較有限？ 在西三條故居中是否有一些方面是不嚴格按歷史原貌去擺設的？
- ***Andreyev Photo:*** Did the photograph of the Russian writer Andreyev once hang in Lu Xun's study? Why is there no reproduction of the photograph in his former residence today? 魯迅故居的書房裡以前是否掛了俄國作家安特萊福的照片？ 為什麼在今天的故居沒有掛此照片的復制品？
- ***Sensitive Topics*****:** Can sensitive/ taboo topics of political nature, such as Lu Xun's critical view on the Communist Party in Shanghai, or of personal nature, such as his marriage to Zhu An or his depressions, be raised in the exhibition? Why/ Why not? 魯博的展覽中是否能提及政治敏感的題目（比如，魯迅對共產黨的批評）或者私人敏感的題目（比如，朱安的婚姻或魯迅的憂鬱症）？為什麼（不）可以？
- ***Content-related Regulations:*** Are there any oral or written guidelines or edicts according to which the museum must adhere with regard to its exhibition content and method? 是否存在一些口頭或書面的指導方針，布告，法令，以規定展覽的內容和方法?
- ***Current Taboos***: Which topics are still considered an unwritten taboo today? 哪一些話題到今天還算不成文的禁忌？
- ***Present State:*** How would you describe the Beijing Lu Xun museum's current approach to communicating Lu Xun to the public? // Is it conventional (i.e. nationalist, emphasizing the importance of Lu Xun for China)? Or is it more localized? Or is it more commercialized? What does this term imply to you? 您會怎麼描述北京魯迅博物館傳播魯迅的方法或途徑？ 是比較傳統的方法（國家性，民族性，強調魯迅對中國的重要性還是比較本土性的方法？比較商業化的方法？ [答案]對您來說意味著什麼？
- ***Future Plans:*** How do you hope the Lu Xun Museum to communicate Lu Xun to the public in the future? If any, which changes do think will be necessary? Why? 您希望魯迅博物館以後怎樣傳播魯迅？ 如果您覺得該有一些變化，您覺得該有哪些？ 為什麼？

TOPIC 3) 題目三： The Beijing Lu Xun Museum in the World 北京魯迅紀念館在世界上的影響

Organizational Structure II 組織結構 II

- Is the museum affiliated with any international museum or writer organizations? Is this museum an institutional member of ICOM? Of ICLM? DEMHIST？ ICMEMO？ 本館加入過哪一些國際文化性的機構組織？ 本館是"國際博協"的參加單位嗎？文學專業委員會，故居專業委員會，或紀念館專業委員會？
- How important are these international affiliations for your museum in comparison to the national ones? Is this likely to change in the future? 跟國內機構相比，國際機構的影響有多大？ 今後是否會有改變？

Collaboration 合作:

- ***General Cooperation***: Have you had exchange programs with museums across national borders? More with Europe, Amerika, Asia? Why? 本館是否跟國外的博物館，紀念館有過交流與合作？歐洲，美洲或亞洲比較多？ 為什麼？

- Which affiliations with foreign museums/ organization have proved especially fruitful for the museum? Which obstacles (structural / cultural / personal etc.) have you encountered while cooperating with foreign museums? For example, lack of funding, lack of interest (on the Chinese/ on the foreign side), lack of organizational structure or other obstacles? 哪些國際性的關係和合作機會卓有成效？合作中是否面臨困難和障礙？ 這些困難和障礙是出於文化性，機構性或個人性的問題？ 比如，缺乏資金，缺乏（中國或外國的）積極的興趣，缺乏組織性制度等？
- How were these links established? And what purposes do these serve? 本館跟這些國外的博物館，紀念館怎麼建立了合作關係？ 建立關係的目的是什麼？
- ***Inspiration/ Imitation***: Does the Beijing Lu Xun museum have one museum according to which it is modeled? Have foreign museums been modeled according to the Lu Xun Museum? 北京魯迅博物館是否曾經觀摩其他博物館？ 國外的博物館是否觀摩過北京魯迅博物館？
- ***Foreign authors in Lu Xun Museum****:* Have exhibitions about other (foreign) authors ever been hosted here? 北京魯迅博物館是否展出過國外作家？
- ***Lu Xun abroad****:* Have you organized Lu Xun exhibitions abroad? Does a competition between different Lu Xun Museums occur in search of international collaborations? 本館是否在國外舉行過魯迅的展覽？ 跟國外的博物館建立合作關係是否引起不同魯迅博物館之間的競爭？
- ***Adapting exhibition methods****:* If Lu Xun exhibitions were hosted abroad, was the structure/ design of the exhibition changed to cater to a foreign audience? Which changes were made? 在不同國家和地區，展覽的內容或模式是否進行過調整和變更？
- ***Foreign applications:*** Have there been inquiries by foreign collectors, museums or institutions to exhibit here or hold activities? Have they ever been deemed inappropriate for the Lu Xun museum? Why? 外國的收藏者，博物館或文化機構是否跟魯博聯系過，邀請辦展覽或其他的活動？那麼，他們要展示的作家或主題是否曾被認為不適合魯迅博物館，而因此被拒絕過嗎？ 為什麼？
- ***Berlin***: What was the involvement of the Lu Xun Museum in the exhibition in 1980 held in West German Berlin? Does the museum have photos, documents or other records from the exhibition? 1980年在西德的柏林舉行的魯迅展覽中，北京魯迅博物館扮演什麼樣的角色？ 關於那次的展覽魯博是否還有照片，文件或其他的記錄？
- ***Petőfi Asymmetry***: A Petőfi exhibition has been held in the Lu Xun Museum and a bust of Petőfi has been placed on the museum square. Has there been a Lu Xun exhibition in Hungary? Why not? Who ordered / donated the Petőfi bust in the Beijing Lu Xun Museum / the Lu Xun bust in Petőfi's home town in Hungary? 魯迅博物館常常辦過關於裴多菲的展覽，園子裡也建了裴多菲的像。北京魯迅博物館是否會在匈牙利辦一個魯迅展覽？裴多菲的雕像是誰捐獻或定做的？在裴多菲家鄉的魯迅雕像是誰定做或者捐獻的？
- Can similar "asymmetrical" collaborations between author museums be detected across the globe? 在作家博物館界，是否有類似的"非對稱性"的合作關係嗎？

TOPIC 4) 題目四：Influence/ Agency of Author Museums 魯博的影響力和主動性

- Who contributes to the formation of Lu Xun's image in Chinese society? 您認為在中國主要是誰，或主要有哪些組織或力量，影響到魯迅在中國社會的形象?
- Who contributes to the formation of Lu Xun's image in Chinese on an international stage? 誰影響到魯迅在世界舞台上的形象？
- Do you consider the author museum a strong player in this process? Why? 您認為作家博物館算其中之一嗎？為什麼？

Appendix II Visitor Interviews (Shaoxing/ Beijing)

	Interviewee* Name /alias (residence)	Gender	Age	Company	Education/ Occupation	**Interview** Place	Duration/ Medium
	Shaoxing August 18-19, 2014						
1	Ms. Ma (Guangzhong/ Guangdong)	female	25	Individual travel	MA Student of Archeology	Hostel in Shaoxing	18:00
2	Ms. Zhu (Beijing)	female	25	Individual travel	BA Import/Export Trade	Hostel in Shaoxing	
3	Ms. Hu (Hangzhou/ Zhejiang)	female	26	with friends	BA Bio-Technology	On-Site	6:20
4	Mr. He (Jiaxing/ Zhejiang)	male	41	with wife	BA Trade	On-Site	5:30
5	Mr. Song (Shanghai)	male	37	-	BA Communication	On-Site	11:00
6	Ms. Tang (Shanghai)	female	37	-	BA Media	On-Site	
7	Mr. Deng (Wuxi/ Jiangsu)	male	58	-	BA Decoration	On-Site	8:10
8	Ms. Cao (Xi'an/ Shanxi)	female	48	-	BA Finance	On-Site	notes
9	Mr. Liu (Wuxi/ Jiangsu)	male	32	with Mr. Peng	BA Market Management	On-Site	9:10
10	Mr. Peng (Wuxi/ Jiangsu)	male	32	with Mr. Liu	BA Market Management	On-Site	
11	Mr. Zeng (Inner Mongolia)	male	40	-	BA International Trade	On-Site	29:40
12	Mr. Xiao (Henan)	male	46	individual travel	BA Finance	On-Site	10:00
13	Mr. Tian (Taizhou/ Jiangsu)	male	25	-	BA Commerce	On-Site	7:40
14	Ms. Dong (Taizhou/ Jiangsu)	female	25	-	- -	On-Site	
15	Mr. Pan (Dongqing/ Zhejiang)	male	44	with family	Middle School Self-employed	On-Site	8:30
16	Ms. Yuan (Dongqing/ Zhejiang)	female	19	with parents	High-School -	On-Site	
17	Mr. Cai (Wenzhou/ Zhejiang)	male	25	with family	BA Finances	On-Site	10:00
18	Mr. Jiang (Yunnan)	male	~50	parents, (grown) children	BA Education	On-Site	10:00
19	Ms. Du (Yunnan)	female	~30	daughter of Mr. Du	BA Not employed	On-Site	
20	Mr. Ye (Shandong)	male	26	with family	High school Fashion	On-Site	02:50

21	Mr. Su (Hangzhou/ Zhejiang)	male	19	With Mr. Lü	High school Unemployed	On-Site	07:00
22	Mr. Lü (Hangzhou/ Zhejiang)	male	20	With Mr. Su	? Unemployed	On-Site	
23	Mr. Cheng (Lingyi/ Shandong)	male	29	husband and wife, wife works in liberal arts field	BA Government official	On-Site	15:00
24	Ms. Wei (Lingyi/ Shandong)	female	28	husband and wife, husband government official	BA Journalism	On-Site	
25	Mr. Ding (Dongying/ Shandong)	male	45	-	BA Business	On-Site	3:40
	Beijing August 15, 2014						
26	Ms. Ren (Beijing)	female	~15	with mother	High school	On-Site	notes
27	Family Lu (Beijing)	male	~50	with wife and daughter	PhD Financial Analyst	On-Site	18:00
28	Family Yao (Shanxi)			Parents with 4-year-old daughter	in Beijing for operation for daughter	On-Site	notes
29	Mr. Garcia (Spain)	male	50s	Visiting Mr. Brown	- -	On-Site	notes
30	Mr. Brown (Canada)	male	50s	-	- Business (work experience of 2 years in Beijing)	On-Site	
31	Mr. Shen (Beijing, originally from Hunan)	male	80	individually	- Industry	On-Site	34:00
32	Ms. Zhong (Guangzhou)	female	~40		BA Self-employed	On-Site	48:00
33	Ms. Jiang (Beijing)	female	~12	with mother	Primary school	On-Site	
	September 10, 2014						
34	Mr. Cui (Hebei)	male	74	with Mr. Tan	- Farmer	On-Site	14:00
35	Mr. Tan (Beijing)	male	70	-	- Farmer	On-Site	
36	Ms. Jones (Australia)	female	65	-	MA Curator, Writer, Academic	On-Site	12:00
37	Mr. Wang (Beijing)	male	-	-	BA Finance	On-Site	4:10
38	Mr. Fan (Beijing/ originally from Jiangnan)	male	60?	individually	-	On-Site	17:20

	Beijing **March 6, 2015**						
39	Ms. Nagy (from Kalocsa/ Hungary)	female	28	with Hungarian expatriate community	MA in Global Governance; Project Manager at European Union Chamber of Commerce in Beijing	Beijing restaurant	32:00

* All visitor names are anonymized.

Conceptual Note:

The interviews with visitors of the Lu Xun museums are an important component to my inquiry into the making of Lu Xun in museum space. This study on Lu Xun's reception within his museum spaces applied qualitative research methods to collect data. Both the expert interviews as well as visitor interviews aimed at gaining an understanding of the production/ reception of Lu Xun by individual professionals/ visitors and thus cannot be generalized. Concerning the reception, I refrained from a quantitative approach using questionnaires. Quantitative approaches have advantages and have been applied in author museums. It remains questionable, however, how representative the results of some of the studies are, as the studies are based on a limited number of participants, and in others highly structured questionnaires are likely to strongly influence the visitors response. [725]

[725] The Ba Jin Former Residence in Shanghai, for example, inquired about its visitors' experiences to improve the exhibition and over-all visitor satisfaction. Over a one-month period from December 2012 to January 2013, a survey was conducted in the museum to which 279 visitors responded. Arranged in multiple-choice questions, the questions included, for example, "Which exhibit made the strongest impression on you? 给你留下深刻印象的展品是" with a list of seven objects to choose from (e.g. "Ba Jin's books 巴老的書", "The piano which was given to their daughter by Xiao Shan 萧珊送给女儿的钢琴" or "The bronze bust donated by the Modern Literature Department 现代文学馆所赠铜像", as well as an "Other 其他" next to which visitors could add additional objects (Ba Jin Former Residence 巴金故居 2013). While these suggestions might serve to help visitors remember certain objects on display, the selection is also likely to influence the participants response, as the suggested exhibits call these objects to mind and might hinder visitors reflecting on which objects first came to their mind. As for terminology and expression of emotion, this study on the making of Lu Xun in contrast aims to encourage the interviewee to take agency and lead the conversation, whereby I learned much through their choice of words. I would like to thank Director Zhou Limin 周立民 for providing me with their questionnaire and evaluation. In Lu Xun research, a recent study by the Lu Xun Cultural Foundation has furthermore used quantitative data collection to "measure" Lu Xun's "social influence" (*shehui yingxiang* 社會影響) (Zhou Lingfei 周令飞 2011). The survey was structured into three main parts, into "Personal Information 个人资料, "Interest for and Understanding of Lu Xun 对鲁迅的主观度和了解", "Evaluation of Lu Xun 对鲁迅的评价" and "Lu Xun's Impact on Society 鲁迅对社会的影响力". The questions raised for the respective categories of Lu Xun ranged from "Do you have the desire to actively [pick up and] read Lu Xun's works? A: Yes / B: No. 你有主动阅读鲁迅的愿望吗？A: 有 B: 没有", over "Some have suggested that Lu Xun was the most unyielding fighter, would you agree? A: I agree B: I do not agree C: Not clear. 有人认为鲁迅是骨头最硬的的战士，您同意吗？A: 同意 B: 不同意 C: 说不清", to "Do you consider Lu Xun Thought to have value or not? A: Great value B: Average C: No value: D: Hard to say. 您认

For this study it was therefore more fruitful to gain a deeper understanding into fewer visiting experiences and which would however allow a for more productive engagement with the visitors thanks to a less proscribed structure and guidance of their responses (open questions instead of questionnaires).[726]

Of the six Lu Xun Museums, I chose the Shaoxing and Beijing Lu Xun museums to conduct visitor interviews. The reason for this choice was that the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum has the highest visitor numbers, also due to the fact that nearly all visitors to Shaoxing choose to visit the Lu Xun museum. This results in a large range of visitors coming to the museum who are not necessarily very familiar with Lu Xun but are interested in traveling. Understanding how these visitors regarded Lu Xun was helpful in order to gain a better understanding of the broader public's opinion (those who Lu Xun described as the *yiban minzhong* 一般的民众 in his essay on "Confucius in modern China"). As a counterpart, the Beijing Lu Xun Museum has fewer visitors, due to the fact that Beijing as the capital offers many other sites for tourists. Those visiting the Beijing Lu Xun Museum usually had a strong interest in Lu Xun prior to their visit, thus choosing to come to the Lu Xun Museum with a stronger intentionality.

The visitor interviews were conceptualized as open interviews. After introducing myself briefly as a PhD student from Germany interested in how visitors experienced the Lu Xun museum and asking for permission to refer to their responses in my thesis, I conducted interviews of various length, depending on the visitor's willingness and interest to respond to my questions. Only after the interview did I ask for their personal information with a short questionnaire, inquiring their name, gender, age, residence and educational background and current occupation, all of which I emphasized was voluntary information. The questions touched on three main topics:

为鲁迅的思想在当代有无价值？A: 有重要价值 B: 一般 C: 没有价值 D: 很难说", see: (Survey Centre of Shanghai Social Sciences at Shanghai University 上海大学上海社会科学调查中心 2011). The survey was conducted in 2010 with 2,832 participants. Since, however, 38.11% were under the age of 20 and 38.35% were university students, the survey also is not necessarily representative of society as a whole. Furthermore, the questions raised are highly structured and contain leading questions, as they refer to quotations by Mao Zedong (unyielding fighter) without defining their meaning. Furthermore the question referring to Lu Xun's "value" remains disconnected to any discourse, which might allow us to understand what kind of value the visitors see in Lu Xun and refers to a "Lu Xun Thought" which too remains undefined.

[726] For more information on conducting qualitative interviews in China, see: (Alpermann 2012). For helpful information on qualitative interviewing as a means of data collection, see:(Mayring [1983] 2008); (Merten 1983); (Seidman 2006);(Kuckartz 2014); and in the context of the museum in particular, see: (Lang, Reeve, and Woollard 2006).

1. **Visiting Experience**: The aim was to gain an understanding of the visitors' general impressions of the museum and feeling during their visiting experience (→ *emotional experience of visit*)
    - Did you visit the museum / former residence? What was your impression/feeling? 您已經參觀紀念館和故居嗎？感覺如何？

I started with an unstructured question eliciting a free response, so that the visitors had free choice about which aspect of the visit to talk about and which terminology to describe it with.

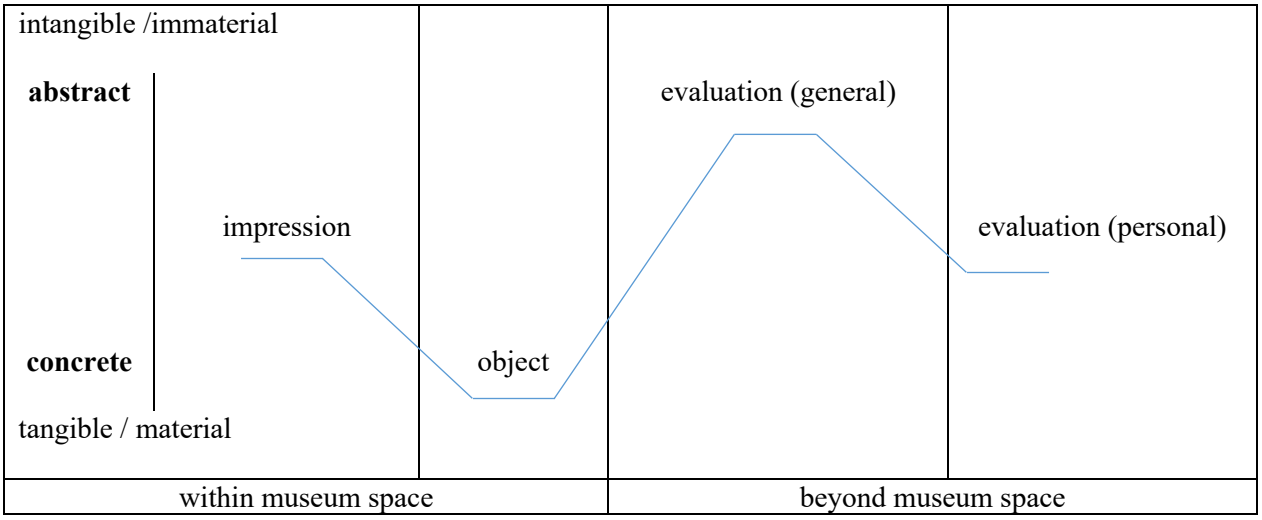
2. **Memory of Display:** The aim was finding out which objects in particular were remembered after the visit (→ *memory of display*)
    - Which object on display left the strongest impression on you? 您對哪一個展品印象最深刻?

The second question was a semi-structured question. This increased my guidance of the interviewee and encouraged them to name a specific object. However, visitors were free to choose any media. If no response was given, I would make suggestions of media, listing "exhibit", "painting", "photograph", "quotation" "or anything on display". When the opportunity was available and the visitor willing, I would walk with the visitor to the object they had remembered and hereby visitors would sometimes further point to additional objects they saw or which caught their attention. To a limited extent this allowed for a "go-along" method to be realized (Kusenbach 2003), even though this was only attempted with those visitors who felt comfortable with it and invited me to follow them.

3. **Lu Xun's Value in Society**: I first asked whether the visitor perceived Lu Xun's position in Chinese society to be high or not high today. The aim was to understand how they perceived the general opinion of Lu Xun's status in Chinese society to be. Afterwards I followed up their response with a question inquiring about their personal evaluation of him – to see if their opinion differed from what they perceived the consensus to be (→ *perceived social valorization* / → *personal evaluation*).
    - Is Lu Xun's position in the contemporary Chinese society high? 魯迅在當代社會的地位高不高?
    - How do you personally see Lu Xun? 你個人怎麼看魯迅?

The evaluation of Lu Xun was inquired with a closed question (Is Lu Xun's position in contemporary society considered high or not high?) On the one hand, this could lead to very short

answers (possible answers: high/ not high; yes/no). This question was nevertheless included so as not to suggest that Lu Xun's position in society must be high. This question allowed the visitor to disagree. To further inquire into their standards of evaluation, I added the question of their personal evaluation. I did not seek to ask the visitors to position Lu Xun's position in relation to other writers/ figures (high in comparison to whom?), but instead to end with the open question "How do you see Lu Xun?" as it would invite the visitor to reflect further on his or her prior response (agree with Lu Xun's high / not high position in contemporary society) and further give their own personal reasons for thinking this. Originally, the research design was to move gradually to the more abstract, general evaluation of Lu Xun in contemporary society. However, since visitors often immediately jumped to commenting on Lu Xun's general evaluation, the conversation often required me to return to their personal evaluation of Lu Xun, to gain a better insight into their individual perspectives. Thus the over-all structure of the interview started with the general impression the visitors had over their immediate surroundings and then more specifically their recollections of any concrete objects on display, over to their impression of how Lu Xun was generally received in Chinese society and finally to how they personally evaluated Lu Xun and thereby again returning to their more immediate experience of Lu Xun.



Emotional reactions only rarely become visible, especially when visitors walk through the exhibition alone. In groups, these emotions can become more clearly detectable in mimic, gestures, sounds and in their conversations. At times the visitors' reactions were traceable in their pointing objects out to fellow visitors, or, as in the case of one visitor, covering one's mouth due to the shock perceived by observing the photograph of Lu Xun lying on his death bed (see Interlude on

"Lu Xun – embodied" of this thesis). I however furthermore choose qualitative interviews since they go beyond participating observation, go beyond what is visible (thus observable). Interviews made it possible to inquire about their emotional experience and about what they remembered of the display, as well as trace how these experiences of their surroundings related to how they understood Lu Xun to be perceived in society and to how they personally regarded him.

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