

# **Structure and Subordination: Law, Science, and Religion in East Asia**

**April 22, 2017 (Saturday) 10:00 AM - 9:00 PM  
Van Pelt Library (Class of 1955 Conference Room)**

**[\(See the Event Flyer Here!\)](#)**



*Structure and Subordination* provides a forum for examining how the legal, scientific, religious, and sociopolitical boundaries of East Asia have been interrogated in the past and exploring how they are being redrawn in the present.

# Event Schedule

**10:00 AM – 10:15 AM**

**Doors Open**

**10:15 AM – 10:30 AM**

**Opening Remarks**

**10:30 AM – 11:50 AM**

**Panel 1 “Sovereignty, Security, and the State: Making and Maintaining Nation”**

**Panel 1 “Sovereignty,**

- Halyne Shi, “The Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM): the necessity of the IMF-link”
- Changho Jo, “Constructing Sovereign People in East Asian Postcoloniality”
- John Grisafi, “The Soviet-based Korean Communist Movement beyond Kim Il Sung”
  
- Discussant: Frederick Dickinson

**12:00 PM – 1:20 PM**

**“(De)constructing Humanity and Health in Modern Japan”**

**Panel 2**

- Mark Bookman, “Rethinking Religion and Medical Modernity in Meiji Japan”
- Feng-en Tu, “Reinventing the Sense of Cleanliness in Modern Japan”
- Frank Mondelli, “Ideology, Transformed: A Case Study in Translation and Japanese Political Thought”
  
- Discussant: Ayako Kano

**1:30 PM – 2:30 PM**

**Lunch Break**

**2:30 PM – 3:50 PM**

**“Conceptualizing Culture: Translating and Transmitting Knowledge”**

**Panel 3**

- Wei Peng, “When the Knight-errant Encounters the Modern Detective: Scientific Investigation and Public Justice in Republican China (1911-1949)”
- Kanghun Ahn, “Qing Learning in Chosŏn Korea: Focusing on the Transmission of Western Knowledge and Visual Culture in the 18th-century East Asia”
- Chuanxin Weng, “Telescope and Telescopic Vision in The Radiant Moon”
  
- Discussant: Nancy Steinhardt

**4:00 PM – 5:20 PM**

**“Feasts, and Forests: Building Bridges Across China and Inner Asia”**

**Panel 4 “Fealty,**

- Larissa Pitts, “The Panacea of the Land: Forests and the Search for a Modern Chinese Environmentalism, 1912 - 1937”
- Sally Greenland, “A Numbers Game: Loyalty and Women in The Secret History of the Mongols”

- Zachary Hershey, “Consumption in the Khitan Liao: Expressions of Power in Banqueting and Performance”
- Discussant: Christopher Atwood

**5:30 PM – 6:30 PM**

**Keynote Address**

- D. Max Moerman, title TBD

**6:30 PM – 6:40 PM**

**Concluding Remarks**

- Organizing Committee

**7:00 PM – 9:00 PM**

**Evening Reception**

## **Event Sponsors**

Center for East Asian Studies

Center for the Study of Contemporary China

Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations

James Joo-Jin Kim Program in Korean Studies

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## **Organizing Committee**

Mark Bookman

John Grisafi

Tianran Hang

Brendan O'Kane

Kaitlyn Ugoretz

## **Contact Us**

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## Speakers

### **Panel 1: “Sovereignty, Security, and the State: Making and Maintaining Nation”**

#### **Halynne Shi**

Halynne Shi is a first year M.A. East Asian Studies student at Yale University. Growing up in Singapore, Halynne has always been fascinated by how small countries can thrive in the midst of large nations. It is perhaps this reason that she constantly tries to understand the political and economic dynamics between states, and how they shape the world today. To date, she has traveled to more than 25 countries, but never had diarrhea in any of them.

#### **Changho Jo**

Changho Jo is a PhD candidate in the Sociology Department of the New School for Social Research, currently working on his dissertation. Born in Korea, he obtained his bachelor’s degree from the College of Law, Seoul National University, and his master’s degree from the Sociology Department of the same university. He is primarily interested in elaborating the social theory by combining the analysis of homology in cultural elements of different structural formations with the constructivist theories on social interactions and communication. A synthesis of law and sociology, his current project investigates the constitution-making process and construction of sovereign people in East Asia.

#### **John Grisafi**

John G. Grisafi is a first-year M.A. student in East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania. He is also completing his B.A. in EALC and History. His primary interest is Korean history, in topics including transnational history, colonialism, military affairs, and religion. John has prior Korea-related experience as a U.S. Army Korean linguist and analyst in South Korea and intelligence director of NK News. He held an undergraduate fellowship in the James Joo-Jin Kim Program in Korean Studies at Penn in 2016-17 and was a 2017 Dean's Scholar. John plans to pursue a PhD in Korean Studies.

### **Panel 2: “(De)constructing Humanity and Health in Modern Japan”**

#### **Mark Bookman**

Mark Bookman received his B.A. from Villanova University in Global Interdisciplinary Studies in 2014 prior to researching Buddhist Philosophy and Disability Studies as a Fulbright Fellow in Tokyo, Japan in 2015. He received his MA in East Asian Languages and Civilizations from the University of Pennsylvania in 2016, where he currently conducts research into the intersection of religion, disability, and popular culture as a PhD student. As he works towards his dissertation, Mark hopes to explore how processes of disablement and categories of disability have been shaped by various cultural and religious structures throughout history in Japan.

## **Feng-en Tu**

Feng-en Tu is a Ph.D. candidate in the department of East Asian Languages and Civilization at Harvard University. His research interests include the history of medicine and the body, the history of the senses, and digital humanities. His dissertation, tentatively titled "The Empire of Scents: Reinventing the Senses in Modern Japan," focuses on Japan's colonialism in Taiwan and the making of the modern fragrance industry.

## **Frank Mondelli**

Frank Mondelli graduated Swarthmore College with High Honors and election to Phi Beta Kappa in June 2014 and embarked on a Fulbright Research Fellowship in Okinawa, Japan the following year. He is now a Japanese Literature doctoral student in the East Asian Languages and Cultures department at Stanford University. Frank's academic interests primarily focus on Japanese intellectual history, anthropology, film studies, disability studies, and political theory. He is beginning work on a long-term project which explores the relationship between Japanese state-sponsored ideology, political dissidence, nationalism, and literature in the 20th and 21st centuries.

## **Panel 3: "Conceptualizing Culture: Translating and Transmitting Knowledge"**

### **Wei Peng**

Wei Peng is a Ph.D. candidate in East Asian Languages and Cultures department at Stanford University. She is writing her dissertation titled "Cadavers Under the Magnifying Glass: Crime, Detection, and Justice in Republican China (1912-1949)." Wei's research interest includes modern Chinese literature and film, law in literature, science and literature, intellectual history, and gender study.

### **Kanghun Ahn**

Kanghun Ahn is a ResMA(Research Master Program) student in Asian Studies at Leiden University, Netherlands. As for his research project, he tries to shed light on the life and scholarship of Ch'usa Kim Chŏnghui(秋史 金正喜, 1786-1856), focusing on his academic endeavors to bring Qing evidential scholarship to Chosŏn Korea, and thereby re-examine the 18th-century Pukhak movement in a new light. Also, he is working as a project manager and assistant for Professor Remco Breuker's research project: "A War of Words: What Does Manchurian History Do to China and Korea Today?"

### **Chuanxin Weng**

Chuanxin Weng is a first-year Ph.D. student in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania, with his Master of Arts degree attained at Columbia University. His focus is Chinese art history, especially the aesthetics in the medieval period of China.

## **Panel 4: "Fealty, Feasts, and Forests: Building Bridges Across China and Inner Asia"**

### **Larissa Pitts**

Larissa Pitts is a PhD Candidate in the Department of History at UC Berkeley. Her dissertation outlines the rise of scientific forestry in late Qing and early Republican China. It further explores the rise of the idea of the “forest” in China as a new way to understand the role of the environment in a modern society. Ms. Pitts is particularly interested in the history of science, environmental history, and the history of education.

### **Sally Greenland**

Sally is currently a graduate student at Columbia University pursuing a MA/MSc in International and World History in its dual degree program with the London School of Economics. She specializes in the Mongol Empire and is conducting her research under the supervision of Professor Morris Rossabi. Sally’s research interests include: Mongol imperial policy, and the intersection of gender studies and military history. Her final dissertation will explore the history of the Mongol Empire’s royal women and their contribution to the Empire’s expansion and consolidation.

### **Zachary Hershey**

Zachary Hershey is a PhD Student at the University of Pennsylvania in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations. He received his BA in Chinese Language and Astrophysics from the University of California, Berkeley in 2014 and his Master’s in East Asian Languages and Civilizations from the University of Pennsylvania in 2016. His research focuses on administrative history from the 10th to the 14th centuries with special attention paid to the structure and maintenance of bureaucracy and infrastructure in the Chinese Song (960-1279) and Kitan Liao Dynasties (907-1125).

## **Keynote Speaker**

### **D. Max Moerman**

D. Max Moerman is an Associate Professor in the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Cultures at Columbia University in the City of New York. He is the Associate Director of the Donald Keene Center for Japanese Culture, Columbia University, and of the Columbia Center for Japanese Religions. He holds an A.B. from Columbia College and a Ph.D. from Stanford University. His research interests are in pre-modern Japanese culture.

## **Abstracts**

### **Panel 1: “Sovereignty, Security, and the State: Making and Maintaining Nation”**

#### **Halyne Shi, “The Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM): the necessity of the IMF-link”**

The origins and evolution of the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) were shaped by the financial crises of 1997 and 2008-9. East Asian frustration at the inappropriate International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies during the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) and insufficient legitimacy of the nascent CMI during the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) prompted the growth of the CMI, as well as the subsequent trend of defensive regionalism through a reduction in Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization’s (CMIM) IMF-linked portion. However, this paper argues that the IMF-linked portion is essential in alleviating the institutional moral hazard and credibility problems inherent in the CMIM. Moreover, the strategic considerations of the different political players: ASEAN, Japan, China, Korea are aligned in support of continued IMF engagement in East Asia.

#### **Changho Jo, “Constructing Sovereign People in East Asian Postcoloniality”**

My research reconstructs the different paths of Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea in their struggle to find or make the sovereign people in its modern, Western sense. Their long history as so-called proto-nation-states and the abundance of shared cultural elements within their borders make them a good counterexample to the common imagery of nation-building efforts of other Asian and African countries which have often been contingent on decisions of Western powers and vulnerable to ethnic and religious conflicts. Nevertheless, the three East Asian countries have undergone their own hardships in the debate on how to define the modern sovereign people, and the debates as well as the paths they took diverge in many aspects, despite the common cultural and historical elements. Postcolonialism and colonial studies in general offer powerful tools for investigating the countries that once formed the Japanese Empire; however, postcolonialism itself can—and should—be problematized and reexamined with the East Asian experience. Having been developed primarily in British and French ex-colonies, postcolonialism tends to presuppose the binary opposition of the West and the East. I demonstrate that this dichotomy can be effectively neutralized when more diverse perspectives in terms of gender, race, region, and culture come to the fore in postcolonial discourses. The East Asian cases reveal the complexity of postcoloniality in the countries that were colonized and thus “Westernized” by the Japanese empire, which itself struggled to reinvent its identity in the process of modernization.

#### **John Grisafi, “The Soviet-based Korean Communist Movement beyond Kim Il Sung”**

During Korea’s period of Japanese colonization (1905-1945), elements of the Korean independence and resistance movement took up the ideology of Communism with inspiration and support from the Soviet Union and the Communist International (Comintern). The Korean Communist movement began not in Korea but abroad, in the Soviet Union, amongst Koreans who had either immigrated to the Soviet Union or sought temporary refuge there from the Japanese colonial regime in Korea. In addition to – and

prior to – the Partisan (Ppalch’isan) faction of Kim Il Sung, the first of North Korea’s still-reigning Kim family, there existed other Korean Communist groups supported by or located with the Soviet Union. This paper will examine the history of these groups including how they aligned with Communism, how and why the Soviets and Comintern interacted with them, and how and why they did or did not succeed in their efforts at Communist revolution in Korea as well as their place in the history of Korean Communist movement. The post-World War I geopolitical environment influenced Koreans and contributed to a split between Communists and Nationalists. Geopolitical considerations –domestic and international – on the part of the Soviet Union further impacted the Soviet Korean Communists, often negatively. By the time Korea was liberated at the end of World War II in 1945, the Soviet Union itself had acquired significant influence in Korea, but the Soviet Koreans received a limited share of that influence, most of which went to Kim Il Sung.

## **Panel 2: “(De)constructing Humanity and Health in Modern Japan”**

### **Mark Bookman, “Rethinking Religion and Medical Modernity in Meiji Japan”**

Ideas about medicine and religion were co-figured in modern Japan – if we are to understand either it is imperative that we investigate both. In this paper, I examine the early history of biomedicines in Japan to challenge received notions of medical transmission and interrogate the rise and fall of religious institutions during the Meiji period. I first consider how the popularization of biomedicines in Tokugawa Japan exacerbated longstanding struggles for patronage and support within local medical communities. While some scholars suggest that biomedicines threatened to phase-out local medicines on the basis of perceived efficacy, I argue that this was not always the case. Citing a collection of medical records and personal diaries as evidence, I illustrate how local practitioners attempted to secure the authority of their respective institutions by transforming biomedicines into ingredients of unique hybrid treatments. In so doing, I highlight the origins of a medical pluralism that foregrounded the establishment of Japan’s public health system during the Meiji period. While designed to regulate medical practice and limit the power of religious institutions, Japan’s public health system inevitably afforded many temples and shrines opportunities to escape other forms of persecution. As hospitals and distribution centers, they became sites of social, political, and medical contestation. By studying the popular representation of these sites and paying particular attention to their depiction in the media, I reveal how religious institutions came to sit at the heart of discourses on medicine and modernity amid the castigatory environment of Meiji Japan.

### **Feng-en Tu, “Reinventing the Sense of Cleanliness in Modern Japan”**

Hygiene is a central issue in Japan’s modern transformation. Since the late nineteenth century, the Japanese government had launched a massive campaign on public health and personal hygiene issues with the desire of forging a strong and civilized nation. The dissemination of western ideas and practices of hygiene in Japan also helped to forge a massive market for modern hygiene products, such as soap and toothpaste. In this paper, I argue that the introduction of these new products into the Japanese society not only reshaped people’s hygienic practice but also created a new sense of cleanliness. The presentation will focus on the case of soap. Introduced into Japan in the late nineteenth

century, soap quickly transformed from an exotic commodity into a household necessity. For many Japanese customers, the attractiveness of soap came not only from its possible medical value but also from its distinct odors created by the fragrance additives. As a result, the odor of scented soaps was increasingly associated with modern perception of hygiene. In order to compete with other manufacturers in the market, Japan's soap companies began to pay keen attention to the sensory quality of their products. They collaborated closely with the then nascent fragrance industry and created various kinds of new sensory experience for their customers.

### **Frank Mondelli, "Ideology, Transformed: A Case Study in Translation and Japanese Political Thought"**

All translation entails the creative transference of cultural, political, and economic values in which asymmetries of institutional power and identity converge. As such, translation of political documents and works of political theory from one cultural register to another can reveal vast discrepancies of philosophical and ideological frameworks. Such is the case with the history of Japanese political thought, in which translation of ethical and political philosophy were paramount to the development of Japanese Confucianism, while later translations of liberal and European political philosophy spurred debates about language itself as intellectuals struggled to reproduce alien concepts such as "liberty" and "society" in Japanese. This talk will offer a new interpretation of the political and linguistic debates on the translation of Western political texts from the Meiji period (1868 – 1912) up to the 1947 Constitution of Japan. The Constitution is itself a translation from the original English, where it was reproduced into a Japanese register infused with influences from Meiji intellectual history not present in the original document. Moving beyond the dominant analysis of the United States and other Western nations as exhibiting a unidirectional and uncontested political influence on Japanese thought, my analysis reveals the domesticating role the Japanese language had on European texts and codified law. Political concepts were not translated into Japanese; they were transformed amidst a new ideological landscape. Central to my analysis will be a case study of the constitutional treatment of the concepts of "people," "human rights," and "freedom."

### **Panel 3: "Conceptualizing Culture: Translating and Transmitting Knowledge"**

#### **Wei Peng, "When the Knight-errant Encounters the Modern Detective: Scientific Investigation and Public Justice in Republican China (1911-1949)"**

Detective fiction was first introduced to China in 1896. Along with the burgeoning popularity of the translations of Western detective fictions, stories of a so-called "Chinese Sherlock Holmes" flooded the market in the following half a century. Despite their popularity, these native creations are criticized as mere "shadows" of their Western counterparts, imitating the characterization and plot construction. This criticism, however, dismisses the native agency of appropriating western classical detective fiction. Chinese writers in fact reformulated detective stories in order to engage with changing ideas of criminal justice in Republican China. In this paper, I examine the conflict between the chivalrous criminals and the modern detective and how it complicates the ideas of criminal justice at a time of unprecedented legal and forensic reform. This paper investigates "The Thumb Cutters" and

“The White Handkerchief” from Cheng Xiaoqing’s (1893-1976) *The Detective Stories of Huo Sang*, a series featuring a famous detective known for applying modern forensic science and logical deduction to solve criminal cases in urban areas. Beyond questioning the authority and efficacy of the modern empirical investigation, these stories are also preoccupied with assessing the place of law and morality in criminal justice, in the same way that the place of *qing* (human relationship) and *fa* (law) were debated within Chinese legal tradition. Moreover, I investigate how these stories renew moral value with a nationalist ethos and seek for justice for the welfare of the public, which in turn give rise to a civic enforcer of justice—a knight-errant/detective—exemplified by Huo Sang. By engaging with the cultural history of the knight-errant, contemporary intellectual history, and forensic and legal discourse, my paper shows the complex negotiation among science, law, and morality in modern China.

### **Kanghun Ahn, “Qing Learning in Chosŏn Korea: Focusing on the Transmission of Western Knowledge and Visual Culture in the 18th-century East Asia”**

This paper is to examine the Qing learning trend in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Chosŏn Korea, with an emphasis on the transmission of western knowledge and visual culture in early modern East Asia. It has been assumed that the Chosŏn dynasty first opened its doors to the outside world as a result of the First Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876. Accordingly, the history of Korea before the 19<sup>th</sup> century is still considered to have been devoid of foreign interventions or lack thereof. For this reason, the Puk’ak movement in the 18<sup>th</sup> century has hitherto been dealt with on a rather small scale. However, I’d rather throw new light on the Puk’ak movement as a grand dynastic project in late Chosŏn Korea, with a special focus on King Chŏngjo and his interest in foreign books from Qing China. In this regard, the Kyujanggak, a royal library and research institute of the late Chosŏn dynasty, is particularly important, because the library played a vital role in collecting and maintaining foreign sources in Chosŏn Korea. Further, I will examine how this new intellectual movement engaged with the visual and material culture of the late Chosŏn dynasty. To this end, the burgeoning of Ch’aekkado as a new genre of Korean still-life paintings is to be carefully investigated. And how this type of paintings came to percolate through to Chosŏn’s popular culture will also be looked upon as an important issue in this paper.

### **Chuanxin Weng, “Telescope and Telescopic Vision in The Radiant Moon”**

The Radiant Moon 月華圖 is painted by the early Qing master painter Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1763), who is renowned for his eccentricity. Through a detailed visual analysis of this painting, I will posit that the telescopic vision, a particular vision induced by telescopes, is especially noticeable in comparison with the traditional depictions of the moon. There are a number of paintings before The Radiant Moon which depict the painted moon; while I choose to discuss Viewing Plum Blossoms by Moonlight 月下賞梅圖 by the Southern Song painter Ma Yuan because the moon in this album leaf is to a large extent representative. I will argue, specifically, that Jin Nong’s singularization of the moon, the mastery of rendering the chromatic variation of the rays, volumetric modeling of the radiance, meticulous treatments of the moon surface all point to his unparalleled focus on the physicality of the moon, as if the moon has been visually brought closer to Jin Nong for his thorough examinations. The very preoccupation with the singular moon seems to place the moon

within a pictorial frame formed by the material boundary of this hanging scroll. The zooming-in and framing effects implied in the Radiant Moon disclose not only Jin Nong's originality and his unusual preoccupation with the moon, but more importantly his unprecedented way of seeing the moon.

#### **Panel 4: "Fealty, Feasts, and Forests: Building Bridges Across China and Inner Asia"**

##### **Larissa Pitts, "The Panacea of the Land: Forests and the Search for a Modern Chinese Environmentalism, 1912 - 1937"**

Prior to the turn of the twentieth century, Chinese had no word that easily correlated with the English term "forest." This does not mean that Chinese did not value forested space. Rather, they believed that trees should largely be limited to mountains or gardens, while flat lands should be saved for agriculture. Chinese forest administration practices reinforced these beliefs in the reliance upon the framework of the mountain (*shan* 山) to stake claims over forested land. The wars and natural disasters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries resulted in intense deforestation. The increased demand for timber due to the introduction of technologies such as railroads and telegraphs only accelerated this process. Chinese elites saw deforestation as an economic, ecological, and aesthetic problem that hindered China's achievement of modernity. This paper will explore the growing fascination among elite Republican Chinese with the "forest (森林)," an idea which they imported from the West via Japan. Through the forest, Chinese engaged for the first time with global understandings of the proper human relationship to the environment. Yet their vision of the forest also took on distinctly Chinese characteristics. With forests, China's landscapes would look more picturesque for foreign cameras. With forests, China could achieve economic independence. With forests, China would have clean air, comfortable climates, and a calm populace. Through forests, China could remember the dead and preserve the living. The forest thus served as panacea for all of Republican China's ills, and a fantasy it could never achieve.

##### **Sally Greenland, "A Numbers Game: Loyalty and Women in The Secret History of the Mongols"**

This paper seeks to highlight, scrutinize, and explore the relationship between women and loyalty, as depicted in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. While previous scholarship has identified loyalty as key in the text, to date, there has been no specific textual exploration which supports this claim. Using a quantitative systematic analysis, this paper not only provides this evidence but reveals a striking trend in the data; the direct relationship between loyalty and the presence of women. Through a close reading and comparison of selected passages, a character analysis of lead females, and a review of problematic passages, I have sought to reconcile previous scholars' impression of loyalty with numerical data derived by methodically dissecting the text, passage by passage. While Mongol society has long been known for loyalty, this paper seeks to frame it in a more measurable light, one that also reveals that loyalty in the Mongol Empire's extant text is profoundly affected by gender.

## Zachary Hershey, “Consumption in the Khitan Liao: Expressions of Power in Banqueting and Performance”

Reports submitted to the court by diplomatic missions between and the Chinese Song (960-1279 CE) the Khitan Liao (907-1125 CE) provide rare records of the diplomatic culture between the two powers during the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. A handful of these reports survive, but two, one by Chen Xiang 陳襄 and another by Lu Zhen 路振, provide particularly detailed notes of banqueting interactions between the envoy missions and Liao officials in the course of their missions. The Ritual Treatise, or *Lizhi* 禮志, of the dynastic history of the Liao, the *Liaoshi* 遼史, also provides what appear to be ritual prescriptions interactions between envoys and the Liao emperor and empress dowager. Due to a dearth of detailed descriptions, developing an understanding of the structure and purpose of banqueting in the Liao requires a combined reading of these two distinct textual sources. The combination of these sources allows for the production of a fresh image of Khitan Liao culture through the medium of banqueting within the narrow context of the court and the aristocracy while offering a broader perspective of banqueting in relation to interactions between Song emissary missions and Liao officials along the road. The role of banquets in diplomatic interactions will be explored with particular attention being paid to two key elements of banqueting culture: food and alcohol. Ceremonies along the road are analyzed in order to understand how interpersonal communication outside of the setting of the Liao imperial court influenced perceptions of “the other” in the course of such envoy missions. Additionally, this article provides revisions of excerpts of the English translation of the emissary reports provided by Dr. David Wright as well as new translations of the prescriptions found in the Ritual Treatise of the *Liaoshi* which suggest punctuation clarification of the *Zhonghua Shuju* edition of the *Liaoshi*. A comparison of the envoy descriptions of interactions with the Liao emperor and empress dowager with the prescriptions in the *Liaoshi* for identical ceremonies reveals a lack of correspondence which draws into question the origin of the *Liaoshi* Ritual Treatise.