Hello everyone, I'm Jonathan Hui from the English Division at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. On this episode of the University of Oxford's Fantasy Literature podcast, I'll be addressing an intriguing comparison between two authors that has really gained prominence over the past few years. The central question I'll be addressing is: 'Is Jin Yong "China's Tolkien"?' Most listeners of this podcast will know of J. R. R. Tolkien, his fiction and his academic work, but far fewer will be familiar with Jin Yong, so before I make a proper introduction to him, I'd like to start by explaining why I'm comparing these two authors in the first place. And I'd like to take you back to the 31st of October 2018, when the legendary Hong Kong author Jin Yong passed away. His passing was reported internationally, and in Anglophone media the same comparison cropped up again and again. The BBC News headline read: 'Jin Yong: The 'Tolkien of Chinese literature' dies at 94', while the headlines of The Guardian in the UK and Newsweek in the US both referred to him as 'China's Tolkien', in quotation marks. So the reason I'm discussing this comparison is, firstly, because it's been established in mainstream Anglophone media...and secondly, because it's been given short shrift by Sinologists, which raises intriguing questions over the nature and validity of the comparison. My own view, as I'll discuss in this talk and in a forthcoming article, is that the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison has tended to be made on the basis of flawed premises but is in fact highly appropriate for other reasons. Examining this comparison will not only help to reframe the discourse, but it will also illuminate some curious aspects about the role played by reception, adaptation and cultural diffusion within and beyond the porous boundaries of the fantasy genre.

I'd like to begin by providing a brief introduction to Jin Yong, because he's in a fascinating position: on the one hand, he's a household name throughout the Sinophone world – both homeland *and* diasporic communities – as well as throughout much of East and South-East Asia; and on the other hand, he's largely unknown in the West, even though he received high civilian honours from the British and French governments, as well as honorary fellowships at several Oxbridge colleges. In fact, Jin Yong's relative anonymity in the West is one of the reasons why it's been necessary to have a comparative frame of reference, in the form of Tolkien.

'Jin Yong' was the pen-name of Louis Cha Leung-yung, who was born in 1924 in the eastern province of Zhejiang in what was then the Republic of China. In 1948, at the age of 24, he moved to then-British Hong Kong, where he worked as a journalist, editor and translator. Between 1955 and 1972, almost continuously, he serialised fourteen novels and a short story in various Hong Kong newspapers. For context, by the way, 1955 was the same year that saw the publication of the third volume of Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, so there was a brief period of chronological overlap between the two authors. Cha serialised his fiction under the pen-name 'Jin Yong', which he simply derived by splitting the last character in his name into the two characters that form it. The immediate and extraordinary popularity of his fiction made him an instant cultural icon in Hong Kong, where films and television adaptations were produced almost immediately, although in both Taiwan and mainland China his work remained banned, for differing political reasons, until the end of the 1970s. The lifting of those respective bans saw Cha's reputation skyrocket further in the Sinophone world, and his literary achievements found the favour of Chinese political leaders such as Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin; in fact, Jiang apparently made a heavy-handed and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to

lobby for Cha to be awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. The official legitimisation of Cha by such political heavyweights demonstrates just how quickly 'Jin Yong the author' grew into something of a cultural institution. He himself continued to cultivate his own literary status, most notably by officially revising his fifteen stories into a 36-volume set of completed works, once in the 1970s, and then again in the 2000s, and his stories have stayed in the public consciousness over the decades in part thanks to a hundred-plus film and television adaptations.

Louis Cha also wore many other hats in addition to that of an author. He was a media mogul, co-founding and editing *Ming Pao*, which served as a vessel for much of his serialised fiction and is today still one of Hong Kong's leading Chinese-language newspapers. He was a prolific columnist too, writing on a range of topics from film and literary criticism to social issues to politics. As his status as a civic leader grew, he played an influential role in the drafting of Hong Kong's mini-constitution ahead of the city's return to Chinese rule in 1997 – the relevance and ramifications of that legacy continue to reverberate even today, as you may have seen from recent international headlines. Cha was also involved in academia in his later years, serving as honorary professor and dean of humanities at his home university, Zhejiang University, for five years at the turn of the millennium, before reading for a Masters and PhD in Oriental History at Cambridge in the 2000s, when he was already an octogenarian. So although this talk is primarily concerned with 'Jin Yong the author', it's impossible to overstate just how multifaceted Louis Cha's life, and his influence on modern Hong Kong, has been.

Jin Yong was a master of the genre called *wuxia* – spelled w-u-x-i-a – which translates to 'martial-arts chivalry' – you may have heard the genre briefly mentioned in an earlier episode of this podcast by Nelson Landry. In essence, *wuxia* is a genre of chivalric romance, adventure stories involving martial artists – be they individuals, houses, clans or sects – living in an historical period of imperial China and operating within a vigilante-like community with its own system of moral codes, social hierarchies and combat-based justice, coexistent with, but independent of, contemporary systems of political governance. Even before Jin Yong, this genre had gained both huge popularity and a status as low-brow pulp fiction, in part due to its escapist qualities – it's easy to see the appeal of a story wherein virtuous, chivalrous characters can help the oppressed, overcome feuds, defeat powerful antagonists and corrupt government officials, and attain self-sufficiency and supremacy independently of the strictures of ordinary, government-regulated society. Structurally and thematically there are similarities to the chivalric romances of medieval Europe, although the *wuxia* genre is descended from a long tradition of Chinese chivalric fiction stretching back a little over two thousand years.

But why is Jin Yong venerated head and shoulders above his *wuxia* contemporaries and predecessors? It's true that he was a naturally gifted storyteller, but so were many other *wuxia* authors. It's also true that the quality of his plot devices benefitted from the strong influence of not just important Chinese texts but also major Western authors such as Shakespeare and Alexandre Dumas – but that in itself wouldn't necessarily have made him wildly popular with Sinophone readerships. But in combination with these aspects, what characterised Jin Yong was his comprehensive infusion of numerous aspects of traditional Chinese culture into his storyworlds. As a keen historian, he often placed a strong emphasis on historical veracity. His work also engages extremely closely with classical Chinese literature, philosophy, religion and medicine – many of the martial arts that he invented, for instance, are loosely based on lines of classical literature. His fiction was therefore seen to offer something of a romantically

essentialised Chinese identity, and that really resonated with Hong Kong readers, particularly at a period in history when many aspects of traditional Chinese culture were being torn down on the mainland. This essentialised identity is also why he became an instant success with diasporic Sinophone communities, as well as with mainland Chinese and Taiwanese readerships after the bans were lifted, but it makes his work quite culturally esoteric, which is one of the reasons why he's considered such a challenging author to translate effectively.

Incidentally, there have been official English translations of four Jin Yong novels so far, and in fact the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison appears to have arisen from press coverage of the most recent translation. But as a whole, these translations have been tricky for literary scholars to get into because they vary quite a bit in terms of translation style and editorial decisions such as abridgement, and they also lack substantial critical introductions and apparatuses, which inevitably influences the accessibility of these culturally esoteric texts. There are actually some admirable fan translations as well, produced collaboratively on online forums over the course of many years, but, as you'd expect, these also lack supporting critical materials. However, there is some excellent English-language scholarship out there which can help to contextualise those translations.

Now that we have a flavour of Jin Yong's life and work, I'd like to turn to the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison. In some regards, that comparison might seem like an obvious one to make. Both authors have become household names in their respective spheres and have become virtually synonymous with the genres that they innovated. This is reflected in book sales, of course, and if you look up Wikipedia's list of best-selling fiction authors, they're both pretty high up. Both of them were either suggested or formally recommended for the Nobel Prize in Literature - Tolkien was nominated by C. S. Lewis. Both Tolkien and Jin Yong also received civilian honours for their phenomenal literary success, a CBE for Tolkien and an OBE for Jin Yong, amongst others. Tolkien is strongly associated with Oxford, where he was a professor for three and a half decades; while Jin Yong is associated with Cambridge, where he read for a Masters and PhD in his eighties, just over a decade ago – in fact, there's a large stone in his college, St John's, inscribed with a couplet that he composed about his time there. But one of the main premises upon which the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison is popularly based is the idea that they were both authors of fantasy. Jin Yong is explicitly associated with fantasy in all of the news reports I mentioned earlier. This premise is both problematic and productive, and I'll try to use the rest of this talk to explain why that is.

The genre of fantasy is generally characterised by what Colin Manlove describes as an... 'irreducible element of supernatural or impossible worlds, beings or objects'. In other words, fantasy should contain the presence of things which the author considers to be impossible within our real world. It's this element of impossibility, this unbridgeable ontological distance from some aspect of our reality, that cultivates the sense of wonder that we feel whenever we encounter a fantasy storyworld. Tolkien, of course, is widely regarded as the master of the genre. The two iconic works of fiction that he published during his lifetime, *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, depict a coherent world containing invented races, cultures and geographies, along with magic, which is usually a good marker of impossibility. However, it's much harder to place Jin Yong under the umbrella of fantasy. Although some wuxia authors do incorporate supernatural beings or objects in their fiction, Jin Yong never did

so. His fiction contains nothing which unambiguously contravenes the natural laws of the real world as understood by his readership - though I will qualify this later on. There are no supernatural beings or objects, and there's no magic – although again, this is a point I will qualify later on. He is simply not regarded as an author of fantasy by Sinologists, who tend to dismiss or ignore the Tolkien comparison as a result. Instead, Jin Yong's work is strongly aligned with the genre of historical fiction. Most of his stories have explicit historical settings, and his deep knowledge of Chinese history is a characteristic which sets him apart from most other wuxia authors. As an example, one of his earlier works, whose official English title is The Eagle-Shooting Heroes, but which is better known nowadays as The Legend of the Condor Heroes after an early television adaptation, features a plethora of historical figures from various regional powers at the turn of thirteenth century. The most notable of these historical figures is the famed Mongol warlord Chinggis Khan, who appears prominently along with his sons, close advisors, rivals and so on. Chinggis is only a supporting character in the novel, but many aspects of the historical personage's life are retained and dramatised, including his rocky rise to power, his relationships with certain advisors, his decisions regarding his succession, his westwards conquest of the Khwarazmian city of Samarkand (in modern-day Uzbekistan), and his interest in Daoism and interactions with a specific Daoist monk. Other novels similarly feature fictionalised versions of major emperors from the Ming and Qing dynasties, as well as figures from smaller and lesser-known kingdoms. The depth of historical reconstruction in Jin Yong's fiction was made possible by his strong grasp of history, and in this regard he was influenced not only by the strong historiographical element found in much of classical Chinese fiction, but also by the European tradition of the historical novel. In several of his essays and interviews, Jin Yong mentioned his great admiration for Walter Scott and Alexandre Dumas, whom he regarded as his literary forebears. Additionally, his own English name was apparently chosen as a nod to Robert Louis Stevenson, several of whose works fall under the genre of historical fiction. It's therefore clear that Jin Yong himself regarded historical fiction and not fantasy as his arena, and that's a position shared by Sinologists, which is why the Tolkien comparison is generally dismissed or ignored in those circles. History and fantasy need not be mutually exclusive, of course – a prominent author of historical fantasy is Guy Gavriel Kay, who was the subject of an earlier episode of this podcast by Katherine Olley. But historical fantasy, as a subset of fantasy, still requires that 'irreducible element' of the impossible, and that's something that can't be convincingly identified in Jin Yong's work. I'll come back to the connection between Jin Yong and fantasy later, but the point I want to make here is that the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison has so far mostly been made on misconceived grounds of genre.

This isn't the first time, of course, that Tolkien has been the subject of a slightly strained comparison with another author; we might perhaps be reminded of the early reviews of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* which drew vague comparisons to Lewis Carroll's fantasy. Like the Carroll-Tolkien comparison, the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison can be productive and illuminating if framed in a certain way. On the spectrum of imaginary storyworlds, one author may have been on the fantasy end and the other on the end of historical fiction, but some of the methods that they used to build those imaginary storyworlds are actually very similar, and what's really interesting from a comparative literature point of view is that those methods contributed independently to similarly phenomenal success in two disparate literary cultures. In a nutshell, the two authors were both successful at creating deep, coherent, immersive storyworlds that drew heavily and multifariously on the pre-modern literatures of their

respective cultural spheres. With Tolkien this process can simply be called 'medievalism', which refers broadly to the later reception and adaptation of the Middle Ages. With Jin Yong it's slightly more complicated – China does happen to be a polity to which the Eurocentric term 'medieval' can be usefully applied because it's generally considered to have had a 'Middle Period' in its history, but Jin Yong, like Walter Scott, drew on that period to very different extents from novel to novel, so for some of his novels the more general term 'antiquarianism' might be more appropriate. Either way, I would suggest that the most salient basis upon which to compare Tolkien and Jin Yong from a literary perspective is the rare depth and complexity of their medievalist – or antiquarian – storyworlds, and I'd like to run through just a few ways in which they built them.

It's well known that Tolkien was an expert in Germanic philology, and that his fiction was heavily influenced by medieval English and Icelandic language and literature. This influence can be seen from the macro level to the micro level. There are details as minute as diachronic puns, which play on the ancient and modern meanings of specific words; one simple example from *The Lord of the Rings* would be the ambiguity of a *Macbeth*-like prophecy stating that a certain being cannot be killed by a 'man', which can refer in the more archaic sense to a human being, as in 'mankind', or it can refer to an adult male, which has become the dominant sense. The fulfilment of that prophecy ends up hinging on the ambiguity of that single word. But on the macro level of medievalist creation, we might think of some of the more fundamental and original elements of the storyworld, for instance the species of giant, tree-like creatures known as Ents, whose very conceptualisation was founded upon an Old English word for 'giant' which features in a poetic phrase found in several Old English poems.

Interestingly, we find a similar range of methods at work in Jin Yong's fiction, again from the micro to the macro level. Although not a philologist by profession, he did occasionally engage in wordplay such as diachronic puns; on the screen I've put an example from *The Demi-Gods* and Semi-Devils - a chronological prequel to The Eagle-Shooting Heroes - involving a misunderstanding between a well-educated prince and an uncultured young lady over a word which in Classical Chinese was an adjective meaning 'proper', but in later Chinese is a verb meaning 'to recoil'. On the macro level, one of the most fundamentally original aspects of Jin Yong's martial-arts fiction is the martial arts themselves, and many of the martial skills invented by him derive their names and conceptual inspirations from phrases from Classical Chinese texts, including poetry. As an example from early on in the same novel, the erudite prince I just mentioned stumbles upon a scroll containing the instructions for a set of wondrously evasive footwork which derives its name from a line of a famous poem composed in the early third century. From these brief examples, it's clear that both authors were not only comfortable playing with historical forms of their respective languages, but also capable of creating original storyworld elements which drew heavy inspiration from pre-modern literatures.

There were many other similarities between the storytelling styles of the two authors as well. Stylistic parallels range from techniques as simple as onomatopoeia – words which imitate sounds, such as 'bang' or 'crash' – to more complex constructions such as interwoven narratives. They also made notable use of the visuality of written scripts in establishing the depth of their storyworlds: one of Tolkien's innovations was his incorporation of a runic script,

based on the old runic alphabets of the Germanic peoples; while Jin Yong occasionally built plot points around the calligraphic nature of the Traditional Chinese writing system. But something that I've been researching recently and wanted to mention briefly is a curious parallel in literary form, namely their particular use of prosimetrum, which refers to the mixture of verse and prose. I'll be publishing some early findings shortly, but in simple terms, what's remarkable is that Tolkien and Jin Yong seem to have independently developed the same way of incorporating verse with the effect of stretching the historical depth of their respective storyworlds while maintaining their total immersion. In other words, the way that poetry is interpolated by Tolkien and Jin Yong has a near-identical effect on the storyworld immersion that we as readers feel. They appear to have arrived at this use of poetry by drawing independently on separate pre-modern traditions of extended prosimetrum – in Jin Yong's case the long-form Classical Chinese novel, and in Tolkien's case the Old Norse-Icelandic saga tradition. There's plenty more comparative research to be done on prosimetrum in Tolkien and Jin Yong, but I just wanted to highlight the fact that the similarities between the medievalist or antiquarian impulses of the two authors extend to literary form as well.

It seems clear, then, that the lens of medievalist antiquarianism is a highly illuminating way to approach the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison. For one thing, it bypasses the question of genre. You can have two authors who build from many of the same literary impulses, but employ a different degree of secondary distance in their storyworlds, resulting in their fiction being classified under different genres. In the case of Tolkien and Jin Yong, many of their shared literary impulses are based on an unusually deep understanding of pre-modern literatures, which therefore represents a highly significant part of their respective literary heritage and an important foundation for any comparison. One important footnote to mention is that the parallels that I've outlined seem to have arisen independently; Jin Yong's only known copies of Tolkien's novels were bought for him years after he'd finished serialising his final story, and so far I haven't found any evidence that he'd read Tolkien before then. The phenomenal success that the two authors had in developing storyworlds of rare cultural depth is therefore a comparison worth studying further, because it has implications for our understanding of the poetics of historicity and fictionality.

Now that I've discussed where I think the firmest ground for the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison lies, I want to come back to Jin Yong and fantasy. His work might not fit the criteria for fantasy literature, but there is something about it which lends itself to the association with fantasy; in fact, even his obituary in the *Straits Times*, a Singaporean newspaper, referred to him as an author of 'martial-arts fantasy'. In other words, there is something to the curious association between Jin Yong and fantasy, and I'd like to spend the rest of this talk exploring it. I mentioned earlier that fantasy is generally characterised by the presence of elements which invoke a sense of wonder by virtue of their impossibility in our real world. Within Jin Yong's work there is one grey area in that regard, and it's found in a fundamental aspect of his martial-arts fiction: the martial arts themselves. The more remarkable and elite feats that some of these top martial artists are able to perform – the ability to run on water, for instance, or the ability to shoot projected energy from one's fingers – might seem wholly implausible, but within the context of the epistemological framework of most native Sinophone readers, they are in fact supernormal rather than supernatural. What I mean by that is that the martial arts, as they are presented in the text of Jin Yong's fiction, are rationalised according to medical concepts and

practices which form part of native readers' understanding of the world. So even though the physical feats might seem implausible, they are grounded in traditional medical concepts that a native reader recognises to have widespread acceptance in their society.

The main concept from traditional Chinese medicine which is central to martial arts, both to many practitioners in real life and in fiction, is the concept of qi (spelled 'q-i'). Qi refers to vital energy within the human body, which can be channelled along specific pathways called meridians which connect sensitive spots across the body called acupuncture points. Many schools of Chinese martial arts believe in cultivating and controlling qi, this inner vital energy, in order to enhance physical abilities while fighting. The concept is deeply embedded in the public consciousness of Sinophone cultures, meaning that even those who regard vitalism or traditional Chinese medicine as a pseudoscience have at least heard of it. In fact, the concept of qi is so ubiquitous that it has even lent its name to the global standard of wireless phone charging, whose underlying technology was invented in Hong Kong.

Now, the concept of qi – this vital energy which can be harnessed to enhance physical abilities - might sound really mystical to those who aren't familiar with the concept. It might sound a little like the midi-chlorians of the Star Wars franchise which form the biological explanation for the ability to use the Force. But qi has actually been a fundamental part of traditional Chinese medical practice for over two millennia, and the difference in how this concept is understood by different readerships is a huge part of the varying association of Jin Yong with fantasy, because it means that martial arts based on qi will seem more impossible to some readerships than to others. To some readers they might seem supernormal, to others they might seem superhuman or supernatural; and there is in fact a really interesting essay by the Sinologist Meir Shahar on qi and supernormality in the martial arts of Jin Yong's fiction. I just want to mention quickly here that the discrepancy in different cultures' understanding of qi is one of the reasons why Disney's recent live-action Mulan remake got such a negative reception within China – its use of qi as a vaguely defined justification for a range of random magical powers was felt to be a fundamental misunderstanding of the concept. What we have in the concept of qi, then, is the potential for differences in the conceptualisation of Jin Yong's fiction based on differences in epistemological frameworks.

The picture that I've just outlined is greatly exacerbated by the way in which the supernormal qualities of the martial arts in Jin Yong's works – and, indeed, in the wider *wuxia* genre – are reimagined through transmediation, or, in other words, through popular adaptation in different media – films, television shows, comic books, video games and so on. Out of all of these media forms, television shows have historically been the most prominent vehicle for the adaptation of Jin Yong's fiction – they've been produced far more regularly than films because their greater length is better-suited to longer narratives, and they became a household fixture decades before video games did. In total, over the past five decades there have been just over seventy TV adaptations of Jin Yong novels so far, and the ways in which these adaptations have changed stylistically can also tell us a great deal about how and why Jin Yong is more heavily associated with fantasy today than ever before.

In the seventies to nineties, TV adaptations of Jin Yong were mostly produced in Hong Kong, and these local adaptations were often both rigorously faithful to the source material and

limited in terms of the special effects they were able to use. But after the turn of the millennium, the majority of TV adaptations have been produced in mainland China with enormous budgets, and these more recent adaptations have taken greater creative liberties with both source material and style. And one of the key changes in style is the application of increasingly heavy special effects to the depiction of martial arts. I'd like to give you an example of this. I'll show you two video clips now, and for those listening to this as audio without video, I'll describe what happens in each clip after I've shown it.

One of the best-known martial skills in Jin Yong's fiction, featuring in four of his novels, is a set of eighteen palm attacks called the EIGHTEEN DRAGON-TAMING PALMS. Dragons are a symbol of power in Chinese culture, so the name 'EIGHTEEN DRAGON-TAMING PALMS' testifies to the fact that this is a powerful, elite skill. This first clip depicts the execution of the skill in the classic 1983 Hong Kong TV adaptation of *The Eagle-Shooting Heroes*:

## [CLIP1]

In this clip, the protagonist prepares to perform this elite skill, and as he builds up to it, we are switched to a stylised cutscene in which the protagonist is shown against a black background going through the motions of the skill with an overlaid dragon to capture its symbolic power. As the cutscene ends, we return to the actual execution of the skill in real-time, and the execution itself is pretty ordinary, with the protagonist's palms clashing with his target. There's nothing supernatural about the way it's performed, and everything special about it is captured within the cutscene. By contrast, the second clip I'm about to show you is the same martial skill as depicted in the 2013 mainland Chinese TV adaptation of *The Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils*, the chronological prequel to *The Eagle-Shooting Heroes*:

## [CLIP2]

In this second clip, the martial artist performing the skill is essentially depicted as a flying human missile-launcher. Although not as random in its use of qi as Disney's live-action Mulan, the levitative and destructive abilities in this clip are clearly superhuman, and they defy the physical laws of our world in ways that the first clip didn't. These abilities have been extended so far from our reality as to be considered impossible, and this TV adaptation may therefore rightly be categorised as 'fantasy'. Indeed, the supernormality of the concept of qi lends itself to supernatural depiction in popular adaptations, and this sort of transformation of martial arts into hyperbolically superhuman powers is characteristic of more recent wuxia films and television shows in general, including the many adaptations of Jin Yong's fiction. It's therefore not surprising that these depictions of physics-defying, biology-belying feats contribute significantly to the popular association of Jin Yong with fantasy, even within Sinophone audiences, especially younger audiences who grow up watching these TV series. What's fascinating here is that Jin Yong may not have conceived of his stories as fantasy literature, or of his storyworlds as fantasy storyworlds, but, like much wuxia fiction, they've proven to be well-suited to fantastic adaptation. This sort of 'fantasy potential' reminds us just how important reception is to the genre of fantasy literature. Concepts can seem more unrealistic when transmitted from one culture to another, and unrealistic qualities can also be amplified

by popular adaptations. The case of Jin Yong shows that storyworlds which wouldn't originally be classified under 'fantasy' can still grow transmedially into the genre.

To return to the question at the heart of this talk, then, I think a number of factors have aligned to make the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison viable not only in terms of their extraordinary popular success, but also in terms of the literary attributes which generated that success. In both cases we have imaginative storyworlds of rare antiquarian depth; we have parallels in storytelling style and formal similarities in the use of prosimetrum; and we have some sort of connection to fantasy, which in Jin Yong's case is the result of transmediality. I'd like to close with the observation that the Tolkien-Jin Yong comparison is still very fertile ground for further comparative literary study, so this podcast episode certainly won't be the last word. Thanks for listening.