

Corruption Among the Cats: **Hypocrisy Exposed by Liao Bingxiong**

Linn A. Christiansen

Liao Bingxiong debuted as a cartoonist in 1934 at 19 years old, and from his very start he was a political cartoonist who shed light on the disparities in society, and on the powerful abusing their power. As the events of the 20th Century in China unfolded around him, Liao continued commenting on society and politics in his cartoons, right up to the mid-1950s. However, when Mao Zedong launched The Hundred Flowers Campaign in 1956, Liao was one of many artists who responded. Encouraged by the idea that the Communist Party wanted honest feedback, he drew several derogatory cartoons showing what he saw as the current state of affairs in China. But as with most other artists who challenged the Party, Liao was labelled a “rightist” after Chairman Mao abruptly ended the Hundred Flowers Campaign in 1957. The government sent the cartoonist to be “re-educated” in the countryside, and then in 1958 he was formally charged and sent to prison for four years (Liao, Zhang, 2002).

As part of his re-education, the Party initially prohibited Liao from drawing any political cartoons. He was instead put to work producing anti-rightist propaganda for a time, and afterwards he made a living creating stage design for a local Communist theatre group. During a period of more than 20 years, Liao Bingxiong did not draw any cartoons (Liao, Zhang, 2002).

After The Cultural Revolution

It was not until after The Cultural Revolution that Liao again found his voice, and once more took to drawing political satire. After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 China would again change; the so-called *Sirenbang* “the Gang of Four” was tried and sentenced for the parts they had played in the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), and after this the country pretended as if all the problems of the past decades had been settled, (Fairbank, Goldman, 1998) without truly taking a critical look at any of the campaigns waged or acts committed before the Gang of Four came to power.



Fig. 1: Zichao (Self Mockery), 1979.

*“After the destruction of the Terrible Four I composed this piece mocking myself and others of my kind
The year 1979, Bingxiong”*

Liao’s first and most famous cartoon from right after the Cultural Revolution is *Zichao (Self Mockery)* from 1979 (**Fig. 1**). It is a cartoon that depicts Liao sitting in the shape of a vase, long after the vase itself has cracked, showing how he has let the political constraints of the last decades shape him. The accompanying text says that the piece is mocking him and others like him, meaning he is now pointing his fingers at everyone who did nothing after the Hundred Flowers Campaign and during the Cultural Revolution – everyone who let themselves be moulded into vases instead of speaking up.

The image of someone looking the other way rather than doing the right thing, is one that Liao would utilise to a great extent during this period, and in doing so he would return to a symbol he had used before: the cat as a crooked bureaucrat.

The Cat as Corrupt Official



Fig. 2: *Shu Hui (Mouse Bribery)*, 1945

Liao Bingxiong first turned to the cat as a symbol of corruption and power abuses in his exhibition *The Annals of the Cat Kingdom* from 1945, in cartoons such as *Shu Hui (Mouse Bribery)* (**Fig. 2**) and *Mao Pan (The Cat Magistrate)* (**Fig. 3**). *Mouse Bribery* shows a cat allowing mice¹ to get away with smuggling, because the mice are paying the cat off. The fat cat drools over a suitcase stuffed with fish simultaneously as it stamps the mice's papers, turning its back completely to the scene of the smugglers dancing away. Looking like a modern day official, the cat is dressed in contemporary clothes from the 1940s: a long coat with fur trimming, plaid trousers, and a fedora.



Fig. 3: *Mao Pan (The Cat Magistrate)*, 1945

The top sign says, “A Platform for Good Judgement.” The magistrate’s table says, “Serious and principled, incorruptible and intelligent”

Similarly to *Mouse Bribery*, *The Cat Magistrate* (Fig. 3) also presents a cartoon of cats and mice, where a mouse is again bribing the main official with fish. Here the biggest cat is facing the scene instead of turning away, but this official it is equally as careless with justice as the one in the former cartoon.

The Cat Magistrate presents us with a courtroom that is a literal stage. On the upper part of the stage frame hangs a sign that says, *Mingjing Tai*, “A Platform for Good Judgement.” However, in addition to having that meaning, the words *mingjing tai* can also mean “a clear mirror’s stand,” and is likely a reference to a famous verse by the Zen Buddhist Yuquan Shenxiu (606?—706). The verse goes, “The body is the Bodhi tree/ The mind is like a clear mirror’s stand.” In this verse, the mirror’s stand signifies original wisdom, and the Bodhi tree represents awakening (Okumura, 2012:210). Liao’s alluding to this verse is obviously ironic, as there are very few Buddhist principles at work in the scene portrayed.

Restrained by a court servant cat in the foreground of the picture, a mouse is on trial for stealing a fish. The mouse is in the process of being sentenced, but rather than being tried on the one fish it has stolen, another mouse is overloading the opposite side of a scale with more fish. This pile greatly outweighs the one fish that the thief took, and literally tips the scale in the favour of the accuser. From their proportions and the clothes that the two mice are wearing, we can deduct that the scrawny mouse being detained is poor, whereas the fuller, better-dressed mouse is rich, and poor mouse has evidently stolen the one fish from the rich mouse. On the magistrate's table lie two fish skeletons, indicating that the richer mouse has bought the official off.

The cat magistrate is dressed in what appears to be attire loosely based on clothing from the Qin (221 B.C.—206 B.C.) or Han (206 B.C.—220 A.D.) dynasties,² whereas every other creature in the cartoon is dressed in outfits from the 20th Century. As with traditional Chinese paintings, the cat with the highest position is here also portrayed as physically bigger and taller than everyone else in the cartoon, including the three court servant cats. In addition to the clothes making the magistrate resemble a traditional sovereign, its size also brings to mind the image of a powerful ruler.³

When the court itself is a stage, that means the proceedings are a farce, and although the poor mouse will probably pay with its life for stealing the fish, we are not meant to take the dealings seriously. Just as we should not, Liao says, take the dealings of contemporary corrupt officials seriously.

This Cat is Downright Cocky



Fig. 4: *Ci Mao Shenqi Shizu (This Cat is Downright Cocky)*, 1979.

“This cat is downright cocky, as it sees the mice but does not catch them. This cat in the grass should be expelled to avoid the shaming of the race of cats. Recorded and put in writing by Bingxiong.”

In *Ci Mao Shenqi Shizu (This Cat Is Downright Cocky)* (Fig. 4), a very similar situation to the one in *Shu Hui (Mouse Bribery)* from 1945 (Fig. 2) takes place. Liao painted *This Cat Is Downright Cocky* in 1979, a year of great productivity, and also the same year he drew *Self Mockery* (Fig. 1).

This Cat Is Downright Cocky shows three mice in the process of stealing two large fish. A big cat sits smiling right behind them, looking away. The cat is dressed neatly in a robe, shoes and a cap. Just like the cat in *Mouse Bribery* (Fig. 2), this cat also appears to be an official, but the clothes it is wearing are modelled not on contemporary garb, but on the robes of officials from late Ming dynasty (1368—1644). First and foremost the cat’s robe is crimson red, a colour typically worn by scholar-officials in late Ming times.



Fig. 5: Unknown artist, *Xu Xianqing Huanji Tu* (*Painting On the Official Career of Xu Xianqing*), [a section from the scroll], late Ming dynasty.

In a section of the series of paintings titled *Xu Xianqing Huanji Tu* (*Painting On the Official Career of Xu Xianqing*, (Fig. 5) now hanging in the Palace Museum in Beijing, several scholar-officials from the late Ming dynasty can be seen dressed in deep red robes with different rank badges on their chests, and wearing *wushamao*, a type of black gauze cap worn by officials during the Ming dynasty, where stiff flaps protrude on both sides.

Though such caps were usually unadorned, the cat in Liao's painted cartoon is wearing a cap decorated with two characters written in a stylised seal script signifying luck; *fu* is a very common character that means "good fortune," but *lu* means both "good luck" and is also an official's salary in old China. The fact that these particular characters are on the cat's hat, confirms that the cat is making a fortune from being an official – in case there was any doubt about this.

It is not a coincidence that Liao would choose a Ming dynasty outfit for his corrupt official; the late Ming dynasty was a time period notorious among many other things for its many corrupt eunuchs and officials (Huang, 1974:49; Ni, Van, 2006:317).

During the Ming dynasty, officials' ranks were distinguished by what type of badge the official wore on his chest: different birds for civil officials, and powerful mammals (and sometimes also a sea horse) for military officers (Yuan, 2007:193). On the front of the *cat's* robe, however, we find a completely different symbol: the emblem of a fish. The fish is a common symbol of affluence and well-being in China (Eberhard, 2006:106), and in this cartoon it is also what the mice are stealing.

The mice are dressed in nothing but pants; one is in beige trousers, whilst the other two are in blue trousers. Neither of the mice have shoes. Based on clothing alone, the mice are evidently much poorer than the cat. The last mouse is carrying a large knife, and this mouse seems to be whispering to the others. Two of the mice look right ahead, focused on the task at hand, but the third gawks at the cat, noticing that the cat does not pay attention to them. Even though the cat completely ignores the thieves, the mice are still hunched over, all gaping at their good fortune.



Fig. 6: *Ci Mao (This Cat)*, 1978.

*"This cat is downright cocky, as it sees the mice but does not catch them.
This cat in the grass should be expelled to avoid it reaping later rewards.
Drawn and written by Bingxiong"*

Liao's cartoon from 1979 was part of a larger exhibition in Guangzhou that same year, three years after the death of Mao Zedong (Valjakka, 2011:89). It was, however, not the first time Liao would draw this particular motif. His very first *Ci Mao (This Cat)* came in 1978 (Fig. 6), is in black and white, and shows only one mouse stealing one fish. There are two fish skeletons on the ground in front of the cat, serving as proof that this is not the first time the cat has let someone get away with theft. The cat in that cartoon looks more or less the same as in the 1979 version, with the exception of its tail being visible to the viewer. The lone mouse is looking back in the same pose as the middle mouse in the later cartoon, but this mouse is not wearing trousers, only a shirt. The text in *This Cat* from 1978 also deviates a little from the coloured version. Here the final sentence says, "This cat in the grass should be expelled to **avoid it reaping later rewards.**"⁴

This is in other words very plain corruption, a *quid pro quo* kind of situation, where the cat lets the mouse get away with stealing, knowing that later the mouse will have to repay this kindness.



Fig. 7: *Ci Mao (This Cat)*, unknown year.

"This cat is downright cocky, as it sees the mice but does not catch them.
This cat in the grass should be expelled to avoid the shaming of the race of cats.
Bīngxiōng"



Fig. 8: *Ci Mao (This Cat)*, 1980.

*“This cat is cocky to the extreme. Whether it is able to eliminate mice is still unknown.
Made for big brother⁵ Wei Qiu for his amusement⁶
Brushwork made by Bingxiong somewhat under the influence of alcohol⁷”*

There are two other known versions of *This Cat*: a black and white version from 1980 made for the writer Wei Qiu (1923—2012), aka Li Siqiang, a poet and friend of Liao’s from Guangdong province (**Fig. 8**), and a coloured version from an unknown year (**Fig. 7**).⁸ In both of these cartoons the cat looks surlier than in the previous versions. It is not smiling, but directly facing the viewer with a sullen look in its eyes. In the 1980 rendition there are no mice, while there are two in the coloured version. The mice here have the same gaping expression as the mice in all the other renderings, but in this cartoon they are fully dressed – one of the mice even has a knife in his belt – and they are carrying one fish between them. The text for the cartoon in colour (**Fig. 7**) is the same as the version from 1979 (**Fig. 4**).

Comparing **Fig. 4**, *This Cat Is Downright Cocky*, from 1979, to any of the other versions shows that this is the most elaborated of the four versions. Where the other three versions bear the marks of having been completed in a rush, **Fig. 4** is balanced and has a natural perspective, carefully coloured and lightly shaded, and the ink brush is neither too dry nor too wet. The calligraphy in this piece is likewise done with a thick, wet brush, with the characters appearing centred and similar in size. Gone is the awkward mixture of different calligraphic styles; here Liao has chosen a type of *xingshu* “running style” for the entire text.

In all three of the other versions, the calligraphy appears more slapdash, and none more so than the original version from 1978 (**Fig. 6**). In that version Liao has used a very wet brush, he has used both common and rare versions of characters, and neither the size nor the thickness of strokes are the same throughout the piece.

What, then, does this contrast in execution between the 1979-version and the other three versions represent? Liao Bingxiong often takes the position of being on the side of the weaker party in his cartoons, by also utilising the modes of expression that this group might use. In *This Cat Is Downright Cocky* the poorer party are the mice, who are just as crooked as the cat is. The text is already speaking against the cat, and by writing and drawing in a more elaborated manner, the artist makes that cat rise far above the level of the mice.

As previously seen in the series from the exhibition *Maoguo chunqiu (The Annals of the Cat Kingdom)* from 1945 (**Fig. 2 and 3**), Liao often turns to the cat when criticising the political system. Ralph Croizier argues that *This Cat Is Downright Cocky* is about the Cultural Revolution, and that the cat is possibly a symbol of Chairman Mao Zedong himself, since the Chinese words for “cat” (*mao*) and Mao Zedong’s family name (*Mao*) are homonyms. Minna Valjakka elaborates on this point, by mentioning that contemporary Chinese artists often have used cats as a stand-ins for the late leader.⁹ However, this idea does not take into account Liao Bingxiong’s history of using cats as a symbol for corruption and bad leadership in general, going back as far as 1945 – four whole years before the Communists had even gained control over China. Furthermore, the cat in question is an official, but it is never outright depicted as the emperor.¹⁰

Because of Liao’s recurrent use of the cat as a character, I would argue that the homonyms *mao* (cat) and *Mao [Zedong]* is too facile and far too inelegant an explanation for what the cat symbolises. Croizier brings up a different explanation for what the cat could signify in *This Cat Is Downright Cocky*, saying it could be a stand-in for any self-serving bureaucrat within the Party (Valjakka, 2011:87-114). Croizier specifically mentions Mao Zedong’s successor, Deng Xiaoping and Deng’s maxim that “It does not matter whether the cat is black or white; if it catches mice it is a good cat,” pointing out that Liao could be playing with this concept. However, this does not account for the fact that Liao Bingxiong would repeatedly use the cat as a symbol for corruption, and to different effects.

In China the cat has traditionally been said to have demonic powers, but it has also been symbolically linked to poverty, because a strange cat entering a house “knows that lots of rats are going to come and eat the family out of house and home,” and that the family will soon be out of luck (Eberhard, 2006:58-59). C.A.S. Williams quotes an unnamed Chinese author when he writes that the cat is also known as “the domestic fox.” The cat is an animal with the body of a fox and the face of a tiger (Williams, 1974:81-82), and since the fox is often linked to cunning and to demons, it

is not usually a positive animal symbol in China (Eberhard, 2006:117). In this sense it seems fitting that Liao would choose the cat as his most used symbol for corruption and bad rulers.



Fig. 9: *Ye Shi Wu Song? (Is This Also Wu Song?)* 1980.

*“Is this also Wu Song?
Inspired to make¹¹ in the summer of 1980 by Bingxiang”*

In *Ye Shi Wu Song? (Is This Also Wu Song?)* from 1980 (**Fig. 9**) Liao has painted the cat as the innocent creature. Here the tiger is the real enemy, getting away with murder. In this cartoon, Liao tackles the same theme as in *This Cat Is Downright Cocky* – that of corruption and atrocities being overlooked – but here Liao takes it even further: not only is the corrupt and guilty party (the tiger) allowed to keep going, but a man even attacks the innocent party (the cat). The cat is only eating a couple of small fish, but a man dressed in traditional garb from the Qing dynasty¹² has raised his cane, ready to pounce on the cat. Behind the man a tiger sits smilingly, eating what is clearly human remains.

Wu Song is a famous literary character from the Ming dynasty novel, *Shuihu zhuan (The Story of the Water Margin)* (Idema, Haft, 1997:198). In the novel, Wu Song walks across a mountain alone, drunk and only armed with a walking stick, despite having been warned that a man-eating tiger resides among the rocks. When attacked by this beast, Wu Song manages to slay it, and thus cements his status as a hero both in the story, and in the Chinese consciousness. Liao alters the meaning of Wu Song’s bravery by letting his human character beat a fish-eating cat instead of the man-eating tiger. The cartoon would still be powerful by itself as only a drawing, but by adding the question, “Is this also Wu Song?” Liao is not leaving any room for misunderstanding. He is

saying the traditional heroes have been replaced by leaders who want the *title* of hero, but who act in the exact opposite manner that a hero would.

When *Is This Also Wu Song?* was shown in the exhibition *Sword Flowers*, in 1981, it drew criticism from an authoritative Chinese newspaper. Due to the cartoon being scathing, but at the same time quite vague, the newspaper article said, the journalist questioned what the tiger represented. Is the tiger the Communist Party? Is it China herself? Does it represent socialism? Interestingly, the newspaper did not question who the man beating the cat represents, and neither of the cats from Liao's other cartoons with cats-as-corrupt-officials have drawn the same harsh criticism as this tiger did (Liao, Liao, Zhang, 2005a:172).¹³

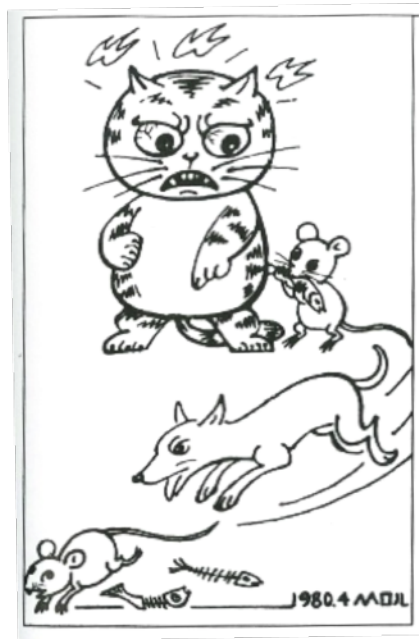


Fig. 10: *Zhe Shi Wode Quan (This Authority Belongs to Me)*, 1980.



Fig. 11: *Hu Quan (Protecting Authority)*, 1980.

“That authority belongs to me!”

Liao returned to the motif of the cat as a signifier for corruption in *Zhe Shi Wode Quan (This Authority Belongs to Me)*¹⁴ (Fig. 12). A cartoon that was originally part of Liao Bingxiong’s exhibition called *Jian Hua (Sword Flower)*, in 1980, Liao redrew the cartoon the same year and retitled it *Hu Quan (Protecting Authority)* (Fig. 13) (Liao, Liao, Zhang, 2005a:167). In these two cartoons the cat again neglects to crack down on theft, letting the mice eat away at fish; fish that the cat should presumably guard. What *really* upsets the cat, however, is not the mice stealing the fish, but a dog that tries to chase away the thieves. The cat yells, “That authority belongs to me!”, meaning no one should be allowed to enforce the law except for the cat itself, even though it chooses not to do so.



Fig. 12: *Ci Chu (This Beast)*, 1994.

“This beast with the body of a mouse and the head of a cat wildly gulps down public funds and private capital. Because of this kind of indulgence,¹⁵ it will inevitably attract disaster. It is necessary to annihilate the beast swiftly and violently.

The 11th year of the Sexagenary Cycle,¹⁶ Mid-Autumn Festival¹⁷

Painted and inscribed by Bīngxiōng”

In a cartoon from a late stage in Liao Bingxiong’s career, he painted a creature with a mouse’s body and a cat’s head eating a fish, and titled the picture *Ci Chu (This Beast)* (Fig. 14). This piece is clearly referencing his own earlier *This Cat*-series of cartoons, both in title, but also in the animals represented – the cat, the mouse and the fish. Now, though, Liao seems tired of hinting at the problem of corruption. The earlier cat-official who sat quietly by and pretended not to notice the mice stealing the fish has been replaced by a cat-rat who itself is eating the fish. The fish is additionally still alive, with blood gushing from its head as the beast takes a huge bite. In the calligraphy Liao writes very plainly that the beast will attract disaster due to its greed, and that the only way to save the country is to get rid of beasts such as this.

On the basis of the different renditions of *This Cat*, as well the other cartoons I have discussed here, I maintain that the cat is a symbol not of any one person in particular, but of generally corrupt leadership. In *This Cat Is Downright Cocky*, Liao is concerned about the persistent dishonesty within the system. When the cartoonist shows us the cat-official in late Ming dynasty robes, characterizing the cat as a corrupt official that is looking away as theft is going on right under its nose, he is portraying the leadership being unqualified to lead. The cat can indeed be

the president, but it can just as well represent a local big shot in a smaller town, abusing his power. As is evident from *Is This Also Wu Song?*, corruption affects the small and weak in society; the group that is, will and continue to be, Liao's main concern.

There is a long tradition in China for using historical events to comment on and criticise contemporary politics, going back at least to the times of Confucius (Unger, 1993). At one point the Qin dynasty prime minister Li Si (ca. 280—208 B.C.) even stated, “Anyone who uses history to criticize the present shall have his family executed” (*Book Burning, 213 BC–2011 AD*). The current rulers in China have not gone as far as Li Si in their attempt to curtail criticism, but it is clear that they too see the past as a potentially dangerous source for fiction; in 2011, the Chinese government placed a ban on making movies about time travel where history is re-written or presented falsely, saying to do so would be “disrespectful” (Brody, 2011).

Conclusion

Liao repeatedly stressed the importance in drawing cartoons, and even said, “To draw cartoons is to record history.” (Chen, 2005). His cartoons tell the political story of China in the 20th century, right from his earliest comic strips that documented poverty and class struggles in post-dynastic China, to the painted single-panel cartoons of the Reform and Opening Up-era in the late 1970s and 1980s.

After the fall of the Gang of Four, however, Liao was no longer interested in being a pawn that made Party propaganda (Liao, Zhang, 2002), and instead he became an even more unconstrained artist than he had been before. According to the cartoonist Fang Tang, had it not been for the years after the Hundred Flowers Campaign where Liao had to serve the Party making *Zunming Yishu*, “art in compliance with the Party,” Liao most likely would not have evolved into the independent thinker and artist that he became (Fang, 2007:194).

The period from 1979 and until the mid-1990s has been called Liao Bingxiong's “reassessment cartoons” (Gong Wangfu, 2011). In all the former stages in his career, Liao had focused squarely on the present, only criticising the here and now. After the Cultural Revolution, however, the cartoonist started turning to the past in order to also condemn political events of the last few decades, *as well as* linking those to the present. During these years, Liao would also re-examine his own earlier themes, redrawing and reworking many of his earlier cartoons. Trying to be the whistle blower who would arouse people from the lull of the false consciousness imposed by the rulers, he asked, “Why is it that twenty, thirty years after the entire country shouted ‘The Chinese people have risen!’ we still have not risen?” (Liao, Liao, Zhang, 2005b:4).

Linn A. Christiansen is a Sinologist and art historian from Norway, who received her Master of Philosophy degree in Chinese Studies at the University of Oslo. Her thesis, “Reading Liao Bingxiong: Political Cartoonist of the 20th Century” presents a selective study of the collected works of the artist, tracing many of the changing social structures in China in the 1900s through Liao’s cartoons. Christiansen currently works at the Network for Asian Studies (Asianettverket), at Centre for Development and the Environment (SUM), the University of Oslo.

Endnotes

-
- ¹ In Chinese, there is no word to differentiate between rats and mice; they are both called *shu* or *laoshu*. For simplicity reasons, I have decided to call all the small creatures in Liao Bingxiong's cartoons the same, and because of the thinness of their tails I have chosen the word "mice" and not "rats."
- ² The cat official's robes have the crossed collars of Qin and Han dynasty robes, and its cap is somewhat similar in style to that of the emperors' coronet during those times.
- ³ The cat's self-righteous anger and corruption further makes it an unjust ruler, and when the vague Qin style clothes and coronet are added into the mix, the dots could arguably be connected to the notoriously cruel and self-serving First Emperor of the Qin dynasty.
- ⁴ Emphasis mine.
- ⁵ *Dalao* is Cantonese for *dage*, a term of endearment that directly translates to "big brother." *Dalao* is commonly used in Cantonese dialect, in Guangdong.
- ⁶ *Yican* is a traditional construction that can mean "to smile." *Taiwan traditional national language dictionary* demonstrates this way of using the expression, by referencing Qing dynasty author Xu Ke: "The distortion of facts that I just did, the point behind that is to amuse you."
- ⁷ *Zuibi*, literally "drunk brush" means "brushwork done under the influence."
- ⁸ This other version of *This Cat* in colour is probably from a later time than the version from 1978 (**Fig. 4**), since the accompanying text is the same as the 1979 version (**Fig. 3**). It could of course also predate the 1979 version.
- ⁹ Valjakka specifically mentions Qiu Jie who drew an image of a cat dressed and posing as Mao Zedong, in the drawing *The Portrait of Mao*, 2007, lead on paper, 250x168cm.
- ¹⁰ Though perhaps in the late 1970s, early 1980s it would still be too soon to make any obvious comparisons between Mao Zedong and corruption. In many ways, it still is too soon, and would probably not be a welcome comparison even in today's China.
- ¹¹ *Yougan* is a literary suffix often used to comment on something. *Yougan erzuo* is literally "have feelings and make."
- ¹² The outfit does not seem to have any direct historical models, but it is similar in appearance to what lower-ranking Qing dynasty soldiers wore at the end of the Qing dynasty. To compare, see "Qingchao Baqi Zidibing: Cong 'Gaoxin Daiyu' dao 'Zaijiuyue' (The Eight Banner Army of the Qing Dynasty: From 'High Salary' to 'Reemployment')" as well as the image of a soldier from Sichuan or Yunnan, "Lao Zhaopian Kanqing Qingmo Gedi de Qingbing (Old Photographs of Manchu Troops Stationed at Various Places during the End of the Qing Dynasty)."
- ¹³ The newspaper is not named in the book.
- ¹⁴ *Quan* can be translated as both "power" and "authority."
- ¹⁵ *Zongrong* means to "wink at" something, or to quietly accept a wrongdoing. This exact meaning is lost in my translation, though the general meaning is still kept in that the indulgence of the beast will lead to society's downfall.
- ¹⁶ The 11th year of the Sexagenary Cycle is the year 1994.
- ¹⁷ The Mid-Autumn Festival is the 15th day of the eighth lunar month.

References

"Book Burning, 213 BC–2011 AD." University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries.
<<http://uwm.edu/libraries/exhibits/burnedbooks/>>. Accessed 2015 April 27.

-
- Brody, Richard. 2011. "China Bans Time Travel". New York: *New Yorker*.
<<http://www.newyorker.com/culture/richard-brody/china-bans-time-travel>>. Accessed 2015 April 27.
- "Can (Bright/ Beaming/ Smile)." 2013. *Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias: Taiwan traditional national language dictionary*.
<http://taiwan_trad.enacademic.com/104804/%E7%B2%B2> Accessed 2014 August 7.
- Chen Jing. 2005. *Liao Bingxiong Shuo: Zhongguo Manhua Si le (Liao Bingxiong Says: Chinese Cartooning is Dead)*. <<http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2005-01-05/10205430597.shtml>>. Accessed 2014 February 17.
- Eberhard, Wolfram. 2006. *Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought*. London: Routledge.
- Fang Tang. 2007. "Bingxiong Houqi Manhua Sixiang (The Ideology of Bingxiong's Later Cartoons)." in *Binghunxuepo Zai Renjian: Liao Bingxiong Jinian Wenji (Pure and Noble in the Human World: A Collection of Essays Remembering Liao Bingxiong)*. Ed. He Yanhua. Huang Jiesheng. Guangzhou: Yangcheng Wanbao Chubanshe.
- Fairbank, John King. Goldman, Merle. 1998. *China: A New History*. Enlarged Edition. Sixth Edition. Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Gong Wangfu (Prince Kung's Mansion). 2011. "Zhongguo Meishuguan Jingcai Chengxian Liao Bingxiong 'Beifen Manhua' (the National Art Museum of China Proudly Presents Liao Bingxiong's 'Cartoons of Grief and Indignation')." <<http://www.pgm.org.cn/gwf/wbdt/201103/2441/files/e0ab0f5001a84fa6b8aaa7abd9c51522.pdf>> Accessed 2014 July 21.
- Gui Hanbiao. 2002. "Xiang Lishi Zhijing - Liang Ti: Jiuzuo Zhong Kan Huainian Wei Bo (Paying Tribute to History - Two Topics: Republishing Old Works by and Cherishing the Memory of Big Brother Wei)," *Tiantang jinian wang (Wa Heaven)*. <<http://jiulo.waheaven.com/memorial/review/652429842i122542.html>> Accessed 2014 August 7.
- Huang, Ray. 1974. *Taxation and governmental finance in sixteenth-century Ming China*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Idema, Wilt L. Haft, Lloyd. 1997. *A guide to Chinese literature*. Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan.
- "Lao Zhaopian Kanqing Qingmo Gedi de Qingbing (Old Photographs of Manchu Troops Stationed at Various Places during the End of the Qing Dynasty)." 2010. <<http://tupian.baik.com/3123>>. Accessed 2014 June 27.
- Liao Bingxiong. 1999. *Chunqiu maoguo (The Annals of the Cat Kingdom)*. Shandong: Shandong huabao chubanshe.
- Liao Bingxiong. Liao Ling'er. Zhang Hongmiao. 2005a. *Beifen huashen: Liao Bingxiong de manhua yishu (The God of Drawing Grief and Indignation: Liao Bingxiong's Cartoon Art)*. Beijing: Xiandai chubanshe.
- Liao Bingxiong. Liao Ling'er. Zhang Hongmiao. 2005b. *Liao Bingxiong huazi ji (A Collection of Liao Bingxiong's Painted Characters)*. Guangdong: Lingnan meishu chubanshe.
- Liao Ling'er. Zhang Hongmiao. 2002. *Gei Shijie Ca Ba Lian: Liao Bingxiong Huazhuan (Wiping the Face of the World: Liao Bingxiong's Illustrated Biography)*. Guangdong: Huacheng chubanshe.
- Ni, Shawn. Van, Pham Hoang. 2006. "High corruption income in Ming and Qing China." *Journal of Development Economics*, p. 316-336.
- "Qingchao Baqi Zidibing: Cong 'Gaoxin Daiyu' dao 'Zaijiuyue' (The Eight Banner Army of the Qing Dynasty: From 'High Salary' to 'Reemployment')." 2009. <http://news.sctv.com/rw/lxjm/200909/t20090907_208622.shtml>. Accessed 2014 June 25.
- Shohaku Okumura. 2012. *Living by Vow: A Practical Introduction to Eight Essential Zen Chants and Texts*. Ed. Dave Ellison. Boston: Simon and Schuster.

-
- Unger, Jonathan. 1993. *Using the past to serve the present: Historiography and politics in contemporary China*. New York: ME Sharpe.
- Valjakka, Minna. 2011. "Parodying Mao's Image: Caricaturing in Contemporary Chinese Art." *Journal of the Department of Asian and African Studies*. University of Ljubljana–Faculty of Arts, p. 87-114.
- Wenlin Software for Learning Chinese*, Copyright © 1997-2012, University of Hawaii: Wenlin Institute, Inc.
- Williams, C.A.S. 1974. *Chinese symbolism and art motifs: A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbolism in Chinese Art Through the Ages*. Fourth Revised Edition. Vermont: Tuttle Publishing.
- Yuan, Zujie. 2007. "Dressing for power: Rite, costume, and state authority in Ming Dynasty China." *Frontiers of History in China*, p. 181-212.