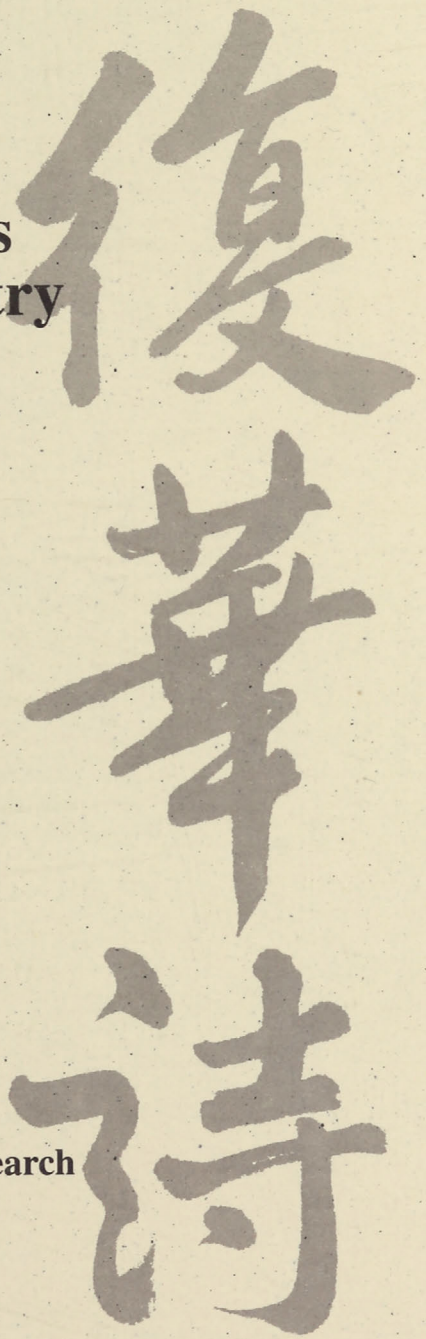
Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry



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Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry

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Endowed by

Professor Paul Stanislaus Hsiang (1915-2000)

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Editor's Note

For many reasons, Volume 7 has taken much longer than anticipated to appear. One was the decision to wait in order to have four Hsiang Lectures in this volume rather than the customary three. The delay and small increase in the number of lectures bring new horizons in research on Chinese poetry to our readers. Indeed, in terms of the time frame covered, this volume focuses mostly, but not exclusively, on the twentieth century. Three of the four lectures are fascinating studies of the manifold significations of classical verse and their continued vitality in the discursive space of Chinese politics and culture in a century of modernization. In her lecture, "Classical Poetry, Photography, and the Social Life of Emotions in 1910s China," Professor Shengqing Wu examines the conjunction and function of classical verse and photographic image in homosocial bonding instantiated by the maverick monk-poet Su Manshu, the Nanshe (Southern Society) poet Liu Yazi, and their respective social circles in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In insightful readings of Chen Yinke's classical verse written in the 1950s, Professor Wai-yee Li illuminates the currency of gender as a dominant trope in this renowned historian's reflections on and criticism of the Maoist politics in the early years of the People's Republic. Drawing on published collections as well as archival sources, Professor Lap Lam in his lecture, "Gold Mountain Dreams: Classical-Style Poetry from San Francisco Chinatown," begins with examples of classical verse written by overseas Chinese from the early twentieth century and then analyzes those by later Chinese immigrants. Significantly, he shows how momentous changes in the Chinese diasporic experience have been recorded in the same classical poetic forms through the century. Turning back to an earlier time period, and approaching the topic of women's engagement with historical writing, Professor Clara Ho expands her ongoing research in the field of women's history and culture in the Ming and Qing periods. Her lecture, "History as Leisure Reading for Ming-Qing Women Poets," reveals the multiple relations to historical writings women had both as readers and commentators, often in their spare time from domestic duties, as a leisurely enjoyment in their intellectual life. All of the lectures bring new insights into the history and uses of classical poetry in the Chinese tradition, a topic that was close to the heart of Professor Paul Hsiang. I hope the reader will find them as exciting as the audience at McGill did when they were first delivered.

On publishing *Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry*, Volume 7, I would like

to take the opportunity to express my deeply felt gratitude to my former student, now Dr. Christopher Byrne, who, as editorial assistant, has unfailingly provided careful copy-editing, formatting, proofreading, communication with the authors, and other tasks and forms of support throughout the production process. In the meantime, Chris completed his dissertation, "Poetics of Silence: Hongzhi Zhengjue (1091-1157) and the Practice of Poetry in Song Dynasty Chan *Yulu*," defended it successfully on August 31, and began his Postdoctoral Fellowship the next day at Queen's University on September 1, 2015. To Chris – Congratulations and thank you!

Nostalgia and Resistance: Gender and the Poetry of Chen Yinke

Wai-yee Li 李惠儀
Harvard University

On June 2, 1927, the great scholar and poet Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) drowned himself at Lake Kunming in the Imperial Summer Palace in Beijing. There was widespread perception at the time that Wang had committed suicide as a martyr for the fallen Qing dynasty, whose young deposed emperor had been Wang's student. However, Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890-1969), Wang's friend and colleague at the Qinghua Research Institute of National Learning, offered a different interpretation in the preface to his "Elegy on Wang Guowei" 王觀堂先生輓詞并序:

> For today's China is facing calamities and crises without precedents in its several thousand years of history. With these calamities and crises reaching ever more dire extremes, how can those whose very being represents a condensation and realization of the spirit of Chinese culture fail to identify with its fate and perish along with it? This was why Wang Guowei could not but die.[1]

Two years later, Chen elaborated upon the meaning of Wang's death in a memorial stele:

> He died to make manifest his will to independence and freedom. This was neither about personal indebtedness and grudges, nor about the rise or fall of one ruling house… His writings may sink into oblivion; his teachings may yet be debated. But this spirit of independence and freedom of thought…will last for eternity with heaven and earth.[2]

Between these assertions from 1927 and 1929 is a rhetorical elision of potentially different positions. Chen Yinke seems to be saying that the essence of Chinese culture *is* "the spirit of independence and freedom of thought." This is all the more surprising because the 1927 elegy still

presents Wang as abiding by the "three fundamentals" (*sangang* 三綱)—the moral authority of the ruler, the father, and the husband, although Chen takes care to emphasize their meaning as abstract, Platonic ethical ideals rather than specific instantiations. Chen thus implies that even "old-fashioned" moral precepts emphasizing authority can be embraced in a spirit of independence and freedom, especially when such ideals no longer have a legitimating context. In this sense, the simplistic division of modern Chinese intellectuals into conservatives and progressives is profoundly misleading. The retrospective gaze of cultural nostalgia can be tied to alienation, resistance, and self-conscious agency.

By the time Chen Yinke wrote about Wang Guowei's death, he was already honored as a distinguished historian whose wide-ranging research encompassed Sanskrit, Pali, and Turkic materials, the history of Buddhism, cultural relations between China and India and between China and central Asia. In the following two decades he was to write extensively on Sui-Tang political and institutional history. Chen Yinke was born in 1890 to a distinguished family of renowned poets and scholar-officials. Both his grandfather Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831-1900) and his father Chen Sanli 陳三立 (1853-1937) were actively involved in late Qing reform movements,[3] and both were famous men of letters. Indeed, Chen Sanli is recognized as the preeminent late Qing poet. After periods of study and research in Japan, Europe, and the United States, Chen Yinke returned to China in 1926 and became a professor at Qinghua University. During the Sino-Japanese War, Chen ended up in southwest China. In the late 1940s, he briefly considered accepting an appointment at Oxford, in part to seek medical intervention for his failing eyesight. After the operation failed and he lost his vision altogether, he returned to China in 1949, declining opportunities to go to Taiwan or Hong Kong. He spent the last twenty years of his life as a professor at Zhongshan University in Guangzhou.

Brilliant scholarship itself does not explain the cultural significance of Chen Yinke. More fundamental factors establish him as a cultural icon for our time: namely, the ways he defends the integrity of intellectual inquiry against the encroachments of political dogma, the mergence of his profession of faith as a historian with the mission to define cultural values that defy barbarism and destruction, and his embodiment of a cultural nostalgia that opens up the space for ideological resistance by redefining subjectivity and the claims of political power. All these positions are already embedded in Chen's writings about Wang Guowei, especially the summation of "independence" and "freedom," which reverberate as a refrain in Chen's writings in the last twenty years of his life. They constituted his self-definition as a scholar and as a human being.[4]

In 1953, Chen's former student Wang Jian 汪籛 (1916-1966) came to Guangzhou to try to persuade him to accept an appointment as head of the newly founded Research Institute on Middle Period History in the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. In Chen's reply to the Academy, he begins by citing his memorial stele on Wang Guowei as the testament to his belief. He further explains: it is imperative for scholars to "pry their minds loose from the bondage of commonly accepted dictums" 脫心志於俗諦之桎梏. "The 'commonly accepted dictums' at the time (of Wang's suicide) referred to the Three People's Principles" ("people's self-rule," "people's rights," and "people's livelihood") 俗諦在當時即指三民主義而言. Needless to say, the "commonly accepted dictums" in 1953 meant Communist dogma. As conditions—obviously impossible—for accepting the appointment, Chen stipulates that "the Institute should be permitted not to uphold Marxism-Leninism and not to be involved in political education" 允許古史研究所不宗奉馬列主義, 并不學習政治 and that a written dispensation affirming this should come from Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893-1976) and Liu Shaoqi 劉少奇 (1898-1969). His students are to abide by the same independence and freedom. Wang Jian had joined the Communist party in 1950 and studied in the Marxist-Leninist Institute. Chen thus declared: "You are no longer my student."[5] Wang Jian was to commit suicide in 1966, one of the first victims of the Cultural Revolution.

"Independence" and "freedom" are also words Chen Yinke use to eulogize the woman writer Chen Duansheng 陳端生 (1751-ca.1796) and the courtesan-poet cum Ming loyalist Liu Rushi 柳如是 (1617-1664), the foci of his scholarly endeavor in the 1950s and 1960s. In this essay I will explore how and why these women define an imaginative and discursive space wherein Chen Yinke forges his particular symbiosis of nostalgia and resistance. Nostalgia here is not just longing for the "good old days." The objects of nostalgia are women who represent "the independence of spirit" and "the freedom of thought" by challenging orthodoxy, tradition, and social norms—these are oppositional figures who promise to bypass the dichotomy of continuity and radical change (and perhaps in that sense solve the problem of Chinese modernity). Nostalgia here is both confirmation of cultural continuity and redefinition of culture,[6] both attachment to the past and implicit critique of the present through protest against rupture. Nostalgia for the repressed and misunderstood elements in the tradition also amounts to nostalgia *for* the spirit of resistance. One may say that this is nostalgia that opens up the space for resistance by redefining subjectivity and the claims of political power.

More generally, gender perspectives and women's lives and writings signify agency and judgment in Chen's response to contemporary crises and

devastation. In his late poetry, we see the use of gender roles and gender boundaries to ponder moral and political choices in traumatic historical moments. Chen also participates in the wonted tradition of employing feminine imagery and themes to achieve the indirect expression of allegorical meanings (*jituo* 寄託). His empathy with Chen Duansheng and Liu Rushi becomes a mode of lyrical self-definition that also conveys historical and political judgments.

We may begin with Chen's ruminations on gender roles and their resonance with political choices (or lack thereof) in the early years of the Communist regime in "The Male *Dan* (Female Lead)" 男旦:

Remaking a man, creating a woman: a wholly new demeanor.	改男造女態全新
The very essence of theater was also the unmatched glory of time past.	鞠部精華舊絕倫
I sigh that, after such romantic élan has ebbed and faded,	太息風流衰歇後
It is the scholar who, against all odds, inherits the tradition.[7]	傳薪翻是讀書人

Chen Yinke wrote this poem in 1952, when China was in the throes of "Thought Reform" (*sixiang gaizao* 思想改造), the reference to which is embedded in the first line, with the words "remake" (*gai* 改) and "create" (*zao* 造), as Yu Yingshi and Hu Wenhui have pointed out.[8] There was a long tradition of men playing female leads on stage. Although its most famous modern practitioners, such as Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳 (1894-1961) and Cheng Yanqiu 程硯秋 (1904-1958), were still alive at that point, the tradition was under siege amidst rumbles of "Theater Reform" (*xiqu gaige* 戲曲改革). The blood and sweat of socialist art forms had little use for the subtle beauty of cross-dressing in "feudal" theater. Indeed, female impersonation must have been anathema to the strident masculinity enshrined in socialist aesthetics. The abeyance of opera was symptomatic of the rejection of many aspects of traditional culture. But Chen noted ironically that the male *dan* did pass on their art. Their true heirs in 1952 were scholars who had learned to "remake" and "reform" themselves according to the demands of their times.[9]

While there is consensus on his persecution during the Cultural Revolution—Chen died three years into the "Ten-Year Calamity"—some Chinese scholars have been reluctant to concede the depth of his disaffection in the 1950s and early 1960s. Through insightful and extensive analysis of his later writings, Yu Yingshi and Hu Wenhui have painted a

compelling picture of Chen's alienation and his pervasive criticism of the ethos and policies of the communist regime.[10] As the above poem shows, he was troubled by the compromises of intellectuals as early as 1952.

Chen continued the theatrical metaphor in another poem from the same year:

Written in Jest After Seeing By Chance the New Play "Thirteenth Lass"	偶觀《十三妹》新劇戲作
How thickly were rouge and powder applied?	塗脂抹粉厚幾許
They want to turn an old man into a young beauty.	欲改衰翁成奼女
A roomful of spectators laughed, with a twinge of pity,	滿堂觀眾笑且憐
At this one stem of late bloom, bearing the rain of autumn.[11]	黃花一枝秋帶雨

Thirteenth Lass 十三妹 is the protagonist of the late Qing novel, *Ernü yingxiong zhuan* 兒女英雄傳 (Lovers and heroes) by Wen Kang 文康 (ca. mid to late 19th century). Here an old male actor plays the role of this supposedly beautiful young woman in the Beijing opera based on the novel. Chen compares the ludicrous and pathetic spectacle to a chrysanthemum ("late bloom") in the autumn rain, a twist on Bai Juyi's 白居易 (772-846) line on the beautiful spirit of the imperial consort Yang Yuhuan 楊玉環 (d. 756) as she weeps: "A stem of pear blossom, bearing the rain of spring" 梨花一枝春帶雨 ("Song of Lasting Sorrow" 長恨歌).[12] There is disagreement on whether Chen presents the transformation on stage as a metaphor for the indignity inflicted on him[13] or for the shameless capitulation of other intellectuals,[14] but few dispute that political analogy is intended. That the absurdity and perniciousness of "Thought Reform" should be linked to female impersonation also echoes how the trope is often treated in the literary tradition.[15]

The explicit argument in the "The Male Dan" is merely implied in "Written in Jest"; perhaps that accounts for the different interpretations. There are more enigmatic poems that seem to invite "decoding,"[16] as in the following poem about the Double Seventh (seventh night of the seventh month) in 1957. Its images of betrayal, lost love, and hopeless longing allude to poems by Bai Juyi and Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813-858) about the doomed romance of the Tang emperor Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 712-756) and his consort Yang Yuhuan.

The Double Seventh in the Year *Dingyou* (1957)	丁酉七夕
Ten thousand miles, layers of passes: ask not about the distance.	萬里重關莫問程
There is no hope for this life—wait for the lives to come.	今生無分待他生
Her neck bends down low with what words cannot tell,	低垂粉頸言難盡
She bares her right shoulder, for the dream yet to come true.	右袒香肩夢未成
It was, to begin with, a pact made in jest with the Han emperor—	原與漢皇聊戲約
How to bear, then, the imposed covenant in the Tang palace?	那堪唐殿便要盟
Lasting sorrow, as unyielding as heaven, as undying as earth,	天長地久綿綿恨
Only won the words of the Daoist about the Immortal Realm.[17]	贏得臨邛說玉京

The annual rendezvous of the celestial lovers, the Cowherd Star and Weaver Maid Star, on the Double Seventh is a recurrent topic in writings about love. Among the most famous is Bai Juyi's "Song of Lasting Sorrow." The poem chronicles how the love between the Tang emperor and Consort Yang is bound up with the dynastic crisis that ultimately costs Yang her life. After her death, a Daoist from Linqiong undertakes a quest for her spirit to console the grieving emperor. Their encounter in the celestial realm ends with Yang's parting reference to a secret vow she shared with the emperor on the Double Seventh: they were to be husband and wife in lives to come. The focus on the emperor's emotions and memory in Bai's poem displaces criticism of heedless passion, and the final reference to the vow underlines romantic pathos as the poem's key concern.

Li Shangyin gives a more caustic twist to the topic in his poem "Mawei" 馬嵬—Mawei is the place where Yang killed herself, after the Tang emperor had acquiesced to the rebelling troops' demand for her death. Li's poem begins with the betrayal of the vow of eternal conjugal devotion: "The lives to come cannot be divined, but all hopes fade for this one" 他生未卜此生休:[18] Li's line is echoed in line 2 of Chen's poem. Chen's final couplet alludes to the last lines in Bai's poem: "Unyielding heaven, undying earth, will reach their limits, / This sorrow, relentless, will be never-ending" 天長地久有時盡 / 此恨綿綿無絕期.[19] True love mourned for eternity in

Bai's poem, however, seems to be merely the Linqiong Daoist's fantasy (line 8) in Chen's poem, which focuses instead on the pain of love lost and promise betrayed. While the Tang allusions define the frame of reference, line 5 brings up another story about false promise: the Queen Mother of the West 西王母 visited Han Emperor Wu 漢武帝 (r. 141-87 BC) on the Double Seventh as promised, but the meeting did not grant him any secret of immortality.[20]

Yu Yingshi argues that Chen wrote this in response to the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957-1959):

> "What words cannot tell" in the poem refers to the pact declared by Mao Zedong: "Nothing known left unsaid; nothing said left unfinished. For the speaker, absolution; for the listener, vigilance." The line about "baring the right shoulder" refers to how the dreams of "Rightist" intellectuals were dashed. Mao Zedong's sixteen-word guarantee was but "a pact made in jest," but the intellectuals took it seriously and finally used their blood and tears to compose a new "Song of Lasting Sorrow."[21]

Irrespective of whether one accepts Yu's claim of topical reference, there is little doubt that the theme of feminine sorrow conveys a sense of helpless anguish. Hu Wenhui links the image in line 4 to Hui Yuan's 慧遠 (334-416) disquisition on how monks should bare their right side.[22] Such an image of profession of faith implies the dream that the government would respect freedom of thought. I suspect that lines 3 and 4 also work together as the ironic contrast between concealment and revelation. Mao Zedong had proclaimed that intellectuals could freely criticize the government with impunity, but those who eventually spoke out did so at their peril. Submission and silence in line 3 are the consequences of terror. The line also reflects on Chen's own choice of indirect poetic expression. Necessary concealment is contrasted with the dream of freedom of expression (line 4). In *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the historian), the general Zhou Bo 周勃 tried to distinguish loyalists to the Liu house from supporters of the Lü clan after the interregnum of Empress Lü's 呂后 (r. 202 BC-195 BC) rule: "Those who support Empress Lü should bare their right side; those who support the Liu house should bare their left side" 為呂氏右襢, 為劉氏左襢.[23] Hu Wenhui believes that this is not relevant because "baring the right side" means supporting the usurper. It is quite likely, however, that Chen Yinke is simply using "baring the right shoulder" as the metaphor for openly stating one's opinion, even if it were "politically incorrect." The trope of failed promise and the allusions to the doomed love of Emperor Xuanzong and

Yang Yuhuan cast the intellectual as the ill-fated consort betrayed by the false promise of a fickle ruler. His abject submission, enforced reticence, and vain hope for freedom is captured in the image of the lady with neck bent low, silent in the wake of failed seduction.

The gender role is reversed in line 5: here the intellectual, compared to the Han emperor, is fooled by the illusion of power, while Mao Zedong is the Queen Mother of the West who "made the pact in jest." The next line restores the gender analogy pursued throughout the poem: the intellectual is like Yang Yuhuan who clings to the Tang emperor and urges him to make the vow of eternal love, as told in scene 22 of Hong Sheng's 洪昇 (1645-1704) play *Changsheng dian* 長生殿 (Palace of lasting life). But the ruler considers this an "imposed covenant" (*yaomeng* 要盟) that had drawn him in against his will, which means that he did not have to honor it.[24] The stage is thus set for tragedy. The idea of intellectuals sacrificed for the ruler's whims or factional power struggles is also tied to the story of the Tang emperor and Consort Yang through the fate of Hong Sheng, author of the most famous dramatic rendition of the story, *Palace of Lasting Life*, as Chen made clear in a set of poems dated 1954.[25] Hong Sheng and scores of other officials were exiled and banned from office because the play was performed during national mourning for Empress Tong 佟皇后 in 1689.

While the female role is tied to lies, betrayal, and alienation in critical appraisals of his times, Chen Yinke's empathy, even identification, with women defines his self-understanding and historical vision. In the final phase of his writings, from the early 1950s to the late 1960s, Chen focused on women, creating what Yu Yingshi termed "history from the heart" (*xinshi* 心史) in his long essay on the prosimetric narrative *Zaisheng yuan* 再生緣 (Love in two lives) by Chen Duansheng and his monumental biography of the courtesan Liu Rushi.[26] *The History from the Heart* by the Song loyalist Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241-1318) was said to have been discovered in 1638, encased in an iron box, at the bottom of a dried well in Chengtian temple in Suzhou after being buried there for three and a half centuries. It embodied the tenacious spirit that defies repression and a time out of joint, and became a potent symbol for Ming loyalists in the early Qing and late Qing nationalists. It also recurs in Chen Yinke's poems and comments about his later writings, expressing his alienation and his expectation that his writings will be suppressed.[27] "History from the heart" thus refers to the radical disjunction between an author and his socio-political environment and to the hidden meanings of the author's writings to be deciphered by posterity.[28] It also implies an affective understanding of the past, a kind of empathy and emotional engagement that conjoins historical understanding and self-understanding.

Chen alluded to the implications of writing about women in a poem addressed to his friend Wu Mi 吳宓 (1894-1978):

In the Seventh Month of 1961, My Old Friend Yuseng Came to Guangzhou from Chongqing. He Inquired After My Recent Situation, And I Wrote This In Response.	辛丑七月雨僧老友自重慶來廣州承詢近況賦此答之
Seeing you again at Guangzhou, my insides churned in sorrow.	五羊重見九迴腸
I may live on Mount Luofu, but my homeland is elsewhere.	雖住羅浮別有鄉
My life hangs on: I let myself be the object of ready scorn,	留命任教加白眼
As the only thing left for me to write is the praise of fair ladies.[29]	著書唯賸頌紅妝

Although Chen Yinke lived in Guangzhou in the last twenty years of his life (1949-1969), he often wrote about Guangzhou using images of exile.[30] His residence in Guangzhou constituted a self-willed removal from the center of political authority (Beijing), which was also an "inner exile" marking his sense of alienation from contemporary politics. In a manner reminiscent of Ming loyalists, he wrote about homelessness, "no place," and an impossible, inaccessible Peach Blossom Spring:[31] "For the place of escape, I cannot hope for a Mayflower" 避地難希五月花 (1949), "The Peach Blossom Spring is already blocked by the men of Qin" 桃源今已隔秦人 (1950), "What a pity: there is no place to send off the remnant of spring" 可憐無地送殘春 (1950), "It's not that, being at the edge of the world, I have no thought of return: / But what is to be done when the date of return keeps on being postponed?" 天涯不是無歸意 / 爭奈歸期抵死賒 (1954) "Melancholy to be the last one in the Immortal Spring" 惆悵仙源最後身 (1955).[32] The phrase "my homeland is elsewhere" echoes this sense of homelessness, confirmed by the worsening political climate (line 3),[33] for which the only antidote is to be sought in the imaginary space or "spiritual homeland" opened up by the scholarly endeavor illuminating the lives and writings of remarkable women.

Chen adds a note to line 4: "In the last eight years I drafted 'On *Love in Two Lives*' and 'Between Qian Qianyi and Liu Rushi: An Explication,'[34] which went on for hundreds of thousands of words" 近八年來草《論再生緣》及《錢柳因緣釋證》等文凡數十萬言.[35] Why did these subjects offer Chen Yinke a kind of final mental and spiritual refuge? The heroine of *Love*

in Two Lives is Meng Lijun 孟麗君, who is forced by intrigues against her family and her fiancé's family to take up male disguise and to make her way in the world. She wins the highest honors in the civil service examination and becomes prime minister, eluding the efforts of her parents, her fiancé, and the emperor to expose her masquerade. The tone of the sixteen chapters chronicling these events, which Chen Duansheng wrote before the age of twenty, is playful and defiant. The death of Chen's mother, her marriage, and her husband's exile put a stop to her writing. When, twelve years later, she wrote chapter seventeen, her husband was still in exile in Yili (Xinjiang), and by the time he was pardoned and returned in 1796, Chen Duansheng had died. The mood of chapter seventeen is somber and tragic: it begins with Chen's autobiographical account of her own writing and describes how the emperor finally manages to expose Meng Lijun's disguise by having her boots removed after getting her drunk. Few can forget the stark image of Meng Lijun spitting blood on the white silk cloth used for binding her feet when she realizes she has been betrayed and exposed—although there is also voyeurism and perverse pride as the female attendants exposing her take care to emphasize that Meng Lijun, being a supreme beauty, has the smallest bound feet in the empire. Another woman writer, Liang Desheng 梁德繩 (1771-1847) added three chapters and brought the book to a "happy ending," with Meng Lijun returning to a traditional role as the principal wife in a polygamous household.

It is quite likely that Chen Duansheng did not finish the book not only because of personal misfortunes but because she could not follow her own story to its logical conclusion. Chen Yinke applauds the "freedom, self-respect, that is, independence" of Chen Duansheng's thinking (自由及自尊即獨立之思想), evident in the ways she implicitly demolishes "the three fundamentals" of traditional society based on the authority of the ruler, the father, and the husband.[36] The pleasure and energy of the narrative for the author (and for most readers) lie in the ways Meng Lijun foils the patriarchal order and imperial authority; once she is exposed, the supposedly comic reconciliation would be colored by a tragic sense of defeat, and the incongruity must have been unbearable. (The author of the sequel, being of a much more conventional temperament, had no trouble embracing the taming of Meng Lijun.)

Chen Yinke saw a kindred spirit in Chen Duansheng because he understood the unholy continuity between modern authoritarian politics and the "three fundamentals" in Confucian morality, as evident in his comparisons of the dogmatic, formulaic Marxist-Leninist rhetoric of his times to the pious rhetoric of examination essays in imperial China. Chen Duansheng and Chen Yinke thus shared an oppositional stance vis-à-vis the

prevailing structures of authority in their times.

Writings (1951)	文章
Octopartite essays and examination poetry	八股文章試帖詩
Claim lineage to Zhu Xi and glorify the sages by set rules.	宗朱頌聖有成規
White-haired palace ladies laugh out loud:	白頭宮女哈哈笑
The style they paint their eyebrows is again fashionable.[37]	眉樣如今又入時

White-haired palace ladies, a transparent analogy for the intellectuals who were old enough to have seen other regimes come and gone, "laugh out loud" because they can be effortlessly fashionable. The same subservience to authority and unforgiving condemnation of "heterodoxy" made the transition only too easy.

In his essay "On *Love in Two Lives*" 論再生緣, Chen Yinke patiently unravels the forgotten details of Chen Duansheng's life and times. He broke with his earlier discursive style and introduced many of his own poems, merging his experience of wars, devastation, and repression with his reading of Chen Duansheng. He paid special attention to the auto-biographical chapter seventeen, whose lines are echoed in his own poems and essay, which in turn acquire a distinct self-reflexive ring. Like Chen Duansheng, he "early on grasped the seeds of enlightenment but was finally bogged down by mundane cares" 禪機蚤悟, 俗累終牽,[38] and bore the pain of "being lost and drifting, with writings deemed worthless" 淪落文章不值錢.[39] He described the narrative bent in his own poetry as being akin to Chen Duansheng: "When it comes to poetry, I too adopt the prosimetric mode" 論詩我亦彈詞體; he added in a note: "Years ago I wrote 'Elegy to Wang Guowei,' telling of events since the Guangxu (1875-1908) and Xuantong (1909-1911) reigns. Some critics compared it to heptasyllabic songs" 寅恪昔年撰王觀堂先生挽辭, 述清代光宣以來事, 論者比之於七字唱也.[40] The "Elegy to Wang Guowei," written in an elevated diction, links Wang Guowei's death to historical events in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. By comparing his own poem with prosimetric performance, Chen deliberately breaks down the barrier between elite and popular culture and implicitly elevates the cultural and historical significance of Chen Duansheng's writings. Chen wrote "On *Love in Two Lives*" around 1953. A copy found its way to Hong Kong, where Yu Yingshi read it in 1958 and wrote his "Postscript," the beginning of a scholarly (and also in some ways autobiographical) project on Chen Yinke

that lasted intermittently for almost forty years. The furor over Yu's essay in China led to accusations that Chen's essay and poems betray "anti-Socialist" tendencies and its publication was blocked until 1980.[41]

Chen Yinke's empathy with Chen Duansheng is based primarily on his recognition of her free, independent spirit and the fate of their writings to be misunderstood and maligned. He identified with her creativity in dis-empowerment: "Holding on to my writings, I too am content to be lost and adrift, / I seek not glory and honor but only poetry" 文章我自甘淪落 / 不覓封侯但覓詩.[42] Chen brought to his *Liu Rushi biezhuan* 柳如是別傳 (Biography of Liu Rushi), which he wrote from 1953 to 1964, the same lyricism, self-reflexivity, fervor for rescuing a talented woman from oblivion, and interest in the disjunction between individual vision and the mores of one's times. More than the earlier and much shorter work on Chen Duansheng, however, Chen's biography of Liu Rushi is colored by his empathy with the choices and dilemmas of those enduring the toll of political disorder. According to Chen, the sense of cataclysmic collapse in mid seventeenth century was shared by his own times: "From Ming to Qing: a painful history both old and new" 明清痛史新兼舊.[43] The generation that lived through the Ming-Qing transition captured his imagination in a way that the Qianlong personages (besides Chen Duansheng) in "On *Love in Two Lives*" never did. Chen writes not only with nostalgia for the glory and refinement of the late-Ming world, but also (perhaps even more) for the symbiosis of political loss and creative energy, disempowerment and cultural authority, in the wake of Ming collapse. It is not just the romantic élan of that generation, but also the pathos of dying for, or surviving, a lost world that spoke to his perception of the crisis of Chinese civilization during successive political movements in the 1950s and 1960s.

Chen famously described Liu Rushi as the representative of "the independence of spirit and freedom of thought of our people" 我民族獨立之精神, 自由之思想.[44] This echoes his praise of Chen Duansheng and Wang Guowei. What do Wang Guowei, Chen Duansheng, and Liu Rushi have in common that they should be honored with the same epithets? In the case of Chen and Liu, the possibilities and limits of their gender roles (despite class differences) define common grounds. In the case of Wang and Liu, one might say that they were both loyalists (of the Ming and the Qing respectively) and in that sense stood for the right of disaffection from the current regime, the need to claim a cultural-intellectual space not governed by political authority. All three are oppositional figures that seem to bypass the dichotomy of cultural continuity and radical change. Perhaps more than Wang Guowei and Chen Duansheng, Liu Rushi symbolizes the tension between center and periphery in the tradition. Learned and accomplished,

she is nevertheless only a "defiant and free-spirited" (*fangdan fengliu* 放誕風流) courtesan both courting and defying the establishment, a tantalizing pointer to the culture's capacity for regeneration through crossing boundaries and encompassing opposites.

As with his essay on Chen Duansheng and *Love in Two Lives*, *The Biography of Liu Rushi* has an unmistakable autobiographical dimension. Chen Yinke wrote this *gāthā* upon the completion of his project:

Endless chatter that would not cease,	剌剌不休
Pleasures of indulgence that please.	沾沾自喜
By turn solemn, by turn slippery,	忽莊忽諧
Being literature, as well as history.	亦文亦史
Tell of events; speak of passions.	述事言情
Pity the living; grieve for the dead.[45]	憫生悲死
So many details, so tediously long,	繁瑣冗長
To the gentlemen, laughably wrong.	見笑君子
Sightless and lame I have become,[46]	失明臏足
But I am not yet deaf and dumb.	尚未聾啞
I got to finish this book—	得成此書
It was heaven's gift that I took.	乃天所假
Reclining on the bed, I am sunk in thought.	臥榻沈思
Burning candles, eyes shut, writings I wrought.	然脂瞑寫
Unabashedly crying for the bygone ones,	痛哭古人
Leaving this as gift for the ones to come.[47]	留贈來者

The *gāthā* is a moving testament to the fusion of lyricism and historical research in Chen's book on Liu Rushi. The line "Burning candles, eyes shut, writings I wrought" appears in Xu Ling's 徐陵 (507-583) preface to *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (New songs from Jade Terrace).[48] Since the preface celebrates female beauty and emotions as well as the image of the writing woman, it is an appropriate allusion for a book devoted to an extraordinary woman who was also a great poet. The image of "eyes shut" indicates concentration, reminiscent of the idea of "looking deeply by closing one's eyes" (*bimu shenshi* 閉目深視)[49] in the process of internalization in aesthetic creation. In Chen's case it alludes to his blindness, which may facilitate deeper insights, as in the lore about the ancient historian Zuo Qiuming 左丘明. The association is also brought up by the words "sightless and lame" (*shiming binzu* 失明臏足). The genealogy of suffering authors that Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145 BC- ca. 86 BC) presents as his antecedents in the last chapter of *Shiji*, as well as the letter to Ren An 任安, features the sightless Zuo Qiuming and Sunzi 孫子 whose feet were amputated. Sima

Qian sums up the endeavor of these authors driven by adversities to write: "They tell of events past, thinking of the ones to come" 述往事, 思來者.[50] These words resonate with the concluding lines of Chen's *gāthā*, which also appear in Jin Shengtan's 金聖嘆 (1608-1661) prefaces to his commentary on *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 (The western chamber) by Wang Shifu 王實甫 (14th century).[51] How do these allusions come together? There is a tradition of literary thought that dismisses *New Songs from Jade Terrace* as being excessively ornate and overly "feminine" in its sensibility. By embedding Xu Ling's preface in references to Sima Qian, Chen Yinke is implicitly defending his book on Liu Rushi as a grand summation of the past that may only be understood by later generations. His affinities with suffering authors also mean that alienation and disempowerment have given him special insights and moral authority. Like Sima Qian, the truth claim and moral burden of writing are no longer separable from the critical edge and empathetic imagination born of rejection and suffering. Chen may not go so far as Jin Shengtan, who creatively invokes the ancients to suit his own critical agenda,[52] but he may well sympathize with the need to "personalize" interpretation, seeking the relevance of the past for the present and the future. This fusion of lyricism and meticulous historical research creates a new form of historical writing.[53]

Chen Yinke's admiration for Liu Rushi is evident in the names he used to entitle collections of his writings: *Jinming guan* 金明館 (Golden brightness studio) and *Hanliu tang* 寒柳堂 (Cold willow hall). Both refer to Liu Rushi's song lyric, "Golden Brightness Pond, on Cold Willows" 金明池詠寒柳.[54] Autobiographical echoes are evident in Chen Yinke's description of the origins of his project on Liu Rushi: He describes how, as a youth (in the final years of the Qing dynasty), he had read Qian Qianyi's 錢謙益 (1582-1664) poetry (then still theoretically banned) without, he modestly claims, any adequate understanding. During the war with Japan (around 1939), he bought from a Kunming bookseller a red seed (*hongdou* 紅豆) supposedly from the garden of Qian and Liu at Changshu, paying a hefty price for it.

> Since I acquired this seed, twenty years have passed in a trice. Although the seed is still kept hidden away in boxes, it is as if it exists yet does not. I no longer look at it. But since then I have reread the writings of Qian, not merely to relive old dreams and let my mind roam, but also to test the extent of my learning.[55]

Why would a red seed from the garden of Qian and Liu look different from any other? Chen's credulity regarding the provenance of the red seed confirms the self as source of meaning: he considered the red seed valuable

and meaningful because he *chose* to believe that it had a tangible relationship with the past. The almost arbitrary and defiant willfulness (in thus assigning meaning to things) stems from the awareness of rupture between past and present.

Qian Qianyi was an immensely learned man whose knowledge extended to esoteric Buddhist texts and the Daoist canon, and Chen noted that his own scholarly endeavor had taken him to related areas. Despite Chen's protestations of inadequacy, he must have realized that he was one of the few scholars equipped with the necessary literary and cultural competence to explain poets like Qian Qianyi or Liu Rushi, in addition to the host of related luminaries from the seventeenth century. In his biography of Liu Rushi, after unraveling a complex allusion to earlier texts (*gudian* 古典) or contemporary events (*jindian* 今典), Chen sometimes exclaims: "This would not be understood by many."[56] To the extent that Chen understands his appreciation of Liu Rushi as a function of his being "the condensation and realization of the spirit of Chinese culture" (the phrase he used to describe Wang Guowei), one may say that he is nostalgic about his nostalgia.

The red seed, also called "seed of longing" (*xiangsi zi* 相思子) because of the famous poem by Wang Wei 王維 (701-761), becomes a symbol of the tenuous continuity between past and present, conflating pain over a world in flames with hopes of recuperation, at least in longing and memory. The political dimension of this image seems to have developed in poetic anecdotes by the Song. In *Tang shi ji shi* 唐詩紀事 (Tang poems and their contexts), Ji Yougong 計有功 (fl. 1121-1161) tells how the court musician Li Guinian 李龜年 sings Wang Wei's poem at feasts in the wake of the An Lushan rebellion.[57]

The historical and political significance of this image is also evident in the lines Chen wrote when he began to undertake this project in 1955: "Through kalpa ashes, the red seed of Kunming is still here, / The longing of twenty years has waited till now to be fulfilled" 劫灰紅豆分明在 / 相思廿載待今酬 ("On the Red Seed, with Preface" 詠紅豆幷序).[58] Kunming, the city where Chen acquired the red seed, is a convenient pun on the Pond of Kunming, which the Han Emperor Wu built for naval exercises in anticipation of conflict with the natives of Yunnan and which in classical poetry serves as a standard allusion to vanished glory and power.[59] Kalpa ashes, found where the pond was dug, are ashes that remain from the periodic destruction of the world.[60] The kalpic ashes of Kunming thus symbolize cataclysmic calamities. Yet defying forces of obliteration is the image of the red seed, which allows Chen to retrace personal and historical memories, establishing the continuity between Chen's experience of

twentieth-century Chinese history and his perception of previous periods of turmoil, in this case the seventeenth century. If the red seed symbolizes the love between Liu Rushi and Qian Qianyi that defies dynastic collapse,[61] it is for Chen Yinke a token of salvaging passion—in this case passion for cultural ideals through empathy with Liu Rushi—from the political ruins of modern Chinese history.

The red seed is also a recurrent image in Qian Qianyi's poetry. Qian used "red seed" as the title for three collections that include poems from, respectively, 1658, 1659, and 1660-1661,[62] the same period that he invested in the last hopes of anti-Qing resistance and wrote the "Later Autumn Meditations" 後秋興 (1659-1663). The red seed tree (*hongdou shu* 紅豆樹) in Qian's garden bore one fruit in 1660 after a hiatus of twenty years, and Liu Rushi sent it to Qian as birthday present. He wrote ten quatrains on this miraculous omen of renewal.[63] The third series of Qian's "Later Autumn Meditations," devoted to Liu Rushi, concludes with a poem that deploys this image: "Once parted, we are bound by longing, whose namesake is the red seed, / Together we will finally find refuge on the green *wutong* bough" 一別正思紅豆子 / 雙棲終向碧梧枝.[64] These eight poems also appear at the end of *Hongdou erji* 紅豆二集 (Red seed, second collection) in *Youxue ji* 有學集 (In possession of learning).[65] The third series of "Later Autumn Meditations" was written in 1659, when Qian Qianyi took leave of Liu Rushi in the hope of joining Zheng Chenggong's 鄭成功 (1624-1662) naval forces in Chongming.[66] "Seed of longing," or "red seed," thus symbolizes not only their love but also their shared hopes and fears for the loyalist cause. Its parallel counterpart is the "green *wutong*" (*biwu* 碧梧), which according to Chen Yinke refers specifically to the loyalist endeavor to rally around Emperor Yongli 永曆 in Wuzhou 梧州 (in Guangxi).[67]

The red seed as stubborn hope for a civilization in ruins appears in Chen's self-reflexive statement on his writing from 1957:

> My Former Inscription on Yu Qiushi's Painting of Liu Rushi's Likeness as She Visited Banye Hall Did Not Exhaust My Meanings, So I Composed Two More Verses, *Dingyou* Year (1957), Second Poem
>
> 前題余秋室繪河東君訪半野堂小影詩意有未盡更賦二律丁酉其二
>
> Buddhaland and Bodhisattava Mañjuśrī have all turned into dust.
> Why then should I still write about the one scattering flowers?
> White willows in front of the grave have been
>
> 佛土文殊已化塵
> 如何猶寫散花身
> 白楊幾換墳前樹

replaced many times,
The red seed, left behind forever, preserves spring in this world. 紅豆長留世上春
Boundless heaven and earth have no doubt betrayed you. 天壤茫茫原負汝
Seas and mulberry fields, in endless cycles, only deepen the sorrow.[68] 海桑渺渺更愁人
Declining and decrepit, how dare I judge events of a thousand years? 衰殘敢議千秋事
I can only chant poems on the reality of Cui Hui in her painting.[69] 賸詠崔徽畫裏真

"Mañjuśrī" (Manshu 曼殊, Wenshu 文殊) was adduced as a dignified explanation for the origins of the term "Manchu" after the Qing rulers embraced Buddhism.[70] Not only was the restoration of the Ming a vain dream, the Qing dynasty as well as a number of regimes (the warlords, the Nationalist government) that followed had come and gone. In face of such upheavals, what is the meaning of writing about Liu Rushi? What "enlightenment" does she promise? In the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*, the celestial maiden scatters flowers, which fall off the enlightened ones but cling to those who have not given up all attachments. Liu's suitors often compared her to the celestial maiden, and Qian persisted in doing so even after their marriage.[71] Such mixing of romantic and religious imagery is not uncommon and in Liu's case is further justified by her Buddhist vows in later life.

Yang 楊 (willows) refers to Liu Rushi—*yang* is used interchangeably with *liu* 柳, and she at one time had the name Yang Ai 楊愛. Liu belongs to a distant past, yet her romantic and political passions, symbolized by the red seed, still beckon as promise. The third couplet juxtaposes the broken promises and failed hopes in her life with Chen's own anguish over the cataclysmic changes that he had witnessed in his lifetime. He claims to decline to offer historical judgment, seeking instead to write about Liu Rushi. Cui Hui was a Tang courtesan who died pining for her lover; she had sent him her portrait with the message that "she no longer measured up to the one in the painting."[72] The "reality" in the painting is thus also a kind of aesthetic substitution: it restores a vanished past. "Reality of Cui Hui" here, however, is more than the act of creation; recovering the reality or the truth calls for precisely the kind of reflection and judgment for all time ("a thousand years")—both past and present—that he ironically professes to forego.

The repressive forces in traditional Chinese culture distort or suppress the "truth" or "reality" of Liu Rushi. In order to reconstruct her life and

writings, Chen had to battle two and a half centuries of neglect, misunderstanding, and destruction. Many of Liu's writings are lost, and their existence or meaning can be inferred only indirectly from the works of her friends and lovers.[73] Chen Yinke is implying that his relationship to the literary and cultural heritage of China is similarly "archaeological," as fragments are retrieved and reconstituted. But the very possibility of overcoming absence and lacunae confirms his faith in his own writings as the endeavor of cultural continuity negated by his times.

In both the essay "On *Love in Two Lives*" and the biography of Liu Rushi, Chen quoted the Qing poet Xiang Hongzuo's 項鴻祚 (1798-1835) preface to his lyrics collection *Yiyun ci binggao xu* 憶雲詞丙稿 (In memory of clouds, third draft): "Yet if I do not do that which is useless, how can I take pleasure in this life that does have a limit."[74] There is self-conscious irony in the epithet "useless" (*wuyi* 無益). Only the category of the useless can establish the individual's freedom to define a private realm of significance, which is in turn a response to mortality. He was doubtful whether his work "in praise of fair ladies" could be published, given the political climate in his final years. (He died in 1969, and his collected works, with the exception of manuscripts destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, were published in 1980.) "Uselessness" is also a proleptic reply to the possible charge that such writings about women are somehow not the appropriate crowning achievement of a great historian who devoted most of his life to political and institutional history and the history of ideas.[75] By showing how Liu Rushi and Chen Duansheng inspire as cultural ideals through their free, independent spirit and oppositional stances, Chen redefined categories of significance in history.

Chen's biography of Liu Rushi is a key portal to the rich tapestry of the personages and events of the Ming-Qing transition. His destiny as "a remnant of the culture" or "cultural loyalist" (*wenhua yimin* 文化遺民) also illuminates the resonance and implications of the collapse of the Ming dynasty for our time. Chen wrote in 1952: "Where can we summon all the souls from time past?" 何地能招自古魂.[76] It seems the space demarcated by issues related to women and gender constitutes precisely one such venue for the "summoning of souls." Chen Yinke died on October 7, 1969, three years into the Cultural Revolution. His death was no doubt hastened by material deprivation, mental anguish, and the terror of the Red Guards' blaring broadcast right next to his apartment. It is perhaps fitting that he should be mourned as "cultural loyalist" (Yu Yingshi's phrase) and "the one to whom traditional historical culture entrusted its fate" 傳統歷史文化所託命, in the words of Chen's student Jiang Tianshu 蔣天樞 (1903-1988),[77] eulogies that echo Chen's lamentation of Wang Guowei. As for the

concretization of this "culture" as "independence" and "freedom," Chen already shows us the path through tributes to the unlikely trio of Wang Guowei, Chen Duansheng, and Liu Rushi.

Endnotes

1. Chen Yinke, "Yinke xiansheng shicun" 寅恪先生詩存, in *Hanliu tang ji* 寒柳堂集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 7.
2. Chen Yinke, "Qinghua daxue Wang Guantang xiansheng jinian beiming" 清華大學王觀堂先生紀念碑銘, in *Jinming guan conggao erbian* 金明館叢稿二編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 218.
3. See Chen Yinke, "Hanliu tang jimeng weidinggao" 寒柳堂記夢未定稿, in *Hanliu tang ji*, especially 170-182.
4. See Li Yumei 李玉梅, *Chen Yinke zhi shixue* 陳寅恪之史學 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1997), 92-120.
5. Chen, "Reply to the Academy of Social Sciences" 對科學院的答覆, cited in Lu Jiandong 陸鍵東, *Chen Yinke de zuihou ershinian* 陳寅恪的最後二十年 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1995), 112-113. Lu discusses the Chen-Wang relationship on pp. 99-125.
6. Note, for example, Chen's elevation of prosimetric narrative (*tanci* 彈詞) to an elevated status analogous to that of the Greek and Indian epics. His exaltation of Liu Rushi's poetry also implicitly questions the definition of poetic canon.
7. Hu Wenhui 胡文輝, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi* 陳寅恪詩箋釋, 2 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2013), 2:662-665.
8. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:662-665; Yu Yingshi 余英時, *Chen Yinke wannian shiwen shizheng* 陳寅恪晚年詩文釋證 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1984), 53.
9. Liu Mengxi 劉夢溪 and Huang Chang 黃裳 believe that Chen Yinke was referring specifically to his one-time friend, the famous historian of religion Chen Yuan 陳垣 (1880-1971). See Zhang Jie 張杰 and Yan Yanli 楊燕麗, eds., *Zhuiyi Chen Yinke* 追憶陳寅恪 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 1999), 156-157, and Huang Chang "Hanliutang shi" 寒柳堂詩, *Wanxiang* 萬象 4.4 (2002). Both are cited in Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:665. Chen Yuan vocally embraced Marxist-Leninist thought and the Chinese Communist Party; Mao publicly praised him in 1951.
10. See Yu, *Chen Yinke wannian shiwen shizheng*, and Hu, *Chen Yinke shi*

jianshi. My readings are much indebted to these two books. On Chen's late life sufferings, see also Lu, *Chen Yinke de zuihou ershinian.*

11. Hu Wenhui, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:666-667.
12. Bai Juyi 白居易, "Changhen ge" 長恨歌, in Gu Xuejie 顧學頡, ed., *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 1:228-229.
13. See Yu, *Chen Yinke wannian shiwen shizheng*, 353.
14. Liu Mengxi and Huang Chang think this is directed against Chen Yuan. See Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:666.
15. See, e.g., Pu Songling 蒲松齡, "Renyao" 人妖, in Zhang Youhe 張友鶴, ed., *Liaozhai zhiyi huijiao huizhu huiping ben* 聊齋誌異會校會註會評本, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 2:1171-1174. Cf. Judith Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993). In the prosimetric fiction *Tian yu hua* 天雨花 (ca. 18th century), the male protagonist Zuo Weiming 左維明 humiliates his enemies by having them dress as women and abase themselves as his "concubines," see *Tian yu hua*, attr. to Tao Zhenhuai 陶貞懷, ed. by Zhao Jingshen 趙景深 and Li Ping 李平, 3 vols. (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1984), vol. 1, 11.424. By contrast, female impersonation in poetry is pervasive and widely accepted as a standard mode of indirect expression. Cf. Wai-yee Li, *Women and National Trauma in Late Imperial Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014), 14-25, 204, 461.
16. Yu Yingshi elaborates upon the "system of codes" (*anma xitong* 暗碼系統) in Chen Yinke's poetry in *Chen Yinke wannian shiwen shizheng*, 177-194.
17. See Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1005-1012.
18. Li Shangyin, "Mawei," in Liu Xuekai 劉學鍇, ed., *Li Shangyin shige jijie* 李商隱詩歌集解, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 1:336.
19. Bai, "Changhen ge," 1:229.
20. An episode in "Han Wu gushi" 漢武故事, included in Wang Genlin 王根林 et al., ed., *Han Wei Liuchao biji xiaoshuo daguan* 漢魏六朝筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), 173-174.
21. Yu, *Chen yinke wannian shiwen shizheng*, 50-51.
22. Hui Yuan, "Shamen tanfu lun" 沙門袒服論, cited in Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1006.
23. Sima Qian, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghu shuju, 1964), 8.409.
24. See *Zuozhuan*, Xiang 9.8: "The bright spirits do not preside over an imposed covenant, which lacks substance" 要盟無質, 神弗臨也. Yang

Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1990), 3:971.

25. See Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:797-807.
26. See Yu Yingshi, "Shi shu Chen Yinke de shixue sanbian" 試述陳寅恪的史學三變, in *Chen yinke wannian shiwen shizheng*, 331-377; Li, *Chen Yinke zhi shixue*. C.H. Wang observes that Chen Yinke's interest in history might have resulted in overly literal readings of poetry but concedes that his temperament as a poet shines through in his later historical writings. See C.H. Wang, "Ch'en Yin-k'o's Approaches to Poetry: A Historian's Progress," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 3.1 (1981): 3-30.
27. In a poem dated 1957, Chen wrote about his ongoing project on Liu Rushi: "Treasure the water in the well at Chengtian Temple: / Only this, in all of the human realm, safely flows" 珍重承天井中水 / 人間唯此是安流. He said in the preface that he does not know when or whether his book will be published. Chen Yinke, *Liu Rushi biezhuan* 柳如是別傳, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 1:6; Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:994.
28. Chen wrote about "the karmic connection that may yet bring a discerning kindred spirit from posterity" 後世相知或有緣 (1963), see Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1127-1129.
29. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1084-1088. "Yuseng" is the sobriquet of the well-known poet and scholar Wu Mi. The idea of "fair ladies" (*hongzhuang* 紅妝, literally, "rouged make-up") as solace and recompense for "ready scorn" (*baiyan* 白眼, literally, "[being shown] the white of the eyes") functions through the parallelism of "white" and "red." The term *baiyan* is based on Liu Yiqing 劉義慶, *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏, ed. Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 24.769.
30. In his poems after 1949, he often called himself "the exiled person" (*liuren* 流人). There are also many implied comparisons of his fate with the respective banishment of Han Yu 韓愈 (768-825) and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101) to Guangdong.
31. On this idea in early Qing writings, see Wai-yee Li, "Introduction," in Wilt Idema, Wai-yee Li, Ellen Widmer, eds., *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 44-49.
32. See Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 1:495, 1:548, 1:559, 2:778, 2:857.
33. Chen was publicly criticized in 1958, among others by Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) and some of his current and former students. Hu,

Chen Yinke shi jianshi, 2:1085-1087.

34. Chen Yinke, "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*" 論再生緣, in *Hanliu tang ji*, 1-96. The title of the manuscript about Qian Qianyi and Liu Rushi was later changed to *Liu Rushi biezhuan* (Biography of Liu Rushi).
35. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1084-1088.
36. Chen, "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*," 59.
37. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 1:597-602. Chen is alluding to Yuan Zhen's 元稹 (779-831) "Palace for Sojourns" 行宮 and Bai Juyi's "The White-Haired One from Shangyang Palace" 上陽白髮人. See Yuan Zhen, *Yuan Zhen ji* 元稹集, edited by Ji Qin 冀勤, 2 volumes (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 1:169 and Bai Juyi, *Bai Juyi quanji* 白居易全集, edited by Ding Ruming 丁如明 and Nie Shiwei 聶世美 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), 27. In a poem from 1954, Chen wrote that his own scholarship "did not resemble (current) writings honoring Zhu Xi and glorifying the sages" 不似尊朱頌聖文, see Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:803. Chen Yinke often uses changes in fashion to allude to political currents in his poetry, see Li, *Chen Yinke zhi shixue*, 112.
38. Chen, "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*," 54. These allude to similar lines in chapter seventeen of Chen Duansheng 陳端生, *Zaisheng yuan* 再生緣, with comments by Chen Yinke and Guo Moruo 郭沫若, edited by Du Zhijun 杜志軍 (Beijing: Huacheng chubanshe, 2000).
39. Another line from *Zaisheng yuan*, ch. 17, cited in Chen, "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*," 4.
40. Chen, "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*," 77; Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:737. The note is another reminder of the secret affinity between his writings on Wang Guowei and his essay on Chen Duansheng.
41. Lu, *Chen Yinke de zuihou ershinian*, 368-373; Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:733-739.
42. Chen, "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*," 77; Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:736.
43. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1149. Chen wrote this poem in 1963, when he was completing his book on Liu Rushi, having worked on it for ten years.
44. Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 1:4.
45. As Hu Wenhui pointed out, Chen Yinke shows empathy for those forced to make compromises even as he eulogizes martyrs in *Liu Rushi biezhuan*. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1199.
46. Chen broke his leg in 1963 after a fall. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1123, 1132.
47. Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 3:1224; Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1199-

1204. Another version of this *gāthā* is appended to an earlier draft of *Liu Rushi biezhuan*. With tragic-comical flourishes, it alludes to the role of students who persecuted him and his subsequent decision to quit teaching; Chen compares himself to the pedantic tutor Chen Zuiliang 陳最良 and unruly students to Liniang 麗娘 and Chunxiang 春香 in Tang Xianzu's 湯顯祖 (1550-1616) *Mudan ting* 牡丹亭 (The peony pavilion). Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1201-1203.

48. Xu Ling, "*Yutai xinyong* xu" 玉臺新詠序, in Wu Zhaoyi 吳兆宜 and Cheng Yan 程琰, comp., Mu Kehong 穆克宏, ed., *Yutai xinyong jianzhu* 玉臺新詠箋注, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 1:13.
49. See Zhang Huaiguan's 張懷瓘 (8th century) treatise on calligraphy, "Wenzi lun" 文字論 in *Shufa meixue ziliao xuanzhu* 書法美學資料選注, edited by Cao Lihua 曹利華 and Qiao He 喬何 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 2009), 639-643, and Gao Yougong's 高友工 discussion of the aesthetics of calligraphy in his *Zhongguo meidian yu wenxue yanjiu lunji* 中國美典與文學研究論集 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue, 2004), 148-152.
50. See Sima, *Shiji*, 130.3300; Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書, with annotations by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 62.2725-2736; Gao Buying 高步瀛, *Liang Han wen juyao* 兩漢文舉要, ed. Chen Xin 陳新 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 104.
51. Jin Shengtan's first preface is entitled "Unabashedly Crying for the Ancients" 慟哭古人; the second one, "Leaving This as Gift for Future Generations" 留贈後人. See Cai Yi 蔡毅, *Zhongguo gudian xiqu xuba huibian* 中國古典戲曲序跋彙編 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1989), 2:708-713.
52. Jin Shengtan sometimes offers his own insights as gleanings from unspecified "ancient versions" (*guben* 古本) of the texts he comments on; this is especially true of his comments on *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳. Chen Yinke refers to this disparagingly in his preface to Liu Shuya's 劉叔雅 commentary on *Zhuangzi*. Chen, *Jinming guan conggao erbian*, 229. He contrasts Liu's careful exegesis with Jin's creative twists, whose echoes he discerns in some new interpretations of early Chinese thought in his time. He concludes ironically: "Books by these scholars—how can they avoid being the 'ancient versions' in the particular imagination of Jin Shengtan? But they turn around and want to 'leave it as a gift for posterity.' How can we not 'unabashedly cry for the ancients'?" Yu Yingshi believes that the last two lines of Chen's *gāthā* allude to his preface on Liu Shuya's commentary, implying his possible misinterpretation of Liu Rushi and Qian Qianyi

as he forges his "history from the heart." Yu, *Chen yinke wannian shiwen shizheng*, 376-377. However, the original context is probably too sardonic to be the intended reference here.

53. Chen is well aware of this generic "experiment"; see the alternative *gāthā* mentioned in n. 47: "Curse in anger, laugh in jest, / Being vulgar, as well as refined. / Neither old nor new: / A hornless bull, a horse with horns. / With special intention I mourn spring's passing, / Harboring a fistful of tears" 怒罵嬉笑 / 亦俚亦雅 / 非舊非新 / 童牛角馬 / 刻意傷春 / 貯淚盈把. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1202-1203.
54. Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 1:336-347.
55. Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 1:3.
56. Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 2:564.
57. "After the An Lushan Rebellion, Li Guinian fled to the rivers and lakes. He once sang at a feast hosted by the Visiting Official of River Xiang: 'The red seeds that flourish in the Southland: / How many branches have sprouted since the advent of autumn? / I wish you would pick them often, / For they are the best tokens of longing'" 祿山之亂, 李龜年奔于江潭, 曾于湘中採訪使筵上唱云: 紅豆生南國 / 秋來發幾枝 / 贈君多採擷 / 此物最相思. Ji Yougong, *Tangshi jishi jiaojian* 唐詩紀事校箋, ed. Wang Zhongyong 王仲鏞, 2 vols. (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989), vol. 1, 16.423.
58. Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 1:1; Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:881-882.
59. Most famously in the fifth poem in Du Fu's 杜甫 (712-770) "Autumn Meditations: Eight Poems." In Du Fu, *Du shi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳註, compiled by Chou Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1985), 864-874.
60. Chen Yinke wrote in 1939 when he was in Kunming: "The ashes remaining from the kalpa of Kunming have all been blown away, / I can only talk to the Indian monk about fallen blossoms"昆明殘劫灰飛盡 / 聊與胡僧話落花. Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 1:191-192. Chen recalls this poem in his essay "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*," 76.
61. See Chen Yinke: "So much love and longing in the red seed as spring is about to end, / So little chance for political intervention as the earth finally sinks" 紅豆有情春欲晚 / 黃扉無命陸終沈. The original couplet depends on the parallelism between "red seed" (*hongdou* 紅豆) and "yellow gate" (*huangfei* 黃扉, the prime minister's gate). "The sinking of the earth" refers to the fall of the Ming. Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 1:5, Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:1019.
62. Qian Qianyi, *Qian Muzhai quanji* 錢牧齋全集, annotated by Qian Zeng 錢曾, edited by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, 8 vols. (Shanghai:

Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), 4:225-5:563.

63. Qian, *Qian Muzhai quanji*, 5:549-552.
64. Qian, *Qian Muzhai quanji*, 7:14. This couplet is patterned on the second couplet in the eighth poem of Du Fu's "Autumn Meditations": "Fragrant grains, pecked to bits by the parrots; / Green *wutong* boughs, grown ancient with the perching phoenix" 香稻啄殘鸚鵡粒 / 碧梧棲老鳳凰枝. In *Du shi xiangzhu*, 873. The lines have a famous "reversed" structure. Qian Qianyi, in his annotations on Du Fu's poetry, cited various editions that have "seeds of longing (red seed)" (*hongdou* 紅豆) instead of "fragrant grains" (*xiangdao* 香稻). See *Qian Muzhai jianzhu Du shi* 錢牧齋箋注杜詩 (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1967), 15.5a. On the various interpretations of this couplet, see Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩, *Du Fu Qiuxing bashou jishuo* 杜甫秋興八首集說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 564-580.
65. *Youxue ji* includes Qian Qianyi's writings after the fall of the Ming dynasty. A modern typeset edition was published in 1996 in three volumes, it was incorporated as volumes 4 to 6 in *Qian Muzhai quanji* (cited above) in 2003.
66. For a discussion of these poems, see Li, *Women and National Trauma*, 356-387; Lawrence C.H. Yim, *The Poet-Historian Qian Qianyi* (Routledge: Academia Sinica on East Asia, 2009), 122-147.
67. Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 3:1176-1177. Cf. Huang Zongxi's 黃宗羲 poem on Qian Qianyi's death in the series "Eight Laments" 八哀; it also uses the red seed as a symbol of the bond between Qian and Liu: "The fragrance of the red seed wafts in the maze of the moonlit road / As the beauty is about to stop her fingers on the strings of the zither" 紅豆俄飄迷月路 / 美人欲絕指箏弦. See the fifth of his eight poems collectively entitled "Eight Laments," in Huang Zongxi, *Huang Zongxi quanji* 黃宗羲全集, edited by Shen Shanhong 沈善洪, 12 volumes (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2005), 11:256.
68. In a story from *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (The accounts of immortals), the goddess Magu 麻姑 tells Wang Fangping 王方平 that she has seen the Eastern Sea change thrice into mulberry fields. Included in *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, compiled by Li Fang 李昉 et al., 10 volumes (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), vol. 1, 7.45-48.
69. See Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:968-969. I also discussed this poem in "The Late-Ming Courtesan: Invention of a Cultural Ideal," in Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang, eds., *Writing Women in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 46-73.
70. Hu Wenhui cites the views of various historians on the subject. Hu,

Chen Yinke shi jianshi, 2:968-969.

71. See Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 1:174, 2:549-550.
72. According to Chen Yinke, Bai Xingjian 白行簡 (ca. 776-826) wrote "Cui Hui's Story" while Yuan Zhen wrote "Cui Hong's Song.'' But Bai's account is no longer extant, and Yuan's poem exists only in fragments. See *Yuan Zhen ji*, 2:696. Cui Hui's story is a common allusion in Song-Yuan poetry, see the examples cited in Chen, "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*," 93-95.
73. See, e.g., Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 1:299-302; 331-333.
74. Xiang Hongzuo is quoting Zhang Yanyuan's 張彥遠 (9th century) remark in *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記, ed. Qin Zhongwen 秦仲文 and Huang Miaozi 黃苗子 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1983), 35. For Chen's quotation of these lines, see "Lun *Zaisheng yuan*," 1; *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, 7. "Life's limits" (*sheng ye you ya* 生也有涯) alludes to *Zhuangzi*, chapter 3. See *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, compiled by Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, edited by Wang Xiaoyu 王孝魚, 4 volumes (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 1:115.
75. For example, Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 (1908-2003) said that *Liu Rushi biezhuan* "did not clarify what matters"; Qian Zhongshu 錢鐘書 (1910-1998) claimed "it is not necessary to write such a big book for Liu Rushi" and even averred that the book "only suffices to invite scorn from the truly knowledgeable"; Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望 (1916-1996) laments that the book does little more than glorify Liu Rushi and conveys Chen Yinke's own rancor and frustration. These and other critical judgments are cited in Hu Wenhui, *Xiandai xuelin dianjiang lu* 現代學林點將錄 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2010), 4.28-29.
76. See Chen, "Renchen chunri zuo" 壬辰春日作, in Hu, *Chen Yinke shi jianshi*, 2:658-660. Chen is alluding to the late Tang poet Han Wo's 韓偓 (b. 842) line, "From this far off place, it is hard to summon all the spirits from time past" 地迥難招自古魂. See Han Wo, *Han Wo shi zhu* 韓偓詩注, ed. Chen Jilong 陳繼龍 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2001), 2.201. *Jiong* 迥 appears as *sheng* 勝 in some versions.
77. Jiang Tianshu, *Chen Yinke xiansheng zhuan* 陳寅恪先生傳 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), 92.

History as Leisure Reading for Ming-Qing Women Poets

Clara Wing-chung Ho 劉詠聰

Leisure and Leisure Reading

In this paper, I present some first person narrations written by Ming-Qing women poets who occasionally treated history as their leisure reading. In line with another project that I am currently undertaking to rediscover the works of female historians in imperial China, I have been searching for women-authored books, prose, and poems on historical themes.[1] It has come to my attention that although some women poets commented on history in very serious tones, similar to those of most male writers, others chose to deliver their remarks in a more relaxed manner. Some women poets explained to readers that they were composing verses on historical themes when they had spare time, when they felt like it, or whenever it pleased them. Such reading behavior is very close to our present understanding of leisure reading. Hence, we may argue that among the thousands of women poets who lived in the era governed by China's last two dynasties, some of them enjoyed the privilege of picking up history as leisure reading.

Leisure is far from being a modern concept. There are a myriad of studies on leisure and a wide range of works on the origins of the term "leisure" in ancient cultures, such as those of Greece and Rome.[2] Other studies have focused on the definitions and evolution of leisure,[3] its social history,[4] the philosophy of leisure,[5] the theory of the leisure class,[6] the new politics of leisure,[7] the humanistic view as opposed to the quantitative conceptualization of leisure,[8] or the various scholarly interpretations of leisure culture in the twentieth century.[9]

It must be pointed out that the concept of leisure appeared very early in Chinese history. The characters *xian* 閒/閑 (both the original version with *yue* 月 inside *men* 門 and the derivative with *mu* 木 inside *men*), already existed in the earliest comprehensive dictionary of Chinese characters, the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字.[10] *Xian* was clearly defined as unoccupied or free time. Throughout history, Chinese people have enjoyed their leisure time with a variety of entertaining activities. Recent studies have addressed many dimensions of this subject. The history of leisure culture (labeled as *xiuxian wenhua* 休閒文化, *xianqing wenhua* 閑情文化, or *youyi wenhua* 遊藝文

化, and so on) has developed quickly as a field of study and gained much scholarly attention.[11]

However, among the various current works concerning Chinese leisure culture in the past, none have suggested that reading history could be treated as a leisure activity in traditional society. It is often believed that the literati spent much of their leisure time on *qin qi shu hua* 琴棋書畫 (zither, chess, calligraphy, and painting), whereas people of different classes entertained themselves with a variety of performing arts, games, sports activities, and folk amusements. The reading of history as a leisure activity has never been mentioned in these studies. Of course, it is not at all difficult to understand this omission. History is a mainstream discipline in conventional scholarship. According to the *sibu* 四部 (four parts), the traditional four-fold division of books that includes *jing* 經 (classics), *shi* 史 (histories), *zi* 子 (disciplines), and *ji* 集 (belles-lettres), history was ranked second, or just subordinate to the classics.[12] History was supposed to be studied seriously and industriously by men who wished to pass the civil examination and take office, or to lead a scholarly life.

So, could history be studied in a leisurely mood? Nowadays, we understand leisure reading as voluntary reading, spare time reading, and something that involves personal choice.[13] In the past, when history was by default incorporated into the civil examination curriculum, history was simply part of formal education, no matter whether individual men learned it at home, with private tutors, or at school. However, women could not participate in examinations and as such could not become scholar-officials. Does this mean that they showed no interest in history, or that they never studied history?

I would say, according to my observations so far, that many Ming-Qing women poets studied history to some extent. Many of them touched on historical themes in their works, and some of them directly stated that they regarded history as their leisure reading.

Did Ming-Qing Women Poets Study History?

Now I will briefly explain why my investigation into this kind of reading behavior among women poets is focused on the Ming-Qing era.

The Ming-Qing period is an important era as far as women's publications in Chinese history is concerned. Women in the Ming and Qing, especially in the Qing, surpassed their counterparts of previous dynasties both in productivity and in the numbers of renowned women writers. A quick statistical measure of this development can be seen in Hu Wenkai's 胡文楷 (1901-1988) catalogue, in which Ming women writers occupy 133 pages and Qing women occupy 615 pages, whereas women in the pre-Ming period occupy only seventy-eight pages altogether.[14] Therefore, Kang-i Sun

Chang points out that there was a "sudden increase" in women's publications from the late Ming onwards. She also informs us that during the late imperial period, China was the country that produced the largest number of women writers.[15] Of course, this development had something to do with the flourishing publishing industry and the advanced printing technology of the period. Still, women clearly took increased initiative, and the volume of writings by female authors was enormous. We have many reasons to believe that these authors did not just touch on trivial matters and personal sentiments, as Hu Shih 胡適 (1891-1962) had inappropriately commented.[16]

With the rediscovery of thousands of anthologies and collected works produced by women over the past few centuries, we are able to contemplate the wide range of themes covered therein, including the topic of history. The impressive collections of women's works include multi-authored anthologies (*zongji* 總集) and single-authored collected works (*bieji* 別集).[17] A user-friendly website of Ming-Qing women's works, *Ming Qing Women's Writings,* has been wonderfully helpful in spreading the knowledge of women's writing.[18] Also, it is possible to locate additional works by women in other non-gender-specific collections, such as the voluminous *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編 and the *Beijing shifan daxue tushuguan cang xijian Qingren bieji congkan* 北京師範大學圖書館藏稀見清人別集叢刊.[19] Both of these collections contain a significant number of women's works. Hence, we may say that the Ming-Qing period, by virtue of its vast quantity of women's works, provides an indication of the degree to which women might have studied and written about history. Moreover, Ming-Qing women have received increasing attention from scholars over the past two or three decades. A large group of scholars at the academic frontiers of many disciplines have produced numerous influential works on Ming-Qing women.[20] Therefore, due to the richness of sources available, my investigation of Chinese women's interest in history will focus on the Ming-Qing period.

It is also worth noting that a great many biographical materials of Ming-Qing women writers have survived. We can infer from the narrations in these works that in those days, it was quite fashionable to describe learned ladies as knowledgeable in history. To have studied history was commonly viewed as a significant accomplishment for women. This attitude can be observed in many biographies of women writers, in anthologies, collected works, and in some works on literary criticism. There are many examples of women being described as well-learned in history, in which they were often referred to with fancy labels, such as *boshe jingshi* 博涉經史,[21] *botong jingshi* 博通經史,[22] *xianxi jingshi* 嫻習經史,[23] *yougong shushi* 幼攻書史,[24] *yantong wenshi* 淹通文史,[25] *anxiao shushi* 諳曉書

史,[26] *xingdan shushi* 性耽書史,[27] *jing shishi* 精史事,[28] *you jing shixue* 尤精史學,[29] *hao xinsi yu tushi* 耗心思於圖史,[30] and *zhi jingshi yu guita zhizhong* 治經史於閨闥之中.[31]

Of course these flowery words may have sometimes conveyed unjustified claims. We do not know the breadth or depth of historical knowledge that individual women poets might have possessed. However, it is interesting to note that in so many biographical materials of Ming-Qing women poets, their interest and/or knowledge in history has been highlighted.

In a poem mourning his wife, the husband of the female poet Zhou Shuying 周淑英 (Qing) remarks that his wife "often studied history while weaving in the evening" 絡緯聲淒讀史燈.[32] In a funeral essay the Ming scholar Yang Ji 楊基 (ca.1334-ca.1383) describes the lady née Zhao 趙 as having studied history and did weaving in her inner chamber during late evenings (讀史青閨夜, 治絲錦帳春).[33] All these references suggest that it was not rare for women of the literate class to study history in late imperial society.

Sometimes it is possible to locate first person narration about studying history. For instance, in her work "Reading History" 讀史, Wang Men 王璊 (1796-1829) indicates her gender in the first line and then thanks her father for instructing her in many subjects since her childhood, including history. She tries to be humorous by saying that she would laugh at herself for being so serious in studying, despite being a girl. However, she confirms that she was born thirsting for knowledge even though she says that she is not capable of conducting serious inquiries.[34] This poem is only one of the many pieces authored by women that indicate their personal interests in studying history.

As recent studies have shown, many literate mothers in the Ming-Qing period were heavily involved in educating their children. It seems reasonable to argue that to teach their children, mothers needed historical knowledge. A famous poem by the early Qing official Xie Daocheng 謝道承 (1691-1741), "Remembering My Mother Urging Me to Study" 憶母勸學詩, vividly recalls the author's mother asking him questions on history.[35] There is an excellent translation of this poem by Susan Mann, rendered in her *Precious Records*:

"Son, come here.	兒來前
How many years has it been since Yao?	自堯至今凡幾年
Son, you must remember.	兒強記
From Yao to the present, how many emperors have reigned?"	自堯至今凡幾帝
As a boy, whenever I showed the slightest hesitation in my reply,	兒時應對稍逡巡

my mother's face changed color and flared up in anger:	母顏變色旋怒嗔
"To spread out a book with a humble heart, this is a student's responsibility;	陳篋遜志學人責
In studying the ancient ways, are you no better than a woman?"[36]	稽古胡不如婦人

Doubtless, the mother knew the answers to her questions on the ancient sage-emperor Yao. Otherwise how could she ask her son? There is also a record that Xie's mother questioned him about historical matters every day and would scold him if he could not provide fine answers to her questions.[37] Mothers studied history themselves and told historical stories to their children. Of course, they expected their sons to become much more learned than themselves. Therefore, Xie's mother scolded her son for being "no better than a woman" in this sense.

Poems on Historical Themes Written by Ming-Qing Women Poets

As Ming-Qing women were not indifferent to historical scholarship, some of them had joined the ranks of historians and published books in a variety of genres.[38] Some of these books echoed mainstream views, and others delivered distinctly female perspectives and insights. However, historical works by women in Ming-Qing China were not necessarily made in the form of published books. Women wrote limited essays on historical matters, such as *shilun* 史論 (treatise or discourse on history), *xu* 序 (prefaces), and *shu* 書 (letters). They also composed many *yongshi shi* 詠史詩 (poems on history or historical themes).

Ever since a classic article on *yongshi* poetry was published by Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺 (1912-2005) in 1948, *yongshi* poems have received considerable attention from scholars in Chinese literature.[39] Actually, *yongshi* poetry is a broad genre that covers several subgenres such as *yonggu* 詠古 (poems on the past), *huaigu* 懷古 (meditating on the past), *yueshi* 閱史 (reading history), *langu* 覽古 (glancing over historical places), or *lanshi* 覽史 (glancing at history). Although some scholars treat these subgenres as different categories, in their comprehensive study, *Gudai yongshi shi tonglun* 古代詠史詩通論, Zhao Wangqin 趙望秦 and Zhang Huanling 張煥玲 place them all under *yongshi shi*.[40]

Regarding the content of *yongshi* poetry, a previous study states that the majority of such works are comments on individual historical personages or events. Works in this category far exceed the quantity of works devoted to history or historiography in general.[41] Another study classifies poems in the *yongshi shi* genre into four categories: poems narrating history, quoting history, dramatizing history, and criticizing history.[42]

Apart from individual *yongshi shi* entries, a number of single-authored collections of *yongshi* poetry also survive. A good example is the collection of eight *juan* of *yongshi* poems by the Qing writer Xie Qikun 謝啟昆 (1737-1802). From its table of contents we can learn that all the poems in this collection have individual historical figures as their subjects.[43] Another example is *Jiyixuan yongshi shi* 集義軒詠史詩 by Luo Chunyan 羅惇衍 (1814-1874), a much larger collection of sixty *juan* that also focuses on historical personages.[44] This is the most common type of *yongshi* poetry that we encounter. There are a host of studies on *yongshi* poetry, plus a catalogue of *yongshi* poetry collections published during the Ming and Qing dynasties.[45]

Gang Xu's 徐鋼 study, "The Past is Eternal," offers some important insights. The author discusses the traditional sense of "Chinese Pan-historicism," implying that history lives in the minds of most intellectuals. He argues that there is a deep-rooted attitude towards history in Chinese culture and that this "extraordinarily strong sense of history" has no parallel in any other culture in the world. Intellectuals, he says, "frequently think about history," "think in history," and "inescapably live in history." No matter what career roles they play, they study history and use the lens of history for all sorts of intellectual inquiries. Gang Xu concludes that the popularity of *yongshi* poetry in China has something to do with this "Pan-historicism."[46] Gang Xu's study is also relevant to our discussion of women poets' interest in history. We can simply ask, given the prevailing "Pan-historicism," could women fail to share in this tradition if they wished to "anchor" themselves securely in the elite culture, as suggested by Susan Mann in her *Precious Records*?[47]

The truth is that women scholars and poets did not isolate themselves from this major tradition. They wrote plenty of *yongshi* poems as well. A quick search via the *Ming Qing Women's Writings* website reveals many titles of women-authored *yongshi* poems, such as "Reading History" 讀史, "On History" 詠史, "Miscellaneous Poems on History" 讀史雜詠, "Reading History: Composed at Random" 讀史偶成, "Poems Discussing Antiquity: Kept by Chance" 論古偶存, "On History of the Jin" 詠晉史, "Reading the History of the Five Dynasties" 讀五代史, "Miscellaneous Poems on Song History" 宋史雜詠, and numerous others.[48]

Unfortunately, but somewhat understandably, the *yongshi* poems authored by women are rarely included in existing anthologies of this genre; some include no entries by women at all,[49] and others only a few.[50] However, in a dictionary of Chinese women's poetic writings published in 1992, the editors were able to include a total of eighty-two entries on the theme of *yonggu shuhuai* 詠古抒懷 (writing a poem on past history to express one's feelings), which was one of the nine themes in this work.[51]

A work of miscellaneous notes from the Ming period did introduce the *yongshi* poems of the famous Song poetess Zhu Shuzhen 朱淑真 (ca.1135-ca.1180).[52] This, however, is a rare example of attention paid to women-authored *yongshi* poems in the past. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that in the recent study cited above, *Gudai yongshi shi tonglun*, the authors give some attention to *yongshi* poems by women poets. They point out that the writing of *yongshi* poems by women came to a height in the Qing dynasty and that these writings illustrate the uniqueness of female perspectives.[53] A monograph on Qing women's literature, *Qingdai guige wenxue yanjiu* 清代閨閣文學研究, also devotes a short section on women who offered alternative views on history in their poems.[54] Such instances indicate awareness that writing on historical matters is certainly one of the themes contained in women's writings.

Moreover, we should not forget a point made earlier by Susan Mann, in *Precious Records*, that women's poetry can be viewed as women's history.[55] Women's voices preserved in poetry have much to offer, including their thoughts, their wisdom, and their views of the world and of history. We should also bear in mind Grace Fong's advocacy for rethinking women's writings as forms of cultural practice. Clearly, an investigation into the poems on historical themes delivered by women can also echo the "cultural turn" in literary studies.[56]

There are a myriad of interesting and even ambitious arguments contained in the historical-themed poems written by Ming-Qing women. Their arguments offer women-oriented and family-centered perspectives, apply women's knowledge to the fields of food and medicine, and affirm women's agency as interpreters of history. I do not have time to go into all of their arguments in this paper but will focus on explaining how some women poets have treated history as leisure reading. I begin with an overview of the concept of leisure in the Chinese poetic tradition. Then I discuss the representation of history as leisure reading, as seen in poetry written by both men and women.

The Concept of *Xian* 閒/閑 in the Chinese Poetic Tradition

When considering the concept of *xian* in the Chinese poetic tradition, the genre of *xianshi shi* 閒適詩 (poems of leisure and comfort, casual poems) comes easily to mind. The great poet Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846) is believed to have advocated *xianshi shi*, and he personally composed hundreds of them.[57] Actually, before Bo Juyi coined the term for this particular genre, various writers had already produced a considerable quantity of poems that reflect leisurely lives and moods. After Bo Juyi's promotion of *xianshi shi*, works in this genre continued to grow in quantity and popularity. Therefore, in compiling a collection of *xianshi shi* from

imperial China, the editor Kang Ping 康萍 included a great variety of poems written in various periods. The famous line in one of Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 (365-427) poems, "Plucking Chrysanthemums by the Eastern Hedge" 采菊東籬下, has been selected to represent the general theme of this entire collection of *xianshi shi*.[58]

Bo Juyi has left us hundreds of *xianshi shi* in his collected writings. There are scores of titles containing the character *xian*. For example, he adds the character *xian* in naming his daily activities, such as sitting (*xianzuo* 閑坐), lying down (*xianwo* 閑臥), sleeping (*xianmian* 閑眠), living (*xianju* 閑居), reciting (*xianyin* 閑吟), or traveling (*xianyou* 閑遊). Obviously, Bo Juyi is particularly fond of using the character *xian*. However, I am not quite satisfied with the common translation of *xian* as "idle."[59] Although Howard Levy also translates *xian* as idle, I am quite pleased with his translation of *xianshi shi* as "poems of quiet pleasure."[60] In fact, in his letter to Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), Bo Juyi offers a classification of his poems in which the second category, *xianshi shi* comes after his didactic poems (*fengyu shi* 諷諭詩).[61] As Levy explains, Bo "states that the poems of quiet pleasure were composed under a variety of circumstances: when he withdrew from public life and lived alone, when he lived quietly under the pretext of illness, content and tranquil, and when he cultivated his temperament."[62] Therefore, Bo Juyi's reading of *xian* should be seen in a more positive light. Words such as "idle," "unoccupied," or "free" simply fail to convey all the connotations of *xian*. I am very happy to have located another translation of *xian* as "leisure," provided by Wendy Swartz.[63] Bo Juyi was indeed very much committed to using the concept of *xian* (leisure) in his poems and made use of a number of synonyms for *xian* and *shi* (fitting, comfortable), as previous studies have already pointed out.[64] One study even shows that Bo Juyi's employment of the concept *xian* was not confined to the category of *xianshi shi* but was also applied to his other poems. Bo mentioned *xian* a total of 684 times in his poems, and his advocacy of *xian* made him unique in the history of Chinese poetic literature.[65] However, after Bo Juyi, the poets of subsequent generations have continued to pursue this expression of leisurely living and thinking. These artists have considered the enjoyment of leisure as something positive and healthy, and this sentiment is widely accepted and even celebrated in traditional literati culture. The flourishing of *xianshi shi* testifies to this attitude.

Representations of History as Leisure Reading in Poetry Written by Male Writers

Could history serve as leisure reading for men? Did male writers in the past ever voluntarily choose to study history in their leisure time? In addition to

studying history for scholarly and professional purposes, did men enjoy the pleasure of reading history as a leisure activity?

Intellectuals were expected to study seriously and gain mastery in the knowledge of history. The ancient classic *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and autumn annals) is generally believed to be the first historical work, and this text carries extremely serious moral messages and lessons. As Mencius explains,

> The *Spring and Autumn Annals* are concerned with the affairs of the Son of Heaven, and thus Confucius said, "It is by the *Spring and Autumn Annals* alone that I will be known, and for them alone that I will be condemned."[66]

This forceful and authoritative view on the significance of the *Chunqiu* leads us to assume that history is meant to be studied with great earnestness.

The grand historian, Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145 B.C.E. or 135 B.C.E. – 87 B.C.E.), describes his ambition of writing *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the historian) in his letter to Ren An 任安 as follows:

> In it I also wanted to fully explore the interaction between Heaven and Man, and to show the continuity of transformations of past and present. It will become an independent discourse that is entirely my own.[67]

Throughout history, historians have elaborated on the purpose and significance of studying past events. For example, Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721) claims that a well-qualified historian should simultaneously possess *cai* 才 (skill), *xue* 學 (learning), and *shi* 識 (insight), and adds that the achievement of such balance is far from easy. Therefore, Liu states the world does not have many good historians.[68] Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) also makes the sobering observation that many historians have suffered misfortune due to their learning.[69]

Other famous thinkers such as Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602), Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692), or Dai Mingshi 戴名世 (1653-1713), all tried to establish the importance of history, either claiming that history holds an equal status with the classics (*jing*) or granting historians a vital role in upholding morality, and condemning evil deeds.[70] Another widely circulated saying by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) also emphasizes the necessity for scholars to study both the classics and history.[71] It is interesting to note the startling title of an historical work published in the early Qing era: *Jushi dashu* 懼史大書. The word *ju* (to fear) echoes Mencius's reading of the *Chunqiu* and suggests the author's worry for the chaotic

political situation of his time. In a preface to this book, Yang Yongjian 楊雍建 (1627-1704) lays down the basic requirements for historians: skill, learning, insight (which were mentioned by Liu Zhiji), plus *xinshu* 心術. He argues that without proper *xinshu*, one is unqualified for writing on history.[72] What is *xinshu*? Another famous mid-Qing historian Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738-1801), also upholds the importance of *xinshu*. He elaborates on insight, literary skill, and learning as basic requirements for historians, and then he goes on to explain the chief virtue of an historian (*shide* 史德). He writes:

> What is Virtue? It is the way an author's heart-mind works…. Scholars of literary history vie with each other in talking about "skill," "learning," and "insight," and yet they do not know how to discern the way their heart-minds work (*xinshu*), which would enable them to discuss the Virtue of an historian. Is this not sad indeed?[73]

Judging from these influential and serious pronouncements on history, it may be difficult to imagine that writers in the past would consider using their leisure time for reading history.

Nevertheless, male writers authored a large number of *yongshi* poems. Also, there are a large group of titles concerning individual historical personages as their subject matter. The most common titles for *yongshi* poems include "Stirred by Feelings When Reading History" 讀史有感, "Freely Inscribed when Reading History" 讀史漫題, "Moved by Feelings When Reading History" 讀史感懷, "Mixed Feelings from Reading History" 讀史雜感, "Stirred by Interest When Reading History" 讀史感興, "Composed When Reading History" 讀史偶作, "Reading History: Composed at Random" 讀史偶成, "Narrated Casually When Reading History" 讀史偶述, "Casual Poems on Reading History" 讀史偶詠, and "Casually Written When Reading History" 讀史偶書. These titles indicate or imply that the authors are giving casual reflections on history in their poems. The titles themselves do not suggest that the authors are in a leisurely mood, but it would be wrong to say that male writers of the past had never conveyed their opinions on historical matters in a relaxed or leisurely manner. The following examples would help to illustrate this.

The term *xizuo* 戲作, which means making remarks in a playful manner, can be found in poems on historical subjects as early as the Song dynasty, such as the poem "Composed Playfully on Reading History" 讀史戲作 by Zhao Dingchen 趙鼎臣 (1068-?).[74] The poet labels this composition as a *xizuo* because it is not written with serious concern for correct references to available historical sources. He twists the story of Sima

Xiangru 司馬相如 (ca.179 B.C.E. – ca.118 B.C.E.), by overlooking the corrupt conduct of this official and simply sighing that such a talented writer was downgraded to end his career as a caretaker for the tomb of Han Wendi 漢文帝 (202 B.C.E. – 151 B.C.E.; r. 184 B.C.E. – 157 B.C.E.).[75]

Some writers claim that they study history when they are *xian*, but not necessarily when they are happy. For example, Peng Yisun 彭貽孫 (1615-1673), a poet and historian who witnessed the Ming-Qing transition, reports that he studies history in his free time when he is *gumen* 孤悶 (lonely and feeling bored). He says that he feels especially emotional when he comes to the accounts of the Song-Yuan transition. Obviously, Peng is relating his sad feelings concerning the fall of the Ming dynasty to the fall of the Song dynasty, as both dynasties fell to non-Han regimes.[76] An early Qing poet Zha Shenxing 查慎行 (1650-1727) also indicates that he reads history when he is *xian* (*xianfan qingshi* 閒繙青史), but what follows is: *lei jiaohen* 淚交痕. He discloses that tears cover his face, so touched is he by reading history and relating it to his own times.[77]

Nevertheless, some male poets did express pleasure over reading history. A poem written by Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍 (1652-1736) is an excellent example. The poet states that he is spiritually contented and describes his joy over studying illustrated historical works (*tushi* 圖史) in the summer. He uses the character *le* 樂 (joy) to describe his feelings, saying that he is pondering the past thousand years and feels so fulfilled that he can hardly express it in words (*deyi yi wangyan* 得意已忘言).[78]

The Qianlong emperor (1711-1799; r. 1736-1795) also states that he takes history as leisure reading. The first line of one poem describes how he spends his leisure time on something he really enjoys, namely reading history: "For diversion, I peruse history books in leisure" 遣興閒翻史.[79] Recent studies have successfully portrayed the Qianlong emperor as a didactic historian, who often claimed his views and comments to be standard and final.[80] Therefore, it seems he took history as serious learning, and it is not surprising that he could really enjoy this scholarship, even in his leisure time.

Perhaps Qianlong's commitment to historical scholarship can serve to remind us of the superior position of a ruler who could enjoy studying history, if and only if he chose to. A famous Ming memorial, submitted to Emperor Zhengde (1507-1567; r. 1505-1522) by Wang Ao 王鏊 (1450-1524), includes a lecture on the importance of learning. The memorial indicates that although an emperor has to deal with a long agenda every day, if he can spare a little time (*youxia shi* 有暇時), he will also enjoy discussing history with his officials, especially concerning the lessons of successes and failures in the past (*gujin chengbai* 古今成敗). Wang Ao is trying to urge the young emperor to reinstitute the advisory council Hongwen guan

弘文館 (College of Literature) and let himself be advised by a group of learned officials. However, the young emperor does not choose to enjoy reading and discussing history in leisure, as Wang Ao recommends.[81]

Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814) is perhaps the best well-known poet-historian who wrote about taking history as his leisure reading. Zhao lived until his late eighties and enjoyed some forty years out of office. As a productive historian, he wrote poetry that clearly reflected his historical expertise. In several poems he mentioned his leisurely browsing the history books (*xianfan qingshi*). For example,

Leisurely, I browse the history books to view the earthly world.[82]	閒翻青史覽窮塵.
Leisurely, I browse the history books and often feel sorry.[83]	閒翻青史幾悲涼.
Leisurely, I browse the history books while sitting in the cool night.[84]	閒翻青史坐涼宵.
Leisurely, I browse the historical biographies to get rid of boredom.[85]	閒翻史傳遣無聊.
I browse the history books in leisure to learn lessons from the past.[86]	青史閒翻覽昔因.

Repeatedly, Zhao Yi declares that history is indeed his favorite leisure reading. He often picks up history books in his free time or when he is bored, and time after time, he feels moved by the touching stories of the past. As a previous study has pointed out, "given his lifelong study of history," it is not unexpected that Zhao Yi "is also highly regarded for his poems in the *yung-shih* (contemplations of the past) manner."[87] Du Weiyun 杜維運 (1928-2012), in his monograph on Zhao Yi, also highlights the liberal thought and open attitude towards history that appears in many of Zhao's *yongshi* poems.[88]

The leisurely act of *xianfan qingshi* is eloquently elaborated in Zhao Yi's poetic works. This elaboration makes him stand out among the large group of *yongshi* poetry authors of many generations. We do have other poets who wrote on reading history in leisure, such as Bin Liang 斌良 (1771-1847) and Liu Jia 劉佳, but not to the extent or degree shown by Zhao Yi.[89]

A fascinating couplet on treating history as leisure reading can also be located in a collection of couplets compiled by the Ming scholar Qiao

Yingjia 喬應甲 (1559-1627):

Casually browsing through Sima Qian's *Shiji* and reciting Du Fu's poems,	閑翻遷史咏杜詩
I gathered a host of elegant artworks to appreciate within the studio.	芸窗内收古今絕藝
Facing Mount E'mei, surrounded by River Su,	坐對峨嵋環涑水
In the tiny room I paint the wonderful scenery of the universe.[90]	斗室中繪宇宙奇觀

This couplet is to be hung on the pillars of a hall (*yinglian* 楹聯), and it illustrates a most pleasant studio setting for leisure reading that encourages the owner to read Sima Qian's *Shiji* and Du Fu's 杜甫 (712-770) poetry in a casual manner. The appreciation for history complements the beauty of artworks displayed in the studio and the wonderful scenery outside. Hence, although viewing history as leisure reading has not been a major or a regular theme in the poetic works written by men, it would be wrong to think that men never picked up history as voluntary reading in their spare time. The examples above suffice to demonstrate this.

Leisure Activities in Women's Poetry

Now let us turn our discussion to women. First of all, what did Ming-Qing women do in their leisure time? It is not justifiable to assume that they simply bored themselves to death sitting in their inner quarters. Susan Mann informs us of women's praise for the virtues of travel.[91] Grace Fong shows us how women on the road authored accounts of their journeys.[92] Dorothy Ko describes the variety of activities undertaken by Ming-Qing women outside their homes.[93] A recent thesis by Hoi-ling Lui also explores what women did together with their husbands during leisure time, such as watching the moon, appreciating musical performance, tasting wine or tea, sightseeing, boating, or admiring flowers.[94]

Ming-Qing women also wrote a lot about what they did during their leisure time. A quick search on the *Ming Qing Women's Writings* website would lead us to over a hundred poem titles containing the character *xian*, such as *xianju* 閒居 (living in leisure), *xianbu* 閒步 (walking in leisure), *xianwang* 閒望 (viewing in leisure), *xiantiao* 閒眺 (viewing afar in leisure), *xianqi* 閒棋 (playing chess in leisure), and *xianzuo* 閒作 (composing in leisure).[95] A recent study also argues that in many cases, writing itself was already a special form of leisurely activity for many women in the imperial age. They clearly wrote for their own enjoyment, as they had no need to prepare for civil examinations.[96]

Indeed, there are many poems on leisure that provide evidence about

women's reading behavior. For example, the much-respected female scholar Wang Zhenyi 王貞儀 (1768-1797) writes a poem about her leisure time in autumn, telling her readers that almost half of her bed is occupied by books.[97] Another female scholar of the same generation, Jiang Zhu 江珠 (1764-1804) declares that she does a lot of reading in her leisure during the springtime, and she even reads until late at night.[98] Cai Wan 蔡琬 (1695-1755) also describes reading poetry and playing the *qin* 琴 instrument as her leisure activities in the springtime.[99] Another female poet, Bao Zhifen 鮑之芬 (1761-1806), registers her feelings of joy and harmony in holding a book in early autumn.[100]

In their poems, Ming-Qing women mention their reading behavior quite frequently. Did they specifically enjoy studying history?

When History is Labeled as Leisure Reading in Women's Poetry

Women were under no pressure to study history. However, gaining some knowledge of history would likely enhance their *guixiu* 閨秀 (gentle-women) status, so it is likely that they could easily feel motivated to pick up history as voluntary reading in their leisure time. Some women's poems do not reflect any particular historical insights but rather reveal the authors' simple joy in reading history. A poem by Gan Lirou 甘立媃 (1743-1819) can serve as a good example. In the past, male scholars often compared history to mirrors and emphasized the practical uses of history. When Gan Lirou presents this mirror analogy in her poetic language, she states that when one studies history quietly, it looks like a clear mirror, but if one pursues it to make inquiries, then the process is as enjoyable as musical rhythm.[101] As Gan Lirou is one of the major poets covered in Grace Fong's *Herself an Author*, we should take note of Fong's conclusion that Gan Lirou's writings "do not reflect familiarity with the dynastic histories" owing to her limited education.[102] Therefore, this *yongshi* poem is just a general expression of her enjoyment in history as leisure reading.

A Jiangxi female poet, Tan Ziying 譚紫瓔 (1796-1850), wrote a poem entitled "Reading a Book" 讀書 that contains the following couplet:

When I open my book it seems that I am face-to-face with the ancients,	開卷對古人
And my mind is really in a leisurely mood.[103]	此心真閒閒

Such statements are lively expressions of the frame of mind some women had in choosing to read historical works at their leisure.

Some women poets report that they study history in different seasons, and mostly in the evenings. For instance, in the poem "Reading History at Night in Spring" 春夜讀史, a Manchurian lady named Rongxian 蓉仙

(Qing) writes that she studies history in the evenings during springtime.[104] Another poem by Wang Zhaoluan 王肇鸞 vividly depicts a lady who explores the enjoyment of reading and commenting on history in the spring evenings:

> It is such a wonderful time for me to appraise history and literature in the evenings of spring.[105] 春宵好自評文史

Some women poets write about studying history in other seasons. For instance, "Reading History at Night in Autumn" 秋夜讀史 by Gu Ruopu 顧若璞 (1529-1681) indicates that the author is studying history until late on an autumn night. She is so absorbed in her reading and commenting on Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234) that she only realizes how late it is by the crying of birds.[106]

Wang Duan 汪端 (1793-1839), the only woman scholar whose image can be found in the *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan* 清代學者像傳 (Illustrated biographies of Qing scholars),[107] describes her readings on history during an autumn evening in the poem "Reading History at Night in Autumn" 秋夜讀史. She sighs that history records the events of so many centuries, but she also questions how many talented and well-qualified historians there have been over the centuries 青史千秋事 / 千秋幾逸才.[108]

Another poem, "Reading History by a Window in Autumn" 秋窗閱史, is written by Huang Yuanzhen 黃媛貞, a younger sister of the famous writer Huang Yuanjie 黃媛介 (ca.1620-ca.1669). The poem describes the lady poet sitting near the window in autumn, lamenting the sad stories of many scholar-officials throughout history who did not have the luck to work with fair, benevolent, and righteous emperors.[109]

In a poem by Xue Shaohui 薛紹徽 (1866-1911), the author reports that she is producing her composition while studying history during an evening in mid-autumn. Hence, the title of her poem is "Reading History on the Mid-Autumn Night" 仲秋夜讀史作. In this poem, Xue discusses the subtle relationship between emperors and their ministers in history. She counts on fate for a perfect matching of *jun* 君 (emperors) and *chen* 臣 (officials) in order to create prosperity.[110] In Nanxiu Qian's translation:

> Disaster and good fortune never match one another; 從來禍福不相侔
> Success and failure are only revealed after the chess game is over. 成敗惟看棋局收
> Grand ambition craves close association with the top; 篤志有人欣御李

The bag of wisdom contains no tactics to protect the royal house.	智囊無策到安劉
Was this a real match between ruler and subject?	豈真遇合風雲會
One should cherish efforts to maintain family ties.	須惜艱難骨肉謀
Last night, I observed the Northern Dipper in the sky:	昨夜長天覘北斗
Still, the bright moon shone at the height of autumn.[111]	依然明月照高秋

Nanxiu Qian believes that Xue Shaohui was lamenting over the tragedy that Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927) and the Guangxu Emperor (1871-1908; r. 1875-1908) were not a perfect match to rescue the failing dynasty. Xue was critical towards Kang Youwei's manipulating the young emperor and undermining his relationship with the empress dowager. Therefore, Qian argues that Xue Shaohui actually had sympathy for Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908).[112]

The arguments made by Huang Yuanzhen and Xue Shaohui are interesting because they alert us to the fact that literate women had joined the conversation concerning the ruler-subject (*jun-chen*) relationship, even though they themselves could not hope to take office in the government. Still, these women studied history and paid attention to many stories involving ruler-subject themes. They wrote poems to show their concern and express their opinions. Perhaps we should ask, if officialdom was none of women's business, why did they bother to talk about it? To answer this question, I would like to quote Benjamin Elman's monumental work, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*. Elman states that although the anxiety produced by examinations was experienced most directly by boys and men, the "fathers and mothers, sisters and extended relatives [we should add wives and concubines], were not immune to this anxiety" because "they shared in the experience and offered comfort, solace, and encouragement."[113] Elman's insightful remark on the civil examination is also applicable to officialdom in general. Mothers, wives, and concubines alike, all worried over whether their sons and husbands would have the luck to be valued by the emperors they worked for. In this light, it seems natural for women poets to express their views with reference to cases in history, as Huang Yuanzhen and Xue Shaohui did.

All the afore-mentioned poems by Gu Ruopu, Huang Yuanzhen, Wang Duan, and Xue Shaohui were written in the autumn. Doubtlessly, there are enormous quantities of reflective writing concerning this beautiful and poetic season. Autumn is a season very much loved by Chinese poets of the

past. Although it is harvest time, autumn, especially late autumn, foretells of the arrival of winter. In comparing the human life cycle to the four seasons, which Chinese literati often love to do, autumn becomes a time to put things in perspective. The Ming-Qing women poets, in "authorizing" themselves as "authors,"[114] also picked up this prevailing pattern from the male writing tradition.

Some women poets, however, clearly enjoyed being excluded from the masculine ambition of seeking an office in the government. A *yongshi* poem written by Zhou Huijuan 周慧娟 conveys the poet's detachment in an ironic sense. She says that men work too hard and drive themselves mad in taking offices, but when women study history, they realize that many of these officials have withered away without leaving any significant record of accomplishments.[115]

Occasionally we encounter women poets borrowing the stories of historical figures to reflect on their own values. For example, Mao Xiuyu 毛秀玉 (Qing), a Fujian woman poet, describes reading a biography of Zhu Maichen 朱買臣 (?-115 B.C.E.) at night and declares that she would not abandon her husband although they were living in humble poverty. These comments explicitly refer to the story of Zhu's wife who divorced her husband when he was poor, but felt terribly ashamed when Zhu returned to his hometown as a high official, and she ended up committing suicide.[116]

Leisure reading can lead some people to joyful feelings, but it can also provoke emotions of gloom or sympathy. It all depends on what one chooses to read in leisure. Some women poets were moved by touching stories, and therefore lamented over these historical figures while writing *yongshi* poems. For example, Yuan Shou 袁綬 (1795-?), the grand-daughter of Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798), authored a set of ten poems called "Moved When Reading History" 讀史有感, in which she announces that she feels a deep sense of unfairness whenever she studies history 青史重繙每不平. The first verse conveys the author's lament at the speedy passing of time, a theme that is quite common in *yongshi* poems written by both men and women.[117] However, the author's use of the word *lübian* 驢鞭 (donkey penis), an aphrodisiac food, to describe how fast time could pass is quite humorous here: "A donkey penis perishes easily, like time passes by quickly" 驢鞭易爛光陰短. Relating *lübian* to history is certainly not common in men's writings.[118] Yuan Shou's use of this term in her *yongshi* poem is quite innovative. The reference is related to China's food and medicine culture. It suggests the choice of vocabulary in women-authored *yongshi* poems invites further investigation.

The second and third verses of Yuan Shou's poem reflect a gender-specific explanation of certain political incidents. The author is viewing history from a family perspective. Han Wudi 漢武帝 (157 B.C.E. – 87

B.C.E.; r.141 B.C.E. – 87 B.C.E.) gained significant political achievements, but, in the author's eyes, this emperor paid the price of a broken family. Yuan integrates the public and private spheres of Han Wudi's life by combining the scenes of his openly admitting his faults at Luntai 輪臺 (Bugur, in today's Xinjiang) and sadly mourning his lost heir apparent, Liu Ju 劉據 (128 B.C.E. – 91 B.C.E.), at Sizi tai 思子臺.[119] This mixture of scenes further signifies Yuan Shou's family-oriented viewpoint. The third verse illustrates this view even more obviously. She points out that none of the Southern dynasties—Song, Qi, Liang, or Chen—enjoyed long prosperity. Hence, their efforts in *huajia weiguo* 化家為國 (achieving status as royal families by overthrowing the previous dynasties) were meaningless, because all of them were short-lived regional dynasties that could not endure. Yuan concludes that the emperors of the Southern dynasties were indeed *kelian chong* 可憐蟲 (pitiful worms or wretches).[120] The contrast between women's family-oriented viewpoints on history, expressed in the course of leisurely study, and the politically oriented opinions of male authors deserves a systematic comparison.

As some Ming-Qing women poets chose to study history in their leisure time, they recorded their reading in various ways. Although some highlighted the seasons and times of their readings, others offered interesting details concerning their reading patterns. Some women poets registered pleasure at studying history in the inner chambers. A Tongcheng lady poet, Xu Huiwen 徐蕙文, writes that she works hard at all her domestic duties, but after that she can "study history at her dressing table in her leisure time" 閑掃妝台讀舊史.[121] Another woman poet, Liang Ronghan 梁蓉函 from Fujian, declares: "I often return to reading history when I am done with embroidery" 繡餘每自史還讀,[122] emphasizing that she studies and comments on history when she has leisure time to enjoy. She does this after finishing embroidery, a womanly duty according to the social norms. Men did not study history in such settings or moods. Another Jiangsu woman poet, Jin Hesu 金鶴素 (Qing), writes that she quits embroidery at night and moves on to study history: "Putting aside my embroidery instruments / I lay my books one by one on the desk" 夜來罷繡紅 / 展讀一披對. She composes this poem, which concerns her reflections on the *Lie nüzhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of Women), the first collective biographical collection in ancient Chinese historiography.[123]

In another *yongshi* poem, Wang Duan laments, "My emotions were stirred up while reading history in leisure" 閑繙青史偏多感.[124] In fact, Wang Duan was very much gifted in historical scholarship. This fact is recorded in a long biography that her father-in-law, the famous literati Chen Wenshu 陳文述 (1771-1843), wrote in her memory after she passed away.[125] Wang Duan was an historian who authored an historical work of

eighty volumes on the transition between the Yuan and Ming dynasties. However, after she later devoted herself to religion, she decided to destroy her manuscript.[126] Wilt Idema and Beata Grant also point out in *The Red Brush* that "a large portion" of Wang Duan's "more than one thousand surviving poems consists of 'poems on historical subjects' (*yongshishi*)" and the closely related poems "lamenting the past (*huaigu*)" 懷古詩.[127] Not only do contemporary scholars hold such views; scholars of Wang Duan's time also said the same. For example, Wang Duan's beloved aunt Liang Desheng 梁德繩 (1771-1847), who was also a woman author, wrote the preface to Wang Duan's famous anthology of Ming male poets, *Ming sanshi jia shixuan* 明三十家詩選 (A selection of thirty poets of the Ming Dynasty). In this preface, Liang explains that "this work claims to be an anthology of poetry but is really a treatise on history" (雖曰詩選, 實史論也).[128] Liang Desheng knew her niece very well, because Wang Duan grew up in her family after her parents passed away.

However, not all women poets commented on serious matters in history or lamented the past when reading history. Some women described history as enjoyable leisure reading. For example, a poem by Zhang Zao 張藻 (?-1780), the mother of the famous scholar-official Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797), incorporates a description of her leisurely reading of *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han) amid other leisure activities at her house, while enjoying the scenery in her courtyard.[129]

Another significant piece composed in a leisurely mood, "Feeling Listless in the Long Summer I Recall at Random Historical Events and Composed Twelve Poems" 長夏無聊雜憶史事得十二首 is by Ji Lanyun 季蘭韻 (1793-1848). This poet complains that the long summer can be boring.[130] Of course, as mentioned earlier, Zhao Yi had also written about reading history to dispel his feelings of boredom, but this was not typical among men. Zhao Yi was in his retirement, but for many men who had to prepare for round after round of examinations, the classics (*jing)* and history (*shi*) were books that they should study very seriously to earn offices for themselves. They could not possibly afford to spend much time reading history for leisurely entertainment. Women seem to have enjoyed such reading a little more, taking it as a privilege, if they chose to do it. It is interesting to note that in one of the verses Ji Lanyun wrote on that boring summer night, she offers a counter-explanation as to why the famous Lu general Wu Qi 吳起 (440 B.C.E. – 381 B.C.E.) of the Warring States period killed his wife of Qi 齊 origin. It has always been thought that Wu Qi did so to gain trust from the ruler of Lu 魯, because at that time Lu and Qi were enemies. However, Ji Lanyun argues that there must have been other hidden reasons behind the scene. She ponders over Wu Qi's inhumane deed and suggests that perhaps he no longer liked his wife. Perhaps she was

ugly, or perhaps she was jealous, and he wanted to abandon her. So, he finally got an excellent excuse to kill her.[131] Needless to say, the poet has no evidence in saying this, but she has the right to make such a guess and offer such a perspective, and she delivered it in a playful manner.

We can also gather an impression of history as the subject matter of leisure reading from some paintings that have poetic inscriptions. For example, Qian Cuifeng 錢翠峰 painted herself "A Painting of Reading History by a Lamp in Winter" 寒燈讀史圖. She also inscribed a poem on the painting, saying that after sunset she has a lot of time, and thus she indulges herself by reading history again and again: "There is not a single important task to do in the early evening, / so I read my history books for a thousand times" 黃昏無一事 / 青史閱千回.[132] Another woman poet, Sun Peiqiu 孫佩秋, a niece of the famous scholar Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753-1818), also produced "A Painting of Reading History by the Window with Flowers" 花窗讀史圖, which was poetically inscribed by another female poet Wang Shengzhi 王甥植 (1789-1825).[133] These examples further demonstrate that some women poets engaged in reading history as one of their hobbies. In fact, images of reading women are not rare in traditional Chinese paintings. Among such works, some are labeled *dushi tu* 讀史圖 (paintings of reading history), such as a painting done by the famous Ming artist Qiu Ying 仇英 (1482-1559) entitled "A Painting of Reading History in a Garden" 園中讀史圖.[134] Another painting by the accomplished artist Fei Danxu 費丹旭 (1802-1850) is entitled "A Painting of Reading History under the Shadow of Candlenut Trees" 桐蔭讀史圖.[135] Still another famous piece, "A Painting of Ban Zhao Continuing the Writing of *Han shu*" 班姬續史圖, was painted by Su Renshan 蘇仁山 (1814-1850) during the nineteenth century.[136] Of course, as we appreciate these artists' efforts to visualize women's reading of history in a leisurely manner, we should also note that *dushi tu* depict both men and women.[137]

Before concluding, I wish to point out that we occasionally find women reporting that they collaborate with their husbands to study and write on historical themes. For instance, in a poem Gan Qihua 甘啟華 (Qing) remarks that she is actually composing a set of exchange poems on Ming history with her husband. She expresses great sympathy towards Yu Qian 于謙 (1398-1457), who was put to death when Emperor Yingzhong 英宗 (1427-1464, Zhengtong r. 1436-1449 and Tianshun r. 1457-1464) returned to the throne after the Tumu 土木 incident.[138]

A poem by Chen Yunlian 陳蘊蓮 (Qing) records the author's feelings and lamentations on studying history, which she shares with her husband. This is another example of a female poet reflecting on the relationships between emperors and their ministers. In this poem, Chen Yunlian comments on how important it is for an official to be appreciated by

emperors who have vision, but many officials are not so fortunate. She also reminds us that the historical figure she admires and respects most is Yan Guang 嚴光 of the Eastern Han dynasty, who gave up office and enjoyed his life as a recluse, as symbolized by his fishing in the cold weather with a sheep-skin coat. Chen Yunlian uses the phrase *zhi wai* 質外 (questioning my husband) in the title of this poem, which suggests that her husband may be holding a different opinion.[139]

Another example, though given in a letter instead of a poem, is very special and worthy of mention. In this letter, the wife of the famous Qing calligrapher and collector Liang Shanzhou 梁山舟 (1723-1825) reports that she needs some way to enjoy the long summer (長夏無消遣法), so she discusses historical themes in a playful way with her husband (戲論史事), and she enjoys doing so very much.[140]

These examples of women writers who mention their casual discussions on history with their husbands carry important messages. We could easily locate a number of poems written by men for or about their wives, but these poems rarely mention that the men discuss history with their wives.

Concluding Remarks

I conclude my preliminary survey of women's poetic writing on historical subjects with a few observations:

First of all, it is worthy of our attention that many Ming-Qing women poets were interested in history and had received some education in history. Myriads of biographies of women poets are found in anthologies, collected works, biographical collections, gazetteers, and works of literary criticisms. Many of these accounts give due credit to individual women poets who received education in history or acquired knowledge of history by their own efforts. It would be inappropriate to generalize that women have been entirely outsiders to historical scholarship. In fact, numerous literate women had the opportunity to study and reflect on history. Women writers studied history because they chose to, because they did not want to be excluded from such mainstream knowledge, because they needed to educate their sons, and for other reasons. Unlike men, who were required to study history in completing their education and preparing for their careers, women were more likely to study history on a voluntary basis, in a relaxed manner, and as a part-time hobby.

Second, it must be acknowledged that the concept of *xian* does exist in China's time-honored poetic tradition. Both male and female poets have done a great deal of writing on leisure-related themes. The idea of taking history as leisure reading has appeared in some poems produced by both male and female writers. We come across both similarities and differences

in the ways that men and women have viewed this practice. Although many men most commonly composed *yongshi* poems as serious commentaries on historical incidents and figures, we can still identify individual male poets who were able to *xianfan qingshi*, or study history in their leisure time. Some of these men found delight and peace of mind in their reading of history. Others were moved to sorrow or sympathy over tragedies of the past. As for the women poets, some have expressed their serious and meticulous reflections concerning historical themes after studying history in their leisure time. Others have emphasized the joy they gain through choosing history as their leisure reading. Some stress that this activity is especially suited to certain seasons, to certain times of day, such as at night after embroidering, or to certain places such as their dressing tables. There are examples of men expressing their moods while doing *xianfan qingshi*, but they rarely emphasize that they are doing so in the evening, or next to a window with beautiful scenery. These kinds of expressions are more commonly found in women's writings. Men have tended to study history more frequently, at all times of day, and in all seasons. In short, both male and female poets have enjoyed history as leisure reading but under different circumstances and with different moods. Nonetheless, both the similarities and the differences between genders merit focused study.

Finally, I would like to propose that although some women poets have treated history as their leisure reading, they could still generate inspirational thoughts and insights on a variety of historical themes. Ming-Qing women poets attempted to anchor themselves in the literati culture and put forward their voice in historiography. They joined the ranks of *yongshi shi* poets and crafted their opinions on an array of historical themes. The body of *yongshi* poetry works by women is much smaller than that of men, but it is not insignificant. As poets, these women's arguments may not have always been convincing and supported by historical documents, but the same criticism applies to the works of male writers. After all, women poets should be able to express their views on history because history is not the monopoly of a particular gender. Historical reflection and interpretation would be poorer without the participation of women. Therefore, we need to rediscover women's subjectivity and agency in the reading and writing of history. By appropriately placing women back into the historical scene, we can gain a more balanced understanding of how people in the past recorded and viewed history. We are able to find ambitious and interesting arguments presented by women poets in their *yongshi* poems. In going through their works, we can witness how women in the past have integrated the public and private spheres, offered uniquely female perspectives on historical events, and brought up family-oriented or daily-life-based viewpoints to challenge traditional interpretations. We can see how these women

empowered themselves by engaging in debates on central issues in historiography. A more detailed study of poems on historical themes authored by women would indeed be very worthwhile.

Endnotes

1. My project, "*Herstory*: Historical Works by Women in Imperial China," is funded by the Research Grants Council-Fulbright Hong Kong Senior Research Scholar Program and Research Grants Council-General Research Fund (#243313). The Hong Kong Baptist University Faculty Research Grant also provides seed funds to support a portion of this project, "Identifying Female Historians in Imperial China" (#30-12-207). I gratefully acknowledge these generous financial supporters. I also thank the Department of History, Northeastern University, for hosting me during my Fulbright visit in the 2012-13 academic year, and for providing me full office support and library privileges to work on this project. My thanks are also due to Prof. Grace S. Fong for inviting me to give a Hsiang lecture, which has led to the publication of this paper. The faculty members, in particular Prof. Robin D. S. Yates, and graduate students of the Department of East Asian Studies at McGill University are also deeply appreciated for their kindness in attending my lecture and sharing their valuable opinions with me.
2. For a clear account of how the term leisure originated in the languages of ancient Greece and Rome, see Byron Dare, George Welton, and William Coe, *Concepts of Leisure in Western Thought: A Critical and Historical Analysis* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1987). For definitions of various concepts in leisure studies, see Stephen L. J. Smith, *Dictionary of Concepts in Recreation and Leisure Studies* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1990); David Harris, *Key Concepts in Leisure Studies* (London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005); Tony Blackshaw and Garry Crawford, *The Sage Dictionary of Leisure Studies* (Los Angeles and London: Sage Publications, 2009).
3. Thomas L. Goodale and Geoffrey C. Godbey, *The Evolution of Leisure: Historical and Philosophical Perspectives* (State College PA: Venture Publishing Inc., 1988). For a brief multi-cultural analysis of leisure's evolution through early civilization, see Gus J. Gerson, Jr., Hilmi M. Ibrahim, Jack DeVries, and George Eisen, *Understanding Leisure: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1988), 39-60.

4. See, for example, Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure since 1600* (State College PA: Venture Publishing Inc., 1990). See also Rudy Koshar, *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002) and Peter Borsay, *A History of Leisure: The British Experience since 1500* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
5. See, for example, Tom Winnifrith and Cyril Barrett, eds., *The Philosophy of Leisure* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989).
6. See the monumental work by Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 1967).
7. Peter Bramham and Stephen Wagg, eds., *The New Politics of Leisure and Pleasure* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
8. On the difference between the humanistic and the quantitative views of leisure, see Smith, *Dictionary of Concepts in Recreation and Leisure Studies*, 179-85.
9. For a brief account see Rudy Koshar, "Seeing, Traveling, and Consuming: An Introduction," in Rudy Koshar, ed., *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), 1-24.
10. Xu Shen 許慎, annotat. by Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 12 *shang*.12a-13a (589-90).
11. See, for example, Chu Liu 楚流, Wang De 王德, and Sun Xin 孫新, eds., *Xianqing wenhua* 閑情文化 (Beijing: Zhongguo jingji chubanshe, 1995); Zhang Wen 張文, *Fengzhong de xunmi: Han minzu xiuxian wenhua shi* 風中的尋覓: 漢民族休閑文化史 (Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002); Anders Hansson et al., eds., *The Chinese at Play: Festivals, Games and Leisure* (London, New York, and Bahrain: Kegan Paul, 2002); Yin Wei 殷偉, *Nüzi youyi* 女子游藝 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003); Hong Kong Heritage Museum, *Enlightening Trivialities: Ancient Chinese Pastimes* 雖小道亦可觀－中國古代消閒娛樂 (Hong Kong: Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2006); Xu Wanli 許萬里, *Xianqing yiqu: Minghua zhong de fengsu haoshang* 閑情逸趣: 名畫中的風俗好尚 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2010); Song Lizhong 宋立中, *Xianya yu fuhua: Ming Qing Jiangnan richang shenghuo yu xiaofei wenhua* 閑雅與浮華: 明清江南日常生活與消費文化 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010); Yu Wei 余偉, *Wan de gediao: Zhongguo xiuxian wenhua quanshi qudu* 玩的格調: 中國休閑文化全史趣讀 (Xi'an: Shanxi shifan daxue chubanshe 2011); J. P. Park, *Art by the Book: Painting Manuals and the Leisure Life in Late Ming China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2012);

Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, *Ming Qing Jiangnan chengshi de xiuxian xiaofei yu kongjian bianqian* 明清江南城市的休閑消費與空間變遷 (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, 2013); Su Zhuang 蘇狀, *"Xian" yu Zhongguo gudai wenren de shenmei rensheng* "閑"與中國古代文人的審美人生 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2013).

12. *Sibu* is translated as "the four branches" in Endymion Porter Wilkinson's *Chinese History: A New Manual* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 938-39, and as "the four departments" in Harriet T. Zurndorfer's *China Bibliography: A Research Guide to Reference Works about China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 46. Another translation, "the four parts," appears on Benjamin A. Elman's website, "Classical Historiography for Chinese History," Princeton University, http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/history/elman/ClasBibl. This fourfold division arose during the Wei-Jin period and reached its maturity in the early Tang, when the official history of the Sui dynasty was compiled. Since then, this classification system became the standard and formed the basis of the classification system of the *Siku quanshu* (Complete collection of the four treasures). For an overview of the development of this fourfold division of books, see Zuo Yuhe 左玉河, *Cong sibu zhi xue dao qike zhi xue: Xueshu fenke yu jindai Zhongguo zhishi xitong zhi chuangjian* 從四部之學到七科之學: 學術分科與近代中國知識系統之創建 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2004). See also my "An Investigation into the Sources for Women's History in the *Sibu*: In Lieu of an Introduction," in Clara Wing-chung Ho, ed., *Overt and Covert Treasures: Essays on the Sources for Chinese Women's History* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2012), 2 and 13.
13. Sandra Hughes-Hassell and Pradnya Rodge, "The Leisure Reading Habits of Urban Adolescents," *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy* 51.1 (September 2007): 22-33.
14. Hu Wenkai, *Lidai funü zhuzuo kao* 歷代婦女著作考, revised edition with supplementary entries by Zhang Hongsheng 張宏生 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 212-826.
15. Kang-i Sun Chang, "Ming and Qing Anthologies of Women's Poetry and Their Selection Strategies," in Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang, eds., *Writing Women in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 147.
16. Hu Shi, "Sanbai nian zhong de nü zuojia: *Qing guixiu yiwen lüe* xu 三百年中的女作家:《清閨秀藝文略》序," in *Hu Shi wencun* 胡適文存, vol. 3 (Shanghai: Yadong tushuguan, 1930), 8.1078.

17. Note the important contribution of recently published Ming-Qing women-authored collections: Fang Xiujie [Grace S. Fong] 方秀潔 and Yi Weide [Wilt Idema] 伊維德, comps., *Meiguo Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing tushuguan cang Ming Qing funü zhushu huikan* 美國哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館藏明清婦女著述彙刊 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009); Hu Xiaoming 胡曉明 and Peng Guozhong 彭國忠, eds., *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian, erbian, sanbian, sibian* 江南女性別集初編二編三編四編(Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014).
18. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/mingqing/, launched by McGill University Library under the directorship of Grace S. Fong.
19. Some fifty works by forty women authors are included in the eight-hundred volume collection of *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), and nine collected works of women authors can be found in the thirty-three volume *Beijing shifan daxue tushuguan cang xijian Qingren bieji congkan*, comp. by Cheng Rentao 程仁桃 et al. (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007).
20. For a quick reference see Robin D. S. Yates, *Women in China from Earliest Times to the Present: A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2009).
21. Description for Ji Lanyun 季蘭韻, see Lei Jin 雷瑨 and Lei Jian 雷瑊, *Guixiu cihua* 閨秀詞話, in Wang Yingzhi 王英志, ed., *Qingdai guixiu shihua congkan* 清代閨秀詩話叢刊 (Nanjing: Fenguang chubanshe, 2010), 4:1505.
22. Description for Wan Duanshu 王端淑, see Shen Shanbao 沈善寶, *Mingyuan shihua* 名媛詩話 (reprint of the Guangxu Hongxue lou edition), in *Xuxiu sikuquanshu* 續修四庫全書, vol. 1076 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 2.5b.
23. Description for Li Lixiang 李吏香, see Lei Jin and Lei Jian, *Guixiu shihua* 閨秀詩話 (Shanghai: Saoye shanfang, 1922), 16.10b.
24. Description for an unnamed poetess of Kuaiji 會稽, see Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, *Liechao shiji* 列朝詩集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1959), "runji" 閏集, "xianglian zhong" 香奩中, 761.
25. Description for Zhu Wuxia 朱無瑕, see Qian, *Liechao shiji*, "xianglian zhong," 766-67.
26. Description for Zhou Yuxiao 周玉簫, see Qian, *Liechao shiji*, "xianglian shang," 737.
27. Description for Mao Jun 冒俊, see Shi Shuyi 施淑儀, *Qingdai guige shiren zhenglüe* 清代閨閣詩人徵略 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1987), 9.21b.

28. Description for Xu Xuan 徐璇, see Shi, *Qingdai guige shiren zhenglüe*, 5.16b.
29. Description for Chen Jingying 陳靜英, see Lei Jin and Lei Jian, *Guixiu shihua*, 2. 4a and *Guixiu cihua*, 2:1458.
30. Description for Feng Lüduan 馮履端, see Huang Zhimo 黃秩模, *Guochao guixiu shi liuxu ji jiaobu* 國朝閨秀詩柳絮集校補, 4 vols., annot. by Fu Qiong 付瓊 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2011), 1:11.
31. Description for Zhuang Tao 莊燾, see Huang, *Guochao guixiu shi liuxu ji jiaobu*, 27.1233.
32. Sun Yugong 孫愚公, "Daonei ershou" 悼內二首, in *Zuili shixi* 檇李詩繫, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 1475 (Taibei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), 21.27a.
33. Yang Ji, "Zhao Yiren Hui shi wanzhang" 趙宜人衛氏挽章, in his *Mei'an ji* 眉庵集 (Chengdu: Sichuan chuban jitudan Ba Shu shushe, 2005), 181.
34. Wang Men, "Dushi," in her *Yinyue lou shiji* 印月樓詩集, in Cai Dianqi 蔡殿齊, comp., *Guochao guige shichao* 國朝閨閣詩鈔 (Langhuan bieguan edition, 1844), "gui" 癸, 3ab.
35. In Zhang Yingchang 張應昌, comp., *Qing shi duo* 清詩鐸 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), "dushu" 讀書, 22.803-804.
36. Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 104-105.
37. See Li Diaoyuan 李調元, *Yucun shihua (jiaozheng)* 雨村詩話校正, annot. by Zhan Hanglun 詹杭倫 and Shen Shirong 沈時蓉 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2007), 8.205. Note the romanization of 李調元 is sometimes rendered as Li Tiaoyuan (or Li T'iao-yüan in Wade-Giles, as in Arthur W. Hummel's *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912* [Washington DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1943], 486-488). Actually, Tiaoyuan makes more sense than Diaoyuan. The former name has been used in ancient texts as meaning the perseverance of health and fitness. See *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1991), 11:298. However, the official name of Li's memorial in Deyang, Sichuan, is the Li Diaoyuan Memorial Museum 李調元紀念館, http://www.sichuan-tour.com/about-sichuan3.php?id=9238; http://www.quanguotong.com/poi/7172548ldyjng.
38. See my "Ming-Qing nüxing de shizhu" 明清女性的史著, in *Caide xianghui: Zhongguo nüxing de zhixue yu kezi* 才德相輝:中國女性的治學與課子 (Xianggang: Sanlian shudian, 2015), 24-77.

39. Zhang Zhenglang, "Jiangshi yu yongshi shi" 講史與詠史詩, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 10 (April 1948); reprinted in his *Wenshi congkao* 文史叢考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 225-81.
40. Zhao Wangqin and Zhang Huanling, *Gudai yongshi shi tonglun* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010).
41. See Yue Xiren 岳希仁, ed., *Gudai yongshi shi jingxuan dianping* 古代詠史詩精選點評 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1996), 7-8.
42. See Xu Gang, "The Past is Eternal: Chinese Pan-historicism as Manifested in Poetry on History" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1996), 6-27.
43. Xie Qikun, *Shujing tang yongshi shi* 樹經堂詠史詩歌 (1825 edition), in *Siku weishou shu jikan* 四庫未收書輯刊, vol. 4.20 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997).
44. Luo Chunyan, *Jiyi xuan yongshi shichao* (1875 edition), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, vols. 1542-43.
45. For studies on *yongshi shi*, see Leng Jiping 冷紀平 and Liu Huairong 劉懷榮, "Ershi shiji yongshi shi yanjiu de lishi huigu" 二十世紀詠史詩研究的歷史回顧, *Hiroshima Interdisciplinary Studies in the Humanities* 4 (March 2005): 86-95. Also see Zhan Xiaoyong 詹曉勇, *Ming Qing yongshi shiji zhijian lu: Ming dai* 明清詠史詩集知見錄: 明代 (Hong Kong: Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, University of Hong Kong, 2009) and *Ming Qing yongshi shiji zhijian lu: Qing dai* 明清詠史詩集知見錄: 清代 (Hong Kong: Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, University of Hong Kong, 2010).
46. Xu, "The Past is Eternal," 3. See also the author's monograph on the same theme rendered in Chinese, *Yongshi shi yu Zhongguo fan lishi zhuyi* 詠史詩與中國泛歷史主義 (Taibei: Shuiniu tushu chuban shiye youxian gongsi, 1997), 2.
47. Mann, *Precious Records*, 17-18.
48. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/mingqing/english/.
49. See, for example, Pan Minzhong 潘民中 et al, eds., *Zhongguo yongshi huaigu shijuan* 中國詠詩懷古詩卷 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1988) and Yue Xiren, *Gudai yongshi shi.*
50. For example, there is one entry on female-authored *yongshi* poetry out of sixty-three entries in the collection edited by Zhang Hui 章回, ed., *Lidai yongshi shixuan* 歷代詠史詩選 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1989). Only eight out of 515 entries concern female-authored *yongshi* poems in Chu Dahong 儲大泓, ed., *Lidai yongshi*

shi xuanzhu 歷代詠史詩選注 (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1990). There are fifteen entries on female-authored *yongshi* poems among the 1590 entries in Wan Ping 萬萍 and Ye Weigong 葉維恭, eds., *Zhongguo lidai yongshi shi cidian* 中國歷代詠史詩辭典 (Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998). There are fifteen entries on female-authored *yongshi shi* out of 540 entries in Shi Lun 師綸, ed., *Lidai yongshi shi wubai shou* 歷代詠史詩五百首 (Guangzhou: Huanan ligong daxue chubanshe, 2010).

51. Shen Lidong 沈立東 and Ge Rutong 葛汝桐, eds., *Lidai funü shici jianshang cidian* 歷代婦女詩詞鑒賞辭典 (Beijing: Zhongguo funü chubanshe, 1992), 851-990. It is interesting to note that another collection of female-authored poetic writings containing two hundred works by palace women includes just three *yongshi* poems. See Shen Lidong, ed., *Lidai houfei shici jizhu* 歷代后妃詩詞集注 (Beijing: Zhongguo funü chubanshe, 1990).
52. Xu Boling 徐伯齡, "Nüren yongshi" 女人詠史, in his *Yinjing jun* 蟫精雋, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 867, 14.13b-14b.
53. Zhao and Zhang, *Gudai yongshi shi tonglun*, 267.
54. Duan Jihong 段繼紅, *Qingdai guige wenxue yanjiu* 清代閨閣文學研究 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2007), 156-65.
55. Mann, *Precious Records*, 214-18.
56. See Grace S. Fong, *Herself an Author: Gender, Agency, and Writing in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 1-3.
57. See n. 61.
58. Kang Ping, ed., *Caiju dongli xia: Gushi fenlei jianshang xilie xianshi pian* 采菊東籬下: 古詩分類鑒賞系列閑適篇 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chuanshe, 1996). The translation of "caiju dongli xia" is adopted from Wendy Swartz, *Reading Tao Yuanming: Shifting Paradigms of Historical Reception (427-1900)* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 17.
59. For example, the following translations have all rendered *xian* as "idle" or "idleness." See Arthur Waley, trans., *Waiting for the Moon: Poems of Bo Juyi* (Mount Jackson, VA: Axios Press, 2012); Howard S. Levy, trans., *Translations from Po Chü-i's Collected Works Vol I: The Old Style Poems* (New York: Arno Press, 1970); *Vol II: The Regulated Poems* (New York: Arno Press, 1970); *Vol. III: Regulated and Patterned Poems of Middle Age (822-832)* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center Inc., 1976); *Vol IV: The Later Years (833-846)* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1978); David Hinton, trans.,

The Selected Poems of Po Chü-i (New York: A New Directions Book, 1999); Burton Watson, trans., *Po Chü-i: Selected Poems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

60. Levy, *Translations*, *Vol. I: The Old Style Poems*, 13.
61. Bo Juyi officially classifies the poems in his collection into four categories, in which *xianshi shi* is the second category. See *Bo Juyi ji* 白居易集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), *juan* 5 to 8, pp. 91-166.
62. Levy, *Translations*, *Vol. I: The Old Style Poems*, 13. This famous saying appears in Bo's original letter to Yuan Zhen. See "Yu Yuan Jiu shu" 與元九書, in *Bo Juyi ji*, 45.964.
63. Swartz, *Reading Tao Yuanming*, 48.
64. See, for example, the analysis of Shigeo Umeda 埋田重夫, *Haku Kyoi kenkyu: Kanteki no shiso* 白居易研究: 閑適の詩想 (Tokyo: Kyuko Shoin, 2006).
65. Mao Yanjun 毛妍君, *Bo Juyi xianshi shi yanjiu* 白居易閑適詩研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), 19.
66. Zhao Qi 趙岐 and Sun Shi 孫奭, annots., *Mengzi zhushu* 孟子注疏, in Ruan Yuan 阮元, comp., *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 6 xia.50 (2714). Translation adopted from Irene Bloom, *Mencius*, ed. by Philip J. Ivanhoe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), Book 3b, 70.
67. Sima Qian's letter in reply to Ren An is preserved in Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 漢書, annot. Yan Shigu 顏師古, vol. 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 62.2735. Translation adopted from Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 136-42.
68. See Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946) et al., *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書, vol. 10 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 102.3173.
69. Han Yu, "Da Liu xiucai lun shi shu" 答劉秀才論史書, in Ma Qichang 馬其昶 and Ma Maoyuan 馬茂元, annots., *Han Changli wenji jiaozhu* 韓昌黎文集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), "waiji" shang, 667.
70. See Li Zhi's early announcement of *liujing jieshi* 六經皆史 (The Six Classics are all history) in his *Fenshu* 焚書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 5.214. See also Wang Fuzhi's comments on the value of history in his *Du Tongjian lun* 讀通鑑論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 6.156-57; and Dai Mingshi's remarks on how difficult it was to locate a person capable of writing history seriously, in "Shilun" 史論, in *Nanshan ji* 南山集 (reprint of the 1900 edition), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, vol. 1419, 1.14a.

71. Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 et al., *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, vol. 43 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 480.13105.
72. She Yunzuo 佘雲祚, *Jushi dashu* (reprint of the Chiwen tang edition of the Kangxi reign), in *Siku weishou shu jikan*, vol. 4.20. Also, see the preface authored by Yang Yongjian, 2ab (141).
73. Zhang Xuecheng, *Wenshi tongyi* 文史通義 (reprint of the 1922 Liu shi Jiaye tang *Zhang shi yishu* 章氏遺書 edition), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, vol. 448: 223, *neipian* 5, *zhang* 5.1. Translation adopted from Philip J. Ivanhoe, trans., *On Ethics and History: Essays and Letters of Zhang Xuecheng* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 76-77.
74. Zhao Dingchen, "Dushi xizuo," in *Zhuyin qishi ji* 竹隱畸士集, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 1124, 2.4b-5a.
75. For a detailed account of Sima Xiangru's life and works, see *Shiji* 史記, vol. 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 117.2999-3074.
76. Peng Yisun, "Yezuo" 夜坐, in his *Mingzhai ji* 茗齋集, in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 2.105b.
77. Zha Shenxing, "Wuling Yang Zhangcang chonglai Duxia ganjiu youzeng" 武陵楊長蒼重來都下感舊有增, in his *Jingye tang shiji* 敬業堂詩集, in *Sibu congkan*, 7.12ab.
78. Chen Yuanlong, "Fude jingyou tushi le" 賦得靜有圖史樂, in Chen Tingjing 陳廷敬 and Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, comps., *Huang Qing wenying* 皇清文穎, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 1450, 68.5b.
79. Qing Gaozong 清高宗, "Qianxing" 遣興, in Jiang Pu 蔣溥 et al., comps., *Yuzhi shi siji* 御製詩四集, in *Qing Gaozong [Qianlong] yushi shiwen quanji* 清高宗〔乾隆〕御製詩文全集 (Beijing: Renmin daxue chubanshe, 1993), 8.17a.
80. See Qiao Zhizhong 喬治忠, *Qingchao guanfang shixue yanjiu* 清朝官方史學研究 (Taibei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1994); Ye Gaoshu 葉高樹, "Qianlong shidai guanxiu shishu de jiaohua gongneng: Jianlun Qianlong huangdi tongyu Hanguan de celüe" 乾隆時代官修史書的教化功能: 兼論乾隆皇帝統御漢官的策略, *Taiwan shida lishi xuebao* 臺灣師大歷史學報 22 (June 1994): 171-99; and the following articles by He Guanbiao 何冠彪: "Lun Qing Gaozong zhi chongxiu Liao, Jin, Yuan san shi" 論清高宗之重修遼金元三史, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 12.3 (Spring 1995): 49-66; "Qing Gaozong gangmu ti shiji bianzhuan kao" 清高宗綱目體史籍編纂考, *Guoli bianyiguan guankan* 國立編譯館館刊 24.1 (June 1995): 129-50; "Lun Qing Gaozong ziwo chuixu de lishi panguan xingxiang" 論清高宗自我吹

嘘的歷史判官形象, *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊 7.1 (January 1996): 85-107; "Qing Gaozong dui NanMing lishi diwei de chuli" 清高宗對南明歷史地位的處理, *Xin shixue* 新史學 7.1 (March 1996): 1-27; "Qianlong chao chongxiu Liao, Jin, Yuan sanshi foushi" 乾隆朝重修遼金元三史剖析, *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古學信息 1997.1 (March 1997): 26-34; "Qing Gaozong *Yuzuan zizhi tongjian gangmu sanbian* de bianzhuan yu chongxiu" 清高宗《御撰資治通鑑綱目三編》的編纂與重修," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 70.3 (September 1999): 671-97; "Qing Gaozong *Yupi lidai tongjian jilan* bianzhuan kaoshi 清高宗《御批歷代通鑑輯覽》編纂考釋," *Lingnan xuebao* 嶺南學報 new series 2 (2000): 131-67.

81. Wang Ao, "Xie Cunwen xian jiangxue qinzheng shu" 謝存問獻講學親政疏, in Huang Zongxi, ed., *Ming Wenhai* 明文海, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu,* vol. 1453, 50.28a-29b. See also Hok-lam Chan's entry on Wang Ao in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), 1343-47.
82. Zhao Yi, "Wushi chudu" 五十初度, in his *Oubei ji* 甌北集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 23.481.
83. Zhao Yi, "Yonggu" 詠古, *Oubei ji*, 31.710.
84. Zhao Yi, "Yueshi xizuo" 閱史戲作, *Oubei ji*, 25. 542.
85. Zhao Yi, "Wuliao" 無聊, *Oubei ji*, 49.1260.
86. Zhao Yi, "Yongshi" 詠史, *Oubei ji*, 52.1330.
87. See the entry on Zhao Yi (Chao I) by William Schultz in William H. Nienhauser, Jr. et al., eds., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 227-29.
88. Du Weiyun, *Zhao Yi zhuan* 趙翼傳 (Taibei: Shibao wenhua chuban shiye youxian gongsi, 1983). See also his "Zhao Yi zhi shixue" 趙翼之史學, in his *Qingdai shijia yu shixue* 清代史家與史學 (Taibei: Dongda tushu youxian gongsi, 1984), 369-90.
89. Bin Liang 斌良, "Haihuai xuan zaxing bu Zhang Chuanshan jiuyun" 海懷宣雜興步張船山舊韻, in his *Baochong zhai shiji* 抱沖齋詩集 (Chongfu Hunan edition, 1879), 16.56ab; Liu Jia, "Yongshi" 詠史, in Pan Yantong 潘衍桐, comp., *Liang Zhe youxuan xulu* 兩浙輶軒續錄 (reprint of the Guangxu Zhejiang shuju edition), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, vol. 1685:732, 25.54a.
90. Qiao Yingjia, *Banjiu ting ji* 半九亭集, edited by Zhao Wangjin 趙望進 (Taiyuan: San Jin chubanshe, 2012), 5.1a.

91. Susan Mann, "The Virtue of Travel for Women in the Late Empire," in Bryna Goodman and Wendy Larson, eds., *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 55-74.
92. Fong, "Authoring Journeys: Women on the Road," in *Herself an Author*, 85-120.
93. Dorothy Ko (Gao Yanyi 高彥頤), "'Kongjian' yu 'jia': Lun Mingmo Qingchu funü de shenghuo kongjian" '空間'與'家': 論明末清初婦女的生活空間, *Jindai Zhongguo funü shi yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究 3 (August 1995): 21-50.
94. Hoi-ling Lui, "Gender, Emotions, and Texts: Writings to and about Husbands in Anthologies of Qing Women's Works" (M. Phil. thesis, Hong Kong Baptist University, 2010), 90-119.
95. A quick reference can be obtained by a combined keyword search for the two characters of *xian* (閑 and 閒) contained in poem titles, which show a total of 152 entries. Among them, the most frequent phrase is *xianju*, which appears 36 times, while all the others such as *xianbu*, *xianwang*, *xianzuo*, *xianyong*, *xiantiao*, or *xianqi* appear much less often (http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/mingqing/search/index_ch.php).
96. Zhang Hongping 張紅萍, "Xiuxian: Nüxing shengming jiazhi de ziwo tixian" 休閒: 女性生命價值的自我體現, in her *Zhongguo nüren de yige shiji* 中國女人的一個世紀 (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2010), 143-62.
97. Wang Zhenyi, "Qiuri xianju," 秋日閒居 in *Defeng ting chuji* 德風亭初集 (Jiang shi Shenxiu shuwu edition, 1916), Ding 丁, 22.7b.
98. Jiang Zhu, "He Qingxi furen chunri xianju yun queji" 和清溪夫人春日閒居韻卻寄, *Qingli ge ji* 青藜閣集, in Ren Zhaolin 任兆麟 and Zhang Yunzi 張允滋, comps., *Wuzhong nüshi shichao* 吳中女士詩鈔 (1789 edition), 14b-15a.
99. Cai Wan, "Chang xiangsi (xianzuo)" 長相思(閒坐), in Xu Naichang 許乃昌, *Guixiu cichao* 閨秀詞鈔 (Xiaotanluan shi edition, 1909), 10.6b.
100. Bao Zhifen, "Zaoqiu xianyong" 早秋閒詠, in her *Sanxiu zhai shichao* 三秀齋詩鈔, in *Jingjiang Bao shi san nüshi shichao heke* 京江鮑氏三女史詩鈔合刻 (1882 edition), in Fang and Yi, *Ming Qing funü zhushu huikan*, 1.2b.
101. Gan Lirou, "Dushi" 讀史, *Yongxue lou gao* 詠雪樓稿 (Banjizhai edition, 1840), 4.14b.
102. See Fong, "A Life in Poetry: The Auto/biography of Gan Lirou

(1743-1819)," in *Herself an Author*, 52.

103. Tan Ziying, "Dushu" 讀書, *Xiuyin lou shichao* 繡吟樓詩鈔, in Cai, *Guochao guige shichao*, 9.45a.
104. Rong Xian, "Chunye dushi," in Yun Zhu, comp., *Guochao guixiu zhengshi xuji* 國朝閨秀正始續集 (Hongxian guan edition, 1836), 4.7a.
105. Wang Zhaoluan, "Song Zifu dushu Xishang caotang" 送子父讀書溪上草堂, in Huang, *Liuxu ji*, 23.1049.
106. Gu Ruopu, "Qiuye dushi," in her *Woyue xuan gao* 臥月軒稿 (Guangxu Jiahui tang edition), 2.4ab.
107. Ye Yanlan 葉衍蘭 and Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽, *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan* 清代學者像傳, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2001), 1:355-56. On Wang Duan, see also n. 123.
108. Wang Duan, "Qiuye dushi," in her *Ziran haoxue zhai shichao* 自然好學齋詩鈔, in Mao Jun, comp., *Linxia yayin ji* 林下雅音集 (1884 edition), 2.12ab.
109. Huang Yuanzhen, "Qiuchuang yueshi," in Xu Shichang 徐世昌, comp., *Wanqing yi shihui* 晚晴簃詩匯 (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1989), 183.1391.
110. Xue Shaohui, "Zhongqiu ye dushi zuo," in her *Daiyun lou shiji* 黛韻樓詩集 (1911 edition), in Fang and Yi, *Ming Qing funü zhushu huikan*, 2.3b.
111. Nanxiu Qian, "Xue Shaohui and Her Poetic Chronicle of Late Qing Reforms," in Grace S. Fong and Ellen Widmer, eds., *Inner Quarters and Beyond: Women Writers from Ming through Qing* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010), 354-55.
112. Fong and Widmer, *Inner Quarters and Beyond*, 354-55.
113. Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 296-97. See also Harriet Zurndorfer (宋漢理), "Xingbie hua de Zhongguo keju zhidu" 性別化的中國科舉制度, in Li Hongqi 李弘祺, ed., *Zhongguo yu Dongya de jiaoyu chuantong* 中國與東亞的教育傳統 (Taibei: Ximalaya yanfa jijinhui, 2006), 207-29.
114. Borrowed from Grace S. Fong's analysis, see her *Herself an Author*, 159-60.
115. Zhou Huijuan, "Dushi" 讀史, in Ciyi nüshi 慈懿女史, ed., *Lichao guixiu mingshi yiqian shou* 歷朝閨秀名詩一千首 (Shanghai: Shanghai jingwei shuju, 1936), 211.
116. Mao Xiuyu, "Qie boming" 妾薄命, in Huang, *Liuxu ji*, 17.743. For a

full account of Zhu's story, see his biography in Ban, *Han shu*, 64 shang, 2791-94.

117. Yuan Shou, "Dushi yougan," in her *Yaohua ge shicao* 瑤華閣詩草 (1867 edition), in Fang and Yi, *Ming Qing funü zhushu huikan*, 5a-6a.
118. One can easily see this by searching databases such as the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 and *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊. For a quick reference see Chen Shiduo 陳士鐸, *Bencao xinbian* 本草新編 (Beijing: Zhongguo Zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1996), 5.344.
119. Yuan Shou, "Dushi yougan," 5a.
120. Yuan Shou, "Dushi yougan," 5a. For the full story of Han Wudi admitting his faults at Luntai, see Ban, *Han shu*, vol. 12, 96.3912-3914. Han Wudi lost his heir apparent due to a witchcraft accusation incident in 91 B.C.E. The emperor only learned that his son was an innocent victim after his death. To mourn his lost heir, Han Wudi constructed a memorial named Sizi gong 思子宮 and a platform called Guilai wangsi zhi tai 歸來望思之臺 in the middle of a lake. See Ban, *Han shu*, vol. 9, 63.2741-2747.
121. Xu Weiwen, "Dushi," in Fu Ying 傅瑛, *Ming Qing Anhui funü wenxue zhushu jikao* 明清安徽婦女文學著述輯考 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2010), 4.213.
122. Liang Hanrong, "Du shishu" 讀史書, in Chen Xiang 陳香, comp., *Qingdai nü shiren xuanji* 清代女詩人選集 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1977), 211.
123. Jin Hesu, "Yue *Lienü zhuan*" 閱《列女傳》, in Huang, *Liuxu ji*, 34.1559.
124. Wang Duan, "Yong shi," in her *Ziran haoxue zhai shichao*, 3.6b.
125. Chen Wenshu, "Xiaohui Wang yiren zhuan" 孝慧汪宜人傳, included in the beginning of Wang Duan's *Ziran haoxue zhai shichao,* 306-19. On the life of Wang Duan, see also Hu Jing 胡敬, "Wang Yunzhuang nüshi zhuan" 汪允莊女史傳, also included in *Ziran haoxue zhai shichao*, 303-304; Chen Ruifen 陳瑞芬, "Wang Duan yanjiu" 汪端研究, *Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue Guowen yanjiu suo jikan* 國立台灣師範大學國文研究所集刊 32 (June 1988): 668-824; Lu Zhihong 盧志虹 (Ina Lo), "Wang Duan nianpu" 汪端年譜, *Qingshi luncong* 清史論叢 2013 (December 2012): 148-81 and "Cainü Wang Duan jiqi jiaren zhi shengping kaoshu" 才女汪端及其家人之生平考述, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 new 30 (August 2012): 275-341.
126. In his "Xiaohui Wang yiren zhuan," Chen Wenshu describes Wang Duan's destroying of this eighty volume work due to her religious beliefs (p. 309). Note that Hu Jing also mentions this work of history,

but says the length of the work was eighteen instead of eighty volumes (p. 303). Contemporary researchers on Wang Duan are very curious about this work but have not been able to locate much information. Cao Zhengwen 曹正文 labels Wang Duan's *Yuan Ming yishi* as China's first female-authored popular fiction. He admits that he has not read the novel but does not explain that the work has been destroyed by its author. See Cao's "Wang Duan yu *Yuan Ming yishi*: Nüxing tongsu xiaoshuo de dangsheng" 汪端與《元明佚史》: 女性通俗小說的誕生, in his *Nüxing wenxue yu wenxue nüxing* 女性文學與文學女性 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1991), 150-52. Wilt Idema and Beata Grant also describe the *Yuan Ming yishi* as "a long novel in eighty chapters." See their *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 627. Ellen Widmer previously describes the *Yuan Ming yishi* as "fictional." See "Ming Loyalism and the Woman's Voice in Fiction after *Hong lou meng*," in Widmer and Chang, *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, 378-82. Widmer also refers to the manuscript as a "colloquial novel," in *The Beauty and the Book: Women and Fiction in Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 121. However, for Widmer's most recent analysis of the *Yuan Ming yishi*, see her "Women as Biographers in Mid-Qing Jiangnan," in Joan Judge and Hu Ying, eds., *Beyond Exemplar Tales: Women's Biography in Chinese History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2011), 255-61. Widmer argues that if the *Yuan Ming yishi* (which Widmer translates as the *Lost History of the Yuan and Ming*) had survived, "it would have been the first known novel (or possibly popular history; we are not quite sure of the genre) by a woman author." Widmer also suggests that, "Wang Duan tried to write biography and history, even a novel, in a world that apparently discouraged pure narrative by women writers" (p. 257). Lu Zhihong (Ina Chi Hung Lo) expresses great reservation in labeling the *Yuan Ming yishi* as a vernacular fiction. See her convincing elaboration "Nengfou tuiduan Wang Duan de *Yuan Ming yishi* wei baihua xiaoshuo?" 能否推斷汪端的《元明逸史》為白話小說? in her "Guizhong de xuezhe: Wang Duan (1793-1839) de shengming licheng, shige bianzhuan ji lishi guanhuai" 閨中的學者: 汪端 (1793-1839) 的生命歷程, 詩歌編撰及歷史關懷 (M. Phil. thesis, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2010), 239-44. Concerning the possible reasons why Wang Duan burned her manuscript, see Lu Zhihong's

discussion in the same thesis, 145-51.

127. Idema and Grant, *The Red Brush*, 628.
128. Liang Desheng, "*Ming sanshi jia shixuan* xu" 《明三十家詩選》序, in her *Guchun xuan wenchao* 古春軒文鈔, xia, 2a. For a complete translation of this preface, see Idema and Grant, *The Red Brush*, 621-23.
129. Zhang Zao, "Chunri xiaoyuan dushu zuo" 春日小園讀書作, in her *Peiyuan tang shiji* 培遠堂詩集, vol. 10.20 (reprint of the Qianlong edition), in *Siku weishou shu jikan*, 9b (658).
130. Ji Lanyun, "Changxia wuliao zayi shishi de shi'er shou," in her *Chuwan ge ji* 楚畹閣集 (1847 edition), in Fang and Yi, *Ming Qing funü zhushu huikan*, 8.4a-7a.
131. Ji, "Changxia wuliao zayi shishi de shi'er shou," 5a. Concerning the story of Wu Qi killing his wife, see his biography in *Shiji*, vol. 7, 65.2165-2169.
132. Reported in Wang Yunzhang 王蘊章, *Ranzhi yuyun* 燃脂餘韻 (2nd ed.; Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919), 1.11b–12a and in Lei and Lei, *Guixiu shihua* 閨秀詩話 (Shanghai: Saoye shanfang, 1922), 11.2ab.
133. Wang Shengzhi, "Ti Sun Peiqiu nüshi huachuang dushi tu" 題孫佩秋女史花窗讀史圖, in *Mingyun xuan yishi* 茗韻軒遺詩 (Zilang yuguan edition, 1865), in Fang and Yi, *Ming Qing funü zhushu huikan*, 14ab.
134. Chou Ying, *Yuanzhong dushi tu*, www.coauction.com/1/58463.
135. Fei Danxu, *Tongyin dushi tu*, auction.artxun.com/paimai-95273-476364264.shtml.
136. Su Renshan, *Banji xushi tu*, auction.artron.net/Showpic.php?ArtCode=art21950221. Also, note an interesting contemporary painting, *Munü dushi tu* 母女讀史圖, which depicts a mother and a daughter studying history, by Wei Qian 魏謙, shop.xinhuacang.com/goods/1673.
137. For example, male scholars reading history are illustrated in the following modern and contemporary works: Zhang Daqian 張大千, *Hetang dushi tu* 荷塘讀史圖, www.zunke.com/result/good/id/2408157; Deng Shen 鄧聖, *Jiaoyin dushi tu* 蕉蔭讀史圖, http://art.china.cn/mjda/2009-03/26/content_2815095.htm; Liu Dawei 劉大為, *Jiaoyin dushi tu*, in Wu Changjiang 吳長江, ed., *Mingde, Herong: Quanguo Zhongguo hua minjia yaoqingzhan zuopin ji* 明德和融:全國中國畫名家邀請作品集 (Beijing: Beijing gongyi meishu chubanshe, 2011), 3; Ge Qingyo 葛慶友, *Dushi tu* 讀史圖, www.jinghui888.com/jh/showzp.asp?id=690.
138. Gan Qihua, "Tong waizi fenyong *Ming shi* ni gu yuefu sishou zhi yi"

同外子分詠《明史》擬古樂府四首之一, in her *Fenyu xiaocao* 焚餘小草, in Cai, *Guochao guige shichao*, 10.33b-34a. See also Yu Qian's biography in Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., *Ming Shi* 明史, vol. 15 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 170.4543-53.

139. Chen Yunlian, "Dushi yougan yonghuai zhiwai" 讀史有感咏懷質外, in her *Xinfang ge shicao* 信芳閣詩草 (1859 edition), in Fang and Yi, *Ming Qing funü zhushu huikan*, 3.4a. On Yan Guang, see Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, vol. 10 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 83.2763-64.
140. Liang Shanzhou furen 梁山舟夫人, "Lun shishu" 論史書, in Wang Xiuqin 王秀琴, comp. and Hu Wenkai, ed., *Lidai mingyuan shujian* 歷代名媛書簡 (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1941), 171.

Gold Mountain Dreams: Classical-Style Poetry from San Francisco Chinatown

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I. Introduction

It has been noted that poetry has received "much less critical attention" than prose fiction in the study of Chinese American literature, even though a rich poetic output does exist and a separate study would be required to do it justice.[1] The situation of classical-style poetry is worse when compared to poetry in English written by Chinese Americans. It is basically ghettoized in Chinatowns, just as the voices of early Chinese immigrants went unheard and ignored by American society. Apart from the two important corpuses of poems produced by early Chinese immigrants—the Angel Island poems and *Jinshan geji* 金山歌集 (Songs of Gold Mountain), the activities of Chinese traditional poetry societies (*shishe* 詩社) and the vast quantity of classical-style verse published in the United States have yet to be made known and discussed.[2]

A few examples may illustrate the neglect of overseas classical-style poetry. Except for thirteen translated pieces of the Angel Island poems selected for inclusion in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, no apposite publication anthologizes any classical-style poem. *Chinese American Poetry* (unsurprising because only English language poems are selected), and *Haiwai huaren zuojia shixuan* 海外華人作家詩選 (Poetry of overseas Chinese writers), a collection of Chinese vernacular poetry written by writers who immigrated to or once stayed in foreign countries, especially the United States, contain no classical-style poems.[3]

The subject suffers from similar neglect in scholarly studies in both Chinese and English. In the first chapter of Xiao-huang Yin's *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s*, for instance, only a few pages are about the Angel Island poems.[4] The rest of the book focuses on prose fiction entirely, giving the impression that poetry (either in Chinese or English, classical or vernacular forms) produced by Chinese American writers thereafter is not important.[5] Scholars in Mainland China, like their colleagues in the United States, have also focused much of their attention on fiction produced by Chinese American writers, while their discussion on

classical-style poetry is again limited to the Angel Island poems and the *Songs of Gold Mountain*.[6]

The absence of classical-style poetry from the general scope of Chinese American literature is also apparent in the construction of a modern Chinese literary history in China. The genre has been considered obsolete since the success of the May Fourth Movement and, if studied, is usually allotted to the polemical area called *jindai wenxue* 近代文學 (literature from the late Qing up to about 1930s), even if some of the poems were written beyond that time frame.[7] As I have shown, scholarly studies and the revival of composing classical-style poetry after the Cultural Revolution point to a new interest in the genre.[8] Like a wandering soul, however, it still does not have a place in the pantheon of *xiandai wenxue* 現代文學 (modern literature), which is reserved for vernacular forms only.[9] In any case, the exclusion of the genre from the standard repertoire of Chinese American literature seems to be a reflection of how cultural and literary changes in China have affected literary historians and critics in America.

Readership and language barriers also hinder classical-style poetry from gaining a more important place in Chinese American literature.[10] General Chinese readers either do not have the ability to read Classical Chinese or are not interested. The Angel Island poems and the *Songs of Gold Mountain* are known to scholars because of their significance as the origin of Chinese American literature, and to Anglophone scholars only because they have been translated into English.[11] Other works remain largely unread even if they have been published in local Chinese newspapers and in book form. Furthermore, many of these newspapers are lost, making it difficult for a more thorough study.[12]

Just as the reading of the Angel Island poems and the *Songs of Gold Mountain* can enhance our understanding of the hopes and despairs, life and dreams of early Chinese immigrants in America, the study of classical-style poetry outside these two bodies of work should be able to serve a similar purpose (all of the writers of classical-style poetry within the purview of my research are, like the Angel Island and *Gold Mountain* poets, first-generation immigrants). Moreover, in the process of excavating unexplored documents, one can also perhaps enrich and reshape the general conception of Chinese American literature, and from a dialogical perspective, reconsider the current discourse of the field and the critique of Chinese American writers.

In addition to description and explanation of Chinese experiences in the United States, the search for a cultural and ethnic identity has been always the main concern of Chinese (as well as Asian) American literature since the civil rights movement of the 1960s.[13] This is particularly well-reflected in Chinese-language writing since the 1960s. Its writers are mostly new-

comers to America and still deeply associated with their own roots while attempting to integrate into American society. Their themes and subject matter also set them apart from American-born Chinese writers who write in English. While the latter are said to be more concerned about issues such as generation conflicts and their image as individuals in mainstream America, Chinese-language writers tend to deal more with the hardship and struggle of daily life in their new place and immigrant sensibilities such as "the agony of displacement, the dilemma of assimilation and alienation."[14] These new mid-twentieth-century immigrants also manifest stronger adherence to, or exhibit a sense of pride in, their Chinese heritage, at times using it as a form of literary inspiration and emotional support, while freely commenting on politics and current affairs of China.[15] The classical-style poetry they write similarly embodies these characteristics and at the same time demonstrates its own unique social and cultural attributes that are absent from other types of writing. These can be observed from the genre's literary tradition both in China and in America and the poets' mentality and authorial devices in their descriptions of American society and their life experiences.

This paper attempts to shed light on some characteristics of the genre through the study of classical-style poems published in Chinese newspapers in San Francisco Chinatown.[16] I hope to show that classical-style poetry, although imagined by some as "old-fashioned," was, and still is, written in overseas Chinese communities. For the practitioners, the form is not just a literary pursuit or pastime but also a means of identity construction and cultural expression, a way to demonstrate and preserve their sense of being Chinese on foreign soil. The use of classical language to describe modern, Western society also prompts us to think: how can these two seemingly discordant elements be brought together, and what kind of startling effects or new features would be created by this "clash" of civilizations?

In the following discussion I first provide a historical review of literary activities in San Francisco Chinatown and classical-style poetry written by early Chinese immigrants. Next, based on the newspaper clippings in the Yuk Ow Collection and Him Mark Lai Papers, archived at the Ethnic Studies Library of the University of California at Berkeley, I examine some of the major themes seen in poems published in San Francisco's Chinese newspapers. There are two literary issues that cannot be well-reflected in these archives and must wait for further studies of other source materials. The first is the writing styles of individual poets, or schools of poets if they existed. As the works in the archives do not focus on any particular writers (indeed quite a few of them only use pen names, and many authors' backgrounds cannot be identified), my paper does not explore personal or group collections that contain significant numbers of works by named,

individual poets.

The second issue that cannot be addressed adequately at present is the general historical evolution of classical-style poetry writing within a span of some one hundred years in North America; such a survey can only be achieved by wide-ranging examination of poetry collections and newspapers published in specific periods. That said, my preliminary study of Chinese newspapers shows that classical-style poetry writing in the United States can be divided into four stages. The first is before the Anti-Japanese War, when Chinese immigrant poets mostly considered themselves outsiders in American society. Although disappointment over American life is not difficult to find, there are many other topics one can see in their works, including travel poems and poems about women. The second stage is during the Anti-Japanese War and the following Civil War between the Communists and the Kuomintang. Poetry in this period is marked by a very strong propagandist color, either protesting the Japanese invasion of China, expressing the hope of recovering lost territory, or during the Civil War, accusing the Communists or the Nationalists along with their US government allies depending on the political stance of the writer. Apparently, works in this period are of uneven literary quality, though very passionate in emotion. The third stage is from the Communist takeover in 1949 until the end of Cultural Revolution in 1976, when the number of works in newspapers was greatly reduced. This reduction was perhaps caused by many poets' return to China or by the newspapers' decisions to scale back the publication of classical-style poetry as it was no longer favored by general readers. The content is again highly political, with the left-wing and right-wing poets continuing to lampoon opposite parties. Those who published in right-wing newspapers, like their colleagues in Taiwan, all too often indulged in dreams of recovering the Mainland, or depicting how disastrous it was under Communist rule during the Cultural Revolution. The fourth stage is from the 1980s to the present. Coinciding with the revival of composing classical-style poetry in China and the influx of new immigrants to the United States, several poetry societies took turns to emerge in New York Chinatown. The leaders of these societies were particularly vigorous in calling for submission of poems from all around the world, especially China, to be published in New York's Chinese newspapers regularly. Tens of thousands of poems have since been produced, making New York Chinatown a "center" of classical-style poetry writing, while poetry activities in San Francisco Chinatown have paled in comparison. There are many different types of subject matter written in this period, but the most conspicuous one is perhaps the poems exchanged between poetry societies or fellow society members (*chouzeng shi* 酬贈詩). This type of poetry is rather celebratory and self-contented in tone, perhaps

due to the fact that living conditions of the Chinatown poets were improved and that many of them are retired seniors.

From the works examined in this study, I hope to convey a sense of how some Chinese poets portray American culture and society as well as themselves through traditional poetic form.

II. Historical Review

In the mid-nineteenth century, with the influx of Chinese laborers into California to work as gold miners and in other low-skill professions, together with Chinese merchants, traders and providers of services and supplies, San Francisco (nicknamed "Gold Mountain" by the Chinese) quickly saw the establishment of the first Chinatown in the United States.[17] Since then, this ghettoized community not only had become a haven for Chinese immigrants, where they could find housing, employment, social and educational services and business opportunities, but also developed into a cultural and literary center for Chinese Americans. *Kim Shan Jit San Luk* 金山日新錄 (Golden Hill News), the first Chinese-language weekly newspaper in North America, for example, was founded in San Francisco Chinatown in 1854.[18] In fact, before 1924, the only four Chinese daily newspapers in America, including *Chung Sai Yat Po* 中西日報 (China-West Daily), which is said to have frequently printed literary works such as prose, fiction and poetry, were all published in San Francisco Chinatown.[19] Also found here were Chinese-language schools, bookstores, different types of cultural and literary organizations (including poetry societies) as well as couplet-writing and poetry contests, all showing a highly literate side of Chinatown. This contrasts sharply with the popular stereotype that it was a "den of filth and sin," with gambling, opium, and prostitution frequently cited as its three vices.[20]

It is said that from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, poetry writing in San Francisco Chinatown was as active as in China. Many leaders of *huiguan* 會館 (clan or district associations and social institutions) were well-versed in classical texts and poetry.[21] The arrival of the highly prominent poet Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905), who was appointed Chinese consul general to the United States from 1882 to 1885, further enhanced the literary activities in Chinatown. 1882 was also the year when U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers and the naturalization of Chinese residents.[22] Huang shouldered great responsibility to ensure the welfare and safety of Chinese citizens in California, and reportedly his experience dealing with the American government was not a happy one.[23] Yet the toil of his duty did not hamper his enthusiasm in organizing and encouraging "elegant gatherings" (*yaji* 雅集) of poets. A poetry society called *Jinshan lianyu* 金

山聯玉 (Linked Jade of Gold Mountain) was formed, attracting also men of letters from Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, to join.[24] This type of literary society, like other forms of social institutions in Chinatown, was a continuation of similar organizations found in China.[25] A dozen poetry societies continued to flourish afterward, including Xiaopeng Shishe 小蓬詩社 (Paradise Poetry Club), Tong Wen She 同文社 (Associates of Letters), and Wen Hua She 文華社 (Literary Splendor Society). On several occasions they composed over one hundred poems, and they frequently mailed invitations to hundreds or even thousands of potential participants from other Chinese communities in North and South America to compete in poetry and couplet-writing contests.[26]

Interestingly, the launch and eventual success of the Literature Revolution in China did not seem to alter the literary scene in San Francisco Chinatown. Classical-style prose and poetry was still preferred to vernacular writing, largely due to the fact that Chinatown's literati "were mostly traditionally educated Cantonese," who had little or no interaction with the non-Cantonese literary reformers. Moreover, as Marlon K. Hom rightly points out, the idea of a "wholesale Westernization" of China proposed by reform leader Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) also went against the Chinatown literati's wish to safeguard Chinese tradition and cultural heritage in which classical-style writing was no doubt an important part. It was not until the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War in the 1930s and the rise of Marxist ideology in China that literary practice in Chinatown gradually began to change.[27] Liu Boji describes the "conservativeness" of the Chinatown residents as follows:

> Before the Anti-Japanese War, though it was a time of economic recession and difficult to make a living, [Chinatown residents] still preserved Chinese literary practice. Kitcheners and coolies could still read and chant poetry; teachers and learned scholars reveled in their own works. Articles in newspapers were all written in classical Chinese. Keen enthusiasm for the rumination of phrases and wordings was common.[28]

Such a full participation in classical literature from different social strata was no exaggeration, as still witnessed in today's poetry societies in San Francisco and New York Chinatowns.

As mentioned in the introduction, the Angel Island poems and the two-volume *Songs of Gold Mountain* not only stand out as the epitome of classical-style poetry produced in San Francisco but have also attained canonical stature in Chinese American literature. Since they have been well studied, I will only point out some of their main features here. The former were

written between the 1910s and1930s by early Chinese immigrants detained on Angel Island, California, and many of the poems have been compiled and translated by Him Mark Lai and his colleagues.[29] These detainees had to go through harsh medical examinations and interrogations before they were allowed to set foot on American soil, and waiting periods could last from weeks to even two years.[30] Segregated and ill-treated in detention barracks, some immigrants, mostly anonymous and perhaps all male, vented their frustrations by inscribing or carving poetry on the walls of the barracks. Imbued with homesickness, resentment, self-pity, anger, and loneliness, the one hundred and thirty pieces now preserved are straightforward in tone and simple in diction, making their messages even more poignant and blunt.[31] Their historical significance lies both in the fact that they are some of the earliest compositions by Chinese immigrants and that they are written in pencil, ink, or carved on the walls like the traditional *tibishi* 題壁詩 (poetry inscribed on walls) or even graffiti, as if to present a monument of the hardship suffered by the immigrants, who were "denied the right to write history."[32] The literary quality of these poems in general is not very high. Many pieces violate the rules of rhyme and tone required in regulated poetry (*gelü shi* 格律詩), and many lack the stylistic sophistication and poetic craftsmanship of an adept writer.[33] Yet, from a different angle, they still serve as strong evidence that, when facing immense challenge and difficulty, classical-style poetry is a convenient and effective tool for ordinary Chinese people to manifest their innermost feelings and ethnic identity. Through the use of shared diction, phrases, and allusions in their works, the immigrant writers, detained on the island at different times, were also able to provide spiritual support to each other in a hostile environment.

The two volumes of the *Songs of Gold Mountain*, consisting of 1,640 pieces in vernacular rhymes in the Cantonese folk song format known as *sishiliu zi ge* 四十六字歌 (forty-six syllable songs), were published in San Francisco Chinatown in 1911 and 1915 respectively. But the songs were not known to academia until Marlon K. Hom selected and translated 220 pieces in 1987. Hom divided these pieces into eleven categories, with emphasis on the authors' lamentations of their unpleasant experiences in America.[34] The language of the songs is a mixture of colloquial expressions and classical poetic diction, and like the Angel Island poems, literary quality varies. The use of the folksong mode also indicates that the authors either were not literarily refined or did not treat their works as seriously as those written in the standard, more prestigious *shi* 詩 or *ci* 詞 poetic genres, which require more stringent prosodic observation.[35] Nevertheless, these songs share similarities with much of *shi* and *ci* poetry in terms of sentiment, subject matter, and style. Besides topics such as the bitterness and disillusionment of immigrant life (which draws most of the attention of literary critics and

historians), one popular theme, found also in the *shi* poetry of San Francisco Chinatown, is the "exoticism" of American life and its influence on new generations of Chinese women. For example, one song criticizes the behavior of Westernized women as follows:

The emancipated women are the most shameful;	醜極自由女
Their mouths are filled with foreign speech.	滿口泰西語
They loiter around with men day and night, everywhere,	日夜同人遊各處
Showing no respect for the husbands they married.	不看良人在眼內
They are out of control.	唔受拘
How can a decent man challenge such a woman?	純夫難抗拒
He can only resort to remonstrating with kind and wise words;	惟有善言來教佢
Pity no shrew can appreciate such kind intent.[36]	惜乎潑婦不知趣

Songs like this may be cited as evidence of the "sojourner mentality" of Chinese immigrants, who remained attached to China and traditional ethical values and were thus criticized as unable to assimilate into American society. The song demonstrates the subordination of women in traditional Chinese society, which would be seen in the eyes of white Americans precisely as evidence of the "backwardness" or "cultural conservatism" of Chinese people.[37] Yet there are also songs that praise the new freedom of women and cherish the American way of life. Perhaps, as Hom remarks, the disapproval of new values in some songs represents merely the author's wish to "balance the change by holding on to the old values they brought with them from China" and their dismay at the "vices" of American culture—the cause of ignorance and discriminatory practices—that had victimized them as immigrants.[38] The same ambivalent attitude toward their new living environment and its practices and values can be also seen in the *shi* and *ci* poetry produced by the San Francisco Chinatown poets.

III. Yuk Ow Collection and Him Mark Lai Papers[39]

It must be pointed out that the poems in these two archives, collected from newspaper clippings, are by no means complete. Browsing through microfilms of the *Sai gai yat po* 世界日報 (Chinese World) and *Jinshan shibao* 金山時報 (Chinese Times), the two San Francisco Chinese newspapers preserved in the Ethnic Studies Library at UC Berkeley shows that a great number of classical-style poems are left unselected.[40] These tend to be poems of personal correspondence between friends with themes such

as parting, birthday celebrations, traditional festivals, and include inscriptions on a friend's painting and works related to and originally printed in China (which implies that the editors of the newspapers had good connections with poets or the publishing industry in their former country). It appears from the themes of the poems collected that Yuk Ow and Him Mark Lai are more interested in those related to the broader society or life in America, as well as the activities of local poetry societies. Incomplete as their collections may be, it is precisely this selective approach that makes these two archives important for the study of Chinese American literature, not to mention the fact that some of the original sources are no longer extant and no other similar projects have been done before.

A. Yuk Ow Collection

Yuk Ow 歐玉 (1915-1982) received his Master's Degree of Library Science from Berkeley. In 1970 he retired from his job as a translator, and since then devoted his time to studying Chinese American history and categorizing the documentary materials he collected over the years. There are seventy-four cartons and several oversized boxes and folders in the Yuk Ow Collection.[41] A sumptuous amount of newspaper clippings and hand copies of classical-style poetry and couplets (also copied from newspapers), consisting of more than two hundred and fifty titles or series, can be found in carton 29 (folders 21-22), carton 31 (folders 11-12), and a few more in carton 60 (folder 1). Years of collection range from the 1800s to 1982. Those before the 1950s are all hand copies. Original sources of the collection are mainly from the *Sai Gai Yat Po* (before 1950s) and the *Jinshan shibao* (after 1950s).

Among the rich variety of works are a significant number of short poems with the title "Bamboo Branch Song" 竹枝詞 or its variants, a traditional imitation of folksong in the form of seven-character quatrain (twenty-eight characters in total) made popular in the Tang dynasty by the exile poet Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842). Poems of this type usually describe the exotic customs of a remote, sometimes uncivilized land and express the writer's attitudes toward them. The provenance of the songs is stated in Liu Yuxi's preface to his own "Bamboo Branch Song,"

> …In the first month of the year [822] I came to Jianping [in present day Chongqing in Sichuan]. Children on the street sang "Bamboo Branch" together. …Although the words are muddled and hard to comprehend, the music contains subtle feelings, having the beauty of the songs from the areas of Qi and Pu [love poems found in the Confucian classic *Shijing* 詩經 (The classic of poetry)]. In the past Qu Yuan was exiled to Yuan and Xiang [rivers

> in Hunan], where he saw that people greeted the gods with songs. The words were mostly uncouth. Hence he composed the "Nine Songs" 九歌, which are still performed in the South to this day. Therefore I also composed nine pieces of "Bamboo Branch Songs" to let those good at singing spread them around. These are attached below. People of later generations who listen to the songs of Sichuan would learn where the songs of the "mutated airs" came from.[42]

This passage brings up two important traditions of Chinese poetry. First, it mentions the Chu loyalist-poet Qu Yuan's 屈原 (ca. 343-277 BCE) refinement of vulgar folksongs, an act that Liu Yuxi seems to approve of in his preface, even if his "Bamboo Branch Songs" are straightforward in tone and simple in language like common folksongs. In fact, inspired by Qu Yuan's example, many Chinese poets expressed their intention to improve the inferior literary quality of folksongs, which they learned in their travels or periods of exile in remote places. At times these modified folksongs may subtly convey an author's disappointment in his public career, but very often they were written to capture local customs and practices—either for fun, for historical interest, or for political purposes, in particular so that rulers and higher officials would be able to deduce from them the social mores (*feng* 風) of a local district and adjust their policies accordingly.

The latter notion of authorial intent is influenced by the second important tradition of classical Chinese poetry suggested in Liu Yuxi's preface: the practice of *caifeng* 采風 (reporting local customs) or *guanfeng* 觀風 (observing local customs). In the *Analects*, Confucius urges his disciples to study the *Shijing*, maintaining that one of the functions of poetry is to serve as a basis of "observation" (*guan* 觀).[43] This idea is further strengthened by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) in his *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Han), in which he asserts that the ancient practice of collecting folksongs provided a means for the sovereigns to "observe social mores." Similarly, the collecting of folk ballads (*yuefu* 樂府) in the Han dynasty was precisely for the same purpose.[44] Liu Yuxi does not overtly state that his "Bamboo Branch Songs" are meant to be a record of "social mores," yet at the end of his preface he calls his songs *bianfeng* 變風 ("mutated airs," with *feng* here meaning "air" in the sense of "song" instead of "social mores"), a type of folksong originally collected in the *Shijing* and said to be written when society was in disorder.[45] But there is nothing about social turbulence in Liu's songs. Instead, they are mostly about romantic love or the daily activities of common people in Sichuan, thus not much different from poems that were written to reveal local customs and practices. At any rate, Liu Yuxi does express the wish that, like Qu Yuan's "Nine Songs," his

"Bamboo Branch Songs" would be "spread around" and passed down to posterity, a wish actually shared by many who followed the *guanfeng* practice in their imitation of folksongs.

With the short quatrain form and use of simple diction, Liu Yuxi's "Bamboo Branch Songs" is unquestionably a poetic innovation that allows poets to easily sketch their impressions of a particular place and its people in just a few lines. Its influence was so profound that numerous poets of succeeding dynasties, in addition to adopting the title, followed Liu's folk-like style in their poetic comments on many different places and countries, adding specific toponyms to their titles to differentiate them from the originals. For example, in the Song dynasty, prestigious poets like Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193) and Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127-1206) both composed a number of "Bamboo Branch Songs." In the Ming-Qing periods, the genre flourished even more, with some songs particularly referring to foreign countries, such as You Tong's 尤侗 (1618-1704) one hundred "Bamboo Branch Songs of Foreign Countries" 外國竹枝詞.[46]

The *guanfeng* tradition continues to be written into the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in China and other Sinophone spheres. In addition to the various "Bamboo Branch Songs" produced in San Francisco Chinatown, thousands of such poems were also published in the Chinese newspapers of Singapore and Malaysia. These works are now compiled in *Nanyang zhuzhi ci huibian* 南洋竹枝詞匯編 (Collected edition of bamboo branch songs from the southern oceans) by Li Qingnian 李慶年.[47] Many other poems, though not entitled "Bamboo Branch Songs," betray Liu Yuxi's influence in their depictions of exotic scenery and cultures. A notable example is Huang Zunxian's famous *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩 (Poems on miscellaneous subjects from Japan), which also records in the form of seven-character quatrains various political, social, and cultural aspects of Japan under the Meiji Restoration.[48] Huang also composed twelve "Miscellaneous Poems about Singapore" 新嘉坡雜詩 while he was consul general in the British colony from 1891 to 1894. Although this series is written in the five-character regulated form instead of the seven-character quatrain, the way he describes the "outlandish" behaviors of British officers as well as Malay customs and food are much in the vein of "Bamboo Branch Songs."[49] These examples show that when relocating to or visiting foreign lands, it was all too natural for Chinese writers to note down the exotic elements of local society and their feelings in the style of Liu Yuxi's original works.

Returning to the Yuk Ow Collection, there are a number of "Bamboo Branch Songs" series written by Chinese immigrant poets in different periods. Newspapers published these pieces in different issues, but Yuk Ow grouped some of them together, pasting his clippings of "Bamboo Branch

Songs" onto sheets of paper. This shows that he was also aware of the thematic significance of the "Bamboo Branch Songs" or that it was a specific genre. Below is a list of some different titles of this type of song in chronological order:

- Twelve "Bamboo Branch Songs of San Francisco" 三藩市竹枝詞 by Yuyang Lanzi's 余養蘭子, published on May 25, 1910, in *Sai Gai Yat Po*.
- "Bamboo Branch Songs of Flower Events at the Golden Gate" 金門花事竹枝詞, twelve pieces by Baigong 白公, published on October 2, 1911, in *Sai Gai Yat Po*.
- "Bamboo Branch Songs Celebrating the Victory of the First World War" 慶祝戰勝竹枝詞, four pieces by Xiayou 俠遊, published on January 17, 1919, in *Sai Gai Yat Po*.
- "New Bamboo Branch Songs of the Golden Gate" 金門新竹枝詞, six pieces by Liu Lang 劉郎, published on April 27, 1930, in *Sai Gai Yat Po*.
- "New Bamboo Branch Songs of the Golden Gate, Jiaxu (1934)" 甲戌金門新竹枝詞, ten anonymous pieces, published on February 18, 1934, in *Sai Gai Yat Po*.
- "Bamboo Branch Songs of the Golden Gate" 金門竹枝詞 by various writers. The earliest one is five pieces by Lao Ding 老定, published on September 14, 1939, in *Guomin ribao* 國民日報 (Chinese Nationalist Daily).
- "Bamboo Branch Songs of Old Gold Mountain, Eight Pieces" 舊金山竹枝詞八詠, by Tang Donghua 唐東華, published on February 1, 1956, in *Shaonian zhongguo bao* 少年中國報 (Young China).
- "Bamboo Branch Songs of the Overseas Chinese Community" 僑鄉竹枝詞, four pieces by Li Tingxiu 李挺秀, published on January 21, 1968, in *Jinshan shibao*.
- "Bamboo Branch Songs on a Spring Day at the Golden Gate" 金門春日竹枝詞, by various writers, published on January 1, 1977, in *Jinshan shibao*.
- "Bamboo Branch Songs of Gold Mountain" 金山竹枝詞, five pieces by Sun Shuhuan 孫述寰, published on October 30, 1981; and two pieces by Weng Song'an 翁松安, published on February 12, 1982, both in *Jinshan shibao*.[50]

As mentioned, one of the major themes of Liu Yuxi's "Bamboo Branch Songs" is romantic love. This is also frequently imitated by poets of later generations, including Chinese immigrant poets in San Francisco. The

seventh piece of Yuyang Lanzi's "Bamboo Branch Songs of San Francisco," for example, is rich in sexual innuendo:

High and lofty is the white tower in Fremont.	高高斐孟白樓台
A new electric streetcar comes at dusk.	電氣新車向晚來
They all say that in the bedchamber, colorful candles are bright.	爭道洞房花燭艷
I pass the key to the gentleman, and let him open at will.[51]	鎖匙交給任君開

The toponym "Fremont" in the first line clearly indicates that this piece is about San Francisco and not elsewhere, and the adoption of the new diction "electric streetcar" (*dianqi xinche* 電氣新車) in the old poetic form makes the piece look modern. The latter feature was perhaps influenced by the "revolution in the poetic realm (*shijie geming* 詩界革命) advocated by such poets as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) in China.[52] Yet the ending is rather traditional in the way that it borrows the imagery of a key to euphemize sexual behavior. It is perhaps a piece describing a man visiting a woman (or a prostitute?) in the evening. The erotic expressions and frequent allusions to sexual relationships in songs like this at first seem to stress wantonness on the part of male Chinese. We may explain this as a trademark feature of the secular, romantic tradition of the "Bamboo Branch Songs." But the absence of female partners in Chinese communities in the early twentieth century may also have encouraged sexual fantasy and dreams of married life in poetry writing, as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had effectively denied the entry of Chinese women, including the wives of Chinese laborers, into the United States to join those Chinese men who were allowed to stay in the country.[53] In her study of Chinese prostitution in nineteenth-century America, especially San Francisco, Lucie Cheng Hirata aptly points out that gender imbalance among the Chinese population, the lack of alternative employment opportunities for women and the considerable profit that could be exploited from sexual workers perpetuated prostitution in Chinese communities.[54] In the *Songs of Gold Mountain*, in which sensual descriptions and rhymes about prostitution are common, such a social vice in Chinatown is further testified.[55]

Baigong's "Bamboo Branch Songs of Flower Events at the Golden Gate" is another salient example of rendezvous between Chinese men and women.[56] Eight pieces in this vivid series are about visiting brothels (*huating* 花廳, literally "flower hall"), and another four about seeing a mistress (*xiangchao* 香巢, literally "fragrant nest," the secret place where a man keeps his mistress). Although they record the generally happy moments of the poet's extramarital affairs, the last two poems (#7 and 8) in

regard to the mistress suggest completely otherwise.

Poem #7 is written in the mistress's voice, which is at first sight indistinguishable from that of a common woman, but the cigarette in the second line seems to betray the woman's real character. The anticlimactic closure suggests even greater disappointment because of her misidentification. This is a typical way to highlight emotional tension in classical Chinese poetry. Yet "washing windows" is apparently a novel action, introduced to achieve the dramatic effect, and is not without some humor.

I could not find my man and feel despondent.	尋郎不遇意蕭然
Sitting quietly by the lamp, cigarette in hand.	默坐燈前捲紙煙
Suddenly I seem to see my sweetheart's shadow,	忽見意中人影到
But it turns out it's the guy washing the window.	怎知渠是抹窗門

The last poem can be read as a general conclusion of the series:

Alas, the Wind Goddess is too jealous of the flower!	無賴封姨太妒花
And the golden bell fails to save the scented petals.	金鈴無力護芳華
How can Peach Root and Peach Leaf not find their master?	桃根桃葉休無主
Go build a new fragrant nest with my step-brother!	別築香巢貯契家

Unable to keep the mistress to himself, the poet expresses his regret and helplessness with stock phrases and common allusions such as "Wind Goddess"—which here may stand for his legal wife[57]—and the "golden bell" (*jinling* 金鈴), which is tied to a flower stem to frighten away birds that may harm the flower. The third line uses the names of two famous concubines from the past, (Tao Gen 桃根 and Tao Ye 桃葉, literally "Peach Root" and "Peach Leaf") to refer to the mistress. Either being generous or considerate, at the end the poet urges the mistress to find another man as her patron, who will then become his "step-brother" (*qijia* 契家).[58]

Such unabashed expression of one's experiences with prostitutes and extramarital affairs may sound awkward or inappropriate to conservative readers. But it was a longstanding theme in classical Chinese poetry and was deemed acceptable and even admirable in male poetic circles. It was seen as collateral evidence of a poet's talents and unbridled demeanor, which supposedly would easily win the hearts of the opposite sex, and

served to vent his frustration in public office. The most notable examples in Chinese literary history of this type of man are Tang dynasty poet Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852) and Song dynasty lyricist Liu Yong 柳永 (fl. 1034), who readily reported close relations with female entertainers and how these women were attracted to them. Elite men thus brought this tradition to overseas Chinese communities, notably San Francisco and Singapore, perhaps partly to show off their attractiveness to women, and partly to prove that their cultural values had resilience—their own "existential value"—in foreign societies. Maintaining a mistress suggests a sound financial condition, and poets like Baigong were not commoners, but men of letters or merchants who enjoyed eminent status in their Chinatowns.

Immigrant poets continued to publicize their interest in women in the "Bamboo Branch Song" mode after the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943, when China had become an ally of the United States against Japan in World War II and more Chinese women were thus allowed to immigrate. An obvious change is that poetry about prostitution and extramarital affairs is rarely seen in newspapers published after the 1940s. Now the Westernized attire, manners, and behavior of Chinese women, as well as the newly developed beauty contest, often drew the gaze of male poets.

The attitudes conveyed in their poems regarding the customs of Western women and their influence on Chinese women are mostly positive compared to those of the early immigrants. For example, Tang Donghua 唐東華 comments on women's basketball in one of his "Bamboo Branch Songs of Old Gold Mountain, Eight Pieces":

A basketball match, better than the men's game.	籃球比賽勝鬚眉
These women champions showed marvelous tactics.	娘子冠軍計出奇
Who says that the tender ones cannot be tough?	莫謂嬌羞非健者
They are like Cai Wenji, playing with great control.[59]	指揮若定蔡文姬

Cai Wenji 蔡文姬 was a talented woman from a prestigious family at the end of the Han dynasty. She was once captured by the northern nomadic tribe Xiongnu and was forced to marry one of its chieftains. Later, Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220), then prime minister of the Han, paid a ransom to have her brought back to China. Here the poet's association of Cai Wenji with women basketball players is quite strange. It is perhaps because of the fact that her name fits the rhyme of the poem, or because like Cai Wenji, these women also lived in a foreign land. At any rate, the poem attempts to show us a new image of Chinese women in America through their participation in

a Western sport. The argument that women are better than men, however, is not new to Chinese readers, as in Chinese history there are many heroines whose heroic deeds made those of their male counterparts pale in significance.[60]

Two pieces of Zhu Feipeng's 朱飛鵬 "Bamboo Branch Songs of the Golden Gate" 金門竹枝詞, published in 1951, focus on the new mentality and appearances of young Chinese women:

A pair of sisters sing the song of freedom.	姊妹雙雙唱自由
They worship the Heavenly Mother and visit the Kong Chow Temple.	參神天后又岡州
With incense sticks in hand they make secret wishes.	心香一瓣酬私願
Women of virtue nowadays can look for good mates.	淑女而今賦好逑
A girl of sixteen, so charming is she.	二八年華絕妙容
Her permed hairdo looks curly and vibrating.	波紋電捲髮鬘鬆
Her modern costume turns a new style,	摩登服式翻新樣
Showing part of her fragrant shoulders, and part of her breasts.[61]	半露香肩半露胸

The first poem praises the freedom to choose one's spouse, describing two sisters paying visits to deities in temples with the hope of finding good husbands. Dedicated to Mazu 媽祖, the ancient goddess who protects fishermen and seafarers (and thus Chinese immigrants as well), the Tin How 天后 (Heavenly Mother) Temple was built in 1852, and a street is named after it in San Francisco Chinatown.[62] The Kong Chow Temple is built to worship the warrior god Guandi 關帝. Built in 1851, it is the oldest Chinese temple in America. In 1854 it also became the Kong Chow Benevolent Association and is still in use now.[63] The second piece is about how a young lady looks in fashionable attire and hairstyle. Particularly erotic is the last line. It seems that the poet is simply admiring the young woman as an object of his voyeuristic gaze.

The beauty pageant is another popular topic for male Chinese immigrant poets. They usually commend the effervescent atmosphere the show brings but also realize that it is often a highly commercialized activity, as the following poem points out:

Year after year, hugely publicized is the beauty contest.	年年選美甚宣揚
And ads have canvassed customers from all	廣告招來客四方

sides.
Not sparing with money, they vie to shop. 不吝金錢爭購物
So the merchants gain much profit and fill up their stores.[64] 商家獲利貯盈倉

This is the third piece in Yida's 宜大 "Bamboo Branch Songs of New Spring" 新春竹枝詞, which originally consisted of four pieces and was published on February 22, 1982, in *Jinshan shibao*. For the poet, the beauty contest is not just about choosing the "most beautiful woman," but is another opportunity for businessmen in Chinatown to profit. In the Yuk Ow Collection, the earliest poem about a beauty contest in San Francisco Chinatown is Li Mingchao's 李銘超 "Inscribing a Poem for the Photo of Miss Li Cuimei" 李翠媚小姐倩影題詞, published on September 12, 1951, in *Jinshan shibao*. According to the long preface to the poem, Li Cuimei was Miss Chinatown that year.[65] In fact, this major Chinatown event can be traced back to as early as 1925. Then in February 1958, the San Francisco Chinese Chamber of Commerce (CCC) expanded this local event to the national "Miss Chinatown USA Pageant," as one of the programs celebrating the Lunar New Year.[66] Though many may regard the beauty pageant a commercialized, gaudy and sexually discriminatory event that promotes a false commercial image of Chinatown and relegates Chinese women to a mere sex commodity, for the organizers and some contestants, in addition to charitable fundraising, the event is "more like a matter of ethnic representations" and "a means for exploring and celebrating ethnic identity," and it can help "reconcile tensions within the Chinese American community and with the broader society."[67] However, most of the immigrant poets do not seem to have such highly ideological hypotheses in mind. In the following "Bamboo Branch Song," for example, a certain Yu Xincun 余辛村 agrees that holding beauty contests may go against concepts of feminism but also claims that the commercial prosperity of Chinatown should be the foremost concern.

Hustling and bustling at the Masonic Centre. 馬龍車水美生堂
People all come to see who will be the Beauty Queen. 都道來看選女皇
They judge female bodies and go against the women's movement. 品足評頭乖婦運
But what's wrong with it if our business is thriving?[68] 繁榮商業又何妨

The poem is dry and in want of literary refinement and may be ideologically incorrect as well. Yet it is an unabashed reflection of Chinatown residents'

dreams and pragmatic mentality: after living in poverty and despair for many years, there is nothing more important than material affluence.

Apart from women and romantic love, lament for the hardships of life and nostalgia for the home country are also distinctive (and perhaps more serious) themes in "Bamboo Branch Songs" that deserve special attention from scholars of Chinese American literature. Li Tingxiu's four-poem series, "Bamboo Branch Songs of the Overseas Chinese Community," is particularly appealing in its description of a separated couple. Here are the second and third poems:

Poem #2

I saw you off to the Old Gold Mountain.	送郎一去舊金山
I saw you off, when will you return?	送郎一去幾時還
Sea waters, vast and indistinct, block my view.	海水茫茫迷望眼
It's easy to part, but hard to meet again.	別時容易見時難

Poem #3

Pick not those wild grass and idle flowers.	野草閒花君莫採
Don't be beguiled by those idle flowers and wild grass.	野草閒花君莫迷
Don't you remember how worried I am about you?	記否為郎盡憔悴
There is also a little boy crying on my back.[69]	背間還有小兒啼

Spoken in the woman's voice, these poems have a very strong folksong effect with the use of repeated phrases in the first two lines. Poem #2 expresses the woman's longing for her husband, who left home for San Francisco. She however realizes that, with a vast ocean lying between them, they may not see each other again, as numerous other Chinese couples in the same situation. The last line is borrowed verbatim from a famous *ci* lyric by Li Yu 李煜 (937-978), the last ruler of the Southern Tang, and is a perfect conclusion of the couple's bitter lot. In Poem #3, the wife asks her husband to stay away from wild grass and idle flowers (*yecao xianhua* 野草閒花), traditional images for mistresses and wanton women, and hopes that he would listen for the sake of her love and their child. But in reality it is difficult for many Chinese men, lonely and disillusioned in a foreign country, to follow their wives' advice, as shown in their considerable amount of poetry about prostitution and womanizing.

How to survive in the United States is the most challenging question for new immigrants of all races. For Chinese Americans lacking

employment skills, Chinatown was and is still the place where they could find a job relatively easy, and the two most common trades for them in the past were hand laundry shop and restaurant.[70] For example, the following regulated verse in five syllable lines, written by Li Zhongyong 李中庸, describes the "sordid" profession of dish washing.

Dish Washing	洗盤碗
My heart is weary, my spirit hard to cheer.	心倦神難振
Bowls in the sink, one foot tall.	碗槽一尺盈
Steaming water sprinkles hot mist.	水蒸揮霧熱
Bubbles revolve like disgorged bright pearls.	泡轉吐珠明
Push and poke, the filthy knives and forks;	推戟刀叉惡
A plate dropped, scattering broken pure jade.	墮盤碎玉清
Next morning I will go back to school.	明朝返學去
Arising from my empty pocket is a feeling of autumn wind.[71]	囊起秋風情

In the old days it was common for Chinese students to wash dishes in Chinatown restaurants to support themselves, but here the author complains that after the hard work he is still penniless ("a feeling of autumn wind"). Yet he is able to comfort himself in the unpleasant working environment with poetic imagination: the soap water produces pearl-like bubbles, and a broken plate has become pieces of "pure jade."

Other than realistic portrayal of the seedier side of life in Chinatown, the classical-style poetry in the Yuk Ow Collection also includes subject matter such as American or Chinese politics, the Anti-Japanese War, travel descriptions of American cities and tourist sites, and a few poems written for friends and relatives. But contrary to the common belief that Chinatown was a filthy and evil place, there are a considerable number of poems that sing the praises of Chinatown life as joyful and prosperous. Many of the "Bamboo Branch Songs" written for Chinese New Year or for traditional festivals are especially ebullient. For example, a poem in a series of ten "Bamboo Branch Songs" by an anonymous poet celebrates the 1934 New Year holiday as follows:

The sounds of firecrackers are deafening, penetrating our ears.	爆竹聲喧徹耳聞
Laborers and merchants are on holiday to enjoy these good days.	工商休假度良辰
Families merrily gather together to welcome the New Year.	各家歡聚迎新歲

Seasons change and flow, scenes and things renew.[72] 時序遷流景物新

Although the poem is lacking in craftsmanship, it nevertheless reveals that, on a special day, Chinatown residents are eager to steal some joy from their hard lives. More interesting is the explanatory note attached to the poem. It tells us that because of a dispute with the municipal government, it was not until nine o'clock on New Year's Eve that San Francisco Chinatown received permission to set off firecrackers. Once they heard the news, residents burst into joy. A poem on the Western New Year, written by Xu Fan 許凡 and published in 1977, shows the harmonious relationship between Chinese and Westerners by this time:

Willow leaves lift their eyebrows, plum flowers bloom. 柳葉舒眉梅蕊開
By the fire stove, young and old imbibe scented wine. 圍爐老幼飲香醅
Westerners have learnt how to speak Chinese, 西人學得華人語
Gongxi is repeated again and again to wish us good fortune.[73] 恭喜聲聲話發財

The first two lines are rather conventional in their descriptions of spring scenery and the joy of family togetherness. Curiously, no location is specified. The jolly communication between Westerners and Chinese, with the former taking the initiative to congratulate the latter, presents to us a lively and congenial atmosphere in Chinatown. The Westerners' simple move surely pleases the Chinese poet: his traditional practice has been validated by members of mainstream society, and the United States is no longer a hostile place but a new home for him.

Feeling at home in a foreign country is a dream that immigrants of all races share. While some may strive to fulfill it by assimilating into the new culture or by fighting for a unique position in the host country, others form a community of their own and even create a "home" through cultural practices and imagination. For many Chinese immigrants in the United States, Chinatown is not just a physical space where their needs of economic survival are provided but also a spiritual haven where they can find comfort and a sense of belonging.[74] It is perhaps for this reason that the ways of life and even the physical appearances of Chinatowns are much the same as in China. Some practitioners of classical-style poetry are fond of presenting Chinatown in positive ways, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century when living conditions improved. Besides the examples cited above, in the Yuk Ow Collection we also find a poem series with the

title "The Lovely Chinatown" 可愛之華埠 and others that similarly celebrate Chinatown life.[75] Lines like "Business and circumstance of the overseas Chinese are nicely handled / We live in peace, work with joy, and feel dignified" 僑務僑情優自處 / 安居樂業覺軒昂, or "Chinatown in San Francisco / A beautiful place whose fame has spread around the world" 三藩市內唐人埠 / 世界名傳美麗鄉 are not uncommon in the collection.[76] Such a phenomenon is seldom seen in other genres of Chinese American literature such as fiction and drama. We may attribute this partly to the classical-style convention of praise and eulogy. But the poets' wish to celebrate a new hometown, modeled after the one they had in China, should also have played a part.

Modern San Francisco Chinatown is, of course, not as perfect as some immigrant poets describe. Criminal organizations called *tong* 堂 (gangs), robbery, gambling, drug trafficking, and different sorts of illegal activities are not uncommon. But immigrant poets of the later generations seldom work these into their classical-style poetry, thus a realistic poem like the following "Bamboo Branch Song" stands out conspicuously:

News stories about robbery are not new.	打劫新聞當舊聞
Mugging in the day, stealing at night—so much disorder.	日搶夜偷亂紛紛
No one knows where the green shirts have gone.	綠衣未悉何處去
A police service like this kills our joy.[77]	警政如此壞氣氛

Instead of blaming the criminals, in the last two lines the poet directs the spearhead at the impotent police force, called "green shirts" (*lüyi* 綠衣), a derogatory term used to describe the police (whose uniform was green in colonial Hong Kong). This borrowing of terminology shows that the poet was astute in adopting, quite appropriately, old diction to the new social environment. The poem was published during the Chinese New Year of 1977. With crime rampant in Chinatown and the police ineffective, no doubt the festive atmosphere was ruined.

Poems in the Yuk Ow Collection were mostly published by individual poets, that is, not through a group of poets or poetry society. However, with the founding of the Jinshan Shishe 金山詩社 (Gold mountain poetry society) in 1961, poetry series began to be published in the name of the society, and the titles of the series, such as some of the "Bamboo Branch Songs," were assigned by the society.[78] A possible reason for this change is that, as Chinese newspapers became more commercialized, space became more limited, and readership of classical-style poetry declined, the chance of publishing individual works was much reduced. But as a group these poets could have a stronger voice in the Chinatown community and even pay the

newspaper to publish their work under the name of the society. This form of publication became dominant after the 1980s, as demonstrated in the newspaper clippings in the Him Mark Lai Papers.

B. Him Mark Lai Papers

The important compiler and translator of the Angel Island poems, Him Mark Lai 麥禮謙 (1925-2009) was professionally trained as a mechanical engineer.[79] Influenced by Yuk Ow, his Chinese school teacher, he developed a deep interest in the study of Chinese American history and had an illustrious scholarly career.[80] The Him Mark Lai Papers are divided into four categories: research files, professional activities, writings, and personal papers. The gigantic collection consists of 130 cartons, 61 boxes and 7 oversize folders. Newspaper clippings of classical-style poetry are found in Carton 87 (folders 1 to 5). The major difference between Lai's clippings and those of the Yuk Ow Collection is that almost all of them are related to activities of poetry societies and their publications instead of individual works. They also complement the Yuk Ow Collection as their dates range from 1976 to 2001, picking up more or less where Yuk Ow leaves off (1982). They provide us a later picture of the poetry community in San Francisco Chinatown. Sources are collected mostly from the *Jinshan shibao*, which was founded in 1924 and sold to the *Singtao Daily News* 星島日報 (San Francisco) in 2004.

News about San Francisco's Dunfeng Wenyishe 敦風文藝社 (Honest custom literature and art society, *dunfeng* meaning "to send forth honest custom") and poetry by the group's members make up almost the entire collection of the classical-style poetry in the Him Mark Lai Papers.[81] Established by the renowned artist and T'ai Chi Ch'uan (*taijiquan* 太極拳) master Zheng Manqing 鄭曼青 (1902-1975) in 1966, the society was originally named Dunfeng Shishe 敦風詩社 (Honest custom poetry society). It changed to the present name in 1977 in order to expand the members' criteria to include painters and calligraphers. Zheng's aim in founding the society, according to him and the editor of the *Tien Shing Weekly* (Tiansheng zhoubao 天聲週報), was to promote Chinese culture and to improve social customs.[82] The society had about one hundred members in 1994, including a few who lived in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and in other American cities.[83] Their works can still be seen in *Singtao Daily News* today.[84] At the beginning, most of the members were pro-Taiwan and anti-Communist, but as time passed and new members joined, the society no longer retained a particular political orientation.[85] Like most traditional poetry societies in China, however, Dunfeng also faces the problem of recruiting younger members, as new generations are not typically interested in traditional poetry. It is therefore no surprise that Dunfeng poets express

doubt about the future of the society.[86]

Newspaper clippings in the folders show that from 1992 to 2002, Dunfeng published its members' work in *Jinshan shibao* at least four times a year in the form of quarterly "elegant gatherings" (*yaji* 雅集). The number of poems is sometimes more than fifty pieces per issue. Most of the members compose in accord with the subject titles set by the society, which are usually associated with the seasons, such as "Welcoming Spring" 迎春, "Autumn Thoughts" 秋興, and "Winter Solstice" 冬至. Thus the content, tone and even style of their poems are highly homogeneous, if not monotonous. In general, the literary quality is mediocre; some works are even clumsy in poetic craftsmanship and expression. With few exceptions, the lamentation and protest of new immigrants as seen in earlier "Bamboo Branch Song" poetry, as well as the "realistic," exotic descriptions of local life and American society are absent. Instead, there is a sense of self-contentment, leisure, and quiet reminiscence of the past as felt by persons seemingly free from the urgency of life.[87] The emotional balance in their poems is perhaps due to the fact that, compared to their predecessors, they find American society much less hostile in the past few decades, as well as the fact that they consider poetry writing an escape from reality and are influenced by the group writing style. Also different from the works of earlier poets is that, rather than writing quatrains (in which most of the "Bamboo Branch Songs" are written), there is an increasing number of seven character regulated verse, which requires more rigorous craftsmanship because of the two antithetical couplets embedded in the form. This change does not necessary mean that the Dunfeng poets are technically more advanced than their predecessors, but may suggest that they have more leisure time to work on their works.

The literary proclivity of the Dunfeng poets can be seen in the works of the summer "elegant gatherings" published in *Jinshan shibao* on June 23, 2000. The issue contains seventy-nine poems (one in vernacular form) written by thirty-one different poets.[88] Thirty-six pieces follow or are related to the assigned title "Expressing Feelings in Summertime" 夏日抒懷 and thirty-one of these are written in seven character regulated form. Personal experiences, memories of the home country, and the joy and leisure of summer pervade these pieces. For example, a poem by Li Buyun 李步雲 expresses his feelings in the following lines:

Gentle and peaceful, a warm breeze makes the early summer cool.	薰風習習夏初涼
Down by the stairs, magnolia flowers fan their special scent.	階下玉蘭飄異香
The cicadas chirp on the high boughs, stirring a	蟬噪高枝撩客夢

traveler's dream;
The pomegranate shines red on the railings, a poetic mind is stirred. 榴紅映檻動詩腸
When leisure comes, only best friends can match my rhymes; 閒來協韻惟知己
When inspiration arrives, I chant a long song like the madman of Chu. 興到長吟學楚狂
Simple and contented, I keep an open mind on this drifting life. 淡薄浮生情豁達
Live in peace, quiet and calm, longevity and good health are with me. 安居恬靜壽而康

This is a typical work written in seven character regulated verse, with the middle four lines forming two antithetical couplets. The madman of Chu is Qu Yuan, the great loyalist-poet who drowned himself because his advice to his king was not taken. The first half of the poem indeed closely observes the seasonal things of summer; all appear to be lovely and cheerful to the poet, perhaps except the chirping of cicadas, which is traditionally linked with the brevity of life and thus sadness and lament. The word *ke* 客 (guest, traveler), frequently seen in the classical-style poetry of American Chinese, reveals that the poet still considers himself a foreigner. The third couplet tells us how he finds poetry writing a delightful practice, and he concludes that he is satisfied with his humble but pleasant condition. Packed with stock phrases and commonplace expressions (the language is indistinguishable from pieces written in China, the source of these expressions), the poem may not be called a masterpiece but it genuinely articulates this group of writers' way of thinking. No matter how they feel about American society, they have decided to spend the rest of their lives in their own way in the new country. Poetry writing obviously has become a significant part of their lives. Besides self-expression, it also helps them establish a unique social network, through which they can meet new *zhiji* 知己 ("bosom friends") and provide spiritual support to each other. Apparently, poetry has become both a pastime and a means of social communication for them.

Other pieces in the same issue include occasional poems, travel poems, poems on external objects (*yongwu shi* 詠物詩), congratulatory poems, and one "untitled" (*wuti* 無題) poem which satirizes Taiwan's former president Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁. Particularly noteworthy is a poem entitled "A Racial Melting Pot" 種族大熔爐 written by Chen Jiayan 陳嘉言. It is a clumsy poem: the diction at times is as dry as propaganda slogans, and the rhyme pattern does not follow the standard scheme. But its reference to American racial policy may speak louder than its aesthetic shortcomings:

Many different races,	種族多元化
Their skin colors are not the same.	膚色各不同
Yellow, brown, red, white, and black,	黃棕紅白黑
Appearances and manners are radiant.	姿彩生輝光
He dresses up in Western attire,	身著西洋服
But his head is wrapped with Indian turban.	頭纏印度裝
Chinese chefs are experts at haute cuisine,	華廚擅美食
Variety and taste: so rich and various.	品味富而豐
While Westerners are great architects,	西裔精建築
Who build lofty mansions exquisite and grand….	崇樓傑構雄
Giving up what we are weak in,	棄我之所短
To imitate others' strengths.	倣彼之所長
We help each other, also complement each other,	相輔亦相成
Together we live in harmony.	相處卻融融
A melting pot such as this,	如斯大熔爐
Will gradually lead to Great Unity.[89]	積漸臻大同

The author is aware of the fact that different races and cultures, including his own, have their special attributes, merits and weaknesses, and at the end he is optimistic about the prospect of racial harmony in the "melting pot." To achieve this goal people have to learn from each other and respect the social practices of others, a viewpoint that is certainly politically correct. Yet one may question if the idealistic tone of the poem simply betrays what is still far from being achieved.

A poem in the winter issue of *Jinshan shibao* published on December 22, 2001, further demonstrates that some Chinatown poets are in solidarity with American people. It was written by Li Shuming 李樹明 for Dunfeng's assignment "Winter Solstice" 冬至:

Another year has lapsed, frost covers the sky.	又是一年霜滿天
Gathering around the stove, we brew wine and enjoy the meal.	圍爐煮酒樂筵前
On battlefields afar, brave men feed on wind and snow,	遠征壯士餐風雪
They cause the dream souls deep in the boudoir to worry in vain.[90]	徒令深閨魂夢牽

The poet expresses his concern for American soldiers, who were sent overseas to fight against terrorists after the World Trade Center attack. It is a modern version of the traditional frontier poetry, *biansai shi* 邊塞詩,

which usually juxtaposes hardship on the battlefield with the pining of loved ones back home: a way to question the justice of war. Here the poet's attitude toward the military mission is ambiguous, but one thing certain is that he is sympathetic with those affected, either at home or abroad.

From the diachronic point of view of a literary historian, stylistic and thematic change or development of a literary genre is not to be missed, but continuity should also be a focal point, which is particularly meaningful if one looks to the past to find its echo in the present. San Francisco classical-style poetry has changed immensely in a span of some one hundred years, yet the legacy of the ancestors cannot be totally erased. The unhappy experiences of early immigrants and the Angel Island story are obviously still living in the memories of some Chinatown poets. For example, Li Shuye 李叔業, a member of the Dunfeng Poetry Society, published a *ci* lyric on December 30, 2000, in the tune pattern "Lin jiang xian" 臨江仙 (Immortal by the river) with the subtitle "Traces of Old Tears of Angel Island" 天使島舊啼痕.

Once the Angel had the vast ocean blocked.	天使曾經滄海沮
Billows by the seashore rolled up traces of tears.	岸濤捲起啼痕
Cleaving the waves, they came as immigrants to find gold.	淘金破浪作移民
And that hero, his valor had no place to show.	英雄無用武
Harsh rules thwarted his ambition.	苛例志難伸
Insulting the Chinese, floggings were applied.	凌虐華僑施楚困
Beyond the iron windows, an autumn moon shone through the gloomy clouds.	鐵窗秋月愁雲
Toils and woes filled the mines and railways of the past.	當年礦築路酸辛
Here, the green hills are still standing.	青山依舊在
I linger around the place, our forefathers on my mind.[91]	徊地仰前人

The "hero" at the end of the first stanza, as the poet states in his footnote, refers to Dr. Sun Yat Sen 孫中山 (1866-1925), who was detained by the U.S. Immigration Bureau on the island in 1904 due to Qing government pressure. Sun was eventually released, thanks to the help of Ng Poon Chew 伍盤照 (1866-1931), the director of *Chung Sai Yat Po* (China-West Daily) and a devout Christian.[92] The poem on the whole reads like a historical narrative of the suffering of early Chinese immigrants. It is in the last two lines that the poet finally stands out in his meditation. Like many poets before him, who had composed in a vein called "poetry about the past"

(*huaigu shi* 懷古詩), the permanence of nature is brought out with "green hills," which have not changed since the day immigrants set foot on the island. What has changed is human affairs. The detainees are no longer there, gone with the miserable history of Chinese immigrants. But they still exist in the poet's memory. When he visits the island, retracing the footsteps of his predecessors, he is reminded of the past by the "green hills," which serve as a mute witness to history. He must be also reminded by the textual record—the poems inscribed in the detention center—and, very likely, it is these early works that inspired his own composition. Through poetic correspondence with these men and women of history, he becomes spiritually connected with them and identifies himself as one of their many successors in the history of Chinese American literature.

IV. Conclusion

Besides Dunfeng, the Him Mark Lai Papers also preserves a few newspaper clippings or documents of other poetry societies in San Francisco, New York, Los Angeles, Houston, and Washington, D.C.[93] In *Quanqiu huaqiao shici shihua* 全球華僑詩詞史話 (Worldwide overseas Chinese *shi* and *ci* poetry: A historical narrative) edited by New York's Sihai Shishe 四海詩社 (Worldwide Chinese Poetry Society), there is more information about poetry societies in Los Angeles and Washington D.C.[94] Also unexamined here is the work of individual poets such as Liang Chaojie 梁朝杰 (1877-1958), who is known for his participation in China's Reform Movement of 1898. Eventually he fled to San Francisco after the reform failed and published several of his poetry collections there.[95] In sum, my study of the poetry community in San Francisco Chinatown and other American as well as Canadian cities is still at its preliminary stage, and I believe that new information will continue to be discovered.[96]

One important counterpart to the Chinese classical poetry community in San Francisco is New York Chinatown. Although the latter was developed slightly later, with the earliest extant poems published around the 1920s, it has become especially prolific since the 1980s due to the large influx of immigrants from China, and it has apparently replaced San Francisco as the center of classical Chinese poetry writing in the United States. Ambitious editors in New York have also tried to elevate the reputation and expand the influence of New York poetry societies by publishing poems submitted from around the world and forging relations with poetry societies in other countries. From 1988 to 2000, the Sihai Shishe in New York formed "sister societies" with more than ninety poetry organizations in China, Taiwan, Japan, Southeast Asia, Canada, France, Australia, as well as with others in the United States.[97] About five hundred issues of poetry periodicals have been published as inserts in New York's

Chinese daily newspapers and magazines since the founding of the Sihai Shishe, and these are compiled into nine volumes of poetry collections, reaching the incredible number of two hundred thousand poems.[98] It is tempting, therefore, to extend our study into New York Chinatown, to examine how it simultaneously maintains its local characteristics and operates in a transnational mentality, as well as how its development is related to the revival of classical-style poetry writing in China.

We have examined in some detail how poets in San Francisco Chinatown articulate their dreams, hopes, and despair as well as their perspectives on American society through classical-style poetry writing, and pointed out that in a few cases the historical and social value of their works is higher than their literary value. Seeing that some of the poems are clumsy in technique, and some others lack distinctive voice, their aesthetic quality may disappoint some readers. Be that as it may, it needs to be kept in mind that many of the Chinatown poets, or for that matter even a large number of practitioners of classical-style poetry in both imperial and modern China, did not and do not take poetry as their vocation or treat it as a very "serious" literary art. For them, one of the major functions of poetry, as we mentioned in our discussion of "Bamboo Branch Songs," is to record and observe the social customs in a specific place and time. This approach of "realistic" poetry writing, equipped with the miniature forms of Chinese traditional poetry such as the "Bamboo Branch Songs," often leads to the offhand production of many pieces that resemble short notes or simple sketches. The only difference is that they are written with regular numbers of words and rhymes. Perhaps, in recording their American experiences, many Chinatown poets really took poetry as a form of rhyming notes. Another important function of Chinese poetry writing is that it is seen as a vehicle for both self-expression and social communication, or as a gift token between friends and would-be friends. For this reason, Stephen Owen aptly states that Chinese poetry is "a companionable art, for private and social use" and "becomes a way to create community."[99] In a foreign country like the United States, it becomes even more important for Chinese immigrants to develop a sense of community through which they can either maintain their cultural heritage and way of life, or share their experiences and feelings with each other. Poetry writing is precisely one of the channels to achieve this aim. A typical example is the significant number of poems written in response to the seasonal topics assigned by the Dunfeng Poetry Society. This suggests that, in order to participate in the poetic "chorus," poets are willing to follow the group style and theme in the same voice. With this consideration in mind, the literary value of poetry would be secondary to its social value, although this is not overtly admitted by the poets.

The practice of writing traditional-style poetry in a foreign country is

not new to Chinese literati. As mentioned, thousands of poems have been published in Singapore and Malaysia since the nineteenth century, and Huang Zunxian produced his famous *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan* while he was a counselor in that country. However, except for Huang's works, the readership of most of these poems is rather low due to the rise of vernacular literature, and most poems have sunk into oblivion along with the newspapers in which they were published. Chinatown poets in the United States also faced and are still facing the same problem. They are not only ignored by mainstream society, but also the readers of their own heritage, a situation they themselves have known too well. The question is: why then do they keep writing?

In addition to establishing a community of their own, one plausible explanation is that, as most of the Chinatown poets are unable to express themselves well in literary English, the technically demanding, time honored classical-style poetry becomes an alternative and effective emotional outlet for them. It also helps them to search out and strengthen their identity as Chinese abroad. Whether ostracized, exiled, unwilling or unable to assimilate into mainstream society, many Chinatown poets maintain strong emotional ties to their native culture and motherland. A preface to the Dunfeng poetry collection even overtly states that, although they are "living in a foreign state, their mind is still with the former country."[100] In fact, this is true for a majority of first-generation Chinese Americans, especially those who have received no formal education in the United States. Language barriers certainly prevent many from assimilation, but the great difference in cultural practice and lifestyle is the fundamental factor. The Chinatown writing of classical-style poetry is a clear manifestation of the "Chineseness" of the poets along with an attempt to find spiritual support from their heritage culture—at once an affirmation of and a search for identity. Just as the Dunfeng member Li Shuye links himself to the Angel Island immigrants through his own poem, many Chinatown poets similarly associate themselves with eminent, virtuous ancient Chinese poets by echoing their poetic styles and voices. With the companionship and support of a very large group of literary friends and ancestral poets, they may comfortably feel that they are no longer alone and adrift in a foreign country.

Endnotes

As always, I would like to express my deepest thanks to Allen Haaheim for his proofreading of my article.

1. Sau-ling Wong, "Chinese American Literature," in King-kok Cheung ed., *An Interethnic Companion to Asian American Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 52.
2. The Angel Island poems were first collected, translated, and published by Him Mark Lai, Genny Lim, and Judy Yung in their *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island, 1910-1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980). For critical studies on the Angel Island poems, see Yunte Huang, *Transpacific Imaginations: History, Literature, Counterpoetics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 101-115; Shan Dexing 單德興, *Mingke yu zaixian: Huayi meiguo wenxue yu wenhua lunji* 銘刻與再現: 華裔美國文學與文化論集 (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 2000), 31-88. The two volumes of *Songs of Gold Mountain* were first published in San Francisco in 1911 and 1915 respectively. Marlon K. Hom selected and translated some of them in *Songs of Gold Mountain: Cantonese Rhymes from San Francisco Chinatown* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987). Sau-ling Wong provides an insightful discussion on Hom's translated volume in "The Politics and Poetics of Folksong Reading: Literary Portrayals of Life under Exclusion," in Sucheng Chan, ed., *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 246-67.
3. See Paul Lauter, ed., *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, 2 vols. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1990), 2:1755-1762. L. Ling-chi Wang and Henry Yiheng Zhao, eds., *Chinese American Poetry: An Anthology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991); and Wang Yu 王渝, ed., *Haiwai huaren zuojia shixuan* (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1983).
4. Xiao-huang Yin, *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 35-42.
5. In the section about Chinese-language literature in America, Yin only mentions that verse contests and poetic couplet competitions sponsored by Chinese literary societies in Chinatowns can be found throughout history, and in a later chapter maintains that in the English poetry they

write, Chinese American writers "are now capable of dealing with broad and universal themes." See Yin, *Chinese American Literature*, 159, 234.

6. See Cheng Aimin 程愛民, ed., *Meiguo huayi wenxue yanjiu* 美國華裔文學研究 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2003), 13-14, and Wu Bing 吳冰 and Wang Lili 王立禮, eds., *Huayi meiguo zuojia yanjiu* 華裔美國作家研究 (Tianjin: Nankai University Press, 2009), 399-409.
7. The term *jindai wenxue* was perhaps first used by Chen Bingkun 陳炳堃 (Chen Zizhan 陳子展) in his *Zhongguo jindai wenxue zhi bianqian* 中國近代文學之變遷 (Shanghai: Shanghai Zhonghua shuju, 1929).
8. See my article, "The Revival of Classical-Style Poetry Writing: A Field Study of Poetry Societies in Guangzhou," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles and Reviews (CLEAR)* 29 (2007): 105-128.
9. Kirk Denton and Michel Hockx also point out that traditional poetry societies have been almost erased from the literary history of Republican China. See Denton and Hockx, eds., *Literary Societies of Republican China* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 11.
10. For the limited readership caused by the language barrier and by American publishers who considered only the Euro-American majority as a commercially worthwhile readership, ignoring immigrant communities, see Jesse Hiraoka, "Asian American Literature," in Hyung-Chan Kim, ed., *Dictionary of Asian American History* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 93-94. Hiraoka argues that a wider and more appreciative audience of Asian American literature requires two major conditions: the development of an identifiable community of readers and the development of a discursive arena where information in various forms by and about Asian Americans could be presented and discussed. See Hiraoka, 94.
11. Sau-ling Wong aptly observes that "unless translated, first-generation works in Chinese are inaccessible to Anglophone scholars." See Wong, "Chinese American Literature," 42.
12. David Leiwei Li points out that Chinese newspapers in America were "wiped out of public consciousness" because they acted as Chinese community's "willful opposition to white suppression of their culture," and "not one Chinese newspaper was mentioned in a survey of nineteenth-century immigrant journalism." See Li, "The Production of Chinese American Tradition: Displacing American Orientalist Discourse," in Shirley Geok-lin Lim and Amy Ling, eds., *Reading the Literatures of Asian America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press,

1992), 311-312.

13. Hiraoka, "Asian American Literature," 93. In the past two decades or so, as King-kok Cheung remarks, "heterogeneity and diaspora" also became a focus of Asian American literary study, and there has been a shift from seeking to "claim America" to forging a connection with original cultures. King-kok Cheung, "Reviewing Asian American Literary Studies," in Cheung, ed., *An Interethnic Companion to Asian American Literature*, 1.
14. Yin, *Chinese American Literature,* 167. Sau-ling Wong also states that English language works by Chinese American writers "tend to exhibit a firmer sense of belonging and deeper cultural roots in America" than the Chinese language works. See Wong, "The Politics and Poetics of Folksong Reading: Literary Portrayals of Life under Exclusion," in Chan, *Entry Denied*, 264.
15. For this reason, many Chinese-language works are viewed by critics, especially those in China, as "overseas Chinese literature" instead of "Chinese American literature'" This accords with the term "overseas Chinese," which Chinese governments since the late imperial period have used to refer to people who still consider China as their mother country even if they had changed their citizenship. See Sucheng Chan and Madeline Y. Hsu, eds., *Chinese Americans and the Politics of Race and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), xi. Also see Yin, *Chinese American Literature,* 158; Susie Lan Cassel, ed., *The Chinese in America: A History from Gold Mountain to the New Millennium* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002), 13-14.
16. I use the term "Chinatown poets" to refer to practitioners of classical-style poetry collectively. The term is used to suggest that these poets regard Chinatown as the physical and spiritual center of their literary activity. It does not mean that all of them were/are Chinatown residents. In fact quite a number of them, especially in recent years with the continuous growth of Chinese population, live in other parts of the city or the suburbs. Very often poetry societies would have their gatherings and events held in Chinatown, and almost all Chinese newspapers have been published there.
17. Kim, *Dictionary of Asian American History*, 191; Liu Boji 劉伯驥, *Meiguo huaqiaoshi* 美國華僑史 (Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gongsi, 1976), 99-106; Marlon K. Hom, "An Introduction to Cantonese Vernacular Rhymes from San Francisco Chinatown," in his *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 1-15.

18. Him Mark Lai, "The Chinese-American Press," in Sally M. Miller, ed., *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 27-28. Karl Lo and Him Mark Lai, comps., *Chinese Newspapers Published in North America, 1854-1975* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Chinese Research Materials, 1977), 2-3. Quoted from Yin, *Chinese American Literature,* 157. See also Liu, *Meiguo huaqiaoshi*, 395-397. *Kim Shan Jit San Luk* and *Golden Hill News* represent the romanization and translation used by the newspaper itself (in *pinyin* the title is *Jinshan rixin lu* and the newspaper's original English title is *Gold Mountain Daily News*). *Pinyin* is used in this article to spell the names of Chinese individuals and publications except in cases where particular individuals and publications adopt their own spellings and/or translations.
19. Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 31; Lai, "The Chinese-American Press," 31; Liu Boji, *Meiguo huaqiaoshi xubian* 美國華僑史續編 (hereafter cited as *Xubian*) (Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gongsi, 1981), 368; L. Eve Armentrout Ma, "Chinatown Organizations and the Anti-Chinese Movement, 1882-1914," in Chan, *Entry Denied*, 152. The Ethnic Studies Library at the University of California, Berkeley, has microfilm collections of *Chung Sai Yat Pao* from 1900-1905 and 1906-1950 respectively.
20. See Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 18-38 for a description of the "low life" and "high life" in San Francisco Chinatown. Also see Liu, *Xubian*, 106-133.
21. Liu, *Meiguo huaqiaoshi*, 404.
22. See Kim, *Dictionary of Asian American History*, 195-196; Jack Chen, *The Chinese of America* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), 147-148.
23. Huang criticizes the anti-Chinese movement in his long poem "The Exile" 逐客篇, composed after he left America. See Huang Zunxian, *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* 人境廬詩草箋注 with commentary by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), vol. 1, 4.350-365. For a description of Huang's duties in San Francisco and a translation and discussion of his American poems, see Jerry D. Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian 1848-1905* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 25-29, 138-142, 242-253.
24. Liu, *Xubian*, 404; Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 32.
25. L. Eve Armentrout Ma points out that the success of these

organizations in Chinatown was largely due to "their ability to meet the challenge of American opposition." See Ma, "Chinatown Organizations and the Anti-Chinese Movement," 147.

26. Liu, *Meiguo huaqiaoshi*, 404-406. For a list of these societies from 1910s to 1950s in San Francisco Chinatown, see Liu, *Xubian*, 404-407. See also Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 33-36.
27. See Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 37-38.
28. Liu, *Xubian*, 4-5.
29. See Lai, Lim, and Yung, *Island*.
30. Lai, Lim, and Yung, *Island*, 22.
31. For a discussion of the themes and content of the poems, see Lai, Lim, and Yung, *Island*, 23-27.
32. For the significance of the *tibishi* inscription, see Shan, *Mingke yu zaixian*, 31-88. Yunte Huang precisely uses the term *tibishi* to refer to these poems, and considers that this type of traditional Chinese form of travel writing can provide "an outlet for the large social sector that is denied the right to write history." He also compares them to graffiti which is "between a form of vandalism to be condemned and a form of historical record to be preserved." See Huang, "The Poetics of Error," in *Transpacific Imaginations*, 102, 110.
33. My evaluation of the literary quality of the poems thus is in contrast with that of Xiaohuang Yin, who regards these as works of "artistic excellence." This is perhaps because he is too eager to prove that the detainees were not "illiterate peasants" as stereotyped by the Americans. See Yin, *Chinese American Literature,* 42. Him Mark Lai and his colleagues are more objective, stating that the quality of the poems varies greatly, and some pieces "can only be characterized as sophomoric attempts." See Lai, *Island*, 25.
34. Hom's selection, as Sau-ling Wong notes, highlights the political and historical aspects of the songs. For example, there are only twenty-one songs about the detention on Angel Island in the original collections, but seventeen are selected. While poems on family separation make up about one-fifth of the 1,640 original verses, such a large proportion is not seen in Hom's selection. See Wong, "The Politics and Poetics of Folksong Reading," 247-250.
35. For a discussion of the literary characteristics of these songs, see Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 52-59, and Wong, "The Politics and Poetics of Folksong Reading," 249, 253.
36. Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 215, with slight modification in the

last couplet.

37. Sau-ling Wong believes that authors who produced such songs "seemed to take secret pleasure at the new freedom of women," and anonymity also allowed them to put aside concern for respectability. See Wong, "The Politics and Poetics of Folksong Reading," 255. For a discussion of the rise of women in Chinese American literature, see Yin, *Chinese American Literature,* 205-219.
38. Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 204-205.
39. I would like to express my gratitude to Wei-chi Poon at the Ethnic Studies Library of the University of California at Berkeley for her kind assistance in using these two collections.
40. According to Hom, the *Chung Sai Yat Po* published many literary works (*Songs of Gold Mountain*, 31), but the newspaper's online issues from 1890-1904 produced by UC Berkeley show that poetry was rarely published.
41. See the online descriptive summary of the Yuk Ow Collection from the Ethnic Studies Library of the University of California at Berkeley, http://eslibrary.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/summary_yukowcollection.pdf, 1.
42. Liu Yuxi, *Liu binke wenji* 劉賓客文集, in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, vol. 1077 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 27.492.
43. See Yang Bojun 楊伯駿, annotated, *Lunyu yizhu* 論語譯注 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 185.
44. Ban Gu, *Han shu*, 20 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 6:1708, 1756. For a brief discussion of the concept of *guan* (observation), see Zhang Longxi 張隆溪, "History, Poetry, and the Question of Fictionality," *Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry* 3 (2005): 66-68.
45. See Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 47.
46. For a more detailed study of the development of "Bamboo Branch Songs" after the Tang, see Mo Xiuying 莫秀英, "Cong Tangdai dao Qingdai wenren zhuzhi ci ticai neirong de fazhan yanbian" 從唐代到清代文人竹枝詞題材內容的發展演變, *Zhongshan daxue xuebao luncong* 中山大學學報論叢 22.2 (2002): 121-127.
47. See Li Qingnian, *Nanyang zhuzhi ci huibian: zhongguo yiwai weiyi zhuzhi ci huibian* 南洋竹枝詞匯編: 中國以外唯一竹枝詞匯編 (Singapore: Jingu shuhuashe, 2012).
48 See Richard John Lynn, "Early Modern Cross-Cultural Perspectives: the *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan* of Huang Zunxian

(1848-1905)," *Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry* 2 (2002): 1-51.

49. See Qian Zhonglian, annotated, *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu*, 3:1095-1159; 2:587-640.
50. All these can be found in Carton 29 (folder 22), Carton 60 (folder 2), and especially Carton 31 (folder 12) in the Yuk Ow Collection.
51. Hand copy, in Yuk Ow Collection, Carton 31 (folder 12), 133. All poems are my translations except those from Hom's *Songs of Gold Mountain*.
52. For an English discussion of the "revolution in the poetic realm," see Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm*, 47-77.
53. The severe imbalance of the sexes in Chinese communities was relieved after the repeal of all anti-Chinese exclusion laws in 1943. For a history and review of the exclusion of Chinese women from the United States, see Sucheng Chan, "The Exclusion of Chinese Women, 1870-1943," in Chan, *Entry Denied*, 94-146. Note that some Chinese men but fewer Chinese women succeeded in entering the United States after the passage of the Exclusion Act because they were the descendants of their Chinese fathers in the United States. Many, mainly men, gained entrance as paper sons. A paper son or daughter posed as the child of an unrelated adult immigrant in order to escape Exclusion Act laws.
54. Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 5.1 (1979): 4-8. For the gender imbalance in the Chinese community and the flourishing of Chinese prostitution, see also Stanford M. Lyman, "Marriage and the Family among Chinese Immigrants to America, 1850-1960," *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture* 29.4 (1968): 321-330.
55. See Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 252-68; 308-322.
56. Hand copy, in Yuk Ow Collection, Carton 31 (folder 12), 134.
57. The surname Feng 封 in Feng yi 封姨, literally "Aunt Feng," is a homonym of "wind" in Mandarin Chinese. This is based on a fairy tale found in the Tang dynasty collection *Boyi zhi* 博異志 compiled by Gushenzi 谷神子. See Gushenzi and Xue Yongruo 薛用弱, *Boyi zhi Jiyi ji* 博異志 . 集異記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 8-9.
58. According to Hirata, women who had been transported to Chinatown as prostitutes were housed in temporary quarters to await their distribution. Well-to-do Chinese in San Francisco usually purchased the most attractive ones as concubines or mistresses. But they were transferrable, "one day loaded with jewels, the next day to be stripped

and sold to the highest bidder." See Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved," 13-14.

59. Number four of eight poems, newspaper clipping, in Carton 29 (folder 21), Yuk Ow Collection. Published in *Shaonian zhongguo bao* 少年中國報 (Young China) on February 1, 1956.
60. Two examples are the legendary folk heroine Mulan 木蘭, and the late Qing revolutionary who took part in the anti-Manchurian movement, Qiujin 秋瑾 (1875-1907).
61. Newspaper clipping, in Carton 29 (folder 21), Yuk Ow Collection, originally published on February 15, 1951, in *Jinshan Shibao*, with five poems in total. These are the second and fifth pieces of the series.
62. See "Tianhou gumiao" 天后古廟 (Tin How Temple), in Chinatownology.com, http://www.chinatownology.com/tin_how_temple.html. In the anonymous ten-poem series "Bamboo Branch Songs of New Spring at the Golden Gate, 1934" 甲戌金門新春竹枝詞, the sixth piece is about Tin How Temple. The series was originally published on February 18, 1934, in *Sai Gai Yat Po*. See Carton 31 (folder 12), Yuk Ow Collection, p. 137.
63. See "Gangzhou zong huiguan" 岡州總會館 (Kong Chow Benevolent Association), in *Wanqu huaren zixunwang* 灣區華人資訊網 (ChineseInSFBay.com), http://www.chineseinsfbay.com/company/task_view/id_15527.html. In the Yuk Ow Collection, there is a couplet produced in 1868 by the Kong Chow Benevolent Association for welcoming the imperial envoy Anson Burlingame 蒲安臣 (1820-1870, he served as the US ambassador in China and the Chinese ambassador in the US respectively) and his entourage from China. See Carton 31 (folder 12), Yuk Ow Collection. "Kong Chow" is the ancient name of present Xinhui 新會 county in Guangdong.
64. Newspaper clipping, in Carton 31 (folder 12), Yuk Ow Collection.
65. See Carton 29 (folder 22), Yuk Ow Collection.
66. See Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, "Loveliest Daughter of Our Ancient Cathay: Representations of Ethnic and Gender Identity in the Miss Chinatown U.S.A. Beauty Pageant," *Journal of Social History* 31.1 (September 1997): 5-31; see also "Quanmei huabu xiaojie jingxuan" 全美華埠小姐競選, in *Baidu baike* 百度百科, http://baike.baidu.com/view/10117017.htm.
67. See Wu, "Loveliest Daughter," 5, 12.
68. "Jinmen chunri zhuzhi ci" 金門春日竹枝詞, third piece of four, newspaper clipping, in Carton 60 (folder 2), Yuk Ow Collection.

Published on January 1, 1977, in *Jinshan shibao*.

69. Newspaper clipping, in Carton 29 (folder 22), Yuk Ow Collection. Published on January 20, 1968, in *Jinshan shibao*.
70. In his study of New York Chinatown, John Kuo Wei Tchen points out that "until the repeal of exclusionary laws and the advent of home washers and dryers in the 1960s, Chinese hand laundries were to constitute the major occupation of Chinese in New York." This occupation, he maintains, "became both a means of protecting Chinese from the prejudice of the larger society and a constrictive space that kept Chinese disconnected from the world around them." Because of this occupation, they were also "increasingly treated as an undesirable and unassimilable race of people." See Tchen, *New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture 1776-1882* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 252, 259.
71. Newspaper clipping, in Carton 29 (folder 22), Yuk Ow Collection. Published in *Jinshan shibao* on September 6, 1975.
72. Hand copy, no. 3 in "Jiaxu Jinmen xinchun zhuzhi ci" 甲戌金門新春竹枝詞, Carton 31 (folder 12), Yuk Ow Collection. Published in *Sai Gai Yat Po* on February 18, 1934.
73. "Yuandan zhuzhi ci" 元旦竹枝詞, Newspaper clipping, in Carton 60 (folder 2), Yuk Ow Collection. Published in *Jinshan shibao* on January 1, 1977.
74. For the physical and cultural meanings of Chinatown, see Kim, *Dictionary of Asian American History*, 190-91.
75. Written by Huang Shejing 黃社經, "The Lovely Chinatown" series was published in *Jinshan Shibao* on June 1, 1955. Newspaper clipping in Carton 29 (folder 22), Yuk Ow Collection.
76. The first couplet is from the fifth poem in Wang Shejing's "The Lovely Chinatown." The second is from a series of "Bamboo Branch Songs of Springtime in Golden Gate," written by Zeng Xian 曾賢, published on January 1, 1977 in *Jinshan shibao*. See newspaper clipping in Carton 31 (folder 12), Yuk Ow Collection.
77. Lei Meichun 雷梅邨, "Bamboo Branch Songs of the Golden Gate at Springtime" 金門春日竹枝詞, second of four, published in *Jinshan shibao* on February 4, 1977. Newspaper clipping in Carton 31 (folder 12), Yuk Ow Collection.
78. Before the emergence of the Jinshan Shishe, there was a Jinmen Yinshe 金門吟社 (Golden Gate poetry society) formed in 1923.The poetry of its members were collected in the *Jinmen yinshe shiji* 金門吟

社詩集 (Poetry collection of the Golden Gate Poetry Society). At present I cannot locate the poetry collection. After 1931, the society gradually disbanded. The Jinshan Shishe, chaired by Huang Shejing, was founded on the Mid-Autumn Festival (September 14) of 1961. It did not last long. There is a report of its establishment in the *Jinshan shibao*. See newspaper clipping in Carton 29 (folder 22), Yuk Ow Collection. See also Liu, *Xubian*, 407. There was also a Zhongxing 中興 Poetry Society in the 1960s. The *Jinshan shibao* reported on March 4, 1965 that the chairman of the society had won the first prize in a poetry competition organized in Taiwan. See newspaper clipping in Carton 29 (folder 22), Yuk Ow Collection.

79. His original Chinese surname was Mark, but "became Lai in America because his father had entered the country as the paper son of a merchant with the surname Lai." But in Chinese, he put his original surname in front of the adopted surname. Thus, it reads as Mark Lai Him in Chinese. See collection details at the Ethnic Studies Library at the University of California at Berkeley, webpage: http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=kt7r29q3gq;query=;style=oac4;view=admin.
80. Collection details at the Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library note that "Lai is acknowledged as 'the Dean of Chinese American Studies,'" having fifty-four works in English and Chinese about Chinese Americans published as of 2003, that he was an editor of such important journals as *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* and *Amerasia Journal*, and that "he was also invited to teach Chinese American history courses at San Francisco State University . . . and at the University of California at Berkeley. . . ." See note 79 above for the link to collection details.
81. The society published a group collection in 1967. It consists of the work of sixty-one poets. See *Dunfeng Shishe zhuankan* 敦風詩社專刊 (San Francisco: Dunfeng Shishe, 1967). A copy of the collection can be found in the Ethnic Studies Library, University of California at Berkeley.
82. See Zheng Manqing, preface to *Dunfeng shishe zhuankan* 敦風詩社專刊 (San Francisco: Dunfung shishe, 1967), 1; Editorial, *Tien Shing Weekly*, published on September 13, 1981. Collected in Carton 87 (folder 5), Him Mark Lai Papers (hereafter HML Papers).
83. See editorial, "Dunfeng Wenyishe shiwu zhounian jinian" 敦風文藝社十五週年紀念, September 13, 1981, *Jinshan Shibao*. Carton 87 (folder 5), HML Papers. Also see "Dunfeng Wenyishe 2011 nian

chunji yaji" 敦風文藝社 2011 年春季雅集, quoted in *Yaxi'an wenyiying* 亞細安文藝營, http://sgcls.zhongwenlink.com/news_read.asp?NewsID=10993, retrieved on July 13, 2011.

84. See Dunfeng Wenyishe jiaxu chunji yaji jisheng" 敦風文藝社甲戌春季雅集紀盛, April 7, 1994, *Singtao Daily News*; and "Dunfeng Wenyishe chengli shiwu zhounian jinian tekan" 敦風文藝社成立十五週年紀念特刊, in *Tien Shing Weekly*, both in Carton 87 (folder 5), HML Papers.
85. In 1999, the society invited the head of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in San Francisco as honored guest to their annual banquet. See "Dunfeng Wenyishe sasan zhounian juxing shengda huadong" 敦風文藝社卅三週年舉行盛大活動, in *Jinshan shibao*, October 7, 1999. Carton 87 (folder 5), HML Papers.
86. Zhao Chengbo 趙澄波, "Dunfeng shiwu zhounian jinian zhiqing" 敦風十五週年紀念誌慶, published in *Tien Shing Weekly* on September 13, 1981. Carton 87 (folder 5), HML Papers.
87. One cannot, however, assume that these poets are all financially better off than their predecessors. For example, Situ Shufen 司徒樹芬 details the hardship of the reputable woman poet Shu Manxia 舒曼霞 (1912-2001), a primary school teacher from Taiwan who left her children in mainland China after 1949 and could barely support them financially before moving to the United States (probably during the 1970s). See *Jinshan shibao*, October 30, 2001. Carton 87 (folder 3), HML Papers.
88. Carton 87 (folder 3), HML Papers.
89. Carton 87 (folder 3), HML Papers.
90. Carton 87 (folder 3), HML Papers. The phrase "frost covers the sky" in line one is borrowed from the famous Tang poem "Fengqiao yebo" 楓橋夜泊 written by Zhang Ji 張繼. See Cao Yin 曹寅, et al., eds., *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 4.6.242.
91. *Jinshan shibao*, December 30, 2000. Newspaper clipping in Carton 87 (folder 3), HML Papers.
92. See He Ping 郝平, *Sun Zhongshan geming yu meiguo* 孫中山革命與美國 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 121-123.
93. See Carton 87 (folders 3 and 4), HML Papers.
94. Zhang Bingzhi 張病知, ed., *Quanqiu huaqiao shici shihua* (*fulu*: *Dangdai quanqiu huaqiao shici xuanji*) 全球華僑詩詞史話 (附錄:當代全球華僑詩詞選集) (New York: Niuyue sihai shishe, 2000), 82-92. I have not yet located the publications of these societies.
95. See Huang Dihua 黃迪華, "Liang Chaojie de shiwen sanpian" 梁朝杰

的詩文三篇, in *Shidai bao* 時代報, August 30, 1986. Carton 87 (folder 1), HML Papers.

96. Thanks to Professor Nancy Yunhwa Rao at Rutgers University, I learned of the Chung Collection at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver and of an online edition of *Dahan Gongbao* 大漢公報 (The Chinese Times) published in Victoria from 1915 to 1970. The National Archives in Ottawa may also contain some documents about classical-style poetry written in Canada.
97. See the list in Zhang Bingzhi, *Quanqiu huaqiao shici shihua*, 100-101.
98. Zhang Bingzhi, *Quanqiu huaqiao shici shihua*, 95-96.
99. Stephen Owen, "Poetry in the Chinese Tradition," in Paul Ropp, ed., *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 295-296.
100. 吾曹身託異邦, 心懷故國. See Zhao Minzhi 趙民治, preface to *Dunfeng shishe zhuankan*, 2.

Classical Poetry, Photography, and the Social Life of Emotions in 1910s China

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This paper investigates the relationship between image and text, specifically in the case of photographic images vis-à-vis classical-style poetry. Making use of archival materials, it depicts an innovative artistic practice, namely that of inscribing photographs with poems or composing poems about photographic images. More importantly, this paper analyzes critically the evocation and transmission of emotions in communal life that the propagation of photographs and images between literati enacted, as well as the route this practice adopted as it expanded. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai suggests that studying these "things-in-motion" affords us insights into dynamic human action and emotion in a given cultural or historical moment.[1] In that light, the issue of how photographs and poems were circulated and exchanged as gifts may provide us a vantage point to tackle the meanings of emotions in a momentous era. Here one major discourse of emotion, *qing* 情 (desire or love), is a significant point of contention. Although the topic of *qing* has been extensively explored and enriched in recent decades,[2] the critical attention has focused on its relationship to subjectivity, interiority, or personhood. Situated in the revived cult of *qing* at the end of the late Qing, this study focuses on the sociality and reciprocity of emotion, especially when it enters the realms of affective response and social networking. In other words, this study will treat *qing* less as a personal state of feeling and more as a social and culturally-constructed practice. Emotion will be mainly understood to be "socially responsive," "socially shared and regulated," and "socially constituted."[3] Some specific questions include: How is *qing* evoked in interactions between literati? What is the role that language and other symbolic practices play in soliciting and responding to emotion? How does *qing* travel? What function does heterosexual desire play in male bonding, as well as the political or revolutionary discourse of the time?[4] Addressing emotion mainly from a social perspective, this paper focuses on two primary

examples of the internal dynamics of a pair of overlapping literati groups: Su Manshu 蘇曼殊 (1884-1918) and his interactions with Japanese courtesans and his circle of friends; and Liu Yazi 柳亞子 (1887-1958) and the members of the Southern Society (Nanshe 南社). The latter case study examines the members' enthusiastic promotion of Feng Chunhang 馮春航 (1888-1941) and Lu Zimei 陸子美 (1893-1915)—two Beijing Opera *dan* 旦 actors—with a focus on their poetic compositions about the photograph images.[5] By tracing the circulation and consumption of "female" photographic images by male intellectuals and revolutionaries roughly from 1909 to 1915, this paper will illuminate the function of heterosexual desire in cementing male friendship, as well as reveal social and cultural aspects of Chinese emotional life at the dawn of the technological era.

I.

Su Manshu, an esteemed poet-monk, painter, scholar, and translator in the early twentieth century, was described by a friend as someone with "an unusual fascination with the beauties in his life" 奇癖平生爱美人.[6] As various anecdotes suggest, Su had a pronounced penchant for the visually pleasing. Throughout his life, he loved to be photographed, leaving us a good number of stylish portraits of himself in Western suits, traditional Chinese outfits, and monks' robes. He also enjoyed collecting photographic portraits of women and female accouterments, such as sachets and hairpins. He would even distribute photographs from his collection to his friends, claiming that the women pictured were his girlfriends. Su also drew portraits of women and spent time studying various styles of the chignon, a popular hairstyle among women at the time. Three of these portraits are of the same woman, a distant relative (a cousin, perhaps) named Jingzi, who is allegedly the literary prototype for the protagonist of Su's sensational novel *Duanhong lingyan ji* 斷鴻零雁記 (The lonely swan); these photographs were in the possession of Liu Yazi, Deng Yizhi 鄧以蜇 (1892-1973) and Deng Shi 鄧實 (1877-1951). Su asked Liu Yazi to publish one of these photographs in the *Pacific Newspaper* 太平洋報 (Taiping yang bao).[7] Without knowing who she was, Liu titled the picture "The Woman Poet of the Eastern Sea" 東海女詩人 and posted it alongside a picture of Su Manshu with the title, "The Poet of the Eastern Sea" 東海詩人.[8]

In March of 1909, Su acquired the copies of the photographs of a famous Japanese geisha, Harumoto Manryū 春本萬龍 (1894-1973), in Tokyo. He promptly sent them to his friends Deng Shi and Cai Zhefu 蔡哲夫 (1879-1941),[9] further evidence of his infatuation with the female image and his appetite for it. According to the account provided by those who lived with him, "The Master [Su Manshu] loved women and loved to watch them, especially women in brothels, so nine days out of ten he would while

Figure 1. Postcard of Ms. Momosuke with Su Manshu's inscription to Bao Tianxiao. From Su Manshu, *Manshu yiji* 曼殊遺集, ed. Zhou Shoujuan (Shanghai: Dongfang xuehui, 1930).

away his time between the luster of pearls and the shadow of hairpins. But looking is all he would do, almost as if these were beautiful flowers rather than women. If a comely courtesan caught his eye, the Master would beckon her, then direct her to stand in front of him. He would then carefully look her over, and when done looking, would send her away."[10] Not once would he allow the courtesan to touch him or even be close with him, let alone permit her to sit next to him on the bed. This vivid anecdote suggests that Su's interest in the women was more aesthetic than salacious, and it is hard to surmise how deep his emotional involvement with these women was. In Shanghai in 1912, Su wrote to his good friend Liu San 劉三 (1878-1938), describing a clever quid pro quo arrangement he had devised to deal with women who would besiege him to paint their portraits: whenever he painted a picture for a lady, she would have to repay him with a photograph of herself. Men coming with the same request would be summarily rejected. At the end of the letter, Su asked Liu, "Don't you think I'm crazy?"[11] This is perhaps how Su was able to obtain a good number of photographic portraits of women.

In the spring of 1909 in Tokyo, Su Manshu met Ms. Momosuke 百助, a

Figure 2. Front of the Postcard of Ms. Momosuke with Su Manshu's inscription to Zhang Shizhao (private collection of Wang Jinsheng).

koto (Japanese zither) player. At the time Su composed a poem titled "Inscribed on a Picture of a Gentle Girl Playing Her Zither" 靜女調箏圖 and wrote the poem onto a photograph postcard of Momosuke, which was mailed to his friend Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (1876-1973) (figure 1). This ten by fifteen centimeter postcard was later published in *Banyue zazhi* 半月雜誌 (Half moon, edited by Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑, 1895-1968) and *Tianhuang huabao* 天荒畫報 (Pictorial Magazine of the Eternal, edited by Cai Zhefu and others). These issues proved to be popular,[12] indicating how easily a personal image reached the public domain, and how desire or fantasy was created by reproducing and disseminating that image in quantity for public consumption. Zhang Shizhao 章士釗 (1881-1973), who was studying in London around that time, also received a copy of the same photograph sent from Su via Siberia, with very similar inscriptions and style. On the back of that card to Zhang, Su playfully wrote a line in pen "Momosuke from Japan is my hometown friend" 蓬瀛百助是同鄉, making the shape of the line look like a seal (figure 2 and 3).[13]

On the photographs to Bao Tianxiao and Zhang Shizhao, Su inscribed the same poem respectively, using a pen (instead of a brush) with black ink. It reads:

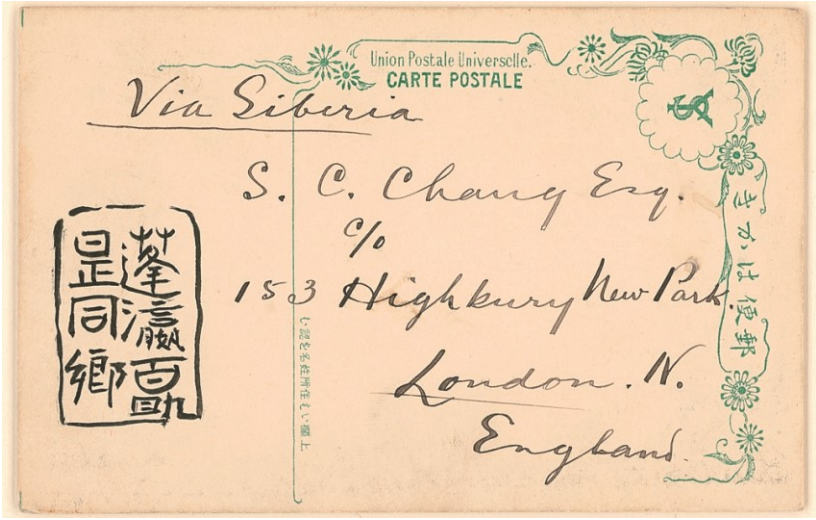

Figure 3. Back of the Postcard of Ms. Momosuke with Zhang Shizhao's London address (private collection of Wang Jinsheng).

Inscribed on a Picture of a Gentle Girl Playing Her Zither	靜女調箏圖
Endless spring sorrows, endless grief,	無限春愁無限恨
All at once reverberate from her fingertips.	一時都向指間鳴
My robe is already soaked through,	我已袈裟全濕透
How can I continue to listen to this heart-rending zither?![14]	那堪更聽割雞箏

On the photographs, this poem was followed immediately by Ni Zan's 倪瓚 (1301 or 1306-1374) song lyric (*ci* 詞) "To the tune *Liu shao qing*" 柳梢青 without spaces or a title to indicate the start of a new poem. Ni Zan's poem was written as a song to the courtesan Xiao Qiongying 小瓊英, expressing nostalgia about love and heartbreak. The *ci* poem by Ni Zan foreshadows the emptiness that is surely the inevitable outcome of such intense *qing*. The temporal movement of the two poems from the right to the left indicates an emotive shift from an articulation of love in the present, frozen in time, to a self-conscious forecast of the ultimate futility and emptiness of the world of *qing*. The quotation further produces an echo through the shared connective cultural space of *qing*. The inscription ends with a short passage to Bao and Zhang respectively in the expository style, a signature of his personal style name, and his seal.

By placing Su Manshu's poem in its original context of composition and presentation, it is possible to address the question of what makes this portrait photo, with its colophons, unique. Su's identity as a monk-lover and his physical experience as instigated by music is captured in line 3: "My robe is already soaked through." As I have discussed elsewhere with regard to this poem, Su Manshu's most conspicuous lyrical achievement is in his powerful handling of the first-person male lover's voice and the introduction of lyrical intimacy. True to the elliptical nature of Chinese poetic language, the grammatical subject is usually either omitted or used to represent a universalized, omnipresent subject. The majority of love poems by Chinese literati feature a belated expression of love (as is the case in the death or departure of the courtesan-lover or wife), with the lover being spoken of in absentia.[15] In the visual space of the photograph above, Su Manshu brings the "I" into being as the subject of utterance and as a participant in a dialogue, thereby achieving a dynamic interactive relationship that is both visually economical and emotionally effective. It is as if the power of the beautiful image of Momosuke and her music evokes the direct presence of the subject. In other words, the power of the image incites the viewer/listener/poet into a direct speech act. This first-person masculine voice of the lover and the confessional style of the poem intimately relate and respond to the verisimilitude and immediacy of the visual image.

Situating Su's practice in the long-lasting dynamics of word/image will help us to appreciate his originality and creativity. As is well known, "poems inscribed on paintings" (*tihua shi* 題畫詩) is an esteemed subgenre in Chinese poetry.[16] In particular, writing about a beauty in a given painting developed into a formula or convention in the Song dynasty, in which the female image was treated as a thing in representation, without much emotive interaction between the viewing subject and the object.[17] Rarely was there an individual voice articulated. In comparison, Su Manshu not only documents an individual experience of love but also turns the visual space into a place of intimacy, initiating a reciprocal experience with a distinctive personal voice.

Given this written tradition, when photography was first introduced into China in the 1850s,[18] people started to write poems about the new medium, which was not an unusual practice, leaving us a good number of such poems in various anthologies and collections. Inscribing such poems onto photographs was, however, much less common. One of the earliest examples of the admixture of writing and photography comes from 1863, when Yi Xuan 奕譞 (1840-1891) wrote a poem about his self-portrait and then mounted the calligraphy on the photograph itself.[19] The most well-known example of this admixture is that of Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), who in Japan wrote a poem on the back of a photographic self-portrait and sent it

to his friend Xu Shouchang 許壽裳 (1883-1948) around 1903.[20] In Yi Xuan's practice, the photograph was mounted onto the paper scroll; thus, the photographic image was treated like traditional painting. Lu Xun allegedly wrote the poem on the back of the photograph. The relationship between writing and photography as separate entities, and the writing of a poem as a traditional practice, remains intact. Su Manshu, with his creative and artistic skill, inaugurated a new practice when he began to inscribe poems in the visual space of the photograph, incorporating the immediacy and efficacy of photography in a new form of communication. For Su, who was also an accomplished painter, inscribing poems onto photographs may have been a way of extending the traditional practice of writing poems on paintings. As photographs were soon to be pervasive in modern culture, a question arises of the effect and significance of Su's inscriptions, a seemingly natural extension of the colophon culture and seal marking on traditional painting.

Stylistically speaking, the style of the inscriptions on the photographs to Zhang Shizhao and Bao Tianxiao is similar, indicating a freely flowing spirit and personal style. Inscriptions, which were usually at the margins of the two-dimensional pictorial space in the painting, were written over the three-dimensional photographical image. The large space that the inscriptions occupy in the composition also make them visually striking, creating two contradictory visual effects: the superimposition of the handwritten words seems to purposefully flatten the three dimensional image, echoing the flatness in the visual sensibilities prominently pronounced in the practices of the time;[21] meanwhile, the characters, as the two-dimensional pictorial signs employed here, also gain additional visual depth and appear particularly energetic. Further, the inscriptions with their cursive and willful style, surrounding the female subject in the compositional space, seem to mimic the outpouring emotions of the speaker. The surprising visual effect, due to conscious manipulation, results in the stylistic combination of individualized inscriptions and mechanically reproduced images.[22] Few others adopted this practice (especially when the ability to write classical-style poetry dramatically decreased), and there are only a handful of available examples of this combination of word/image, all of which makes this series of photographs created by Su Manshu unique.

In his famous 1927 essay "Photography," Siegfried Kracauer provides some valuable insights into the visual abstraction of the photographic image. A witness to the arrival of this new technology and its impact on modern life in Weimar, Kracauer suggests that photography is a visual abstraction, presenting a mass technical reproduction of the "spatial continuum" of an object in a temporal instant. It freezes a moment in time, while emptying out its historical content and specificity. Kracauer proposes that the

"memory image" is a contrasting model to photography, because it is personally significant to the individuals who retain the memory, even though those individuals may not necessarily know the meaning of the image.[23] Su Manshu inscribed two poems, along with the date, the name of the recipient, and his personal message and signature onto the surface of the paper photograph. Seen in the light of Kracauer's idea of a memory image, Su Manshu's inscriptions added both historical and personal significance to the photograph. By bracketing the spatial continuum with diegetic details,

Figure 4. Photograph of Ms. Momosuke sent to Deng Qiumei (image provided by Chen Shiqiang).

Su invests a photographic representation with depth and context and limns subjective personal emotion and memory onto a flat object-image. In the artist's individual practice, Su re-inscribes an aura (in Walter Benjamin's sense) to the mass reproduced copy,[24] turning the visual image of a *koto* player into a personal memory image. Further, the issue of signature is another point of interest. In the modern context, both in China and the West, it became a common practice to sign the photograph with a person's name and give it to a friend as a gift. This act of authentication adds affective or economic value to the object. Su Manshu obviously goes much further by inscribing the images with poems, a message, signature, and seal, together with a personalized handwritten style. These "deep," authentic, stylistic works, produced by Su, also serve as memory images for his friends (e.g. Bao Tianxiao and Zhang Shizhao) and to readers like us across time. Aided

by these written additions, I, as a reader and researcher, have attempted to retrieve the past, piecing together the fragments to form a coherent story of Su Manshu.

At least six different photographs of Momosuke along with an inscription by Su Manshu exist. In addition to the photographs sent to Bao Tianxiao and Zhang Shizhao, there was one more sent to Deng Qiumei 鄧秋枚 (1877-1951) (figure 4), which consists of the same photograph with a similar inscription of two poems. Photographs sent to Cai Zhefu, Zhu Zongyuan 諸宗元 (1874-1932), and Huang Jie 黃節 (1873-1935) involve different images of Momosuke but have an inscription of the same two poems (figures 5 and 6).[25] The photographic image of Momosuke was described as enchanting, here in Zhou Shoujuan's words: "Divine glamour, separated and united, cannot be seen from up close. The jade moon and immortal flowers are not enough to describe her charms."[26] The interaction between literati and courtesans or female entertainers, and writing about such liaisons, was not new, but the circulation of *qing* beyond the confines of a relatively circumscribed realm to a public, masculine space in such a readily reproducible format was very much new. The reproducibility and accessibility of photographs facilitated different ways in which Su's male friends could relate to each other. The photograph being an "object-in-motion," so to speak, reveals human relationships through its essence, trajectory, and contour of transmission. In the process of sending inscribed photographs of Momosuke to his friends, Su transformed his personal feelings (or imagined personal feelings) toward Momosuke into a social articulation of the self. It is noteworthy that the validation of his emotive experience comes not from Momosuke, but from his friends as the recipients of these photographs. Although Su did write at the end of the inscription that the poem was intended to "win a smile from the beauty" (*bo meiren yican* 博美人一粲), in fact the audience was his friends. Toward the end of his inscriptions to Bao Tianxiao and Zhang Shizhao respectively, Su wrote in an epistolary style, saying that on a windy and snowy day, he was missing his old friend and was therefore sending the personalized card. Many years later in 1962 in Hong Kong, Bao Tianxiao composed a poem to commemorate Su Manshu that recalls Su's own words: "I am missing my friend terribly on this cold day of snow and wind" 風雪天寒念故人.[27] Years later, Zhang Shizhao mentioned the photograph in conjunction with Su numerous times in his poetry, for example in the line, "[the image] has made me miss him for forty years" 累我懷人四十年.[28]

In the process of the circulation and transmission of these photographs, the issue arises of the function of mediated heterosexual desire. Su Manshu wrote a series of ten "Biographical Poems" 本事詩 that are generally believed to describe his relationship with the *koto* player. Although this

Figure 5. Photograph of Ms. Momosuke sent to Cai Zhefu (image provided by Chen Shiqiang).

Figure 6. Photograph of Ms. Momosuke sent to Zhu Zongyuan (image provided by Chen Shiqiang).

series of poems is well known among literary scholars, the circumstances in which the poems were composed and how they were circulated have mostly been forgotten. Su's poems were written simultaneously with Chen Duxiu's 陳獨秀 (1879-1942) ten poems in a hotel in Tokyo.[29] Chen Duxiu, who later became a major player in the New Culture Movement, taught Su Manshu how to write classical-style poetry in Japan, where they were close friends and briefly roommates. The poem cited above was originally listed as the first of the "biographical poems," but Su later made some changes in the second couplet to avoid repetition.[30] After Su Manshu completed his ten poems, he sent them to his friends, including Cai Zhefu, Deng Qiumei, Liu San, Huang Jie, Zhu Zongyuan and Li Xiaotun 李曉暾 (1879-1919) enclosing each with Momosuke's photo, to elicit a response. He received ten corresponding poems each from Liu Yazi, Gao Xu 高旭 (1877-1925) and Cai Zhefu.[31]

His friends' poems (forty in all) are written employing *ciyun* 次韻 (matching rhymes). This is like inviting an audience to comment on Su's protracted vacillation between romantic emotion and spiritual transcendence. A sympathetic group of friends commiserated with him and inserted empathetic echoes in their writing. The form of *ciyun* they used also ensures such unanimity or resonance, as the respondents would use the same end rhymes as in Su's poem, following in the same order and even employing a similar stock of vocabulary. The circulation of these poems and photographs created a new platform for sympathetic conversation and collaboration among poets. The writing and reading of Su's poems provided a channel to transmute erotic desire by expressing it to an empathetic audience, while promoting a strong social bond within the group. On the one hand, as I argue elsewhere, Su Manshu's exposure to Western literature (Romanticism in particular), coupled with the sensory experience that he enjoyed through the means of modern technology, as well as the presence of his erudite literary friend Chen Duxiu, allowed him to develop an individualized poetic voice, extending his capacity for articulating his emotions as a lover.[32] On the other hand, as we can perceive in this context, the self in his poetry, enmeshed within an interpersonal relationship, is a social and intertextual subject. A useful example is the fifth poem in the series:

Biographical Poems (no. 5)	本事詩
Peach-cheeked and red-lipped she sits playing the pipe,	桃腮檀口坐吹笙
Hard to measure old abounding sorrows with springtime waters,	春水難量舊恨盈

The Huayan Temple waterfall is a thousand *chi* high,	華嚴瀑布高千尺
But not as high as my sweetheart's loving feelings.	未及卿卿愛我情

—by Su Manshu

Alone in a quiet spot playing the pipe	少人行處獨吹笙
Thinking of the past her tears abound.	思量往事淚盈盈
If only regret were easily mended	缺憾若非容易補
As she patched the sky I would repay the Goddess's feeling.	報答媧皇煉石情

—by Chen Duxiu

Treasuring and tuning up the goose-keyed zither	珍重親調雁柱箏
In this pair of eyes waves of tears abound.	淚波雙眼自盈盈
The talented one says carelessly that a Zen escape is good	才人浪說逃禪好
But in this Zen escape one cannot help but still have feeling.	爭奈逃禪尚有情

—by Liu Yazi

Leaning on the jade banisters playing the pipe,	碧欄十二倚吹笙
In layers of elaborate garments, autumn thoughts abound,	疊疊霓裳秋思盈
A goddess holds a flower, the Buddha smiles,	天女拈花迦葉笑
What in the human world is the use for this passionate feeling?	人間安用是痴情

—by Gao Xu

Under the lamp, shoulder to shoulder, listening to water piping in the pitcher,	憑肩燈下聽瓶笙
A wisp of tea smoke fills up the cramped room.	一縷茶煙斗室盈
Heads together, reflected in the teacups,	照見並頭杯茗裡
Wordless, they set down the cups, overcome by feeling.[33]	停杯無語不勝情

—by Cai Zhefu

In this series of poems, the character *qing* (feeling) is used prominently as the final rhyme word. The poems are cliché-ridden, but form and familiar diction enable the poets to engage in Su's emotional life in a compelling way, vicariously sharing his pain. Evoking such empathy requires rhetorical exchange and communication on a deep emotional level. The formulaic conventions and literary tropes serve to teach, to instigate, or to enhance empathetic resonance in social settings.[34] As beholders of Momosuke's image, these poets wrote about the lady with her musical instrument (in this series, a reed pipe) in an intimate moment and thereby became sympathetic spectators of Su's emotional entanglements. Their responses indicate that they either enjoyed imaginative role-playing or served as a supporting chorus, creating an inter-subjective route of emotional transmission. Feeling could be initiated by others or derived from the text or the image, while being further transferred and mediated through literary convention, trope, and empathetic imagination of others' experience. This series of poems perfectly captures the process of converting "an intertextual relationship into an interpersonal one."[35] What is highlighted here is both the social life of *qing* and the role that literary convention played in the process of articulation and circulation of *qing*. In common understanding of emotion, one of the basic assumptions is that emotion, predicated upon the bourgeoisie subject, is a purely physiological reaction or inner state, disconnected from social and political life.[36] The cultural life and activities surrounding Su Manshu's circle contests this privileged view, showing that emotion also has its social origins and is "*preeminently* cultural" in Catherine Lutz's words.[37] Relying upon clichéd vocabulary and imagining the emotion of the Other, the male poets not only fashioned their own subjectivity as men of sentiment but also contributed to the conversation and bonding experience revolving around expressions of *qing*.

Su Manshu's life was cut short in 1917 when he was only thirty-five. A collage was assembled by his fans and published in the book *Manshu shiyun chouji* 曼殊詩韻酬集 (Collection of poems matching Manshu's rhymes) in the 1930s (figure 7).[38] Juxtaposing two portraits of Su in the lower left corner with one of him in monk's robes in the upper right, the collage seems to suggest that Su had been reincarnated as a Buddha who had attained spiritual transcendence and risen to paradise. On the top of the page is inscribed the line "In a thousand years, there is only one Manshu to have as a bosom friend" 千古知音獨曼殊, followed by Su's famous couplet dedicated to Lord Byron: "You, poet, and I are wanderers, fluttering like reeds in the storm / May I beckon to your soul from across a strange land" 詞客飄蓬君與我 / 可能異域為招魂. Along the right and left margins and on the bottom are either poems composed by his fans or quotes from Su's own poetry, the latter a poetic subgenre called *jiju* 集句 ("gathering

Figure 7. A Collage of Su Manshu. From *Manshu shiyun chouji* (1930s).

poetic lines" or verbatim quotations). The collage, featuring a powerful mixture of photographic image and text, of literary friendship and resonance, extended across historical time and space. In effect, Su and his friends' poems formed a kind of echo chamber, in which ideas, emotions, and tropes reverberated. Writing poems about images turned this overflow of feeling into a literary production and shared experience, while ensuring the afterlife of feeling in generations of readers.

II.

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed drastic changes in dramatic performance, an increased commercialization of the theater, as well as the advent of a new breed of patrons and benefactors. The patronage

culture took advantage of publication venues and public forums to promote actors, moving from the private to the public domain. Depicting Mei Lanfang's 梅蘭芳 (1894-1961) and Feng Chunhang's rise to stardom, Catherine Yeh analyzes the historical moment when the role of female impersonator rose from that of a plaything or privately owned property, to become a symbol of an idealized femininity and a newly modern national culture. Yeh points out that after the collapse of the Qing, the literati came to occupy the vacant center left by the Qing court and asserted their influence in drama and public aesthetic taste through modern media and commercialism.[39] Among them, two members of the Southern Society, Liu Yazi and Chen Qubing 陳去病 (1874-1933), played an important role in pioneering "new drama" (*xinju* 新劇) by assuming the editorship of newspapers that they then used to promote this new form.[40] In 1909, the Southern Society held its first meeting in Suzhou. While there, Liu Yazi, together with his friend and fellow member of the Southern Society, Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1895-1979), happened to watch a performance by Feng Chunhang of *Xuelei bei* 血淚碑 (The stele of bloody tears). Awestruck by the exquisite performance, Liu observed that Feng seemed to "share the feeling of being an unfortunate victim of the world" 輒有天涯淪落之感. After that, Liu developed an obsession with Feng, getting drunk each day and going to cheer Feng on. In an effort to garner support for Feng's subsequent shows in Suzhou, Liu engaged in activities that would "enthuse actors" (*pengjue* 捧角), influencing his fellow friends' opinions in the Southern Society.[41] Other members of the society, such as Lin Baiju 林百舉 (1880-1951), Chen Bulei 陳布雷 (1890-1948), Yu Jianhua, Yao Guang 姚光 (1891-1945), Pang Shubo 龐樹柏 (1884-1916), Ye Chuchuang 葉楚傖 (1887-1946), Zhu Shaoping 朱少屏 (1882-1942), and Shen Li 沈礪 (1879-1946), came to share Liu's enthusiasm and formed a clique known as the "Feng faction" (Fengdang 馮黨). Later in 1912, Liu Yazi took advantage of his editorship of *Minsheng ba* 民聲報 (Minsheng Newspaper), and started a column to publicly promote Feng.[42] After he became the editor of the *Pacific Newspaper*, Liu urged his friends to submit poems or essays, especially those that were flattering to Feng, thus helping to popularize Feng.[43] Following Liu's lead, Ye Chuchuang started a public forum in 1913 in the *Minli ba* 民立報 (Minli Newspaper), and Guan Yihua 管義華 (1892-1975) also launched one in the *Zhonghua minbao* 中華民報 (Chinese People's Newspaper), both of which were used to laud and publicize Feng's performances.

In 1913, an issue of *Xiaoshuo shibao* 小說時報 (Fiction Times) prominently featured Jia Biyun 賈碧雲 (1890-1941), a leading performer in Beijing. On June 19, Liu Yazi posted a note in *Mingli Newspaper*, urging people to submit photographs of Feng Chunhang and poems about him to

the newspaper.[44] Sure enough, Liu Yazi also responded within a few weeks with a beautifully produced book devoted to Feng Chunhang, countering the rivalry of Jia Biyun. The book, titled *Chunhang ji* 春航集 (The Chunhang collection), contained photographs, poetry, and criticism about Feng and his performances. The forty-three essays included are selections from numerous newspapers and magazines, including *Tianduo bao* 天鐸報 (Tianduo Newspaper), *Shibao* 時報 (The Times), *Minxin bao* 民信報 (Minxin Newspaper), *Zhonghua minbao*, *Tuhua ju bao* 圖畫劇報 (Drama Pictorial), among others. One of the Southern Society's members, Yao Yuanchu, alluded to "the rising price of paper in Luoyang," to suggest the popularity of the collection.[45] In 1914, Liu Yazi made another special effort to edit and publish a book for Lu Zimei, titled *Zimei ji* 子美集 (The Zimei collection).[46] The collection published twelve photographs, including one of Zimei with Liu Yazi, eighteen prefaces (*xu* 序) and eleven endorsement verse (*tici* 題辭) by friends congratulating Liu's successfully bringing out this book.

While compiling *The Chunhang Collection*, Liu, along with his friends Pang Shubo, Yu Jianhua, Zhu Shaopin, Chen Feishi 陈匪石 (1884-1959), Wang Yunzhang 王蘊章 (1884-1942), and Jiang Kesheng 姜可生 (1893-1959) paid a visit to Feng Chunhang, meeting him in person for the first time. On that occasion, Feng gave Liu more than twenty photographs of himself.[47] In Yao Yuanchu's description, Liu Yazi secretly concealed the photographs in his breast pockets and sleeves. Yao commented that "In the book there is beautiful Cui Hui, whom he faces at leisure day after day. Oh, he's so pleased!" 卷中有崔徽; 日日閑相對, 好不滿意也.[48] Yao went on to write a moving *zaju* drama titled *Juyingji chuanji* 菊影記傳奇 (The romance of the chrysanthemum) to capture Liu's excitement and fervent appreciation, with obvious exaggeration and fabrication. Hu Jichen 胡寄塵 (1886-1938) wrote that in the eyes of Liu's colleagues, "Liu's appreciation of Chunhang is lasting and not to be forgotten. His sincere feeling is heart-wrenching."[49] At that time, Liu sent letters, which were mostly about Feng, to Hu Jichen in Shanghai almost on a daily basis.[50]

The two collections that were devoted to Feng and Lu respectively included a dozen photographs of the two actors shot in studios, showing them in different attire and sporting different gestures in settings that appeared Western (figures 8, 9, 10 and 11).[51] The costumes include a Western-style wedding gown, a traditional Victorian dress, a princess's costume from the late Qing era, chic Chinese clothing, and theater costumes. There is only one photograph of Feng in a male suit. "She" is mostly seen either holding and sniffing a flower and smiling, or holding a book and looking contemplative or self-indulgent. In quite a few photographs, despite wearing modern, Western clothing, the actors sport traditional stances and gestures representing stereotypical behavior of a Chinese female, suggesting

Figure 8. Photograph of Feng Chunhang. From Liu Yazi, ed., *Chunhang ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guangyi shuju, 1913).

Figure 9. Photograph of Feng Chunhang. From Liu Yazi, *Chunhang ji*.

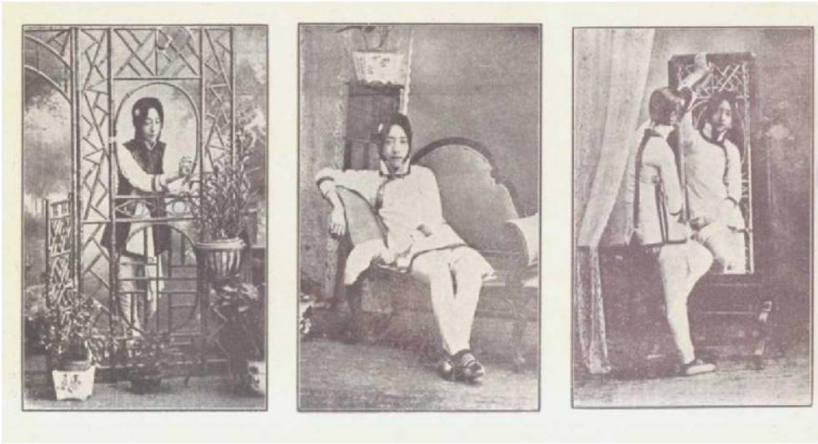

Figure 10. Photographs of Lu Zimei. From *Mei Lu ji*, ed. Wang Langao (Shanghai: Zhonghua shiye congbao she, 1914).

Figure 11. Photograph of Lu Zimei performing *Henhai* 恨海 (The Sea of Regret). From *Youxi zazhi* 遊戲雜誌 3 (1914).

decorum and refinement. While the composition of the photographs appears formulaic, these photographs reveal more dynamic "female" subjectivities and gestures than most of the earlier photographic portraits, in which the subjects always appeared stiff and emotionless. In some pictures, the impersonated female would stray to a limited extent from the traditional female body language and deportment, at times looking directly into the camera or confidently returning the viewer's gaze. After browsing these photographs, the impression contemporary viewers are likely to get is that Feng and Lu were delighted to assume different roles and personae, turning the photography studio into a stage. Needless to say, the new media enabled these actors to represent multiple facets of themselves and performed roles, as well as project cross-gender representations with creative license. Cross-dressing for photograph shoots not only allowed Feng and Lu to generate new kinds of gendered images but also created an idealized modern "new woman."[52] Their cross-dressing as portrayed in theatrical performance and in photographs served to create malleable visuals that were ambiguous enough to engender layers of interpretations and meanings, which in effect brought into question hitherto accepted gender roles and representations. Taking advantage of photography to experiment with multiple representations of themselves, these actors who were pioneers in "new drama" helped to blur the boundaries between truth and artifice, fantasy and reality.

Despite the possibility of multiple subject positions revealed in Feng and Lu's photo shooting, all the poems written about these photographs by the members of the Southern Society, however, deny or undermine this possibility. The poems all address a "her" in conventional gender terms. "She" is held up as no less than the ideal, the apotheosis of feminine charm and allure, as seen through the subjective lens of a man projecting his fantasy onto a female other. Under the guise of promoting an actor, some poets repeatedly expressed and reinforced their erotic desire. The photograph thereby became the perfect stand-in for a woman as a desirable object, as well as a catalyst for male desire. It is interesting to note that in almost all the poems on Feng and Lu's photographs in *Nanshe congke* 南社叢刻 (The collection of the Southern Society), the poets deliberately obfuscate the boundary between performance and reality, taking the actors' "femininity" as a given, although the poets were well aware that the actors were men.[53] Liu Yazi and his colleagues understood the rules of the game, so to speak, and accordingly treated the images of Feng and Lu as embodiments of the ideal woman, a newly envisioned combination of traditional type and modernity. Writing about photographs of Feng served to reinforce the tendency to foster fantasies centered upon women's images; it was also a perpetuation of the codified image of the beautiful woman objectified in painting. I provide an example below to demonstrate how the male imagina-

tion is articulated.

Six Poems on Zimei's Photographs, Quoting Yishan's [Li Shangyin] Lines	题子美小影六首集义山句
She understands the bitterness of lovesickness,	解有相思苦
Distraught at the Songs of Midnight.	心酸子夜歌
Ripples reflect in vain on her stockings,	波痕空映襪
She receives silken missives in Shanghai.	海上得綃多
Leaning on a book-box she pretends to sleep,	假寐憑書篋
Loosening her blouse as though drunk.	依稀解醉羅
A heart broken for so long,	回腸九回后
She can do nothing about it this time.[54]	不奈寸腸何

—*by Ye Yusen* 葉玉森 *(1880-1933)*

Ye wrote six poems to describe six photographs of Lu Zimei, portraying "her" as a conventional lonely lady in the throes of lovesickness. The note to the poem, "No. 6: Zimei, dressed up as a Western lady, dreamily reclines on a chaise longue" 第六幅子美饰西裝女子倚睡椅上作朦朧態. Zimei is dressed as a modern Western woman and looks enticing, similar to the image of Feng Chunhang in figure 9.[55] The Western style dress, representing modern values and new fashion, was a popular costume used in photo shoots to fantasize about the Western beauty (*xifang meiren* 西方美人).[56] Ye's poem is used here as an example to illustrate the tension between the photographic image and the image as represented in the poem. In the photo, the slightly lower angled shot conveys a mild fetishization of the woman, while her gesture suggests some degree of self-indulgence. The poem fully conforms to male author's conventional preference in the choice of erotic connotation and poetic convention. Line 6, "Loosening her blouse as though drunk," is quoted from Li Shangyin's well-known poem "Mirror Banister" 镜槛, which contains this couplet: "I imagine her spreading fragrant bedding, / her blouse loosening as though she were drunk" 想像鋪芳褥, 依稀解醉羅.[57] Li Shangyin's long poem describes a love affair between a literatus and a dancing girl, moving from a description of her dancing to his memories of her and a detailed documentation of their love affair, including sexual encounters. The poetic form of *jiju* (verbatim quotations) involves quoting lines written by renowned poets to compose a new poem, and the form therefore often suffers from an accumulation of conventional imagery.[58] Ye quotes from Li's couplet describing the tantalizing act of disrobing, while visually encountering an image of a modern woman leaning on a Western-style couch. In resorting to the familiar, the

poet recycles erotic feeling through literary convention, the masculine gaze, and imagination. The poet not only concurs with the camera's initiation of the process of objectification, but also explicitly articulates the desire and further negates any other new elements or interpretations that are present in the photograph. Evoking the stock image of the lovesick lady, the poet transplants an "old" feeling into a "new" context, perpetuating an erotic subtext that may be only suggested in the photographic image.

In his discussion on the functions of text with regard to image, Roland Barthes famously proposes two types of relationships between the two: anchorage and relay. In his view, all images are by nature polysemous. Therefore, the addition of a linguistic message to an image is one technique to "*fix* the floating chain of signified" and to pin a certain proliferating image and its connoted meanings to a specific interpretation.[59] The visual image, considered as a mute object by Bill Nichols, "though rich, may be profoundly imprecise, ambiguous, even deceiving."[60] Seen in this light, the different messages rendered in these photographs, which are saturated with ideological, cultural and gendered connotations, may be confined by the poetic text to a fixed and unvarying reading of the image. A verbal text associated with the visual would have a great influence on, if not control over, how that image was interpreted. The poems discussed above impose distinct messages about the meaning of the photographic image, which, I have suggested, has much to do with writing conventions and reading habits. In their critiques published in newspapers, the poets stressed that Feng's performance showed "clear spirit and lingering profundity" (*shen qing yi yuan* 神清意遠), endowing it with lofty social and cultural meaning.[61] The poems on the photographs, however, reveal a different kind of imagination and tone. One explanation for this difference is that, as a genre with a rich history, poetry was inevitably conditioned by cultural and literary traditions, inheriting a particular way of writing about "a beautiful woman in a painting" (*meiren hua* 美人畫). The poetic conventions became a regulatory force that these poets could not seem to break away from in their response to the new medium. They relied on form and convention to stabilize the meaning of visuals that they encountered.

Evidently, these poems written by the members of the Southern Society are in complicity with, rather than revolt against, traditional gendered ideology. In comparison to his colleagues' more explicit expression of erotic desire, Liu Yazi has a distinctive approach to writing about these photographic images.

Visiting Chunhang in Shanghai: Composing a Poem and Inscribing It on a Photograph He Kindly Gave Me	海上訪春航奉贈一律即題其見惠小影
How can I express how I've missed you these past ten years,	相思十載從何說
Unexpectedly meeting you today.	今日居然一遇君
Discussing swordplay and flute-playing arouses my emotions,	說劍吹簫余感慨
Picking orchids to adorn you, I cherish their fragrance.	搴蘭紉蕙惜芳芬
I know it is hard to look at a river having seen the great seas,	懸知滄海難為水
I fear only that the hearts of the immortal will turn into clouds.	只恐仙心或化雲
Thank you for giving me the scroll of autumn hills,	一幅秋山勞汝贈
I will worship it with incense after returning to the rivers and lakes.[62]	江湖歸去定香薰
Two Quatrains in Response to Pingzi [Zhu Baokang] Who Sent Me Two Photographs of Chunhang in Makeup	屏子以春航化妝小影寄贈奉酬兩絕
How can the records of green sleeves and silver flutes be real?	翠袖銀簫事豈真
Even these few beautiful dreams have already turned to dust.	無多綺夢已成塵
In the end, the picture is left in Wu Garden,	圖畫至竟留吳苑
The woman with a jade pendant, who asked her to go to the riverbank?	環佩誰教去漢濱
One who has forgotten emotion may not necessarily be the true Supreme;	未必忘情真太上
While many scholars in autumn know the lament for spring.	儘多秋士解傷春
The old house by the desolate river is drenched with cold sadness,	荒江老屋淒寒甚
Where is that exceptional beauty, picking her flowers? [63]	何處拈花絕代人

Here, the desire is more sublimated or idealized. Liu distances himself from erotic diction and imagination and represents his enchantment with Feng as lofty romantic sentiment. He identifies the lover in the sense of the ideal ego, projecting his feeling onto the "female" other. In line 4 of "Visiting Chunhang in Shanghai," by evoking a phrase from *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu), the speaker's pursuit of the woman is meant to be understood allegorically. Liu employs a refined, literary diction that not only shows a good measure of propriety in language but more importantly imbues the term *qing* with sublimated meaning, emphasizing its illusory nature. Liu also wrote long lyrics dedicated to Feng and Lu, which were filled with sensuality and intense sentiments. In these poems, Liu emphatically refers to them as *nüer* 女兒, *e'mei* 蛾眉, *meidai* 眉黛, *nülangshen* 女郎身, and *meiren* 美人, all terms or clichés meaning to woman or beautiful woman.[64] He even expresses a romantic fantasy of withdrawing from the world to be with a beloved, as is seen in couplets such as: "If one day we could retire to the five lakes together, / I would willingly become Chiyi, not envious of the immortals" 五湖他日能偕隱 / 願作鴟夷不羨仙.[65] Liu's extraordinary passion as expressed in his poems allowed him to successfully portray himself as a person "full of feeling" (*duoqing* 多情).[66] Liu obviously enjoyed this persona, as shown in the fact that Feng Chunhang, Lu Zimei, and related topics populated his poetry and diaries from 1909 to 1915. Literati consumption of female images and the related gendered dynamics, aided by the evocation of conventions and tropes as well as cultural practices (e.g. promoting the actors), charged male subjectivity with extraordinary feeling.

Present-day readers may wonder whether these poems, under the disguise of heterosexuality, express homoerotic desire, given that the sexual identity of these two actors was known to the poets. Such a possibility cannot be immediately ruled out. Liu Yazi and his colleagues were young, modern intellectuals who adopted the modern "progressive" view, and they were indeed self-conscious in censoring their expression of homoerotic desire, which had been stigmatized in the context of the beginning of the twentieth century. Several incidents indicate that Liu was extremely sensitive to innuendo on that front.[67] In her influential analysis of English literature, Eve Sedgwick coined the word "homosocial" to describe "social bonds between persons of the same sex," arguing that desire is "the affective or social force, the glue" that can shape socially important relationships, in both positive and negative ways.[68] She argues that there has been a recurring theme of the "erotic triangle" of male homosocial desire in English literature since the seventeenth century. That is to say, the expression of two males' love is frequently framed as their heterosexual love of a woman. Sedgwick's arguments concerning male to male

relationships and how they are mediated by women serve as a critical starting point for my study of male literati dominated communities at the beginning of the twentieth century.[69] However, this paper details the ramifications of emotions different from those that existed in the Victorian society that Sedgewick studies. Individual psychology and sexual orientation are not points of inquiry here, but rather the social life of emotions and the exchange and consumption of the images of "women." In the two cases examined, the collective articulation of heterosexual desire or other related feelings was ultimately a channel for literati friendships to blossom within communities. Photographic images at most serve as a medium or an inspiration for the poets' familiar refrain on love or sensual gratification, and the authenticity or attractiveness of the photographed subject itself, or even its gender, was barely an issue. Writing about a photograph that is a supposedly concrete crystallization of such desire has more to do with the discourse of *qing* and with generic conventions than with the gender identity of the photographed subject per se.[70]

When Feng Chunhang and Lu Zimei gave the poets the numerous photographs of themselves, each poet wrote a poem dedicated to one of the photographs or composed a poem in conjunction with the other poets. Liu Yazi often solicited poems on the photographs from his fellow poets, thus swaying them to follow suit. This conscious evocation of emotion, in which the group participated, involves creating a fantasy world through casting a meta-language of *qing*. Feng and Lu, or rather their images, and the poetry based on these images, became a catalyst for strong social bonding and the flow of aesthetic fellowship among the members of the group. Liu Yazi's enduring enthrallment with Feng, along with his constant promotion of Feng and Lu, helped to rally the group together, while strengthening their alliance with the acting community. It is interesting to note that passionate poems were always found circulating in tandem with the photographs themselves as part of a ritual or game played exclusively by the male members of the Southern Society.[71]

The literati's collective writing about the painting of beauties was a practice fairly common in late imperial China. There exist numerous examples of this during the Ming and Qing dynasties, when such paintings were circulated among the literati groups, and these examples offer a parallel to the modern case. Xu Ziyun 徐紫雲, a seventeenth-century female impersonator, was privately owned by one Mao Xiang 冒襄 (1611-1693). He was later given as a gift to Chen Weisong 陳維崧 (1625-1682), one of the most famed lyricists and eminent scholars of the early Qing. Chen's love affair with Xu lasted a decade, with Chen and his friends writing numerous poems complimenting paintings of Xu. One of them, titled "Jiuqing Coming Out of the Bath" 九青出浴圖, featured seventy-six poets

who wrote 153 poems over several decades.[72] In her insightful discussion of this case and the circulation of actors in the seventeenth century, Sophie Volpp argues that writing such a poem is an "instantiation of sociality," which "became a channel of emotional connection among the men of this coterie."[73] In Volpp's view, writing the poems functioned to some degree as social currency, enabling literary men with humble origins to elevate themselves in the hierarchy and enter Chen's elite circle, while expressing one kind of *qing*, that is, empathy.[74] Xu Ziyun (as Chen Weisong's chattel) and the paintings of him comprised unique personal possessions. This is in contrast to the public owning and viewing of the images of Feng and Lu: every poet involved got a chance to employ "her" as his own sensual object. The reproducibility and easy accessibility of the photograph, facilitated by the new technology and print media, made it possible for a large audience to consume and share an image "equally." Further, the collegiality among the members of the Southern Society is different from that of Chen Weisong's circle in that there was no analogous hierarchical social structure, even though Liu tried to influence his friends to adore Feng and Lu as he did. However, the commonality lies in that writing poetry on the "beautiful woman" for both Chen's and Liu's circles, and referencing a whole repertoire of literati culture, became an important means of consolidating the social bonds within male communities.

Further, the main critical concern, engaged from a gender perspective, is—what was the function of the writing and circulation of these seemingly frivolous poems on and images of the impersonated females in a male-dominated literary group? Anthropologist Marcel Mauss's masterwork on gift exchange in primitive societies provides some understanding of the significance of giving, receiving, and reciprocating gifts in social intercourse.[75] Gayle Rubin writes: "Mauss proposed that the significance of gift giving is that it expresses, affirms, or creates a social link between the partners of an exchange. Gift giving confers upon its participants a special relationship of trust, solidarity, and mutual aid. One can solicit a friendly relationship in the offer of a gift; acceptance implies a willingness to return a gift and a confirmation of the relationship. Gift exchange may also be the idiom of competition and rivalry."[76] In her influential essay, "The Traffic in Women," Rubin builds on Mauss's theory on gifting, as well as on Claude Levi-Strauss's insights into the maintenance of kinship by exchanging women: "It is the men who give and take them who are linked, the woman being a conduit of a relationship rather than a partner to it."[77] Her insights help us understand the vital function played by the transaction of the gendered image and how it affected social bonding within communities in the patriarchal society. Anthropologists further remind us that personal agency and words for communication, intrinsically tied to things, construct

the objects and make them travel through different spheres of exchange and culture.[78]

The circulation of photographic images in the two cases discussed here serves to introduce a range of mixed feelings relating to but not exclusive to the female figure, perpetuating the exchange system by which literati culture operated. The poetry of Liu Yazi's colleagues was sometimes based on the "female" image as a reification of their individual expressions of eroticism. At other times, this poetry expressed empathy for Liu's enthrallment. Both modes required rhetorical exchange and intimate emotional communication. The commodity value of the photographs is downplayed, while their social and emotive values are accentuated. Yao Yuanchu 姚鵷雛 (1892-1954), who did not initially share Liu Yazi's high regard for Feng and Lu, was moved by Liu's intense reaction to the actors and went on to write a play about it.[79] Published in *Xiaoshuo congbao* 小說叢報 (Fiction Series) in 1914, the play also featured other members of the Southern Society such as Wang Langao 汪蘭皋 (1869-1925). Another member, Wang Dezhong 王德鐘 (1897-1927), wrote ten quatrains for the play and said of Liu that "he himself did not know why his *qing* has been so devoted and profound."[80] Romantic or sensual feelings became socially shared and validated, shaping the dynamics of relationship within and between intellectual groups. The impressive literati network, demonstrated in the two collections put together for Feng and Lu, further affirms the formation of an affective community through the poets' shared appreciation of the actors.[81] This interpretation also can be applied to Su Manshu's interaction with Momosuke and his friends' writing poems about her. Writing about heterosexual *qing* was meant to self-fashion as well as to strengthen these writers' aesthetic fellowship. It was related to the Japanese *koto* player only on a surface level. *Qing*, expressed on these occasions, is not a privileged, private matter that would seldom breach the entrenched boundaries between private and public life, as is commonly assumed. Rather, it is an evocation of emotion in the public domain as well as an indication of social connections. Cultural practices and intertextuality, together with the ease of reproduction and dissemination of texts and images in a new era, wove themselves into the complex tapestry of the world of *qing*.

A poetic community is not just a place for pure literary taste and friendship, but also a place of exhilarating contradiction, a site of meaningful or leisure activities, affinities, and rivalries. While previous scholarship has shown that the Southern Society was a mixture of new institutional forms, modern media, and traditional social practices,[82] I would like to emphasize Liu Yazi's individual efforts to bring the members together in a variety of social settings that contributed to the thriving of the Society. Promotion of

the actors and advocacy of "new drama" were among Liu's chief means. The cultivation and circulation of fellow-feeling and empathy influenced the Society's group psychology as well as helped to cement their collective identity. Feng Chunhang and Lu Zimei's performances, the subsequent circulation of their photographs, and the writing and sharing of poems about the photographs, all worked to form a chain of imaginative engagement with the self and other's emotional life, making all those involved feel emotionally invested and interpersonally connected. In her study of Chinese popular literature in the 1910s, Haiyan Lee cogently argues that sentimentalism, represented by Mandarin and Butterfly literature, "helped create an affective community within the literary public sphere whereby bourgeois individuals exchanged private experiences and fashioned themselves as men and women of sentiment."[83] In the same vein, Su Manshu and Liu Yazi were not only fashioned as literati "full of feelings," but they also came to play an instrumental role in the formation of the community and literary public sphere, participated in by writers, publishers, editors, actors, and audiences.

The 1910s was a sentimental era, pervaded by a general frustration and disillusionment with the volatile political situation.[84] The enchantment of the members of the Southern Society with *qing* was intertwined with the pressures of this weighty moment in history, raising questions of the relationship between romantic love, sexual desire, and political fervor. These disenfranchised young intellectuals struggled to take advantage of the cult of *qing* to vent their frustration and sentiment over an unsettled political climate. Many members of the Southern Society were also members of the political Alliance Party (Tongmen hui 同盟會) and were fervently revolutionary and politically active. In a poem on *Juyingji chuanqi*, Lin Baiju writes, "Do not take the story of Gao Tang as a dream, / Hearing the songs, my feelings are like those of Huan Yi" 莫當高唐是夢思 / 聞歌情緒似桓伊.[85] The story in the first line refers to an erotic dream by the King Chu; the second line alludes to Huan Yi, a general of the Jin dynasty who was famous for his flute music, a reference that points to the political ambitions of the Southern Society. By juxtaposing erotic desire with the political ambition in the couplet, Lin offers his take on Liu Yazi's obsessions with the actors, imbuing eroticism with political significance. Wang Dezhong also interpreted Liu's behavior as "especially having profound feelings, which he entrusts to the dance hall", and further claimed, "A man of ambition at the end of the road, with nowhere to shed even a few drops of blood and tears. He can only make a home among dancing skirts and singing fans!"[86] Wang's pronouncement vividly suggests the linkage between sensual private passion and the prevailing nationalist/revolutionary discourse. These members of the Southern Society established a mutually

influential relationship between romantic love, sexual desire, patriotic fever, and political realities. Each aspect powerfully and autonomously, if uncomfortably, coexisted with the others. This in turn suggests that the cascading expressions of extravagant sentimental feeling in the last few years of the Qing Empire and the initial years of the Republican era were conducive to and interacted with other discourses. As we have seen in the case of Su Manshu, Liu Yazi, and their male-dominated circles, the discourse of *qing* is malleable and contagious, blurring the boundaries between sexual desire, fantasy, personal ambition, and revolutionary sentiment. In such an atmosphere, revolutionary and political ideas were charged with potency and affective power. In effect, the young poets fashioned a new sentimental modern subject, capable of engaging in old literati activities (liaisons with courtesans and actors, poetic writing, and promoting actors), as well as new cultural enterprises (acting, editing, and publishing) and state affairs simultaneously.

To sum up, this paper first considered the question of the complex relationship between image and text. In the case of Su Manshu, his poetry written about or inscribed on photographic images of a Japanese courtesan extends the ambiguous meanings that the images represent, endowing them with personal significance. In so doing, he created a unique artistic method to publicize his personal emotion. With regard to the practices of the Southern Society members in general, their lyrics stabilize or limit the range of meanings a given image might offer, creating more or less erotically charged messages. Put succinctly, one should consider the dynamics of relay and closure in terms of the relationship between image and text. More importantly, this paper delineates the circuitous path adopted by the exchange of photographs and the poems attached to them, as well as the resulting cultural practices. From this anthropological viewpoint, the social role of *qing*, as well as its mobility across different discursive domains during the momentous first decade of the 1900s, stands out in clear relief. Heterosexual *qing,* circulated through textual and social practices, was transferred to other types of emotions (self-fashioning, empathy, and friendship) and political mobilizations. Expressions of individual emotions in an aestheticized manner thus served as a glue to cement male friendship and facilitate exchange—social, political, and otherwise—among the male-dominated communities, forming a compelling force for cultural transformation at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Endnotes

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1. Arjun Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3-63. Appadurai reminds us that "Even though, from a theoretical point of view, human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context" (p.5).
2. To name a few, Wai-yee Li, *Enchantment and Disenchantment: Love and Illusion in Chinese Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Martin Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001); Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900-1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007); Haiyan Lee, "Taking It to Heart: Emotion, Modernity, Asia," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 16.2 (2008): 263-484.

3. Larissa Z. Tiedens and Colin Wayne Leach, eds., *The Social Life of Emotions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1-13. The title of this paper is partially indebted to their collection. I want to acknowledge two works in particular, from which this paper has significantly benefited: Sophie Volpp, "The Literary Circulation of Actors in Seventeenth-Century China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.3 (2002): 949-984; and Ling Hon Lam, "Emotional Indifference: Exploring Exteriority in Late Imperial Chinese Drama and Fiction," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2006). Volpp's paper uses anthropological literature on gift exchanges to study the circulation of actors with a focus on the social currency and empathy involved in the process. Lam's dissertation pushes the study of *qing* into a new direction by taking exteriority as a vantage point to complicate the apparatus of emotional interiorization in Ming and Qing drama and fiction.
4. Susan Mann reminded us more than a decade ago that there existed strong and lasting ties of patronage, protection, friendship, and male homosociality among upwardly mobile Chinese literati, and these relationships should be examined from a gendered perspective. This paper attempts to respond to that call by examining the peculiar role that heterosexual desire has played in male friendship and how this desire found expression across different textual and social practices. Susan Mann, "The Male Bond in Chinese History and Culture," *American Historical Review* 105.5 (2000): 1600-1614.
5. In contemporary scholarship, the interaction of Feng Chunhang and Lu Zimei with the members of the Southern Society is often dismissed as trivial or frivolous. Lu Wenyun paints a more positive picture of the Southern Society's interaction with Feng and Lu. Lu Wenyun 盧文芸, *Zhongguo jindai wenhua biange yu nanshe* 中國近代文化變革與南社 (Cultural transformation in modern China and the Southern Society) (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2008), 272-299. For the studies on Feng Chunhang, see in Chinese, Ye Kaidi 葉凱蒂 [Catherine Yeh], "Cong huhuaren dao zhiyin: Qingmo Minchu Beijing wenren de wenhua huodong yu danjiao de mingxinghua" 從護花人到知音: 清末民初北京文人的文化活動與旦角的明星化, in Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 and Wang Dewei 王德威, eds., *Beijing: Doushi xiangxiang yu wenhua jiyi* 北京: 都市想像與文化記憶 (Beijing: the imagination and cultural memory of the city) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005), esp.129-130; in English, Catherine Yeh, "A Public Love Affair or a Nasty Game? The Chinese Tabloid Newspaper and

the Rise of the Opera Singer as Star," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 2.1 (2003): 13-51; in Japanese, Naoko Fujino 藤野真子, "Ryū Ashi to 'Shunkō shū'" 柳亜子と《春航集》, *Journal of the Japan Association for Chinese Urban Performing Arts* 中國城市戲曲研究 7 (2008): 4-24.

6. Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶, "Ti Manshu shangren yihua" 題曼殊上人遺畫, in *Manshu quanji* 曼殊全集 (The complete work of Su Manshu), ed. Liu Yazi, 5 vols. (1929; reprint, Shanghai: Beixin shuju, 1934), 5:460.
7. Chen Shiqiang 陳世強, *Su Manshu tuxiang: hujia, shiren, sengtu, qinglü de yisheng* 蘇曼殊圖像: 畫家詩人僧徒情侶的一生 (Images of Su Manshu: A life of a painter, a poet, a monk, and a lover) (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2008), 207-214. According to Chen Shiqiang, *Manshu yuji* 曼殊餘集 (The remaining works of Su Manshu), edited by Liu Yazi, includes a few of these women's photos. *Manshu yuji*, which is at the National Library of China in Beijing, remains inaccessible. Catherine Yeh's study reveals that the courtesans of the time played an important role in popularizing photography in the late Qing era and in fact helped spearhead the promotion and use of this new technology. By the late 1890s, photographs of courtesans had become desired collectibles. Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006), 84-95.
8. See *Taipingyang bao*, March 17, 1912. See Liu Yazi, "Su Heshang zatan" 蘇和尚雜談, in *Manshu quanji*, 5:183. See also pp. 62-70 of the same volume.
9. Chen Shiqiang, *Su Manshu tuxiang*, 319. It is difficult to tell whether Su met her in person. She was a very famous courtesan and her photos were widely available for purchase during that time.
10. Wen Tao 文濤, "Manshu de guanxing" 蘇曼殊的怪性, in Liu Yazi, *Manshu yuji*, vol. 5, cited in Chen Shiqiang, *Su Manshu tuxiang*, 461-462. For more biographical information on Su Manshu in English, see Wu-Chi Liu, *Su Man-shu* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972); Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 58-78.
11. Su's letter to Liu San, dated June 6, 1912 in Su Manshu, *Su Manshu wenji* 蘇曼殊文集 (The writings of Su Manshu), ed. Ma Yijun 馬以君 (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1991), 544.
12. Liu Wuji, "Manshu jiqi youren" 曼殊及其友人, in *Manshu quanji*, 5:1-82; esp. 65-66. Rumor had it that female students, who were typically to be found "viewing themselves in mirrors by day and

reading love poems by night" (白天照鏡子, 晚上讀情詩), would hang this picture of Momosuke inside their mosquito nets and spend hours gazing at it.

13. This photo postcard sent to Zhang Shizhao is in the private collection of Wang Jinsheng, a contemporary collector in Shanghai. I am grateful to him for allowing me to reproduce this beautifully preserved photo here. Unfortunately, the original photo sent to Bao Tianxiao does not survive.
14. Su Manshu, *Yanzikan shi jianzhu* 燕子龕詩箋注 (Annotated work of Yanzikan), annotated by Ma Yijun 馬以君 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1983), 30.
15. See my discussion of Su Manshu's translation practice in Shengqing Wu, *Modern Archaics: Continuity and Innovation in the Chinese Lyric Tradition 1900-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 354-364.
16. These poems, such as the ones by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101) and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), pay little attention to the composition of the painting or the content represented in the painting. See Ronald Egan's discussion of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian's poems. Ronald Egan, "Poems on Painting: Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43 (1983): 413-451.
17. Yi Ruofen 衣若芬 [I Lo-fen], *Guankan Xushu Shenmei*: *Tang Song tihua wenxue junji* 觀看敘述審美: 唐宋題畫文學論集 (Viewing, narrative, and aesthetics: essays on inscriptions on paintings in the Tang and Song) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 2004), 194-261, esp. 253.
18. See for instance, Edwin K. Lai, "The History of the Camera Obscura and Early Photography in China," in Jeffrey W. Cody and Frances Terpak, eds., *Brush and Shutter: Early Photography in China* (Los Angeles, CA; Getty Publications, 2011), 19-32.
19. Wu Qun 吳群, *Zhongguo sheying fazhan licheng* 中國攝影發展歷程 (The history of Chinese photography) (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1986), 107-108. For the image, see Liu Beisi 劉北汜 and Xu Qixian 徐啟憲, *Gugong zhencang renwuzhaopian huicui* 故宮珍藏人物照片薈萃 (The collection of portrait photos in the forbidden palace) (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1995), 53.
20. Lu Xun, *Jiwaiji shiyi* 集外集拾遺, in *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 (The complete works of Lu Xun), 16 vols. (Beijing: Remin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), 7: 423. The poem is originally "untitled" (*wuti* 无題). This title was given by Xu Shoushang. For a translation of the

poem and annotations, see Jon Eugene von Kowallis, *The Lyrical Lu Xun: A Study of His Classical-Style Verse* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 102-107. This is the commonly believed story, though a few details remain controversial. Xu Shoushang gave different versions of the story throughout his life, and vying theories about the date (1902, 1903, or 1904) have circulated. The photo that accompanied the poem has not survived, but a photo of a young Lu Xun in the same uniform (4 by 2.5 inches) does survive. Zhou Zuoren 周作人 also received a print of this photo of Lu Xun from a friend returning from Japan, but not the poem. The photograph with the poem has been reconstructed by the Lu Xun Museum and is available for purchase as a souvenir. Lu Xun rewrote the poem in calligraphy in 1931. For a detailed description of the events and an explication of the poem, see Eva Shan Chou, *Memory, Violence, Queues: Lu Xun Interprets China* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, Inc., 2012), 57-61; 233-238. For factual issues involving the origin of this poem, see Matsuoka Toshihiro 松岡俊裕 "Lu Xun 'Ziti xiaoxiang' shengcheng kao" 魯迅自題小像生成考, trans. Zhang Tierong and Song Jingjin, *Lu Xun yanjiu yuekan* 魯迅研究月刊 5 (2012): 4-14; 7 (2012): 4-10.

21. In her discussion of Hong Kong photographer Lai Afong's portrait practices, Wue asserts that the minimization of space and volume and the arrangement of light and props, etc., give an impression of flatness and "anti-naturalism" to the Chinese portrait. Roberta Wue, "Essentially Chinese: The Chinese Portrait Subject in Nineteenth-Century Photography," in Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang, eds., *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 257-280 and see 267-268.
22. The interpretation of the combination of image/text here is indebted to insightful comments offered by Jeffrey Moser and Grace Fong at my Hsiang lecture, which propelled me to think in new ways and to develop a greater appreciation of the artistic innovation of Su's practice.
23. Kracauer writes: "No matter what scenes an individual remembers, it carries a meaning relevant to that person, though he and she may not necessarily know what that meaning is. An individual retains memories because they are personally significant" (p. 50). Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans. and ed. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 47-63.

24. In his widely influential essay on "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Walter Benjamin identifies the aura and originality essential to the viewing experience of traditional art and its crisis or even loss thanks to the advancement of modern reproductive technologies. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968), 219-253.
25. See Chen Shiqiang's discussion, *Su Manshu tuxiang*, 319-324. I am grateful to Chen Shiqiang, who has generously provided copies of the images and allowed me to reproduce them here. The image quality of the photo sent to Huang Jie is too poor to be included here. For this image, see Chen Shiqiang, *Su Manshu tuxiang*, 327.
26. Liu Wuji, "Manshu jiqi youren," 66.
27. Bao Tianxiao, "Ti Manshu shangren yimoce" 題曼殊上人遺墨冊, in *Yanzikan shi* 燕子龕詩 (Poems of Yanzikan), ed. Shi Zhecun 施蟄存 (Nanchang: Baihuazhou wenyi chubanshe, 1993), 94.
28. Cited in Xing Hua 星樺, "Zhang Shizhao yu Su Manshu de youyi" 章士釗與蘇曼殊的友誼, in *Nanfang doushi bao* 南方都市報 (Southern Metropolitan News), section B15, September 2, 2010.
29. See Ma Yijun's discussion of authorship in Su, *Yanzikan shi jianzhu*, 32-33.
30. According to the manuscript available now, some scholars suggest that Chen Duxiu may have written a poem first, and Su may have written one in response. The authorship of several poems also remains undetermined. Wen Zhi 文芷, "Manshu shangren shice" 曼殊上人詩冊, in *Yilin conglu* 藝林叢錄 (The series of arts), 8 vols. (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1964), 5:73-84.
31. All cited in Su, *Yanzikan shi jianzhu*, 31-46.
32. Shengqing Wu, *Modern Archaics*, 363.
33. All the poems cited in Su, *Yanzikan shi jianzhu*, 38.
34. Suzanne Keen makes this point in her discussion of the Western narrative forms of the thriller and the romance novel. I suggest that the poets' use of generic and formal conventions in this case also facilitates readers' empathetic response. Suzanne Keen, *Empathy and the Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xiii.
35. In her discussion of Wordsworth's poem, Adela Pinch claims that "Wordsworth uses his period's sentimental investment in women's emotional life to effect a conversion of an intertextual relationship into an interpersonal one." She also points out that a body of shared convention becomes "animated in affective exchange." Adela Pinch,

Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 81.

36. See Haiyan Lee's critique, "Taking It to Heart," 64.
37. Catherine A. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 5. Italics original.
38. *Manshu shiyun chouji* (1930s). Copy at the Shanghai Library.
39. Catherine Vance Yeh, "Politics, Art, and Eroticism: The Female Impersonator as the National Cultural Symbol of Republican China," in Doris Croissant, Catherine Vance Yeh and Joshua S. Mostow, eds., *Performing "Nation": Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Arts of China and Japan, 1880-1940* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 205-239; esp. 211. See also, Catherine Vance Yeh, "Where is the Center of Cultural Production?: The Rise of the Actor to National Stardom and the Beijing/Shanghai Challenge (1860s-1910s)," *Late Imperial China* 25.2 (2004): 74-118. Ye [Catherine Yeh], "Cong huhuaren dao zhiyin," 121-134.
40. Feng Chunhang and Lu Zimei were both *dan* actors (male performers who played female roles) in the Beijing Opera. Feng started playing the roles of the *huadan* 花旦 and *qingyi* 青衣 (the virtuous, young woman) when he was twelve and became a local celebrity in the Jiangnan area. Feng wrote and performed what was known as "new drama," including plays such as *Xuelei bei*, as well as other productions characterized by a refreshingly new style and content, based on contemporary political events. Feng is credited as being one of the first actors to write and perform costume drama and foreign drama, introducing these innovative styles into the Beijing Opera. Onstage, Feng would speak and sing in English, play the piano, and use Western orchestral music, along with a new lighting system as backdrop. See Yang Tianshi 楊天石 and Wang Xuezhuang 王學莊, eds., *Nanshe shi changbian* 南社史長編 (The chronicle of the Southern Society) (Beijing: Zhongguo renming daxue chubanshe, 1995), 294.
41. Cited in Yang and Wang, *Nanshe shi changbian*, 139. See also Liu Yazi, *Nanshe jilue* 南社紀略 (A brief history of the Southern Society) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1983), 1-144.
42. See Yang and Wang, *Nanshe shi changbian*, 285. For the debate on Jia and Feng, see 286-287.
43. Hu Jichen 胡寄塵, "Chunhang ji jishi" 春航集紀事, in Liu Yazi ed., *Chunhang ji* 春航集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guangyi shuju, 1913), 56.

For more detailed discussion on this rivalry, see Catherine Yeh, "A Public Love Affair," 36-42.

44. Cited in Yang and Wang, *Nanshe shi changbian*, 332.
45. See Yao Yuanchu, *Juyingji chuanqi* 菊影記傳奇, in *Yao Yuanchu shengmo* 姚鴛鴦剩墨 (The remaining works of Yao Yuanchu) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue wenxian, 1994), 162-177; originally published in *Xiaoshuo congbao* 小說叢報, no. 4-7 (1914).
46. Liu Yazi, ed., *Zimei ji* (Shanghai: Guangyi shuju, 1914). The other collections that contain poems and photos include Wang Langao 汪蘭皋, ed., *Mei Lu ji* 梅陸集 (The collection of Mei and Lu) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shiye congbao she, 1914), and Xu Muyun 徐慕雲, ed., *Liyuan yingshi* 梨園影事 (Photos of actors) (Shanghai: Shanghai donghua gongsi, 1922).
47. Hu, "Chunhang ji jishi" in *Nanshe shi changbian*, 333; *Chunhang ji*, 56.
48. Cui Hui is a Tang dynasty singing girl, here standing for a beautiful and talented woman. Yao, *Juyingji chuanqi*, 165.
49. Hu, "Chunhang ji jishi" in *Nanshe shi changbian*, 333; *Chunhang ji*, 54-56.
50. Du Xiao 獨笑, "Bianji yushen" 編輯餘審, *Minxin bao*. Cited in Liu, *Chunhang ji*, 4. The author writes that Feng Chunhang came to visit when he was not there, and thus Feng left him a photograph, which reminded him of Liu Yazi's infatuation with Feng.
51. The image quality of the photos in the existing copy of *Zimei ji* is unfortunately quite poor. Instead, two figures from other sources are included here.
52. For more discussion of the performative aspect of photography in China's early reception of photography, see Laikwan Pang, *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 69-101.
53. See various entries in Liu Yazi et al., *Nanshe congke* 南社叢刻, 8 vols. (Yangzhou: Jiangsu guangling guji keyinshe, 1996).
54. Ye Yusen, "Ti Zimei xiaoying liushou," in Liu, *Nanshe congke*, 4:3144. Ziye (Midnight) in the line 2 is the name of a singing girl in the Six Dynasties period. A repertory of love poems in quatrain form are named after her.
55. The photo of Lu lying on the couch was included in *Zimei ji*, but the image quality is too poor to be reproduced here.
56. For instance, in Xu Zhenya's 徐枕亞 popular novel *Yu li hun* 玉梨魂 (Jade pear spirit), the female protagonist Liniang has a photo of herself

in Victorian style dress, which she uses to stir the feelings of the male character. Xu Zhenya, *Yu li hun* (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1986).

57. Li Shangyin, *Li Shangyin shige jijie* 李商隱詩歌集解 (An annotation of Li Shangyin's poetry), ed. Liu Xuekai 劉學鍇 and Yu Shucheng 余恕誠, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 2:401.
58. This famous Tang poet Li Shangyin was popular among late Qing poets. *Jiju*, which demonstrates the poet's ability to harness the poetic reservoir, is a respected poetic subgenre. For a discussion of *Nanshe* poets' practice of *jiju*, see Lin Xiangling 林香伶 [Lin Hsiang-Ling], *Nanshe wenxue zhonglun* 南社文學綜論 (An overview of the Southern Society) (Taipei: Liren shuju, 2009), 382-405.
59. Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text* (London: Fontana 1997), 39. Italics in the original.
60. Bill Nichols, *Ideology and the Image: Social Representation in Cinema and Other Media* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 57.
61. Liu, *Chunhang ji*, 47.
62. Liu, *Nanshe congke*, 2:1481.
63. Liu, *Nanshe congke*, 2:1481; Liu Yazi, *Mojianshi shici ji* 磨劍室詩詞集 (Poems of Mojianshi), 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1985), 1:158. Other examples include "Zimei suoti zuizhong heying, shuaicheng yijue" 子美索題醉中合影, 率成一絕, 191; "Bie Zimei yizai, oujian qieyan, de jiushi heshe xiaoying yifu, ganti liangjue" 別子美一載, 偶儉篋衍, 得舊時合攝小影一幅, 感題兩絕, 205; "Ti Zimei xiaoying" 題子美小影, 206; "Ti Henghai beiju zhong Zimei shi Zhang Dihua huazhuang xiaoying" 題恨海悲劇中子美飾張棣華化妝小影, 207.
64. See the poems in Liu, *Mojianshi shici ji*: "Zeng Chunhang" 贈春航, 222; "Bie Zimei yizai, oujian qieyan, de jiushi heshe xiaoying yifu, ganti liangjue," 205; "De Zimei haishangshu queji" 得子美海上書卻寄, 201; "Zimei suoti zuizhong heying, suaicheng yijue," 191.
65. The couplet alludes to Fan Li's 范蠡 story and his reclusive life with the beautiful girl Xishi 西施 in the legend. See also another poem in Liu, *Mojianshi shici ji*, 197: "Jiangqu haishang liubie Chunhang, Jianxie Chen Feishi, Yu Jianhua, Pang Bozi, Jiang Kesheng, Shen Daofei, Wang Chunnong, Lian Yatang zhuzi, jibu xishang lianjuyun" 將去海上留別春航, 兼謝陳匪石, 俞劍華, 龐檗子, 姜可生, 沈道非, 王蕈農, 連雅堂諸子, 即步席上聯句韻.
66. *Taipingyang bao*, July 12, 1912.
67. See for instance, Liu Yazi's counter attack on Zhu Xi 朱璽, in Yang

and Wang, *Nanshe shi changbian*, 496-498. See also Liu Yazi, "Wo yu Zhu Yuanchu de gongan" 我與朱鴛鶵的公案, *Nanshe jilue*, 149-154.

68. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 1-2. Sedgwick points out that "homosocial desire" is "potentially erotic," and paradoxically can "be characterized by intense homophobia, fear and hatred of homosexuality" (p. 1-2).
69. Sedgwick's theories have been contested. For example, while evoking Sedgwick's ideas, Sophie Volpp also argues against her. In Volpp's case study, the homoerotic desire expressed in the Ziyun poems is not suppressed; rather, she argues that both "the flouting of conventional boundaries of status" and "the transgression of heteroerotic norms" work to fashion homosocial bonds (p. 973). Sophie Volpp, "The Literary Circulation of Actors in Seventeenth-Century China;" see also Sophie Volpp, "Classifying Lust: The Seventeenth-Century Vogue for Male Love," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (2001): 77-117.
70. In her insightful discussion of *The Peony Pavilion* (Mudan ting 牡丹亭), Wai-yee Li makes an interesting point in suggesting that Du Liniang's passion was not determined by the character of the scholar literati, Liu Mengmei. Whether Liu is worthy of love or not is beside the point. Such detachment from the object of desire even while celebrating a passionate feeling for it is characteristic of the discourse of *qing* in the late Ming era. Wai-yee Li, *Enchantment and Disenchantment*, 47-88; esp. 52.
71. There were female poets in the Southern Society, but they were either excluded or refused to participate. It is interesting to note that Xu Zihua 徐自華 (1873-1935), a female poet, wrote a poem compliment-ing Liu Yazi's fascination with Feng and in it alluded to the male friendship of Li Bai and Wang Lun, refusing to write in an erotically charged tone. See Xu Zihua, "Ti lumei ji" 題陸梅集, in Liu, *Nanshe congke*, 3:2172.
72. See "Yunlang xiaoshi" 雲郎小史 and "Jiuqing tuyong" 九青圖詠, in Zhang Cixi 張次溪, ed., *Qingdai Yandu liyuan shiliao: Zhengxu bian* 清代燕都梨園史料: 正續編 (Historical materials of the theater in the Qing dynasty) (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1991), 2:955-1001.
73. Sophie Volpp, "The Literary Circulation of Actors in Seventeen-Century China," 952. For an insightful discussion of the theory of gifts in anthropology and its application in Chinese studies, see Yunxiang Yan, *The Flow of Gifts: Reciprocity and Social Networks in a Chinese Village* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1996), 1-21. For a detailed

discussion of Chen Weisong's circle and their literati cultivations, see Mao Wenfang 毛文芳, *Tucheng xingle: Ming Qing wenren huaxiang tiyong xilun* 圖成行樂: 明清文人畫像題詠析論 (The painting of leisure: On the inscriptions on paintings by Ming and Qing literati) (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 2008), 341-460.

74. Sophie Volpp, "The Literary Circulation of Actors in Seventeen-Century China," esp. 963-972.
75. See Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*: *The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1954; repr. New York: Routledge, 1990).
76. Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Rayna R. Reiter, ed., *Toward an Anthology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 157-210; esp.172.
77. Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women," 174.
78. Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," 4. See also Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, 64-94.
79. See Yao, *Juyingji chuanqi*, 162-177.
80. Cited in Yao, *Yao Yuanchu shengmo*, 162.
81. Another example occurred in late spring of 1915, when Feng Chunhang played the passionate role of Feng Xiaoqing in the opera *Feng Xiaoqing* 馮小青 (whose plot is based on a legendary female talent who died young). Liu Yazi, Gao Xie 高燮 (1878-1958), Yao Shizi 姚石子 (1891-1945) and about ten other members spent more than twenty days in Hangzhou, where they watched Feng's performances, drank, went sight-seeing at the West Lake, and held a formal gathering of the Southern Society. They even set up a commemorative stone in honor of Feng Chunhang's performance beside the tomb of Feng Xiaoqing at Gushan mountain, composing poems to commemorate this event, as well as shedding tears over the tragic fate of a talented girl and her modern day incarnation. In *Sanzi youcao* 三子游草 (Travel notes of three literati), a collection written by Liu, Gao Xie and Yao Shizi, more than thirty poems on Feng Chunhang's performance of Feng Xiaojing are included. See Yang and Wang, *Nanshe shi changbian*, 391; Gao Xie et al., *Sanzi youcao* (1915).
82. Michel Hockx, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China, 1911-1937* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 33-46.
83. Haiyan Lee, "All the Feelings That Are Fit to Print: The Community of Sentiment and the Literary Public Sphere in China, 1900-1918," *Modern China* 27.3 (2001): 291-327; and see 321.
84. See Liu Na's discussion of this sentimental era. Liu Na 劉納, *Shanbian:*

Xinhai geming shiqi zhi Wusi shiqi de Zhongguo wenxue 嬗變: 辛亥革命時期至五四時期的中國文學 (Transformation: Chinese literature from the Xinhai Revolution to the May Fourth) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1998), esp. 110-142.

85. Liu, *Nanshe congke*, 4:2763.

86. Wang Dezhong, "Yu Liu Yazi shu" 與柳亞子書, in Hu Pu'an 胡樸安, ed., *Nanshe congxuan* 南社叢選 (Selected works of the Southern Society) (Beijing: Jiefangjun wenyi chubanshe, 2000), 1:377.