THE FRAGILE SCHOLAR

Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture

Song Geng

香港大學出版社
HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press
14/F Hing Wai Centre
7 Tin Wan Praya Road
Aberdeen
Hong Kong

ISBN 962 209 620 4

Secure On-line Ordering
http://www.hkupress.org

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound by Kings Time Printing Co. Ltd., in Hong Kong, China

Hong Kong University Press is honoured that Xu Bing, whose art explores the complex themes of language across cultures, has written the Press's name in his Square Word Calligraphy. This signals our commitment to cross-cultural thinking and the distinctive nature of our English-language books published in China.

"At first glance, Square Word Calligraphy appears to be nothing more unusual than Chinese characters, but in fact it is a new way of rendering English words in the format of a square so they resemble Chinese characters. Chinese viewers expect to be able to read Square Word Calligraphy but cannot. Western viewers, however are surprised to find they can read it. Delight erupts when meaning is unexpectedly revealed."

— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

Contents

Introduction

> Literature is no one's private ground: literature is common ground. ...
> Let us trespass freely and fearlessly and find our own way for ourselves.
> — Virginia Woolf

> Gender is not only constructed, but also performative.
> — Judith Butler

Nowadays there are more sociologists and cultural critics who take on a semiotic understanding of gender. They view "femininity" and "masculinity" as arbitrary and conventional signifiers of the "referent," namely sexual difference. Teresa de Lauretis writes, "gender can be subsumed in sexual differences as an effect of language, or as pure imaginary — nothing to do with the real."[1] Sexual difference itself has also been viewed as a social construct that does not necessarily derive from the biological bodies of the male and female.[2] Gender discourses are therefore in nature cultural, historical, and above all, ideological. In light of this constructionist view of gender identity and gender ideology, I argue that the conceptional binaries of male/female and heterosexual/homosexual, which are central to the Western gender discourses and the signifying system as a whole, were largely absent in pre-modern China. "Gender" meant something remarkably different in traditional Chinese

culture and was characterized by its strong interaction with political discourse. Even the identities of male and female in the modern (Western) sense are an appropriation after colonialism and "modernization."

The most fundamental reading strategy underlying this study is the Foucauldian realization that gender and sexuality are culturally constructed and politically invested. For Michel Foucault, gender is not a property of bodies or something originally existent in human beings, but "the set of effects produced in bodies, behaviors, and social relations by a certain deployment deriving from a complex political technology."[3] The cultural construction of gender is realized through various discourses and institutions, which can be biological, medical, legal, philosophical, or literary. Among them, literary representation of masculinity and femininity plays an important role. It used to be read as a reflection of gender discourse in a given culture, but it also refers to the process of gender construction. Judith Butler argues that "[t]here is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results."[4]

A good example illustrating the relationship between representation and construction of gender is the literary discourses of *caizi* (才子) and *jiaren* (佳人) in popular fiction and drama, which helped shape the rhetoric of ideal masculinity and femininity in traditional Chinese culture. The terms still have wide currency even today. Through the reading of the literary representation of *caizi*, this book seeks to identify some of the distinguished characteristics of pre-modern Chinese masculinity.

This volume, however, does not attempt to reconstruct the past. Instead, this is a dialogical reading of the past, using contemporary (Western) critical theory. Reconstruction is impossible in the sense that, as a rule for any interpretation, what we see "in" a text is, in many ways, an expression of our own culturally constructed vision. The primary focus of this book refers to a culture and historical period radically different from the present. By situating the texts in their own historical context, I inevitably approach the texts from the perspective of my own historicity, acting as a critic who speaks in a particular place within time and culture, having been shaped by numerous institutions and discourses. However, it is from the outside that we can discover new and potential meanings for texts of other cultures and historical moments.

There is one point that merits particular attention before beginning my analysis. Taking the hegemonic nature of cultural representation into consideration, the following questions will perhaps need to be answered:

Whose masculinity are we talking about? Representation is always political, and the Confucian culture is particularly known for its "violence of rhetoric," which glosses over gender and socioeconomic class distinctions. Only one patriarchal voice existed in most of the discursive practices. Today, we have no other alternatives but to understand China's past through this biased voice. However, one has to bear in mind that the discourse of *caizi* is the cultural fantasy of the male members of the gentry class in late imperial China. Illiterate peasants or urban commoners, whose voice had been completely silenced, might have strikingly different interpretations of masculinity. As Wilt Idema and Lloyd Haft note, "Traditional Chinese literature, both high and low, reflects male fantasies, male fears, and a male view of society and culture."[5] Women had been almost totally excluded from the signifying system; we have no way of finding out their expectation of masculinity. Although the *caizi* is described as the perfect lover most desired by women in the romances under discussion, he only reflects men's own perception of ideal masculinity rather than women's. The *caizi* therefore represents the ideal masculinity articulated by male voices from the male perspective. Moreover, as we will see in Chapter 5, locality is another trope that should not be ignored, because the scholar-beauty is arguably a product of the southern culture.

It should be noted that some terms that are central to this book, such as ideology and subjectivity, are themselves products of industrialization and modernization in the West, and the notion of masculinity as such is reminiscent of the Enlightenment visions of modernity and subjectivity. They will easily cause confusion when applied to the pre-modern Chinese texts discussed here. However, for the lack of more precise terminology, I will use these terms throughout this book, and invest them with the special connotations required by the Chinese context. I will also specify in what sense I am employing these terms.

Masculinity: Everywhere But Nowhere

To study the construction of masculinity in traditional Chinese romances, we must first define "masculinity." From the sociological perspective, masculinity is, in brief, norms, standards or models to which men in a culture are expected to conform if they wish to interact appropriately and acceptably with others (men and women). Kenneth Clatterbaugh points out that there are three components in the concept of masculinity: the

masculine gender role, the stereotype of masculinity, and the gender ideal. According to him, the first one deals with what men are. "This is a set of behaviors, attitudes, and conditions that are generally found in the men of an identifiable group."[6] The second component concerns what people think men are. "A stereotype is a general idea of what most people consider to be the masculine gender role ... The stereotype of what men are and the role that men actually play need not agree ..."[7] And the gender ideal refers to what people think men should be, it is "a widespread notion as to what the gender role for men should be."[8] There are, however, interactive relations among the three components, and thus clear-cut boundaries can never be drawn because "stereotypes are partially formed through perceptions of roles, and ideals and stereotypes serve as guides in developing gender roles."[9] The notion of masculinity is therefore a dialectical combination of the three.

According to the constructionist theory of gender, there is not a universal masculine model valid in every time and in every place because masculinity, as a cultural construct, is subject to change.[10] Michael Kimmel notes that "[m]anhood means different things at different times to different people. We come to know what it means to be a man in our culture by setting our definitions in opposition to a set of 'others' — racial minorities, sexual minorities, and above all, women."[11] As a relational concept, masculinity does not exist except in contrast with "femininity." Anti-femininity is therefore at the heart of the dominant Western masculinity, i.e., being a man means *not being like a woman* so that masculinity is defined more by what one is not, rather than what one is. Masculinity is therefore not an essence but an *ideology* that tends to justify male domination. It is inherently historical, and its making and remaking is a political process affecting the balance of interests in society and the direction of social change. Schoene-Harwood reads the hegemonic version of masculinity in the dominant discourse as not only an ideology but also a *myth*:

> This hegemonic configuration of masculinity is always bound to constitute an impossible, phantasmatic ideal that ultimately no man live up to or fulfil. As a result, all flesh-and-blood masculinities must ineluctably find themselves in a position of either complicity, marginality or subordination.[12]

Recent studies in sociology and cultural anthropology have further revealed the fact that masculinity differs remarkably from culture to culture. For instance, Elisabeth Badinter has listed some examples of the notions

of masculinity totally different from those of the West, despite of the process of Westernization and colonization.[13]

Masculinity is never a monolithic notion even within one culture. Considering the interplay among gender, race, class and age in society, we recognize that multiple masculinities coexist in any given culture. For example, in contemporary American society, the conception of masculinity differs between black and white, working class and middle class, youth and old people, and so on. R. W. Connell categorizes masculinities in a given society into the hegemonic, the subordinate and the marginalized; he argues that "these two types of relationship — hegemony, domination/subordination and complicity on the one hand, marginalization/authorization on the other — provide a framework in which we can analyse specific masculinities."[14] Despite the existence of diversified masculinities, white, middle-class, early middle-aged, heterosexual masculinity in the Western culture today is the hegemonic one and hence considered normative. It sets the standard against which other forms of masculinities are measured and evaluated. Hegemonic masculinity is the masculinity of the men who hold power, that is, the dominant group in society. The relationship between different masculinities in a society is also a reflection of power relations, as Michael Kimmel argues, "The hegemonic definition of manhood is a man *in* power, a man *with* power, and a man *of* power."[15] Masculinity is therefore associated with wealth, success, power and sexual virility. Robert Brannon cleverly summarizes the hegemonic definition of manhood in contemporary Western culture in four succinct phrases:

1. "No Sissy Stuff!" One may never do anything that even remotely suggests femininity. Masculinity is the relentless repudiation of the feminine.
2. "Be a Big Wheel." Masculinity is measured by power, success, wealth, and status. As the current saying goes, "He who has the most toys when he dies wins."
3. "Be a Sturdy Oak." Masculinity depends on remaining calm and reliable in a crisis, holding emotions in check. In fact, proving you're a man depends on never showing your emotions at all. Boys don't cry.
4. "Give'em Hell." Exude an aura of manly daring and aggression. Go for it. Take risks.[16]

These four rules contain the major elements of the hegemonic discourse of masculinity against which all men in the West are measured.

Men feel anxious, humiliated and painful if they fail to meet these requirements, for they will be labeled as weak, effeminate and sissy. As I will elaborate later, this anxiety is the cause of homophobia in Western culture, which is another characteristic of the dominant discourse on masculinity. It is obvious that this idealized model of masculinity is hardly realizable, so masculinity becomes something to be achieved. It is relentless that men, who are anxious about their ability to live up to the stringent standards of performance their culture sets for them, strive for achieving this goal all their lives. And in order to do so, they have to mask their weakness, emotions, fears and feelings by appearing strong, virile, and reliable.

The emergence of men's studies in the late twentieth century was initiated by men's response to feminism, which questioned the traditional male power and superiority over women. Feminism has provided the context and assumptions for the current studies of masculinities. However, feminism means far more than the study of women because the action of making women the only object of gender studies itself puts men in an "untouchable" central position and reflects the imbalance of power distribution between the sexes. The recent development of feminism and gender studies in the West has therefore seen a growing interest in the study of masculinity, instead of patriarchy,[17] based on the realization that masculinity is not something to be taken for granted and that the traditional equation between men and ungendered human beings has made not only women but also *gendered* men invisible. The significance of locating men as gendered, material entity can be seen from the following remarks by Thelma Fenster:

> Women have been treated as material and local, whereas men have remained untouchable, enjoying the privileges of the rarely present and rarely engageable Father. Feminism thus risked encouraging the sort of dichotomy that kept women in their (second) place.[18]

As John Tosh argues, "A profound dualism in Western thought has served to keep the spotlight away from men. In the historical record it is as though masculinity is everywhere but nowhere."[19] Even today, displaying and discussing the male body remains a taboo. It is obvious that naked male bodies as the object of sexual gaze are still banned from most forms of cultural representation because of their subversiveness to the established social order. While women have been associated with sexuality and the

body, men have been linked with the mind, culture and reason. In other words, their bodies are invisible. This, of course, could also be viewed as a strategy to sustain the patriarchal order. As Judith Butler insightfully points out, in patriarchal discourse "the universal person and the masculine gender are conflated, thereby defining women in terms of their sex and extolling men as the bearers of a body-transparent personhood." [20] So one of the aims of feminist examination and re-reading of men is to relocate men in their gendered position, or, to borrow conceptions from poststructuralism and postmodernism, to "decenter" or "deconstruct" the bodiless man.

The feminists' interest in issues of masculinity has also raised men's consciousness of gender order and stimulated the "men's movement" in the West, whose participants share the belief that men have to interrogate their own sexuality. Additionally, after the traditional gender order of men's superiority and power over women have been questioned and challenged by feminism, traditional forms of affirming male identities are no longer readily available to many men. They feel uncertain and confused about what it means to be a man, which has been called the "crisis of masculinity" in today's Western society. Therefore masculinity tends to become the major object of gender studies in various disciplines, ranging from sociology to literary criticism. This interest has also been reinforced by the increasing popularity of queer studies, which aims at destabilizing the notion of normative sexuality and gender.

It is in the light of these academic tendencies and social movements that I explore the problem of masculinity in Chinese culture. The Western perceptions of Asian men are changing in the postcolonial context, partially because of the end of the Vietnam war and the emergence of Asian wealth. However, despite increasing academic interest in Chinese gender discourse, detailed and systematic studies of pre-modern Chinese masculinity, especially those from theoretical and comparative perspectives, remain a gap to be filled.[21] The equation of "gender studies" with "women's studies," according to Susan Mann, will cause even more problems in the China field than it did in the study of European or American history:

> ... because China's late imperial society was even more sex-segregated than contemporary societies in the West or, for that matter, in the rest of East Asia. Thus any historian of China whose subject lies outside the domestic sphere — in the bureaucracy, in trade and commerce, in secret societies or rebellions, in scholarly academies or the civil service examination — will find himself or herself studying almost exclusively men and their relationships

> with each other. Yet no one has thought to ask what sorts of homosocial bonds these various sex-segregated social networks gave rise to or how they might be understood.[22]

The existing studies of Chinese masculinity have so far emerged primarily from history and anthropology. Despite the pioneering works of Kam Louie, readings of Chinese men as gendered entities in literary studies remain for the most part uncharted. A potentially fruitful way to read these men as men is to take into account both the heterosexual relations and male-male relations, which were much more common and significant in pre-modern China. This book is the first one to focus on Chinese masculine discourse in the literary representation of sexuality and love, namely, the revealing *caizi* masculinity. It also attempts to study it in the context of homosocial desire and the male-male bonding culture.

The "masculinity" discussed in this book is different from that in the sense of modern European/American culture as gendered individual character, which, according to Connell, is "built on individuality that developed in early-modern Europe with the growth of colonial empires and capitalist economic relations"[23] and "seems to be a fairly recent historical product, a few hundred years old at most."[24] This book attempts a reconstruction of Chinese masculinity(ies) before Western colonialism. As will be revealed in the following chapters, by examining what had been regarded as masculine and representative of the ideal male body in Chinese culture is found to have very different meanings and connotations of masculinity than those in modern European/American culture.

Toward a Postcolonial Reading of Chinese Masculinity

That the Post-Mao Chinese society has been marked by the prosperity of the feminine and the decline of the masculine (*yinsheng yangshuai*, 陰盛陽衰) is an extensively discussed topic. The "crisis of masculinity" in contemporary China is best demonstrated by the cultural trend of "searching for real men" in the 1980s. In the New-era (i.e. since 1979) literary scene, Chinese men have been disappointedly described as weak, immature, selfish, and impotent, while the real masculinity is embodied by "Rambo, Takakura Ken and the rural men from China's northwest" (such as the peasants in the film *Red Sorghum*, 紅高粱).[25] The anxiety about the weakening male identity, according to Xueping Zhong, signifies

Chinese intellectuals' quest for a modern masculine identity and overlaps with "the collective masculine identity imagined by the CCP."[26] The concern over the quality of Chinese men has been echoed by the essentialist critique of the "national character" of the Chinese. For instance, Sun Longji (孫隆基) has claimed that Chinese men's emasculation tendency is a universal phenomenon and manifests femininity in the "deep structure" of Chinese culture. He also, from a Freudian psychoanalytical approach, describes the Chinese men as "not yet weaned."[27]

It is obvious that the critique of Chinese men has been underpinned by the internalization of the dominant Western notion of masculinity as the universal norm. Chinese men are judged against the myth of the Western macho heroes by the Western standards and are thus labeled effeminate. The image of the "soft" scholar (*naiyou xiaosheng*, 奶油小生) hence becomes the embodiment of the weakness of contemporary disqualified Chinese men. It also symbolizes and gives evidence of the lack of masculinity (*yanggang zhi qi*, 陽剛之氣) in Chinese cultural heritage. Ironically, the Chinese intellectuals' self-reading of their cultural memory in an effort to achieve a "stronger" male identity and come out of a nationalist sentiment, "coincides" with the Orientalist construction of the effeminate, weird and evil Chinese men as the Other. Both discourses overlooked the hegemonic nature of the "normative masculinity."

As discussed earlier, the construction of masculinity is historical and ideological; it functions as a site of power negotiations. The stereotype that considers Chinese men inferior to Western men in terms of masculinity is a product of colonial discourse. According to Edward Said, "The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony. The Orient was Orientalized not only because it was discovered to be 'Oriental' ... but also because it *could be* — that is, submitted to being — *made* Oriental."[28] The feminized Chinese male is therefore nothing but a strategic construction in Western imagination. It is common for colonial discourse to use the masculine/feminine binary to refer to the colonizer/colonized relations. For instance, Robert Young has noticed the British discursive strategy of constructing the image of a masculine colonizer in its colonies:

> With the expansion of the empire in the eighteenth century, there was a clear move in Britain to develop a particular Protestant stereotype of

> masculinity as the basis of British political and socio-economic dominance. This patriarchal ascendancy, associated with action and the violence of colonial conquest, operated over an equally increasingly restricted 'home and colonial' ideology of women and femininity ... Imperial culture was also augmented in the nineteenth century by racial theories that portrayed Europeans as masculine and non-Europeans as feminine races; the cult of masculinity is hegemonic.[29]

Leela Gandhi has also discussed the British disdain for the Indian apology for maleness from postcolonial perspective.[30] The colonial construction of the disqualified Indian men bolstered the ideology that "India is colonisable because it lacks real men."[31] Frantz Fanon concludes, in *Black Skin, White Masks*, that the colonized black man is the real Other for the colonizing white man.[32] In a sense, gender discourse has intertwined with racial and national discourses. The colonial cult of masculinity is a political discourse which describes the colonizers as hyper-masculine men and the colonized men as effeminate. Ashis Nandy describes this strategy as the "colonial homology between sexual and political dominance."[33] The unquestioned "natural" dominance of men/masculinity over women/femininity is used to legitimatize the Western dominance over non-Western peoples. Hence, masculinity stands for power and through the discourse of hegemonic masculinity the West retains its patronizing superiority over the "quaintness" of the East. This superior Western masculinity discourse has been largely internalized in the postcolonial context. A revealing example would be the critique of the "national characters" by Chinese intellectuals, lamenting over the lack of masculinity in their own culture.

It is imminent for China to re-examine its cultural heritage to rediscover itself in face of the current intense Westernization and globalization. One can fairly say that a re-reading of China's gender discourse in the postcolonial context would be highly fruitful. It will engender not only a better understanding of Chinese culture but also a more sophisticated perception of masculinity from a cross-cultural perspective. Kam Louie, for instance, has found that the notion of masculinity in pre-modern China "permits the production of a greater number of possible expressions of the secular male self than would be possible in the contemporary West":[34]

> Chinese masculinity, then, is not a poorer, effeminate version of 'normal' Western masculinity. Nor is its 'difference' from the 'norm' derived from

> the domination of a more submissive, childlike (more easily oppressed) Chinese femininity. Chinese masculinity has evolved in a historical and cultural context that required no inspiration and gained no benefit from comparisons with the West. Moreover, current notions of the 'impotence' of Chinese men have developed within the 'Neo-Orientalism' of the late twentieth century where money represents power, and maleness without economic might signifies impotence. *Wen* and *wu*, as references for creating the male self, evolved outside the scheme of things where 'oriental' meant inferior, or at best 'exotic'. The right to define, describe, and name has in recent times been a Western cultural prerogative, but just as this was not the case two hundred years ago, it may not necessarily be the case a hundred years from now.[35]

I hope to provide in this book an alternative version of masculinity which is remarkably different from the all-pervading modern Western model. In order to do so, I will first identify the characteristic features of gender discourse in Chinese cultural tradition before colonialism and Westernization. The most fundamental difference would be the absence of the male/female, masculine/feminine and heterosexual/homosexual dichotomies which are at the center of Western gender discourse. Regarding this, Tani Barlow has put forward the hypothesis that people in pre-modern China did not seem to have been divided into one of just two alternatives (male/female):

> [G]endering — the social and textual strategies by which experience, objects and subjects are apportioned a male or female identity — probably assumed a very different place in Chinese modernity than it had in the preceding imperial epoch. I am not suggesting that people in the Chinese past were more confused about their gender than people in China's present. It's just that in pre-Modern epochs (in Europe as in Asia) before capitalist culture and before colonialism, people's anatomical endowment did not immediately determine their gender — their social sex, so to speak.[36]

In another article, Barlow argues that there was no generic category of woman in traditional China: there were only daughters in the family (*nü*, 女), wives (*fu*, 婦) and mothers (*mu*, 母).[37]

It is fair to say that the contemporary male/female binary categories and the "modern" gender discourse are appropriations from the West in the recent century.[38] Tani Barlow holds that the re-invention of sex and gender was a part of modernization and Westernization of Chinese culture took place at the beginning of the twentieth century:

> In the last hundred years Chinese constructions of subjects have changed. The modern Chinese re-invention of "tradition" against the multiple "traditions" of the capitalist world has involved writers particularly, and the intellectual class generally, in a project of appropriation. Writers take over "international" truths of experience — class, race, gender, modernity, scientific objectivity and so on — and make the great narratives of Western modernism part of the modernity of non-Western civilizations. Part of modernity and the compromises of semi-colonialism has been change in notions as intimate to personality as masculinity and femininity.[39]

Generally speaking, Western culture has been characterized by a series of traditional binary oppositions arranged in a "violent" hierarchy; among them, the binary opposition of man/woman is of essential significance because many social relations and identities can be fundamentally traced back to it. Gender is a person's important social identity ever since his/her birth. It is so important that we can hardly define ourselves without reference to it.[40]

In the Chinese space, however, not only are the figures in the Confucian classics and official historiographies largely ungendered, the macho heroes in many popular fictions and dramas are also, to a certain extent, desexualized. In other words, they have been represented as morally superior people, but never as material, gendered men that have bodily existence. This also reflects the complete exclusion of women from the signifying system, as David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames argue:

> In China the realized person has been broadly defined as an achieved harmony of the full range of human traits and dispositions. Male dominance is a consequence of sexual differentiation into male and female that has tended to exclude the female from the achievement of becoming human. Thus, the male has been free to pursue the task of realizing his personhood through the creation of an androgynous personality.[41]

Another feature of the Chinese representation that is relevant to my study is the absence of the mind/body dichotomy. The conception of the self was, so to speak, the "bodiless self,"[42] and consequently, the materialist body is largely absent in narratives. Gender and sexual differences are mainly represented by the correlative *yin/yang* dichotomy in classical China. However, *yin/yang* covers a much wider referent than the male/female dichotomy. In the Confucian culture, especially after the Han dynasty when Confucianism became the ruling ideology, *yin/yang* was

interpreted as different positions in the power hierarchy. *Yin/yang* was a highly politicized notion, referring to different subject positions in a political culture that defined people's social being and even their inner sense of themselves. *Yin* and *yang* are not fixed qualities but fluid relations in the political structure of imperial China. In this sense, gender discourse was more power-based than sex-based in pre-modern China, because gender and political powers were intimately intertwined. In this discourse of gender construction, "femininity" and "masculinity" are constructed space within the hierarchical system and have to be interpreted from the Confucianized political perspective. The absence of gender and sexuality in most traditional Chinese literary representations makes their presence in the *caizi-jiaren* genre particularly noteworthy and revealing. That is why *caizi* has been chosen as a starting point to investigate pre-modern Chinese gender.

In his pioneering work on Chinese masculinity, Kam Louie attempts to employ the dyad of *wen-wu* (文－武, "cultural attainment-martial valor") as a paradigm of conceptualizing Chinese masculinity. He observes that a balance of *wen* and *wu* was regarded as ideal masculinity in pre-modern China. Although either *wen* or *wu* was considered "acceptably manly",[43] during most time in history, *wen* enjoyed priority over *wu*. Louie maintains that the *wen-wu* framework "is central to all discussions of Chinese masculinity"[44] and is closely linked with power relations in pre-modern China:

> Male leaders of every persuasion and historical period therefore try to demonstrate both *wen* and *wu* prowess. That is, all ambitious males strive for both *wen* and *wu*, and those who achieve both are the great ones. Lesser men may achieve only one or the other, but even this partial success will bestow upon them the aura of masculinity and the right to rule over a certain domain, however small.[45]

It is without question that the *wen-wu* matrix is of great importance in the discussion of Chinese masculinity. It would be highly enlightening and would help us understand better the plural nature of masculinity. However, it would be a reductionist statement to claim that the *wen-wu* matrix is all-encompassing and could be used to explain all possibilities of Chinese masculinity. For one thing, as Kam Louie himself notes, "*wen* and *wu* realms are the *public* preserve for men."[46] Both *wen* and *wu* are public accomplishments, which, as I will elaborate in Chapter 4, functioned as the standard of masculinity in the official discourse. However, the *wen-*

wu dyad is hardly applicable to the private world such as sexuality. What Louie uses in his book as examples to illustrate the *wen-wu* masculinity are mainly stories from *Sanguo yanyi* (三國演義, "The romance of the three kingdoms," hereafter *The Three Kingdoms*) and *Shuihu zhuan* (水滸傳, "The water margin"). The two novels are mainly about the political scene and public dimension of life in ancient China.[47]

Secondly, to divide the pre-modern Chinese discursive construction of masculinity into either the *wen* or *wu* categories would oversimplify the problem. Issues such as genre and ideological stratification have to be taken into consideration. Neither *wen* nor *wu* is a monolithic concept. With regard to sexuality, for instance, within the *wen* category there are both the amorous *caizi* image and the self-restrained *junzi* (君子). The scholars' attitudes toward sexuality and women vary drastically in different kinds of representation. This point is elaborated in Chapter 4. It would therefore be odd to discuss Confucius and Student Zhang within one model, especially when they are regarded as "sexualized men," as promised by Louie. By the same token, within the *wu* category, one can find not only macho warriors such as Zhang Fei (張飛) and Li Kui (李逵), who will never be the target of love for women, but also handsome heroes like Guan Yu (關羽) and Yan Qing (燕青), who are supposed to be attractive to women but are restrained from sexual desire. Thus, the *wen/wu* dyad alone could not sufficiently explain the different types of masculinity in the representations of love and sexuality. The gender relations have been determined by power and genre at different historical moments.

Thirdly, Kam Louie proposes to replace the *yin/yang* (陰／陽) binary with the *wen/wu* because "the performance of sexual difference is not wholly explained by *yin-yang* theory."[48] For him, "[d]iscarding *yin* and *yang* is crucial because the potential for interminable interactiveness implicit within *yin* and *yang* prohibits gender specificity."[49] The *yin/yang* dyad could not be used to conceptualize masculinity because the author "want[s] to isolate general categories which serve as coordinates for maleness only."[50] In other words, *yin/yang* has to be abandoned because it fails to *fit in* the two incommensurable sexes. Here the Western paradigm of gender remains to be the norm against which the Oriental discourse is judged and compared. As I have mentioned earlier, one of the defining features of pre-modern Chinese gender discourse was the absence of the male/female dichotomy. It was not that the male/female as sex categories did not exist in traditional China, but the binary's position in the Chinese gender ideology could not be compared to that

of *yin/yang*. In the signifying system, *yin/yang* functions as the equivalent of the Western masculine/feminine dichotomy. It is therefore paradoxical that gender was *yin/yang* in pre-modern China, but at the same time *yin/yang* is not male/female because its connotations cover a much wider and different symbolic field. The absence of the masculine/feminine dichotomy in the Western sense can be seen from the fact that, as cultural constructs, the words "masculinity" or "femininity" cannot find their equivalent expressions in the Chinese language.[51] Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom have insightfully pointed out the primacy of social role over the anatomical sex in Chinese culture:

> The Western tendency to take male/female as a fundamental, immutable opposition may lead scholars to assume that the female/male distinction is the central organizing principle in all symbolic systems, but this has not always been the case in China. ... in Chinese gender symbolism, sex-linked symbols are often secondary to other, more fundamental principles of moral and social life. ... Rather than being an irreducible polarity in traditional Chinese cosmology, sex was one concept caught up in a network of other, perhaps more basic, concepts. This was because sex was simply one principle among many (e.g., kinship, generation, age, and class) that determined a person's position in the family and in society.[52]

I therefore take the view that, precisely because *yin/yang* is not restricted to the sexual connotations of male/female, it is of paramount significance in the interpretation of sexual difference in Chinese culture. It demonstrates the fluidity and politicization of gender identity in pre-modern China. Therefore, although the *wen/wu* dyad is admittedly an important concept in the study of the masculinity construction in the public sphere, I would also use the *yin/yang* theory as a fundamental paradigm to read the Chinese gender discourse, which is more power-based than sex-based.

The *yin/yang* approach to gender will help explain the effeminacy in Chinese literature and culture more precisely in the following chapters. According to the Confucianized *yin/yang* theory, *yin* or *yang* is not a biological entity but a fluid position in the hierarchy of social and political power. A minister was in the *yang* aspect in relation with his wife but was in the *yin* position when he faced the emperor in court. Therefore, it would not be difficult to understand the tradition of speaking from the voice of a female persona when addressing the emperor or superiors in Chinese literature. In their relations with the imperial power, the *shi* (士) had been

posited in a feminine, submissive and obedient *yin* position by the discursive practice. Chapter 2 attempts a Foucauldian genealogy of the representation of the "fragile scholar" from Qu Yuan (屈原) through Student Zhang, to the *xiaosheng* in Chinese opera. It also provides a conceptualized framework for reading feminization and fragility of the *caizi*.

The *yin/yang* dyad also helps explain the establishment of the fragile scholar as the ideal male body. The body is slender and weak because it is associated with knowledge and civility. Chapter 3 examines the Confucian preference of *wen* over *wu* and particularly the *wen* cult of the Song dynasty. It also explores how the masculinity of the *shi* is constructed through textuality, and how the textuality-based masculinity requires, or can be reinforced by, the physicality of the *shi*. The discussion on the applicability of Foucault's "docile bodies" to Chinese history leads to broader issues such as early possibilities of modernity in China.

The power-based definition of masculinity is characterized by the absence of sexual dimension/women. This makes the presence of sexuality in the scholar-beauty discourse particularly interesting. Chapter 4 compares the *caizi* version of masculinity with the official *junzi* discourse. The tension between the two signifies the conflict between the private and public within the category of *wenren* (文人) . The *caizi* is, in a sense, a not-yet-realized *junzi*. The discourse of *caizi* therefore exemplifies the Confucian gentry-class notion of masculinity and, at the same time, deviates from the Confucian orthodoxy in significant ways. This chapter focuses on the deviation of the *caizi* discourse from the official ideology as well as the co-option of the subversive elements in the *caizi-jiaren* romances by the patriarchal symbolic order.

The *yin/yang* matrix also explains the well-known homoerotic tradition in China. Chapter 5 explores the relationship between the representation of the male body in the *caizi-jiaren* model and the same-sex desire and behavior in pre-modern China. This chapter traces the literary and dramatic variations of the rhetoric of homoerotic effeminate masculinity, and examines how its dominance as a mode of masculine imaginary came to the fore and informed male-female relations in fiction and drama. Cultural icons such as Song Yu (宋玉) and Pan An (潘安) have long been regarded as exemplars of male beauty in the heterosexual scholar-beauty romances. However, the "true" stories of these historical figures reveal the homoerotic origin of this bodily rhetoric. There was a relative tolerance toward same-sex behavior in pre-modern China because the articulation of same-sex desire reinforced gender hierarchies and thus did not threaten

social order. *Yin/yang* was a power hierarchy. The higher party was in a *yang*/husband/penetrant position while the lower party was posited in the *yin*/wife/penetrated position; whether this relation involved (hetero) sexuality was actually not as important.

The politicized *yin/yang* dichotomy also helps one understand the homosocial nature of Chinese masculinity. This book does not attempt to cover the issue of Chinese masculinity exhaustively; it only focuses on one masculine type, namely, the fragile scholar. It does, however, offer a brief introduction to other masculine stereotypes in classical Chinese literature. Masculinity is defined differently in the historical and heroic novels such as *The Water Margin* and *The Three Kingdoms*. While the heterosexual discourse of *caizi-jiaren* registers a resistance to the master narrative (that is, the homosocial and misogynist male culture), it has also to be contained within the dominant discourse, which can be seen from the erotic triangle in *The Western Wing* and the representation of Yingying (鶯鶯) as something to be won in the homosocial rivalry. There are layers of problematics involved in the nature of homosocial desire and the roles it played in Chinese culture, and I attempt to offer some preliminary thoughts on this complicated issue in this volume. I, however, take the view that the most distinguishing feature of Chinese masculinity is that it has to be studied within the context of homosexuality, bisexuality and homosociality. Accordingly, the last chapter can be read either as an appendix to the book or a climactic crescendo.

Notes

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1 Marie-Luise Latsch, *Peking Opera: As a European Sees It*, p. 16.

INTRODUCTION

1 Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender*, p. 2.
2 For instance, according to Judith Butler, "Sexual difference ... is never simply a function of material differences which are not in some way both marked and formed by discursive practices. . . . It is not a simple fact or static condition of a body, but a process whereby regulatory norms materialize 'sex' and achieve this materialization through a forcible reiteration of those norms" (*Bodies That Matter*, pp. 1–2).
3 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1*, p. 127.
4 Butler, *Gender Trouble*, pp. 25–6.
5 Wilt Idema and Lloyd Haft, *A Guide to Chinese Literature*, p. 45.
6 Kenneth Clatterbaugh, *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity*, p. 3.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., p. 4.
10 David D. Gilmore, in his anthropological work entitled *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*, tries to search for "a deep structure of manhood," "a global archetype of manliness" by investigating the conceptions of manhood in a variety of cultures. His conclusion is that there is not such

a structure or archetype since the notion of masculinity differs so greatly from culture to culture. However, he notes that "[t]o be a man in most of the societies we have looked at, one must impregnate women, protect dependents from danger, and provision kith and kin. So although there may be no 'Universal Male,' we may perhaps speak of a 'Ubiquitous Male' based on these criteria of performance. We might call this quasi-global personage something like 'Man-the-Impregnator-Protector-Provider' "(pp. 222–3).

11 Michael S. Kimmel, "Masculinity as Homophobia," p. 120.

12 Berthold Schoene-Harwood, *Writing Men*, p. xii.

13 See Elisabeth Badinter, *XY, on Masculine Identity*, p. 26. For the anthropological study about the way people in different cultures conceive and experience manhood, see Gilmore.

14 R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 81.

15 Kimmel, p. 125.

16 Ibid., pp. 125–6.

17 For a detailed discussion of the differences between masculinity and patriarchy, see Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power*, pp. 3–6.

18 Thelma Fenster, "Preface: Why Men?" in Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities*, p. x.

19 John Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain," p. 180.

20 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 9.

21 Kam Louie's new book, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China*, is the first systematic study of Chinese masculinity in terms of the *wen/wu* paradigm. I will make more comments on this book later in this chapter. The scope of this book, however, is not limited to traditional Chinese culture; the author draws examples from a diversity of texts, ranging from the *Analects of Confucius* to Zhang Xianliang's novels. Xueping Zhong's *Masculinity Besieged?* is an insightful work on Chinese male subjectivities from the feminist psychoanalytic perspective. However, it focuses on Chinese literature and films produced in the 1980s. The most explored area concerning Chinese masculinity would be male homosexuality so far. Bret Hinsch's *Passions of Cut Sleeve* is well-known and often cited. Giovanni Vitiello's "Exemplary Sodomites" offers provocative readings of Ming-Qing homoerotic literature. There are more books and articles about homosexuality in Chinese culture discussed and/or cited in Chapter 5. The recently increasing interest in Chinese masculinity in history and anthropology is noteworthy. There are five articles focusing on the homosocial bond in pre-modern China in the *American Historical Review* forum, titled "Gender and Manhood in Chinese History" (vol. 105, no. 5). *Chinese Femininities/Masculinities: A Reader*, edited by Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, is a recent addition to the literature and includes a number of interesting essays on pre-modern Chinese masculinities.

22 Susan Mann, "The Male Bond in Chinese History and Culture," par. 3.
23 Connell, p. 68.
24 Ibid.
25 Xueping Zhong, *Masculinity Besieged?*, p. 41.
26 Ibid., p. 46.
27 See Sun Longji, *Zhongguo wenhua de "shenceng jiegou,"* and his *Wei duannan de minzu*.
28 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 5–6.
29 Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction*, pp. 325–6.
30 Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*, pp. 99–100.
31 Ibid., p. 100.
32 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*; see also Gandhi, pp. 98–101.
33 Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, p. 4.
34 Louie, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing Wen and Wu," pp. 147–8.
35 Ibid., p. 148.
36 Tani Barlow, "Introduction: Gender, Writing, Feminism, China," p. 7.
37 Barlow, "Theorizing Woman," p. 133.
38 See Frank Dikötter, *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China*.
39 Barlow, "Introduction: Gender, Writing, Feminism, China," p. 8.
40 For instance, Hélène Cixous points out: "Every theory of culture, every theory of society, the whole conglomeration of symbolic systems — everything, that is, that's spoken, everything that's organized as discourse, art, religion, the family, everything that seizes us, everything that acts upon us — it is all ordered around the hierarchical oppositions that come back to the man/woman opposition ..." ("Castration or Decapitation," p. 44).
41 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, p. 81.
42 Ibid., p. 31.
43 Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, p. 11.
44 Ibid., p. 6.
45 Ibid., p. 17.
46 Ibid., p. 12. Emphasis added.
47 See Martin W. Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial China*, p. 58.
48 Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, p. 10.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 For instance, I have been trying to translate "masculinity" into Chinese but have not been able to find a proper rendition so far. *Nanzihan qigai* (男子漢氣概) or *yanggang zhi qi* (陽剛之氣) would be too commendatory and poetic, and deprive the word of its neutral connotation. As the noun form of "masculine," the word probably should be rendered as *nanxing xing* (男性性), but nobody will understand it because there is not such a word in Chinese. In academic papers there is a recent coinage *nanxing jiangou* (男性建構), which is used to refer to masculinity

as a cultural construct. But I am afraid people not familiar with the constructionist theory of gender might still find it unintelligible.

52 Brownell and Wasserstrom, eds. *Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities: A Reader*, p. 26.

CHAPTER 1

1 See, for instance, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed. and comp., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, pp. 783–6; Richard C. Hessney, "Beautiful, Talented, and Brave," etc.

2 The term "late imperial China" has been employed to refer to different historical periods by different sinologists. Occasionally, it describes the Qing dynasty exclusively. More frequently, it refers to the Ming and the Qing dynasties. In this book, however, the term covers the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties that span roughly from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century.

3 See Hu Wanchuan, "Tan caizi jiaren xiaoshuo," pp. 223–4.

4 *Yu Jiao Li*, p. 5.

5 According to Zhou Jianyu, the term *caizi* first appeared in *Zuozhuan* (左傳, "The Zuo documentary") and it had begun to acquire the meaning of "men with great literary gifts" by the third century. The word *jiaren* can be traced back to *Chuci* (楚辭, "Songs of Chu") and the first use of the term referring to a beautiful woman is in a poem by the Han court musician Li Yannian (李延年, ?–87 BC), who wrote to introduce his sister to the emperor. See Jianyu Zhou, "The *Caizi-Jiaren* Novel," pp. 5–20.

6 See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, Vol. 117, pp. 3000–1.

7 Richard Hessney, "Beautiful, Talented and Brave," p. 42.

8 Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu*, p. 479. The English version used here is mainly as translated by Richard B. Mather in *A New Account of Tales of the World*, p. 524, with minor modifications. Further references will be included in the text, following the abbreviation "SSXY."

9 Yuan Zhen, "Yingying zhuan," p. 8. The English version is translated by James R. Hightower in Victor Mair, ed. *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, p. 860.

10 For instance, Christina Shu-hwa Yao, in her discussion of the *caizi-jiaren* drama, notes that there are three kinds of stories grouped under the rubrics of *caizi-jiaren*: "the love stories of young men and courtesans, of young men and human ghosts or non-human spirits such as those of willow trees or foxes, and ... the stories of the premarital affairs of the young men with girls from gentry families" ("Cai-zi Jia-ren: Love Drama during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Periods," p. 4). A more commonly accepted definition, however, excludes the first two types of stories.

11 *Zhugongdiao* has been translated by some scholars as "Chinese *chantefable*" because of the mingling of verses intended to be sung and prose intended to be narrated.

See, for instance, Li-li Ch'en, "Translator's Introduction," in Dong Jieyuan, *Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance*, p. ix.

12 Hessney, p. 63.

13 Ibid., p. 65.

14 Ch'en, "Translator's Introduction," in Dong Jieyuan, pp. x–xi.

15 Hessney, p. 65.

16 Ibid., p. 76.

17 See Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *Gen zatsugeki kenkyū*, pp. 71–163.

18 Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, "Introduction," in Wang Shifu, *The Moon and the Zither*, p. 11.

19 See West, "A Study in Appropriation: Zang Maoxun's Injustice to Dou E," and Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama."

20 Luo Jintang, *Xiancun Yuanren zaju benshi kao*, p. 440.

21 Fung divides the thirty-five love plays into three categories: tragedy (two plays), tragic-comedy (twenty plays), and comedy (thirteen plays) by using Western dramatic and archetypal theories. See Fung Shui Lung, "Yuandai aiqingju yanjiu" (元代愛情劇研究 [A critical study of the love theme plays of the Yuan dynasty, 1279–1368]) (MPhil dissertation, the University of Hong Kong, 1988).

22 See Ning Zongyi, et al., *Yuan zaju yanjiu gaishu*, pp. 181–7.

23 Dong Jieyuan, p. 113.

24 See West and Idema, "Introduction," pp. 59–61.

25 Liu Wu-chi, *An Introduction to Chinese Literature*, p. 254.

26 For a discussion of the relationship between male anxiety and the representation of women in Ming-Qing literature, see Martin Huang, *Literati and Self Re/Presentation*, pp. 76–88.

27 Hessney, p. 98.

28 In the two most influential college textbooks of Chinese literary history, written by You Guoen (游國恩) et al. and the Academy of Social Sciences of China respectively, the *caizi-jiaren* fiction has been completely ignored.

29 See William Bruce Crawford, "Beyond the Garden Wall"; Richard C. Hessney, "Beautiful, Talented, and Brave"; Jianyu Zhou, "The Caizi-jiaren Novel"; and his *Caizi jiaren xiaoshuo yanjiu*.

30 Idema and Haft, *A Guide to Chinese Literature*, p. 227.

31 Keith MacMahon, "The Classic 'Beauty-Scholar' Romance and the Superiority of the Talented Woman," p. 244.

32 For a discussion of the transition from the scholarly masculinity to the *xia* (俠, "chivalry") masculinity in late Ming culture, see Giovanni Vitiello, "Exemplary Sodomites."

33 Jianyu Zhou, "The Caizi-jiaren Novel," p. 125.

34 Jianyu Zhou, in his dissertation, summarizes that the influence of the *caizi-jiaren* fictions on the *Red Chamber* can be seen mainly from the character types, importance of the first meeting, arrangement of the garden, and the function of song sequences in the latter. See ibid., pp. 168–91.

35 See Robert E. Hegel, *The Novel in Seventeenth-Century China*, pp. 166–87.
36 See C. Hugh Holman and William Harmon, *A Handbook to Literature (Sixth Edition)* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), p. 413.
37 See Liu Dui, *Jiao Hong ji*, in Zhou Yibai, ed. *Mingren zaju xuan*, pp. 1–83.
38 Meng Chenshun, *Jiao Hong ji*, p. 5.
39 Giovanni Vitiello, "Exemplary Sodomites," p. 211.
40 For a detailed account of the development of *wuxia*, see Chen Shan, *Zhongguo wuxia shi*.
41 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 82.
42 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1*, p. 101.
43 David Buchbinder, *Masculinities and Identities*, p. 30.
44 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 26.
45 Buchbinder, p. 30.
46 Wu Cuncun, *Ming-Qing shehui xing'ai fengqi*, pp. 262–71.
47 Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory*, p. 205.
48 The problems with the traditional approach have been increasingly realized in Mainland China during the recent two decades. Some scholars have been calling for a "macroscopic" study of the literary history and their attempts are embodied by a series of works known as "Hongguan wenxueshi congshu" (宏觀文學史叢書 [Macroscopic history of literature series]), among which the most well-known and fruitful one is Chen Bohai's (陳伯海) *Zhongguo wenxueshi zhi hongguan* (中國文學史之宏觀 [The macroscopic view of Chinese literary history]) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995). Yuan Xingpei's (袁行霈) *Zhongguo wenxue gailun* ("A brief introduction to Chinese literature") also bears the characteristics of this trend.
49 Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama," p. 771.

CHAPTER 2

1 "il est une permutation de textes, une inter-textualité: dans l'espace d'un texte plusieurs énoncés pris à d'autres textes se croisent et se neutralisent" (Julia Kristeva, "Problèmes de la structuration du texte," in Michel Foucault, et al., *Théorie d'ensemble*, p. 299).
2 Kristeva, *Semeiotiké*, p. 146.
3 In a narrower sense, a text means a piece of writing. In a more general sense, "text" can be used to refer to anything perceived as a signifying system. The term has been generalized to cover virtually all social phenomena.
4 Michael Worton and Judith Still, eds., *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, p. 1.
5 Jing Wang, *The Story of Stone*, p. 7.
6 Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein, "Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality," in their *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, p. 4.
7 Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, pp. 102–3.

8 Jing Wang, p. 9.
9 Kristeva, "Problèmes de la structuration du texte," in Michel Foucault et al., *Théorie d'ensemble*, p. 311.
10 See Yan Buke, *Shidafu zhengzhi yansheng shigao*, pp. 2–10.
11 Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1, p. 631.
12 Christopher Leigh Connery, *The Empire of the Text*, p. 80.
13 Hu Shi (胡適), "Shuo *ru*" (說儒, "On the character ru"), in *Hu Shi wencun* (胡適文存 [Collected literary works of Hu Shi]) (Taipei: Yuandong tushu, 1953), Vol. 4, pp. 1–103.
14 Ye Shuxian, *Shijing de wenhua chanshi*, pp. 214–20.
15 Ibid., pp. 135–243.
16 *Lunyu yizhu*, 1.10, p. 7. Further references will be included in the text following the abbreviation "LY." I have consulted the following books for the English renditions of the text: Confucius, *The Analects* (translated with an introduction by D. C. Lau); *The Analects of Confucius* (translated and annotated by Arthur Waley); *The Analects* (translated by David Hinton); and *The Analects of Confucius* (translated and annotated by Simon Leys).
17 John King Fairbank, *China: A New History*, p. 109.
18 See Chen Shan, *Zhongguo wuxia shi*, pp. 11–3.
19 See Yu Yingchun, *Qin Han shi shi*, pp. 1–2.
20 *Zhou Yi* or *Book of Changes*, p. 296.
21 Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. 43.
22 Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, "Introduction," in Wang Shifu, *The Moon and the Zither*, pp. 77–8.
23 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, p. 161.
24 *Zhou Yi* or *Book of Changes*, pp. 352–4.
25 Quoted in Brian Carr and Indira Mahalingam, eds., *Companion Encyclopedia of Asian Philosophy*, p. 544.
26 *Zhou Yi* or *Book of Changes*, pp. 22–3.
27 Thomas Laqueur, "Foreword," in Brownell and Wasserstrom, *Chinese Femininities/ Chinese Masculinities: A Reader*, p. xii.
28 Probably the most notorious example is the eunuch leader Wei Zhongxian (魏忠賢, 1568–1627) of the Ming dynasty. He tyrannized administration and was the *de facto* policy-maker in court from 1612 to 1627. Officials were appointed solely on the basis of their loyalty to Wei, and critics were imprisoned, tortured and killed. His flatterers erected temples all over the country to worship him and even likened him to Confucius. Legend says he was styled "Lord of Nine Thousand Years," only one thousand years less than the emperor himself. See Zhang Tingyu (張廷玉) et al., *Mingshi*, Vol. 305; and Herbert Allen Giles, *China and the Manchus*, Chapter 2.
29 Brownell and Wasserstrom, p. 27.

30 Ibid.

31 Geoffrey R. Waters, *Three Elegies of Ch'u*, p. 15.

32 See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, Vol. 84, pp. 2481–504.

33 Owing to remoteness of time and paucity of relevant documents, there has always been much controversy among scholars concerning the authorship of *Chuci* (楚辭) and even the existence of Qu Yuan in history. The argument that Qu Yuan is merely a legendary character and did not exist in history was first put forward by some Chinese scholars such as Liao Ping (廖平), Hu Shi (胡適), and He Tianxing (何天行). They questioned the authenticiry of the biography of Qu Yuan in *Records of the Historian* and attributed the poems in *Chuci* to either the court poets for the first emperor of the Qin dynasty or the Prince of Huai Nan, Liu An (劉安, 179–122 BC) of the Western Han dynasty. This skepticism was reintroduced and further developed by some Japanese sinologists and led to a heated debate between the Chinese and Japanese scholars in the mid-1980s. Japanese scholars such as Inahata Koichiro (稻畑耕一郎), Okamura Shigeru (岡村繁) and Misawa Reiji (三澤玲爾), have found more doubtful points in the biography of Qu Yuan and argued that *Chuci* was collectively created by ancient people as a kind of "national ballads." Their arguments, however, have aroused strong contention from many Chinese scholars, who, with a nationalistic coloring, have published more than forty articles to refute the negationists' arguments and testify that Qu Yuan did exist in history. See, for instance, Huang Zhongmo, ed. *Zhong-Ri xuezhe Qu Yuan wenti lunzheng ji*; Huang Zhongmo, *Yu Riben xuezhe taolun Qu Yuan wenti*.

34 See Liu Yuqing, *Zepan beiyin*, pp. 67–76. The poem used by him to compare with "Encountering Sorrow" is a five-hundred-line long poem titled "Qie boming tan" (妾薄命嘆, "Lament for My Misfortune") by an unknown woman with the surname Wang in the Song dynasty.

35 Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature*, p. 237.

36 Liu Yuqing, p. 68.

37 Qu Yuan, *Lisao yizhu*, p. 2. Further references will be included in the text, following the abbreviation "LS." For the English version, I have consulted David Hawkes's translation in *Ch'u Tz'u: the Songs of the South*.

38 Rey Chow, "Male Narcissism and National Culture," pp. 134–5.

39 Martin Huang, *Literati and Self Re/Presentation*, pp. 76–88.

40 Arthur Waley, *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, p. 20.

41 The debate on whether "Encountering Sorrow" is a homoerotic writing was first initiated by Sun Cizhou's (孫次舟) essay entitled "Qu Yuan shi wenxue nongchen de fayi" (屈原是文學弄臣的發疑 [On the hypothesis that Qu Yuan was a court jester]) (*Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報, 6–8 September 1944). Sun holds that Qu Yuan was a court jester for King Huai of Chu and had the responsibility at court for literary amusement. He was first favored by the king but later estranged from him due to the slanders of other courtiers. Qu Yuan, who still loved the king deeply, was so frustrated after he had been banished that he wrote "Encountering

Sorrow" and some other poems to express his feelings and committed suicide in the end. Sun's hypothesis is mainly based on four arguments: (1) the biography of Qu Yuan in *Shiji* is not trustworthy; (2) men of letters did not enjoy respectable social status until the Han dynasty; (3) Qu Yuan's identity can be inferred from that of Song Yu (宋玉), who was a handsome and witty court jester, and was the *sao*-style poet after Qu Yuan; (4) it was a fashion that the beauty and cross-dressing of men were widely adored during the Warring States period. Qu Yuan was possibly one of the male courtiers who ingratiated themselves with the king by their fine features and transverstic dressing, which can be testified by the tearful lament of the jilted man in "Encountering Sorrow." Sun's "abasement" of Qu Yuan had immediately evoked strong repercussions in the academia in Chengdu and Chongqing. Many articles were published to refute his thesis. The scholars were irritated not only because Qu Yuan had been traditionally enshrined as the paragon of loyalty and public dedication but also because the legend of Qu Yuan had politically functioned as a symbol of patriotism during the anti-Japanese war, owing to the propaganda of the left-wing intellectuals, especially Guo Moruo's (郭沫若) historical play titled *Qu Yuan*. Wen Yiduo (聞一多) wrote the article "Qu Yuan wenti" as a response to this debate, in which he actually supported Sun's thesis but further argued that Qu was "a slave who stood up as a human being." Avoiding mentioning the homoerotic nature of Qu Yuan's works, Wen eulogized Qu as the "people's poet" and stated the dialectical relationship between slavery and art: out of the court amusements came "literature"; out of the court jester came the poet. See Wen Yiduo, "Qu Yuan wenti"; Si Weizhi, "Lun *Chuci* de xingcheng ji Qin-Chu wenhua quan," pp. 26–8; and Mao Feng, *Tongxinglian wenxueshi*, pp. 37–41.

42 David Hawkes, "General Introduction," in *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South*, p. 10.

43 Qu Yuan, *Chuci zhangju*, p. 34.

44 See, for instance, H. G. Creel, *Shen Pu-hai*, p. 45.

45 See Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy."

46 In Tang Guizhang, comp. *Quan Songci*, p. 1867. The English version used is as translated by Florence Chia-ying Yeh, in James R. Hightower and Florence Chia-ying Yeh, *Studies in Chinese Poetry*, pp. 335–6.

47 Hall and Ames, p. 79.

48 Alison H. Black, "Gender and Cosmology in Chinese Correlative Thinking," pp. 184–5.

49 C. T. Hsia, " An Critical Introduction," in Wang Shifu, *The Romance of the Western Chamber*, translated by S. I. Hsiung, p. xiv.

50 Wang Shifu, *Xixiang ji*, Vol. 1, Act 4, p. 13. All the quotations of *The Western Wing* are drawn from the edition annotated by Wu Shuyin (吳書蔭), which is mainly based on the earliest completely preserved edition, the Hongzhi (弘治) edition of 1498. Further references will be included in the text after the

abbreviation "XXJ," with the numbers of volume, act and page bracketed. The English version used is mainly as translated by Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, in *The Moon and the Zither: The Story of the Western Wing*, with minor modifications.

51 West and Idema, p. 122.

52 Pedantic students are scoffed at in Chinese common sayings as being "as sour as vinegar."

53 See Cao Xueqin and Gao E, *Honglou meng*, Ch. 23, p. 271.

54 Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England*, p. 1.

55 "According to the regulations, half of the those [*chin-shih* degrees] were to be awarded to Mongolian and Western Asian candidates who took simpler examinations judged by lower standards" (Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 6, p. 638).

56 The four ethnic classes, in order of descending privilege, consisted of: (1) *menggu-ren* (蒙古人, the Mongols); (2) *semuren* (色目人, people of various categories, including Central Asians, Moslems, Europeans, and other ethnic groups from the Western regions); (3) *hanren* (漢人, people of northern China, composed of the Chinese under the domination of the former Jin dynasty and tribes of the north, such as the Jurchen, the Khitan, the Po-hai nation and Koreans); (4) *nanren* (南人, southerners, who were Chinese of the former Southern Song dynasty). The two upper categories were the privileged groups; the higher official posts were reserved for them. The Chinese, *hanren* and *nanren*, suffered great political and economic deprivation and generally speaking were not entitled to hold important official posts. See ibid., pp. 610–1.

57 This categorization was recorded in Zheng Sixiao's *Xin shi*. Zheng was a loyalist of the Southern Song dynasty and his works unavoidably bore strong hostility against the Mongol invaders. He said in *Xin shi*, "The barbarians' law [gives the order of the various estates in society as]: members of government, lesser officialdom, Buddhist clergy, Daoist clergy, medical men, artisans, hunters, commoners in general, Confucian scholars, beggars" (韃法：一官二吏三僧四道五醫六工七獵八民九儒十丐) (p. 980b). Today's Chinese scholarship commonly holds that this statement should not be taken too seriously since no convincing evidence can be found in serious historiographies, but it did reflect the low social position of Confucian scholars to some extent. See Deng Shaoji, *Yuandai wenxue shi*, p. 43; and Guo Yingde, *Yuan zaju yu Yuandai shehui*, p. 112.

58 Jiang Tsui-fen, "Gender Reversal," p. 22.

59 Ibid., pp. 19–20.

60 *Mengzi yizhu*, 6.2, p. 141. The English version is as translated by James Legge, in *The Chinese Classics Vol. II: The Works of Mencius* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 265.

61 James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward*, p. 56.

62 The wrath and shame had been strongly expressed in the pen jottings and

unofficial histories written by the Southern Song literati and Song loyalist during the Yuan dynasty, such as Xin Qiji (辛棄疾), *Qiefenlu xulu* (竊憤錄續錄 [Sequel to My *Wrath*]) and *Nanjin jiwen lu* (南燼紀聞錄 [Record of the southern ashes]) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991, reprint), Li Tianmin (李天民) and Wang Chengdi (王成棣), et al., eds., *Jingkang baishi* (靖康稗史 [Anecdotes of the Jingkang Period]) (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1993, reprint) and Zheng Sixiao, *Xin shi*.

63 Quoted in Wan Shengnan, *Wen Tianxiang zhuan*, p. 123.

64 The Song Emperors Huizong (徽宗) and Qinzong (欽宗) were seized by the invading Jin army in 1126 and lived in captivity in the North until their death in 1135 and 1161 respectively. See Qiu Shusen and Chen Zhenjiang, ed. *Xinbian Zhongguo tongshi*, Vol. 2, p. 274.

65 James T. C. Liu, pp. 56–7.

66 Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, p. 55.

67 Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

1 R. H.Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, p. 188.

2 Barry Smart, *Michel Foucault*, p. 75.

3 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 136.

4 Christopher Leigh Connery, *The Empire of the Text*, p. 81. According to Connery, "Men considered as members of this category composed texts; they were, for the most part, the subjects of the texts; and, as a group whose functioning depended to some extent on external recognition, that recognition was in the form of texts" (ibid.).

5 Ibid., p. 23. Original emphasis.

6 Ibid., p. 8.

7 Ibid., p. 4.

8 See Ichisada Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell*.

9 Bai Renfu (白仁甫), *Qiangtou mashang* (牆頭馬上, "By the wall, on the horse"), in Zang Jinshu, comp. *Yuanqu xuan*, Vol. 1, p. 332.

10 *Tie hua xianshi*, pp. 382–4.

11 As a foil to the genuine *caizi*, pseudo-*caizi* is a character frequently seen in the *caizi-jiaren* romances. For instance, in Wu Bing's (吳炳) *Lü mudan* (綠牡丹, "The green peony"), two wealthy but barely literate students try to bluff their way into favorable marriages by asking a talented friend to compose poems and essays for them. However, their schemes are foiled by the shrewd and observant girls whom they woo. The girls manage to choose better husbands for themselves eventually. Similar "pseudo-*caizi*" include Zhang Guiru (張軌如) and Su Youde (蘇有德) in *Yu Jiao Li* and Song Xin (宋信) and Dou Guoyi (竇國一) in *Ping Shan Leng Yan*, who all pose as poets by plagiarizing poems by others.

12 Tianhua zang zhuren (天花藏主人), "Preface to *Ping Shan Leng Yan*," in *Ping Shan Leng Yan*, p. 232.

13 *Kuaixin bian*, p. 88.
14 *Yu Jiao Li*, Ch. 6–12.
15 See Yang Rubin, *Rujia shenti guan*, pp. 15–6.
16 *Xunzi* (荀子) (Taipei: Liren shuju, 1983), Chapter 1, p. 10.
17 Guan Hanqing (關漢卿), *Yujing tai* (玉鏡臺, "The jade mirror-stand"), in Zang Jinshu, comp., *Yuanqu xuan*, Vol. 1, p. 95. The English version is mainly as translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang in *Selected Plays of Kuan Han-ching*, pp. 153–77, with some modifications.
18 Ibid., p. 92.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., p. 93.
22 Ibid., p. 95.
23 Ibid., p. 96.
24 Ibid., p. 94.
25 This ideal of the balance is seen, for instance, from the rhetoric parallel between *wen* and *wu* in the Chinese language. Coordinative phrases such as *wentao wulüe* (文韜武略, "civil and military skills"), *wenzhi wugong* (文治武功, "cultural and military achievements"), *wenwu shangquan* (文武雙全, "adept with both pen and sword") indicate a parallel importance of *wen* and *wu*, although *wen* has been always placed before *wu*. This thought of balance may have a long tradition because the first two kings of the Zhou dynasty, who had been enshrined as sage kings by Confucianism, were titled posthumously as King Wen (周文王) and King Wu of Zhou (周武王).
26 Sun Zi, *Sun Zi bingfa*, p. 62.
27 John King Fairbank, *China: A New History*, p. 109. As for the position of the military examination compared with the civil one, the following remark is made by Ichisada Miyazaki in *China's Examination Hell*: "Examinations, too, were divided into civil and military categories, but the former were so much more important than the latter that the term 'examination system' itself referred only to the civil service examinations that have been discussed so far. Neither the government nor the public paid much attention to the military examinations, whose graduates were neglected and disdained" (p. 102).
28 Kam Louie, in "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing *Wen* and *Wu*," states that in traditional China, masculinity "can be either *wen* or *wu*, but it is preferably both" (p. 144). He also observes the fall of *wu* after the Song: "In tracing the dynamics of the balance between *wen* and *wu* from classical times, Huang [Kuanzhong] found that in the early period both *wen* and *wu* had equal value, with *wu* losing favour in the Warring States and Eastern Jin and recovering it in the Tang, only to lose it again in the Song" (p. 145).
29 Cao Pi, "Dianlun lunwen," p. 240.
30 *Mengzi yizhu*, 5.4, p. 124.

31 Fairbank, p. 109.
32 Ibid., p. 111.
33 Saeki Tomi, "The New Sung Culture," in James T. C. Liu and Peter J. Golas, eds. *Changes in Sung China*, p. 94.
34 See James T. C. Liu and Peter J. Golas, eds. *Changes in Sung China*, pp. vii–xiv; James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward*, p. 9.
35 James, T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward*, p. 9.
36 I have borrowed Louis Althusser's terms here. See his "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses."
37 John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China*, p. 4.
38 For a detailed study on the transformation of the shared culture of the Chinese learned elite from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, especially the decline of the Tang's aristocratic clans and the rise of the Song's scholar-officials and local literati elites, see Peter K. Bol, *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transition in T'ang and Sung China*.
39 Peter K. Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* p. 55.
40 See Luo Ye, ed. *Zuiweng tanlu*.
41 Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, pp. 32–3.
42 Ann Anagnost, "The Politicized Body," in Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow, eds. *Body, Subject and Power in China*, p. 135.
43 Ibid., p. 133.

CHAPTER 4

1 Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, p. 59.
2 *Junzi* has been variously translated as "gentleman," "superior man," "exemplary man," or "great man." However, the term will remain its Chinese form throughout this book for the lack of precise equivalent in Western culture.
3 Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, p. 17.
4 Simon Leys, "Introduction," in *The Analects of Confucius*, trans. by Simon Leys, p. xvi.
5 Confucius says, "I will never get to meet a sage — I would be content to meet an exemplary person (*junzi*)" (子曰：“聖人，吾不得而見之矣；得見君子者，斯可矣。”) (LY, 7.26, p. 78).
6 See Lin Yizheng, "Lun Kongzi de 'junzi' gainian," p. 145; and Liu Zhendong, "Kongzi lun junzi," p. 30. In *The Analects of Confucius*, Confucius once calls himself "*junzi*" (9.14). There are five places where the title is assigned to him by his disciples or other people (LY, 3.24, 7.31, 9.6, 9.14, 10.6) and two places where he thus calls his students (LY, 5.3, 14.5).
7 Arthur Waley, "Introduction," in *The Analects of Confucius*, trans. by Arthur Waley, p. 34.
8 Xin Hu, "A Study on Confucius' Philosophy of *Junzi* (The Gentle Person) in *The Analects*," p. 6.

9 The Confucian moral prescriptions for women are mainly contained in *Liji* (禮記, "Book of rites"), *Baihu tong* (白虎通), *Lienü zhuan* (列女傳, "Biographies of exemplary women"), and so on. There were also several moral instructions written by women exclusively for young women widely circulated in traditional China, among them the most influential are *Nüjie* (女誡, "Precepts for women") by Ban Zhao (班昭) in the Han dynasty, *Nü Lunyu* (女論語, "Analects for women") by a Song Ruohua (宋若華) in the Tang, *Neixun* (內訓, "Instructions for the inner chambers") by Empress Xu in the Ming dynasty, and *Nüfan jielu* (女範捷錄, "Short stories of exemplary women") by a Madame Liu in the Ming. The four books had been collectively called "Four Books for Women" and functioned as the elementary textbooks for female students. The central theme of these books is to advocate woman's submission and obedience to the patriarchy. See Zhu Yilu, *Rujia lixiang renge yu Zhongguo chuantong wenhua*, pp. 122–63.

10 See *Lunyu*, 6.28, pp. 68–9.

11 See Zhu Yilu, pp. 51–2.

12 David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking from the Han*, p. 156.

13 This well-known saying originates in the following passage in the Confucian classic *Daxue* (大學, "The great learning"): "Only after study comes wisdom; on the attainment of wisdom comes the thought sincere; only by sincerity of thought is the heart made right; only with a right heart can one's deeds be pure; only after purity of action can one's home be what it ought to be; only with well-ordered homes can the state be governed; only by a well-governed state can the world find peace" (物格而後知至，知至而後意誠，意誠而後心正，心正而後身修，身修而後家齊，家齊而後國治，國治而後天下平。).

14 Fan Zhongyan (范仲淹), "Yueyang lou ji" (岳陽樓記), in *Fan Wenzhenggong xuanji* (范文正公選集 [Selected works of Fan Zhongyan]) (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1997), p. 114.

15 David Hinton, "Key Terms," in *The Analects of Confucius*, trans. by David Hinton, p. 247.

16 Ibid.

17 *Liji*, Chapter 42, p. 792. The English version is mainly as translated by James Legge in *Li Chi, Book of Rites* (New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1967), with minor modifications.

18 Ibid., p. 791.

19 Ban Gu (班固), *Baihu tong* (白虎通), in *Gujin yishi* (古今逸史) (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1969), Vol. 2, pp. 41–2.

20 Liu An (劉安), *Huainanzi* (淮南子) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1994), Vol. 20, p. 1083.

21 *Liji*, Chapter 1, pp. 18–9.

22 Zhu Xi, *Conversations of Master Chu*, p. 51.

23 Leys, "Introduction," p. xxii.

24 See Liu Zhendong, "Kongzi lun junzi," p. 36.

25 The lines are from a poem in *Shijing*. See Stephen West and Wilt Idema, "Introduction," in Wang Shifu, *The Moon and the Zither*, p. 193.

26 C. T. Hsia,"A Critical Introduction," in Wang Shifu, *The Romance of the Western Chamber*, p. xviii.

27 Chung-wen Shih, *The Golden Age of Chinese Drama: Yüan Tsa-chü*, p. 71.

28 In *Ming-Qing shehui xing'ai fengqi*, Wu Cuncun maintains that there was actually no difference between *qing* (emotion) and *yu* (sexual desire) in the Chinese discourse (pp. 9–13). Although her observation on the role of sexuality in Chinese love and courtship is highly provoking, I find her argument too deductive. The philosophical connotations of *qing* cover a much wider space than mere sex. This can be seen from Feng Menglong's advocate of the *qing* in *Qing shi*, which will be discussed in detail later.

29 West and Idema, p. 141.

30 In Chinese, both "頹" and "屌" are low terms meaning "penis."

31 See Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought"; Xia Xianchun (夏咸淳), *Wan Ming shifeng yu wenxue* (晚明士風與文學 [The intellectual trend and literature of late Ming]) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1994), pp. 179–208; Guo Yingde (郭英德), *Chiqing yu huanmeng — Ming Qing wenxue suixiang lu* (癡情與幻夢－明清文學隨想錄 [Infatuation and illusion — on Ming-Qing literature]) (Beijing: sanlian shudian, 1992), pp. 79–98; Feng Dawen (馮達文), *Song Ming xin ruxue luelun* (宋明新儒學略論 [A brief discussion on Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism]) (Guangzhou: Guangdong remin chubanshe, 1997), pp. 221–84; Wang Gang (王崗), *Langman qinggan yu zongjiao jingshen — wan Ming wenxue yu wenxue sichao* (浪漫情感與宗教精神 — 晚明文學與文學思潮 [Romantic passion and religious spirit — late Ming literature and literary trend]) (Hong Kong: Tiandi tushu, 1999), and so on.

32 de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought," p. 157.

33 Ko, p. 80.

34 Feng Menglong, *Qing shi*, pp. 7–9. The English version is as translated by Hua-yuan Li Mowry in *Chinese Love Stories from "Ch'ing-shih,"* p. 13.

35 Ko, p. 81.

36 Cao Xueqin and Gao E, *Honglou meng*, Chapter 35, p. 427. Further references will be included in the text following the abbreviation "HLM." The English rendition is mainly based on *The Story of the Stone* (translated by David Hawkes and John Minford). I have also consulted *A Dream of Red Mansions* (translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang).

37 Guan Hanqing's famous *sanqu* song "The Refusal to Get Old" could be read as a footnote to the versatility of the cynical scholar:

> I am a connoisseur of judging tea and playing games,
> I am well versed in music.
> ...
> I can compose poems, write ancient script,

play the lute and the flute;
I know how to sing the Zhegu, dance the chuishou,
Drive game for the hunt, kick the football;
play chess and roll dice.

分茶掂竹，打馬藏鬮，通五音六律滑熟……我也會吟詩，會篆籀；會彈絲，會品竹；我也會鷓鴣，舞垂手；會打圍，會蹴鞠；會圍棋，會雙陸。

(Translated by Wayne Schlepp in Victor Mair, ed. *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, pp. 349–50.)

38 *Yu Jiao Li*, p. 550.
39 Ibid., p. 482.
40 Hong Sheng, *Changsheng dian*, p. 1.
41 Cited in Ko, p. 80.
42 Ibid.
43 Tang Xianzu, "The Author's Preface to *Mudan ting*," in *Mudan ting*, p. 1. The English version is as translated by Cyril Birch in *The Peony Pavilion*, p. ix, with minor modifications.
44 Haiyan Lee, "Love or Lust? The Sentimental Self in *Honglou meng*," p. 107.
45 Zhou Jianyu, *Caizi-jiaren xiaoshuo yanjiu*, pp. 207–12.
46 Wei Yong, *Yuerong bian*, pp. 311–2.
47 Feng, pp. 5–6.
48 *Liji*, p. 794.
49 See, for instance, Liu Bei's famous remarks on the analogy between wives and clothes in *Sanguo yanyi* (Chapter 15, p. 129).
50 Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence*, p. 81.
51 Bai Renfu (白仁甫), *Qiangtou mashang*, in Zhang Jinshu, comp. *Yuanqu xuan*, Vol. 1, p. 346.
52 See Li Fengjian, "Lun Yuan zaju de 'anhe yinyuan' xianxiang."
53 Zeng Ruiqing (曾瑞卿), *Liuxie ji*, in Zang, Vol. 3, p. 1271.
54 For the mythological archetype of a hero's journey of initiation, see Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*; see also Geng Song, "Wax Spearhead: The Construction of Masculinity in Yuan Drama," pp. 232–7.
55 Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction*, p. 45.
56 Robert E. Hegel, *The Novel in Seventeenth-Century China*, pp. 166–87.
57 Ibid.
58 Li Yu, *Rou putuan*, p. 17.
59 Ibid., p. 68.
60 It is well-known that the *caizi-jiaren* pattern is criticized by the "stone" and Grandma Jia in Chapter 1 and Chapter 54 of *Honglou meng* respectively.
61 See Li Xifan (李希凡), "Qianyan" (前言[Preface]), in Cao Xueqin and Gao E, *Honglou meng*, pp. 36–7.

62 David Hawkes has talked about the jade as a phallic symbol in his "Introduction" to the English version of *The Story of the Stone* (Vol. 1, p. 32, n. 8).

63 The first time when he warns a servant girl of the rain, the latter looks up, sees him behind the boughs and thinks he is one of the maids (HLM, Chapter 30, pp. 366–7). Again, when Baoyu returns from Green Lattice Nunnery with plum blossoms, Grandmother Jia looks at a figure dressed in a red felt snow-cape and asks, "Which of the girl is that?" (HLM, Chapter 50, p. 627).

64 Louise Edwards, *Men and Women in Qing China*, pp. 33–49.

65 Lee, p. 97.

66 Edwards, p. 43.

67 Lee, p. 90.

CHAPTER 5

1 Berthold Schoene-Harwood, *Writing Men*, p. xiv.

2 For the legacy of effeminacy in English homoerotic literature, see, for instance, Joseph Bristow, *Effeminate England: Homoerotic Writing After 1885* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Movement* (London: Cassell, 1994).

3 See David Halperin, " 'Homosexuality': A Cultural Construct," in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*, pp. 41–53.

4 Halperin, "Sex Before Sexuality: Pederasty, Politics, and Power in Classical Athens," in Martin Duberman, et al., eds., *Hidden from History*, pp. 37–53.

5 Xiaomingxiong (小明雄) holds that pre-modern China was by no means an oriental paradise for homosexuals. He calls the prejudice against homosexuality in traditional China "implicit homophobia" or "hidden homophobia." But he also agrees that compared with the legal and religious persecution of sodomy in Western history, the general picture in China was tolerance toward male-male sexual relations due to the lack of the homosexual/heterosexual categorization (see Xiaomingxiong, *Zhongguo tongxing'ai shilu*).

6 The term *nanfeng* first appears in *Jin Ping Mei*. However, I employ this term to refer to the enduring and long-standing tradition of male-male intimacy throughout Chinese history, even though some sources are from earlier periods.

7 See Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*.

8 See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1 and Vol. 2; Arnold I. Davidson, "Sex and the Emergence of Sexuality," *Critical Inquiry*, 14, pp. 16–48.

9 Byrne Fone, *Homophobia: A History*, p. 3.

10 Halperin, "Sex Before Sexuality," p. 46.

11 David Buchbinder, *Masculinities and Identities*, p. 58.

12 Ibid., p. 52.

13 Geoffrey Gorer, *The American People: A Study in National Character* (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 129.

14 Michael S. Kimmel, "Masculinity as Homophobia," p. 131.
15 For the discourse of androgyny in Chinese culture and its relations with the *yin-yang* theory and Daoism, see Sukie Colegrave, *The Spirit of the Valley*.
16 Ray Billington, *Understanding Eastern Philosophy*, p. 110.
17 See, Kari Weil, *Androgyny and the Denial of Difference*, p. 3.
18 Xiaomingxiong, p. 12.
19 Of course, very few stories of man dressing as woman could be found in the literary and oral representations. This is true at least in today's representations of the past. The transgression of the gender code by women toward a higher status is, in a way, tolerated and even encouraged, but men's "self-degeneration" to the lower position of women is much more threatening to social order. This is similar to the situation in Western culture.
20 Charlotte Furth, "Androgynous Males and Deficient Females," p. 3.
21 See Zuyan Zhou, *Androgyny in Late Ming and Early Qing Literature* for a detailed and original study of the fictional and dramatic representations of androgyny from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.
22 Ibid., p. 1.
23 Zhu Qingyu (朱慶餘), "Jin shi shang Zhang shuibu" (近試上張水部 [On the eve of government examinations to Secretary Zhang]), in Ma Maoyuan (馬茂元) and Zhao Changping (趙昌平), comp. & annotated, *Tangshi sanbai shou xinbian* (唐詩三百首新編 [New three hundred Tang poems]) (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), p. 368. The English version is as translated by Witter Bynner in *The Jade Mountain: A Chinese Anthology* (New York: Knopf, 1951), p. 24.
24 Zhang Ji (張籍), "Jiefu yin" (節婦吟 [Reply of a chaste wife]), in *Tangshi sanbai shou xinbian*, pp. 302–3. The English version used is as translated by W. J. B. Fletcher in Lü Shuxiang and Xu Yuanzhong, eds. *Gems of Classical Chinese Poetry in Various English Translations* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1988), p. 232.
25 See Jacques Corraze, L'homosexualité, pp. 23–6.
26 David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality*, p. 25.
27 Bret Hinsch, *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China*, p. 11.
28 Ibid., p. 13.
29 See Sophie Volpp, "Gender, Power and Spectacle in Late-Imperial Chinese Theater," p. 142.
30 See Sophie Volpp, "The Discourse on Male Marriage: Li Yu's 'A Male Mencius's Mother.' "
31 Hinsch, p. 10.
32 Furth, p. 7.
33 It should be pointed out that the tolerance and acceptance of homosexuality in pre-modern China was not unconditional. Homosexuality was tolerated only when it did not constitute a menace to the existing social order. For instance, responding to the widespread perception that homosexuality had become "rampant" in China,

the Qing government, in 1740, decreed that consensual sodomy between adults was a punishable offense. This was a conservative backlash to the popularity of homosexuality in the late Ming periods.

34 Hinsch, p. 4.

35 R.H. Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, p. 28.

36 Hinsch, p. 7.

37 This incident was first recorded in *Hanshu* ("History of the Han"). The Emperor Aidi (哀帝) of Han (r. 6 BC – 1 AD) was once in love with the handsome young man Dong Xian (董賢) and was so fascinated by Dong's beauty that he appointed him to a high position in the court. Dong accompanied the emperor in all his travels and always slept in the same bed. Once, after the two had taken a nap, the emperor awoke and saw that the long sleeve of his gown was trapped under the soundly sleeping Dong. He decided to have the sleeve cut off from the gown rather than disturb his lover's sleep (Ban Gu [班固], *Hanshu*, Vol. 93).

38 The story was recorded in "Shuonan pian" (說難篇, "The difficulties of persuasion") in *Han Fei Zi* (韓非子), the works of the famous philosopher Han Fei (韓非) who died in 233 BC. Mizi Xia (彌子暇) was a handsome courtier of Duke Ling of Wei (衛靈公) (534–493 BC). According to the law of Wei, anyone who drove the duke's carriage without permission would be punished by having his legs amputated. One day Mizi Xia's mother had suddenly fallen seriously ill and Mizi rushed to her side by using the duke's carriage without his permission. However, when the duke learned of what Mizi had done, he did not punish him but praised his filial piety. Another incident was that Mizi picked an unusually sweet and delicious peach in the duke's garden, ate half and saved the remaining half for the duke. Instead of becoming angry, the duke publicly acknowledged Mizi's love.

39 According to the "Wei ce" (魏策, "The Book of Wei") of *Zhan'guo ce* (戰國策, "Intrigues of the Warring States"), a king in the state of Wei had a male companion, Lord Longyang (龍陽君). Once on a fishing trip, after catching about a dozen fish, Longyang suddenly burst into tears. When the king asked the reason for this sudden sadness, Longyang replied that he was very happy when he caught the first fish. But when he caught a larger fish, he was thinking of giving away the smaller fish. This struck him that he was in a similar situation. He knew that there were people more beautiful than himself in the world and feared the king might abandon him as he had prepared to abandon the smaller fish. The king immediately reassured him that this would never happen, and issued an order prohibiting the mention of anyone more beautiful than Longyang (Liu Xiang [劉向], *Zhan'guo ce*, Vol. 25).

40 Lord Anling (安陵君) was a courtier in the kingdom of Chu. On his friend Jiang Yi's (江乙) suggestion, he offered to be buried alive in the king's grave after his death. The king was so moved that he enfeoffed Anling immediately (Liu Xiang, *Zhan'guo ce*, Vol. 14).

41 Of course, this lack of evidence could also be viewed as the silence of language, to use Foucault's argument in *Madness and Civilization* (p. xi).

42 See Volpp, "The Discourse on Male Marriage," and "Gender, Power and Spectacle in Late-Imperial Chinese Theater"; for Li Yu's other works, see his *Wusheng xi/ shier lou* (無聲戲／十二樓 [Silent plays/The twelve towers]) (Xi'an: Taibai wenyi, 1996).

43 Volpp, "Gender, Power, and Spectacle in Late-Imperial Chinese Theater," p. 139.

44 Zhu Dake, "Xiqu de huayu wudu jiqi jiaozheng."

45 See, Siu Leung Li, "Gender, Cross-dressing and Chinese Theatre."

46 In *The Western Wing*, however, a homoerotic overtone is implied when the abbot jokingly offers to share his couch with Student Zhang (I, ii, 6).

47 See Zhu Bilian, "Song Yu ci fu zhenwei bian" (宋玉辭賦真偽辯 [On the authenticity of Song Yu's *ci* and *fu* works]), in Song Yu, *Song Yu ci fu yijie*, pp. 15–24. Stephen Owen, in *An Anthology of Chinese Literature*, argues that " 'The Poetic Exposition on Gao-tang' and 'The Goddess,' are attributed to Song Yu, who was supposed to have been a follower of Qu Yuan (he appears elsewhere as an eloquent orator in the Northern manner). These two poetic expositions are certainly not by Song Yu; rather, they seem to be Han works attributed to Song Yu because he is the speaker in the frame. Song Yu was a very popular figure in the frame stories in which poetic expositions were set"(p. 189).

48 Song Yu, "Dengtu Zi haose fu" (登徒子好色賦 [*Fu* on the licentious Master Dengtu]), in *Song Yu ci fu yi jie*, p. 100. The English version is mainly as translated by Arthur Waley in *One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, pp. 13–4.

49 Ibid.

50 See Wen Yiduo, "Qu Yuan wenti," p. 246.

51 Hinsch, p. 20.

52 Pan Yue was appointed Recorder by Yang Jun (楊駿) in 290. Shortly after, Yang Jun was killed in a palace *coup d'état* staged by the Empress Jia. All the officials who had relations with Yang Jun were also killed. Thanks to the help of an old friend, Pan escaped death but was reduced to the status of commoner. This event made Pan rethink about his stance in the power struggles and he decided to attach himself to the rising Jia family. He became an active member of the "twenty-four friends of Jia Mi" (賈謐二十四友), a famous literary salon at Jia Mi's (Empress Jia's nephew) house. Despite his mother's admonition, he curried favor with the powerful and even knelt down to the dust when Jia Mi's chariot passed by. In 300, one of the emperor's brothers, Sima Lun (司馬倫) staged another *coup d'état* and overthrew Empress Jia. All members of the Jia family were killed. One of Sima Lun's assistants who carried a grudge against Pan Yue seized the opportunity and accused Pan of being involved in the plot of a conspiring rebel. Pan Yue was executed at the age of fifty-four and all his family members, including his mother, brothers, nephews and nieces were killed at the same time.

53 Fang Xuanling, et al., *Jin shu*, p. 1507.

54 Van Gulik, pp. 159–160. In particular he singles out the Xianning (咸寧, 275–279) and Taikang (太康, 280–289) periods as being noted for the popularity of homosexuality.

55 Wang Shunu, *Zhongguo changji shi*, p. 64.

56 Cited in Mao Feng, *Tongxinglian wenxue shi*, p. 62. The English version used is as translated by John Marney in *Beyond the Mulberries: An Anthology of Palace-Style Poetry by Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang Dynasty (503–551)* (Taipei: Chinese Materials Center, 1982), pp. 115–6.

57 Feng Menglong, ed., *Qing shi*, pp. 2136–7. I have consulted the English translation by Hinsch and corrected his errors (pp. 71–2).

58 Hinsch, p. 73.

59 Feng, p. 2137. The English version used is as translated by Anne Birrell in *New Songs from a Jade Terrace* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), p. 213.

60 *Yu Jiao Li*, Chapter 4, p. 135.

61 Cited in Volpp, "The Discourse on Male Marriage," p. 118.

62 See Michael Szonyi, "The Cult of Hu Tianbao and the Eighteenth-Century Discourse of Homosexuality."

63 Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People*, p. 17.

64 The pleasure-loving and decadent "last emperor" is a common image in the historical and literary discourse on the politically incompetent southern courts. Apart from indulging in both heterosexual and homosexual pleasure, these emperors very often displayed talent in music, painting or literature. For instance, the last emperor of the Chen dynasty (557–589) was good at composing music; after the downfall of his kingdom, his music had been called "the decadent music that destroys the race" (亡國之音). And the aforementioned Huizong of the Song dynasty was a highly endowed painter. The most famous last emperor of the weak southern regimes probably is Li Yu (李煜, 937–978). He was the last emperor of Southern Tang, one of the several regional states into which China was divided after the breakup of Tang. Li Yu surrendered to the Song and was taken as a prisoner to the Song capital, Kaifeng, where he died in captivity. One story has it that he was poisoned by imperial order upon the discovery of one of his *ci* poems that reveals a nostalgic feeling for his lost kingdom. His extant *ci* poems have been read as the typical expression of the southern sentimentalism and melancholy.

65 William Dolby, *A History of Chinese Drama*, p. 86.

66 Xu Wei, *Nanci xulu*, p. 76. See also Dolby, *A History of Chinese Drama*, p. 74.

67 Wang Jide, *Qu lü*, p. 34. See also Dolby, *A History of Chinese Drama*, p. 74.

68 Jiang Xingyu, "*Xixiang ji* shou nanxi, chuanqi yingxiang zhi jixiang."

69 Stephen West and Wilt Idema, "Introduction," in Wang Shifu, *The Moon and the Zither*, p. 11.

70 Dolby, *A History of Chinese Drama*, p. 86.

71 Zhou Jianyu, "The *Caizi-jiaren* Novel," p. 70.

72 Namely Mei Lanfang (梅蘭芳), Cheng Yanqiu (程硯秋), Xun Huisheng (荀慧生), and Shang Xiaoyun (尚小雲).

73 See Zhang Jundi, "Zhongguo xiju zhong renshenlian shenhua yuanxing yanjiu"; and William Dolby, *A History of Chinese Drama*, pp. 157–83.

74 Chen Kaige's (陳凱歌) prize-winning film, *Bawang bie Ji* (霸王別姬, "Farewell my concubine") can be read as a footnote to the homosexual connotation of the dan role played by actors in Peking operas. See also Siu Leung Li, "Gender, Cross-dressing and Chinese Theater," pp. 167–203; and Pang Laikwan, "From Gender to Nation: A Reading of *Farewell My Concubine*."

CHAPTER 6

1 For details of Confucius' meeting with Nanzi, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, Vol. 17, pp. 1920–21. Nanzi was the wife of the Duke of Wei (衛) and was known for her lewd character. She held the real power behind the throne. Confucius might have hoped, through Nanzi's influence, to put his principles into practice in the state of Wei.

2 Susan Mann, "The Male Bond in Chinese History and Culture," par. 2.

3 Ibid., par. 10.

4 "Good man" is a literal translation. A more appropriate translation, however, might be "tough man."

5 Shi Nai'an and Luo Gunzhong, *Shuihu quanzhuan*, Chapter 20, p. 238. Further reference will be included in the text, following the abbreviation "SHZ." The English version used is mainly as translated by Sidney Shapiro in *Outlaws of the Marsh*, with minor modifications. For the English rendition, I have also consulted John and Alex Dent-Young, trans. *The Broken Seals: Part One of* The Marshes of Mount Liang (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1994); and John and Alex Dent-Young, trans. *The Tiger Killer: Part Two of* The Marshes of Mount Liang (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1997).

6 See Hu Ying, "Angling with Beauty: Two Stories of Women as Narrative Bait in *Sanguozhi yanyi*," pp. 104–7. Sun Quan (孫權), the ruler of Wu (吳), and his general Zhou Yu (周瑜) used Sun's sister, Lady Sun, as a bait and proposed a fake marriage to lure Liu Bei to Wu in order to capture him. Zhuge Liang (諸葛亮), however, countered Zhou Yu's strategy by the famous three Brocaded-pouch Strategies (錦囊妙計). He borrowed the help of Sun Quan's mother and Zhou Yu's father-in-law to make the fake marriage a real one. After the wedding, Liu Bei successfully persuaded Lady Sun to return to Jingzhou (荊州) with him. Sun Quan then sent troops to pursue them, only to fell into the ambush laid by Zhuge Liang. (See Luo Guanzhong, *Sanguo yanyi*, Chapters 54 and 55. Further references of the book will be included in the text, following the abbreviation "SGYY." The English version used here is mainly as translated by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor in *Romances of the Three Kingdoms*, with consultation of Moss Roberts' rendition in *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel*.)

7 Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang, *History and Legend*, p. 65.
8 Ibid., p. 81.
9 For an interesting analysis of the Chinese experience with food and practice of eating as a shaping force in Chinese cultural interpretation of the world, see Gang Yue, *The Mouth That Begs: Hunger, Cannibalism, and the Politics of Eating in Modern China*, especially the first chapter. Yue's argument that oral experiences connect the physical body with body politics and invest human energy and desires helps deepen our understanding of the relationship between the attribute of eating and drinking to excess and the construction of masculinity in the novels.
10 Keith McMahon, *Causality and Containment in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Fiction*, p. 52.
11 See Andrew H. Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel*, pp. 338–9.
12 Sun Lung-kee, "Without Sex and Violence," p. 16.
13 C. T. Hsia, *The Classic Chinese Novel*, p. 88.
14 Several "licentious women" who commit adultery (e.g. Pan Jinlian [潘金蓮], Yan Poxi [閻婆惜], and Pan Qiaoyun [潘巧雲]) are killed by men in the novel. The three martial women, Elder Sister Gu (顧大嫂), Sister Sun (孫二娘), and Steelbright (扈三娘), are represented mainly as warriors and therefore have been, in a sense, desexualized and adopted by the men's world. The only warrior showing some female charm, Steelbright, has not spoken a word throughout the novel and is therefore a silent figure. As for most of the heroes in Liangshan, nothing is known of their wives and concubines. Overall, women and sexuality are largely absent in the novel.
15 Hsia, p. 88. In the novel, Li Kui shouted at Song Jiang, "At first I respected you for being a *haohan* beyond the pull of lustful desire, but now I see that you are a pursuer of wine and sex after all. Killing Yan Poxi was just a small example of this; going to the capital to patronize Li Shishi was the major example" (我當初敬你是個不貪色欲的好漢，你原來是酒色之徒。殺了閻婆惜，便是小樣；去東京養李師師，便是大樣。) (SHZ, Chapter 72, p. 902).
16 Yang Yi, "Xin quanshixue xia de *Sanguo, Shuihu, Xiyou*: Zhongguo minjian wenhua jingshen de shishi," p.41.
17 Irene Eber, "Weakness and Power: Women in *The Water Margin*," p. 21.
18 The four adulterous wives are Yan Poxi (閻婆惜), Pan Jinlian (潘金蓮), Pan Qiaoyun (潘巧雲) and Lady Jia (賈氏). Their stories are in Chapters 20–22, 23–26, 44–46, 61–62 respectively.
19 Norman Kutcher, "The Fifth Relationship: Dangerous Friendships in the Confucian Context," par. 39.
20 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men*, pp. 1–2.
21 Gayle Rubin,"The Traffic in Women: Notes Toward a Political Economy of Sex." See also Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, especially the chapter entitled "Women on the Market" (pp. 170–91).
22 Sedgwick, p. 50.

23 Chang, p. 107.

24 Kam Louie, "Sexuality, Masculinity, and Politics in Chinese Culture: The Case of the 'Sanguo' Hero Guan Yu," p. 852.

25 Ibid., p. 859.

26 Henry Y. H. Zhao, *The Uneasy Narrator*, pp. 199–200.

27 The usurper Dong Zhuo was nearly invincible, mostly because of the alliance between Dong and his sworn son, Lü Bu, a general with peerless martial prowess. Wang Yun, the minister who belonged to the anti-Dong faction then destroyed the Dong-Lü alliance by a beautiful woman, Diaochan (貂蟬), who was his household entertainer and had been treated by him almost as a daughter. Wang first promised Lü Bu to present Diaochan to him as his concubine, but later gave her to Dong Zhuo as an entertainer. The father-son bond between Dong and Lü immediately split up due to the interference of Diaochan. Lü Bu forsook his "father" for Diaochan's sake and soon both Dong and Lü were defeated by their enemies (SGYY, Chapters 8, 9).

28 *Zhui Baiqiu* (綴白裘) (Kunming: Zhonghua shuju, 1940), Vol. 11.

29 Plaks, pp. 338–9.

30 For the history of the fall of the Chu empire, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, Vol. 7.

31 The story is about the practice of same-sex marriage in Fujian. Xu Jifang, a handsome widower, falls in love with a young boy named You Ruilang. Xu sells his lands to pay the "bride-price" asked by You's father and also pays for the burial of You's mother. Driven by a sense of gratitude, You "marries" Xu and castrates himself to ensure his chastity to Xu unto death. After marriage, You dresses as a woman and plays the role of the paradigmatic virtuous woman, supporting Xu in his studies by his needlework and raising Xu's child after his death. See Sophie Volpp, "The Discourse of Male Marriage."

32 Some Daoists, however, notoriously believed that sexual intercourse with young women could be good for a man's health provided he knows how to "absorb" the girls' energy and *yin* vigor. This "exercise" had therefore been regarded as elixir of life. This, nevertheless, was by no means the dominant discourse on sex and health in Chinese history. Additionally, it still implies that men without the knowledge of sexual "skills" would still be in the dangerous position of being exploited by women. See R. H. Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*.

33 Quoted in Hu Ying, p. 112.

34 Zhao, p. 177.

35 Ibid., pp. 179–80.

36 About the historicity of *The Three Kingdoms*, C. T. Hsia points out: "*The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* is by design a historical narrative rather than a historical novel as we understand the term in the West. Hardly a single character in the book is ahistorical, and there is no plot to speak of beyond the plot of history. Though it borrows from the oral tradition of storytelling, it is clearly far more an epic than a romance" (*The Classic Chinese Novel*, p. 34). As for *Shuihu*, the kernel

of historical truth of the novel is that in the early years of the twelfth century a gang led by a certain Song Jiang were known to have operated in districts near Kaifeng. Later, legends and tales came to be associated with the exploits of the gang. Some stories first appeared in *Xuanhe yishi* (宣和遺事 [Anecdotes from the Xuanhe period, 1119–1125]), a *pinghua* (平話) dating perhaps from the thirteenth century. There are also dozens of *zaju* of the Yuan and early Ming dynasties that deal with the *Water Margin* romances. Although there is some historical "truth" in the Liangshan stories, most of their plots are inventions of the storytellers and novelists. However, *Shuihu zhuan* generally imitates the historical novels in style; it can therefore be categorized as a "semi-historical" or "pseudo-historical" novel.

37 See, for instance, Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang, *History and Legend*; David D. W. Wang, "Fictional History/Historical Fiction"; Chou Ying-hsiung, "Between the Substantive and the Empty: The Chinese Historical Novel as Mediation," in Tak-wai Wong, ed. *East-West Comparative Literature*, pp. 49–87; Gang Xu, "The Past Is Eternal: Chinese Pan-historicism as Manifested in Poetry on History" (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1996).

38 David D. W. Wang, "Fictional History/Historical Fiction," p. 39.

39 Stephen West and Wilt Idema, "Introduction," in Wang Shifu, *The Moon and the Zither*, p. 78.

40 Sedgwick, p. 2.

41 West and Idema, pp. 143–4. For details about the scholar-courtesan-merchant triangle plays, see Zheng Zhenduo, "Lun Yuanren suo xie shangren, shizi, jinü jian de sanjiao lian'aiju."

42 West and Idema, p. 144.

43 See, for instance, Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China*, pp. 76–91.

44 Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 6, p. 634.

45 *Ju'an qimei*, in Zang Jinshu, comp. *Yuan quxuan*, Vol. 3, p. 916.

46 See Ning Zongyi, et al., *Yuan zaju yanjiu gaishu*, pp. 204–7.

47 Quoted in Ning Zongyi, et al., *Yuan zaju yanjiu gaishu*, p. 204.

48 The combination of 肖 (similar to) and 人 (man) describes the character 俏 (handsome). 木 (wood) and 寸 (inch) combine to form 村 (boorish, rustic). 馬 (horse) and 戶 (door) combine to form 驢 (donkey). 尸 (corpse) and 巾 (kerchief) combine to form the slang word 屌 (penis).

49 Mount Tiantai alludes to sexual union. According to a story in *Taiping guangji* (太平廣記), Ruan Zhao (阮肇) and Liu Chen (劉晨) were two young men living in the Han dynasty. One day they went up to Mount Tiantai to pick medicinal herbs and lost their way. They wandered into a grotto and met two beautiful nymphs, who, after giving them hemp-seed to eat, yielded to them as their husbands. They returned home after what they thought was a stay of six months. To their amazement, they met their seventh-generation descendants, so much time had passed.

50 According to Foucault, "Sexuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually to uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct: not a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledge, the strengthening of controls and resistance, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power" (*The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, pp. 105–6).

Index