OBSESSION

Male Same-Sex Relations in China, 1900-1950

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Contents

Introduction

This book is a study of male same-sex relations in China during the first half of the twentieth century. During this period, a rich vocabulary existed to describe such relationships, which were frequently discussed in translated sexological writings, literary works, publications concerning the Peking Opera field and, most prominently, tabloid newspapers. In these various social and discursive locations, which were either new, such as sexology and tabloids, or in the process of being transformed, such as opera and literature, urban citizens argued about the importance of a modernized understanding of gender and sex in order to strengthen the nation.

Male same-sex relations figured in many different ways across genres, and multiple conversations went on at the same time. From the early 1920s to the early 1930s, translators of Western sexology were divided between those who pathologized homosexuals for their social immorality and those who praised same-sex love as the foundation for a human utopia. At the same time, a group of iconoclastic literary writers followed the mode of Western decadent writing, presenting a beautiful image of intimacy between male friends and posing male same-sex love as a protest against conventional social and sexual norms, while cultural conservatives used tabloid newspapers as their forum, casting sex between men as a sign of the weakness of the nation. As the Japanese invasion deepened the national crisis from the late 1930s on, these conservative writers continued to blame men who had sex with other men for the misfortunes of the nation, and progressive literary writers also made an effort to erase the history of male same-sex relations in the Peking opera field.

With an increasing number of works on women's history in China, gender has proven to be an indispensable analytical category in the study of Chinese history. Masculinity, however, is rarely addressed as a way of broadening our understanding of twentieth-century China. In this book, I argue that by attending to discussions of emotion, virtue and masculinity in male same-sex relationships,

we can better understand shifting notions of nationalism, modernity and semi-colonialism during this period.

The term that I use for the title of the book, "obsession," is an English translation of the Chinese word *pi* (癖), which was one of the major conceptual frameworks to understand male same-sex desire in Chinese history. During the first half of twentieth century, the issue of male same-sex relations itself clearly became an obsession for Chinese writers, from conservative literati to progressive intellectuals. The period saw a persistent effort to define and redefine the meaning of male same-sex relations on the part of these writers to modernize China.

Male Same-Sex Relations in Chinese History

Since the 1970s, prompted by the U.S. lesbian and gay movement and the development of new modes of social and cultural history writing, especially women's history, scholars have increasingly explored the role of male same-sex relations in U.S. and European history. Amid this burgeoning new literature,[1] similar works in Japanese history have also begun to emerge.[2] In the China field, literary scholars have done a considerable amount of work on male same-sex relations during the pre-modern era. For the modern period, Tze-lan D. Sang's *The Emerging Lesbian* provides a timely study of female same-sex relations in twentieth-century China. Recently, scholars have also begun to pay attention to changes in the male homoerotic culture of Peking opera in the earlier twentieth century.[3] Works on and from contemporary China are predominately sociological studies and journalistic reports on the lives of men who have sex with men.[4] The most in-depth study of male same-sex relations in contemporary China in English is anthropologist Lisa Rofel's work on emerging gay identities in Beijng.[5]

The study on sexual relationships between men in China first appeared in works about pre-modern literature. By examining literary representations, these works answer the question of how such relationships were understood in pre-modern Chinese literary writing. In his work on vernacular stories in late imperial China, Partrick Hanan mentions that love between men was treated with humor and as an occasion for intense *qing* (情, feeling).[6] Keith McMahon suggests that sex between men in Ming stories such as *Bian er chai* (弁而釵, A cap and hairpins) was described as more harmonious and pleasurable than sex between men and women.[7] Furthermore, in her analysis of the seventeenth-century writer Li Yu's homoerotic story "A Male Mencius's Mother," Sophie Volpp argues that the narrative not only allowed love between men to fit into a Confucian system of gender values but also elevated it to a level of moral significance that surpassed that of relationships between men and women. What needs to be pointed out,

however, is that the story is a campy spoof and an exercise in wit. It is all very ironic.[8] In short, male same-sex relationships in late Ming (1368–1644) and early Qing (1644–1911) vernacular stories were humorously and positively depicted as a form of sexual attachment and emotional expression superior to sexual relationships between men and women.

Historical studies of male same-sex relationships during the imperial era are concerned with the social and official attitudes towards such relationships and ask when and whether a Western-style homophobia existed in China.[9] Some see a change in social and official attitudes towards male same-sex relationships—from indifference to moral denunciation and legal regulation—beginning in the early Qing, while others locate such a change only in the nineteenth-century. Vivien Ng identifies the 1740 Qing law that punished sex between men as a sign of this change and considers it as a backlash against the widespread sexual activities between men in the late Ming. She argues that the law, which aimed at maintaining proper gender roles, was a part of the process by which the Qing state consolidated its power. Written in Chinese and published in Hong Kong, a study by Xiaomingxiong[10] also finds a change of social attitude towards male same-sex relationships in China, but argues that the change began in the nineteenth century as a result of what he vaguely calls Western influence. Based on Ng and Xiaomingxiong's work, Bret Hinsch argues that the 1740 law was a result of both the Qing's growing sexual conservatism and Western moral influence, but locates the time of this change in the period beginning from the Ming-Qing transition. Although the specific chronological beginning of change was different for these three historians, they all conclude that a Western style of homophobia began to appear in the China during the Qing period.

The characterization of the 1740 Qing law as homophobic has been challenged by literary scholar Giovanni Vitiello. Basing his research on a literary anthology of male-male homoerotic writings complied in the late Qing, Vitiello argues that in Ming-Qing China, sex between men was more than socially tolerated. It was common and widely accepted as an option for a man to satisfy his sexual desire. Sex between men was rarely condemned.[11]

The problem with this debate is the assumption that a uniform social attitude towards sex between men existed in late imperial China and that legal regulations and literary writings were a direct reflection of this social attitude. In his historical study of culture and society in Ming China, Timothy Brook questions how widespread the practice of sex between men was. He argues that it was exactly "the social and psychological pressure against *nanse*" (男色, erotic attraction to the male body) that "distinguished homoerotic love as an exclusive gesture within reach of only a tiny minority" of the social elite.[12] The literary writings about sex between men in late imperial China might only represent the opinions of the elite.

Endorsing Brook's argument, Sophie Volpp further argues that the massive quantity of writings on male homoeroticism should not be interpreted as indicating that sex between men was socially accepted in the late Ming Dynasty. She proposes that "Rather, they testify to the seventeenth century interest in classifying lust, in cataloguing all its permutations."[13] Examining both literary texts and belles-lettres (*biji*, 筆記), Volpp finds that the explanations of homoerotic desire were so fraught with contradictions that it is not possible to reach a uniform conclusion on late imperial attitudes towards male love. In these writings, sex between men was marginalized and localized as something strange, outside the norm.

In his historical study of the Qing legal code on sexual offenses, Matthew Sommer also complicates the question of what constitutes "homophobia" and poses a challenge to the conclusions of Xiaomingxiong, Ng and Hinsch that a Western-style homophobia became entrenched in China in the Qing Dynasty. Sommer argues that the tightened control on sex in the Qing dynasty was caused by internal social changes, such as the unbalanced ratio between men and women. The Qing law on homosexual rape aimed to prevent men from acting as women and thus to maintain a hierarchical gender order, but not to target the act of sex between men *per se*.[14]

Furthermore, based on his study of eighteenth-century documents on male same-sex relations in Fujian province, Michael Szonyi argues that there was never one all-pervasive attitude towards sex between men in China. He contends that, rather than tracing the change from laxity to moral denunciation, we should pay attention to the continuity of intellectual thought on homoerotic desire between the pre-modern and the modern period.[15]

The works that have touched on the topic of male same-sex relations in twentieth-century China tend to focus on how Western sexology was accepted in China and on whether same-sex relations were socially accepted or not. In *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China*, Frank Dikotter briefly treats the issue of male same-sex relations in modern China. Contending that a uniform social attitude persisted throughout Chinese history that disapproved of sex between men because it was non-procreative, he found that Chinese intellectuals did not grasp the Western idea of homosexuality.[16] Arguing against Dikotter, in her study of female same-sex desire in modern China, Tze-lan D. Sang stresses the agency of the Chinese translators of Western sexological knowledge and traces a process of intensifying stigmatization of same-sex relations with the continuing introduction of Western sexological works in modern China.[17]

In this book, I ask the following questions: What kinds of thinking about male same-sex relations circulated in twentieth-century China? What was the long-term historical trajectory of this thinking; how did it interact with

Western sexological knowledge; and how did it condition the dissemination and acceptance of Western concepts of homosexuality? How were these ideas, both Chinese and Western, transformed in the process of their interaction? How did the social and political context in which the process occurred determine the meaning of male same-sex relations, and in turn, what can those meanings tell us about nationalism, modernity, and semi-colonialism in twentieth-century China?

In the first half of the twentieth century, the issue of gender and sexuality was an important component of the "national character" (*guomin xing*, 國民性) discourse in China. By the time of the publication of *New Youth* in 1917, the effort to understand Chinese national character has transformed into a movement to criticize "flawed national character" (*guoming liegen xing*, 國民劣根性).[18] For example, Chen Duxiu (陳獨秀) considered his compatriots as "debased weak people" and described Chinese (male) youth as following:

> They lack the strength to tie up a chicken in their hand, and they do not have the courage to be a man in their mind. Their faces are pale, and their bodies are as delicate as women's. As fragile as sick men, they can endure neither heat nor cold. How could a national group with such a weak body and mind shoulder a heavy burden?[19]

If Chen's statement only testifies that gender could be used as a convenient trope of the national character; works of other intellectuals such as Zhang Jingsheng (張競生) clearly connected the issue of sexuality with the problem of national character. Zhang even explained the weakness of Chinese people by analyzing a presumable degeneration of their sexual organs.[20]

In her seminal work *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity, 1900-1937*, Lydia Liu provides a nuanced study of the national character discourse in modern China. As Liu points out, "The idea of national character subsumed human difference under the totalizing category of national identity and has proved tremendously useful in legitimatizing Western imperialist expansion and domination in the world."[21] Going beyond the interpretation of Said's *Orientalism*, which "often reduced the [East-West] exchange to a matter of specularity between the gazer and object of the gaze,"[22] Liu emphasizes a co-authorship of the Chinese national character myth, which was first invented by Western missionaries such as Arthur Smith, and later further reinvented by the Chinese intellectuals represented by Lu Xun. This co-authorship or the participation of Chinese intellectuals in creating and perpetuating the myth, Liu argues, should be understood in the modern historical context of imperialist violence, which "Chinese intellectuals had to endure, whether as radical, traditionalist or other, in the hope that they would

eventually come to terms with modernity."[23] By subscribing and transforming the Chinese national character in the form of writing, Chinese intellectuals found the means to empowering themselves.[24]

It is in this context that I situate the issue of male same-sex relations in China. The semi-colonial era of the first half of the twentieth century saw Western and Japanese powers establish their sphere of influence, while the national government remained weak and the invading powers treated the Chinese people as second-class citizens. In this threatening wider context, both the newly established Chinese republican government and an emerging group of intellectuals sought means by which to modernize China. As the book demonstrates, it is a significant historical fact that the modernizing project of Chinese nation-state building involved a reconfiguration of indigenous knowledge about male same-sex relations and contestation of the meaning of sex between men. Anxiety on the part of intellectuals and a wider public about the national crisis manifested itself through public discussion about masculinities and male-male sexuality of Chinese men.

Achival Marterils and Queer Approach

My initial research began at the Shanghai Municipal Archives. Unlike the Qing state, the Republican government did not criminalize sex between men, a legal departure explained in Chapter Four. But I still hoped to find archival documents on male same-sex relations. To avoid unnecessary inconveniences and possible hostility, I told the staff members that my research topic was about moral issues during the Republican period. I surveyed a wide range of records from divorce cases to criminal records and from prison records to homicide cases. No trace of male same-sex relations was found. It seemed that male same-sex relations did not compel any attention from the Republican government. Dismayed by the lack of information in these official documents, I followed the lead of Gail Hershatter's work on prostitution in twentieth-century Shanghai[25] and moved to the Shanghai Library to begin to read the city's major early twentieth-century tabloid newspaper. *Crystal* (*Jingbao*, 晶報) published from the late 1910s to the early 1940s, turned out to be a major source for this study. *Crystal* not only occasionally addressed the issue of male same-sex relations, often through discussions of Peking opera, but also pointed me to other sources such as the same type of newspaper in Tianjin, sex education books, and popular fiction published at the time. Meanwhile, I also looked for male homoerotic writings in modern Chinese literature.

When I moved to Beijing, I once again began at the municipal archives. This time, feeling I had nothing to lose, I told the staff member that I was looking for materials on male same-sex relations. After consulting a senior archivist,

the receptionist told me that because sex between men was not criminalized in Republican-period law and the archives only collected official documents, no records on the issue could be found. I thus gave up my hope to find any sources in the official archive.

Tabloids serve as major archival sources for this book. This type of newspaper first appeared at the turn of the twentieth century in the late Qing period, flourished during the Republican era, declined after the Japanese invasion in China in 1937, and eventually disappeared in the dawning years of the People's Republic.[26]

Over this period, both tabloid writers and their audience changed. During the late Qing period, men educated in classical Chinese who had given up their hope to gain an official government post through the imperial civil service examinations entered the emergent newspaper business. Inheriting the tradition of Ming and Qing literati, they used tabloids mainly as a forum to comment on current political and social affairs and rank courtesans and actors.[27] Thus, in the early stage of tabloid publications, these writers wrote in classical Chinese and targeted a small circle of men like themselves who were also versed in the old form of writing. With the development of the commercial newspaper business and as a result of the abolition of the imperial examination in 1905, more and more educated men joined the ranks of those who made a living by writing for commercial publications. Accordingly, the social status of tabloid writers as a group also became diversified. There were handsomely paid famous writers and editors, but they were few. A majority of these who contributed to tabloids were members of the newly emerging urban middle and lower classes. Their writing thus reflected and represented the concerns, interests and tastes of the urban population.[28] To attract a wider reading public, these writers also changed tabloid language from classical Chinese to semi-classical vernacular Chinese,[29] and even increased the use of dialects and local slang.[30] According to Hong Yu, during the Republican period, the main audience of tabloids changed from a small group of educated elite to the middle and lower classes of the urban population, but the range of readers certainly traversed class boundaries, including government officials; old-style literati; students; clerks working in banks, offices, and shops; and prostitutes.[31]

A major form of tabloid writing is the so-called recreational article (*youxi wenzhang*, 遊戲文章). Tabloids were called small *xiaobao* (小報, small newspaper) in Chinese, while regular newspapers were called *dabao* (大報, big newspaper). In her study *Shanghai Tabloid Newspapers during the Late Qing and Republic Period* (*Wanqing minguo shiqi Shanghai xiaobao*, 晚清民國時期上海小報), Li Nan attempts to draw a boundary between the form of writing in big newspapers and that in the small. She calls big newspaper writing *baozhang wenti* (報章文體, newspaper

literary style) or *xinwenti* (新文體, new literary style), and small newspaper writing *xiaobao sanwen* (小報散文, small newspaper prose) or *youxi wenzhang* (recreational article).

According to Li, late Qing reformers such as Liang Qichao, Zhang Binlin, and Yan Fu changed the archaic classical Chinese writing style in an effort to make newspapers more accessible to the reading public. Newspaper literary style was a result of this endeavor. This type of writing, in Liang's words, "aims to be straightforward and easy to read, sometimes mixing vernacular with classical Chinese language and foreign grammar, not restrained by any rules." [32] Small newspaper prose, Li argues, blended the Chinese notation book (*biji*, 筆記) genre[33] and modern newspaper literary style, and under the influence of commercial publishing culture and the personal tastes of tabloid writers, transformed them into a kind of recreational article.[34] The major difference between newspaper literary style and small newspaper prose, Li points out, is that reformers used newspaper literary style as a political tool for social change, whereas tabloid writers composed recreational articles for entertainment purposes. In other words, newspaper literary style was meant to convey the *way* (*zaidao*, 載道), that is the correct moral value; while recreational articles were limited to expressing the writers' will (*yanzhi*, 言志).[35]

However, the difference between the two forms of writing was not as clear-cut as the above suggests, especially in the early period of newspaper publication, from the late Qing to the period of warlord rule. As Li admits, recreational articles in *Youxibao* (遊戲報, Recreation news), the first tabloid in China founded by Li Boyuan (李伯元) in 1897, also served a political purpose by commenting on current affairs.[36] It is more appropriate to say that the entertainment nature of small newspapers manifested itself more in the later Republican period, when the nationalist government tightened its control on media.

The term *youxi* (recreational), according to Leo Ou-fan Lee, might come from the name of *Youxibao* (遊戲報, Recreation news).[37] Recreational articles (*youxi wenzhang*), however, also appeared in the supplement pages of big newspapers in the early years of Republican era.[38] In fact, Lee locates a long essay defending the form of recreational articles, published in 1917 in the *Ziyoutan* (自由談, Freedom forum) section of *Shenbao* (申報, Shanghai journal, founded 1872), Shanghai's earliest and most respected Chinese newspaper.[39] In the essay *On Recreational Articles*, the writer, whose pseudonym was Ji Hang (濟航),[40] describes recreational articles as a type of comical satire (*huaji fengshi zhiwen*, 滑稽諷世之文), arguing that it is superior to the form of the formal essay (*zhenglun*, 正論). Instead of providing one straightforward argument, a recreational article has multiple implications. Compared with political treatises, satires with witty and amusing language are more effective. With the deterioration of social morals

and government officials' performance, the author said, readers demanded more and more recreational articles to be written to vent their anger and frustration. That was why this form of writing became so widespread and popular, and the newspaper's value in general was accordingly enhanced. The writer claims that recreational articles could save the country and change social morals.[41]

As Lee further illustrates, during the period of warlord rule in the 1910s, using irony and parody, this type of writing satirized political leaders and mocked new social practices influenced by Western ideas.[42] "It has created a kind of public opinion, provided an open political forum unprecedented in history, and meanwhile almost established a practice that 'everyone is entitled to express one's opinion' (*yanzhe wuzui*, 言者無罪)."[43] Lee uses "almost" because with the ascendancy of the Nationalist government in 1927 and later the establishment of a censorship system in 1934, it became increasingly difficult and dangerous to criticize the government.[44]

Lee uses Lu Xun (魯迅) as an example of one who carried on the tradition of using recreational articles to fight against government censorship. But he also points out that Lu Xun treated many writers of different political persuasions with contempt, did not value or pay attention to positive social and cultural functions of various kinds of newspapers, and thus lost his opportunities to maintain a public forum.[45]

The form of the recreational article, however, did not die out. Instead, it flourished in the tabloid press. Although the writers themselves sometimes even claimed that they would stay away from politics, their social commentaries often included sarcastic remarks on current social and political affairs. As Hong Yu points out, sardonic recreational articles that exposed government corruption and social evil became a hallmark of tabloids.[46] Execration or cursing (*ma*, 罵) became part of the art of tabloid writing. For tabloids, "To curse requires the art of cursing. It should make the cursed speechless, and it should make the cursed debilitated. In small newspapers, ridicule, laughter, anger, and curses all constitute articles (*xixiaonuma, jiecheng wenzhang*, 嬉笑怒罵, 皆成文章)."[47] But as the national crisis intensified, this form of writing came to be considered as trivial and frivolous, and was strongly disapproved of by May Fourth writers.[48] Lu Xun once criticized the tabloid writers as follows: "No matter how miserable the matter is, (they) can always make it interesting—interesting in Shanghai style."[49] Zheng Zhenduo (鄭振鐸) also detested the entertaining tone of the tabloid. "They treat life as if it is a game, being sarcastic about everything, from serious national affairs to trivial matters."[50]

In her study of tabloid representations of "celebrities," Li Nan uses Eileen Chang's (Zhang Ailing, 張愛玲) term *liuyan* (流言, written on water, rumor or gossip) to characterize small newspaper writing.[51] Based on a passage of

Chang's article "Notes on Apartment Life" (*gongyu shenghuo jiqu*, 公寓生活記趣), Li explains the meaning of *liuyan* as rumor and gossip only to reinforce the established understanding of tabloid writers: They entertained the urban public by writing what people were curious about.[52]

Chang has her own explanation of the meaning of *liuyan* elsewhere. As Nicole Huang illustrates in her introduction to Andrew Jones's translation of Chang's collection of essays *Written on Water* (*liuyan*):

> In her later writing, Chang recalls that the title phrase, *liuyan*, was from an English saying: "written on water." She explains the implication of the metaphor: She does not expect her writing to endure; instead, her work should be thought of as words written on water—or "flowing words," a more literal translation of *liuyan*—lingering momentarily and eventually fading. But she also hopes that her writing will be endowed with the spirit of "rumor" or "gossip"—a second denotation of the word *liuyan*—flowing freely and swiftly in order to reach the widest possible audience.[53]

Chang's own definition of *liuyan* serves as a better description of small newspaper writing. If it was a form of rumor or gossip, like Chang's work, tabloid writing also enjoyed a large readership.[54]

More often than not, gossip is unverifiable and simply imagined by curious minds. This raises the question how gossip could function as a historical source.[55] In her study of Xiao Hong's *Field of Life and Death*, Lydia Liu argues: "Since Chinese women are denied subject positions in male-centered historiographies, storytelling or gossip becomes the only means of transmitting women's unique knowledge about life and death among themselves."[56] In my own effort to write a queer history of China, gossip in the form of tabloids also proves a valuable historical source. In this book, instead of attempting to verify the content of gossip, I treat gossip itself as historical evidence, which, thanks to curious minds, not only left a record of male same-sex relations but also often revealed a connection between sexual issues and their social and political context. I analyze assumptions, logics and ideologies in the gossip to see how the connection between sex and politics was made and show the process in which, with their concerns about the survival of nation and preservation of conventional moral values, tabloid writers actually contributed to the stigmatization of male same-sex relations in modern China.

Out of modesty and her view of human life,[57] Chang considers her writing to be *liuyan*, rumor, gossip, and words that would not endure. But her work has survived political upheaval and ideological manipulation, and has become a classical testimony of human life in wartime Shanghai. Similarly, while official archives leave a void on the issue of male same-sex relations because of legal

stipulations of the Republican era, the tabloid press with its range of insatiable interests, from politics to personal matters, provides valuable sources for the present study.

Studies of Chinese tabloids have been ignored until very recently.[58] Many tabloid writers were also "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly" or "Saturday School" fiction writers, whose position has been marginalized in modern Chinese literary history because of the commercial nature of their work.[59] As Lydia Liu argues in *Translingual Practice*, the canon-making process of modern Chinese literature was an integral part of a concerted nation-making effort on the part of May Fourth writers in a world where Western discourses were privileged. In the process, May Fourth writers legitimized their own dominant position by marginalizing Butterfly writers.

> Whereas Butterfly fiction thrived solely on the entertainment market and found its returns more or less guaranteed by popular consumption, May Fourth writers were bent on producing their own term of legitimacy by relying on theoretical discourses and institutionalized practices such as canon making, criticism and the writing of literary.[60]

Furthermore, May Fourth writers and critics used their own criteria to evaluate Butterfly writings, although not totally silencing them. As a result, Butterfly writers were relegated to the "traditional camp" and labeled as the "conservatives."[61] Because of the connection with Butterfly school writers, tabloid writing was rarely taken seriously in Chinese literary and historical study.

Another type of source used in this study is literary works on male same-sex relations in modern Chinese literature, which has been overlooked in the previous scholarship. In fact, writers of the so-called May Fourth literature were not a homogenous group with uniform literary tastes and theoretical persuasions during its early period. The early 1920s was characterized by conflicts between members of the Literary Association and those of the Creation Society. Although both aimed to fight against the "old literature," they had different goals in mind and debated on the means to achieve them. Generally speaking, the Literary Association, favoring realism, advocated "art for life" to resist the recreational literature represented by the Butterfly fiction, while the Creation Society, embracing romanticism, used the slogan "art for art" to defy the age-old principle of "writing in order to convey the correct moral value" (*wenyi zaidao*, 文以載道).[62] As Lydia Liu points out, it was the common goal of building a Chinese national literature as a part of world literature to shoulder "the enormous burden of explaining and justifying China's membership in the modern international community" that brought this group together.[63] Because

realism later developed into a dominant form in modern Chinese literary—especially fiction—writing and claimed to be the true descendent of May Fourth tradition, not only Butterfly literature was marginalized in the modern Chinese literary criticism and historiography, other literary schools were ignored as well.[64]

In his pioneering works on modern Chinese writers, Leo Lee clearly identifies a surge of romantic energy in earlier May Fourth literary works, especially those by the Creation Society writers such as Guo Moruo (郭沫若) and Yu Dafu (郁達夫).[65] As he explains, "much of this youthful energy" was "directed towards to the destruction of tradition,"[66] and central to this kind of romanticism was the celebration of individual personhood symbolized by an ardent pursuit of love:

> For almost a decade, the keynote of this youthful emotional outburst was summarized in the amorphous word, love. For the May Fourth youths "riding on the tempestuous storm of romanticism," love had become the central focus of their lives. The writers themselves were leaders of this trend. It was considered *de rigueur* to produce some confessional love pieces and to evolve a "modern" (or *me-teng*, in its chic Chinese transliteration) lifestyle based on love.[67]

Interestingly, my research found that love in the May Fourth spirit was not limited to love between men and women; it also included love between men.[68] Lee's description also could be applied to the love between men in the literary works of writers such as Yu Dafu and his followers:

> Love had become an overall symbol of new morality, an easy substitute for the traditional ethos of propriety which was now equated with conformist restraint. In the general wave of emancipation, love was identified with freedom, in the sense that by loving and by releasing one's passions and energies the individual could become truly a full and free man—or women. To love was also considered an act of defiance and sincerity, of renouncing all the artificial restraints of hypocritical society so as to find one's true self and expose it to one's beloved.[69]

This kind of positive representation of love between men in May Fourth literature signals a new kind of interpretation of male same-sex relations in modern China. A point is further developed in Chapter Three.

This part of romantic writing is also often associated with the influence of fin-de-siècle decadent thought. In China, until very recently the association of decadence with May Fourth literature has remained a taboo in modern literary historiography.[70] In the U.S. in his path-breaking *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction 1917–1957* (1961), C. T. Hsia points out decadent features of Yu Dafu's early short stories, and attributes them to the influence of both "the Japanese

and European decadent writers" and "those Chinese poets and essayists who have habitually bewailed their loneliness and poverty as outcasts from philistine officialdom."[71] But Hsia contends that the decadence of Yu's characters "is only superficial, far from incompatible with a scrupulous moral sensitivity."[72] As he further writes, "If the decadence of Baudelaire is explicable only in terms of a Christian Faith, then, likewise, the guilt and remorse of Yü Ta-fu [Yu Dafu] is to be understood in the framework of a Confucian ethic, which had conditioned his upbringing."[73] In other words, Yu lacked a sense of abandon supposedly at the end of the world understood in Christian belief as evident in some Western writers and was still overwhelmed by the burden of family and nation.

Moreover, Hsia points out the importance of sex in Yu's work and its relationship with individual personhood and the nation. "To its contemporary student readers," Yu's story of *Sinking* (*chenlun*, 沉淪) "represents the discovery of sex as a serious concern. Through sex the hero has come to realize his personal failure as well as the national shame; impelled by the call to freedom and yet thwarted at every turn by traditional forces, the students shared more or less the same kind of frustration."[74] Hsia further comments, "it is regrettable that none of his followers, while parading their eroticism and decadence, possessed his kind of honesty and seriousness."[75]

Studies of fin-de-siècle decadence in Chinese literature are further developed by scholars such as Leo Lee, Lung-kee Sun, David Wang, and Shu-mei Shih. Lee traces a Chinese decadent mood to *The Dream of Red Chamber*, and argues that this kind of mood could be found in writings of Lu Xun, Yu Dafu, and Shanghai modernist writers. But he singles out Eileen Chang as the best Chinese decadent writer in that she is very suspicious about the belief that history is necessarily on a course of progress.[76] Arguing that "May Fourth 'Darwinism' implied both the notion of 'progress' and that of 'degeneration,'"[77] Sun emphasizes that the fin-de-siècle mood in fact permeated the intellectual thought of May Fourth Era.[78] Contending that modern Chinese literature had an indigenous origin and that modernity was accompanied simultaneously by decadence, Wang draws attention to decadent features of late Qing literature that exerted profound influence on the later modern writers such Lu Xun, Yu Dafu and Lao She (老舍).[79] In her study of modernism in China, Shih points out that for the May Fourth generation writers such as Yu Dafu, "the phenomenon of premature death among British decedent writers" was "a symbol of their thorough rebellion against civilization built upon nations of conventional morality." Their depiction of sexual desire often "operates as a metaphor for the national and the social" and for "the tension between cosmopolitanism and nationalism."[80]

Building on this scholarship, I argue that representations of love and sex between men in works of Yu Dafu and his followers, be it characterized as romantic energy or a decadent feature, are still a reflection of the May Fourth spirit of anti-traditionalism and these young intellectuals' concern about the survival of Chinese as a nation.

Male same-sex relations were, however, not always represented positively as love against traditional moral constraints in modern Chinese literature. With the end of the first United Front in 1927 and the beginning of the Nationalist white terror, some writers turned to "revolutionary literature" and did not hesitate to use it as political propaganda to promote and represent proletarian revolution.[81] Others searched for an alternative route to develop May Fourth literature. Prominent among the latter were Ba Jin (巴金) and Lao She. Among their achievements, Ba Jin was known for his fierce youthful energy and his continuing use of the theme of love to fight against conventional Confucian morals, and Lao She's use of vernacular language reached a high level that the first generation of May Fourth writers could only dream of.[82] The commonality between the two writers was their compassion toward people at the bottom of that social hierarchy. Unsurprisingly, in the 1930s, each of them wrote a short story about *dan* actors (male actors playing female roles) in traditional Chinese operas. Different from previous literary images of *dan* actors as objects of homoerotic desire or righteous companions of their scholar friends in male same-sex relations, Ba Jin and Lao She presented *dan* actors as victims of sexual and economic exploitation in the theater system.

The portrayal of *dan* actors was further developed in Qin Shou'ou's (秦瘦鷗) *Qiu Haitan* (Begonia, 1941), a popular novel, and Wu Zuguang's (吳祖光) *Fenxueye guiren* (The man who returned on a snowy night, 1943), a Western style play. In these two works, the typical Butterfly story of warlord-actor-concubine triangle was transformed into a serious appeal for social change.[83] The *dan* actor appears as a respectable human being with an independent mind, who despises his patron's homosexual intention and pursues an equalitarian heterosexual love of his own. This series of modern literary works, along with old records of literati, late Qing and Butterfly school fiction, and tabloid writings on *dan* actors are the materials analyzed in Chapter Five.

In terms of readership, until the 1920s, Tabloid and Butterfly fiction certainly enjoyed a wider audience than May Fourth literature.[84] But in the 1930s, according to Lydia Liu, "the distinction between elite literature and popular fiction is difficult to maintain," notably "because fiction writers confounded the distinction by bringing out bestsellers." Bai Jin's novel *Jia* (Family, 1931-2), "embodied both the legacy of May Fourth literature and the commercial success of Butterfly fiction."[85] Because of the Japanese invasion in the late 1930s, even

some famous popular writers took a clear political stand for "national unity and resistance." As Perry Link points out, "This move drew them closer to the May Fourth writers, who all along had been saying that literature should serve the modern nation."[86] Thus the 1940s saw a convergence of popular and elite literature. *Begonia* and *The Man Who Returned on a Snowy Night* enjoyed huge commercial success in wartime Shanghai and Chongqing respectively.

The sources of this book also include Chinese translations and appropriations of Western sexological writings, mainly by Hu Qiuyuan (胡秋原) and Pan Guangdan (潘光旦). In modern Chinese literary history, Hu is known briefly as one of the "Third Category Men" because of his non-partisan political stand and his defense of independence and integrity of literary production, free from party dominations, in a debate with some major theorists of the League of Left-Wing Writers in the early 1930s.[87] Less known is his work of compiling and translating the essays by the British advocate of homosexual love Edward Carpenter, and Hu's debate with an obscure writer by the name of Yang Youtian (楊憂天), the content of which was published in a book in 1930.[88] Pan had a close connection with the *Crescent Moon* group,[89] but is best known as the foremost eugenicist of modern China. Tze-lan Sang has studied Hu Qiuyuan and Pan Guangdan's work in the context of female same-sex desire in modern China. In Chapter Three, I situate these sexological writings in relation to male same-sex relations, comparing them with literary and tabloid representations of sex and love between men.

Initially, I envisioned a study on male same-sex relations over the course of the whole twentieth century. Because the issue largely disappeared from the public arena in socialist China, few written sources on the second half of the twentieth century could be found. Research on this period would involve a very different methodology from that on the Republican period, perhaps having to rely heavily on interviews instead of written sources. Moreover, because of the vastly changed social and political context of socialist China, it deserves a separate investigation, which is my next project. Thus, I limited the time scope of this study to the first half of the twentieth century, from 1900 to 1950. I intentionally avoid framing this study in accordance with major political events such as the 1911 Revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. While political upheavals contribute to changing understandings of gender and sexuality, the change was much more gradual and did not clearly correspond to the particular years in which political events occurred.

Over the past decade, queer scholars have constantly reworked the concept of queerness to hone it as a useful tool for social and historical analysis. Initially, Michael Warner suggested that queerness constituted a challenge to the social order.[90] Recently, José Muñoz has proposed an understanding of queerness as a

utopia that has "yet to come" that enables adherents to fight against contemporary normative forces.[91] Carla Freccero formulates queerness as *différance* whose traces were irrepressible in language.[92] This book also adopts a queer approach to the historical study of China, in that it uses non-official archival sources and resists the naturalized understanding of heterosexual relations as the only way of human life. Like these other queer views and approaches, each of which is partially shaped by disciplinary locations and subjects of investigation, this study also closely examines gendered and sexual significations embedded within language, pointing out the processes by which heterosexual norms were produced and searching for historical moments when a queer utopia was imagined to challenge the conventional gender and sexual order.

The Structure of the Book

This book is composed of five chapters. The first chapter examines the language available to discuss male same-sex relations in early twentieth century China and traces its historical genealogy, especially the idea of male favorites (*nanchong*, 男寵), obsession (*pi*, 癖), and freak (*renyao*, 人妖). I argue that indigenous Chinese understandings of men who had sex with men during this period shared with the modern Western definition of homosexuality a comparable internal contradiction in the conceptualization of sexuality and gender as revealed by Eve Sedgwick. As semi-colonial China attempted to pursue modernity and achieve independent nationhood, Chinese intellectuals introduced the Western idea of homosexuality into China. The interaction between indigenous Chinese thought and modern Western knowledge produced new meanings of male same-sex relations in China, one of which was articulated by politically nationalistic but culturally conservative tabloid writers, who accused men who had sex with other men of being unmanly and blamed them, like women of the time, for the weakness of the nation.

The second chapter analyzes translated sexological works and their social impact on the understanding of male same-sex relations in China during the first half of the twentieth century. The discussion begins with a 1930 debate between two Chinese translators Yang Youtian and Hu Qiuyan, which summarized the major ideas drawn from Western sexology that circulated in China from the 1910s to 1930, including works exemplified by Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Edward Carpenter. It proceeds to tabloid writings that employed the translated term *tongxing lian'ai* (同性戀愛, homosexuality) in the 1930s, and a 1946 essay by the eugenicist Pan Guangdan, in which he applied Havelock Ellis's thought to male same-sex relations in Chinese classical documents. Based on these readings, the chapter argues that Chinese translators chose Western sexological writings as their political persuasions dictated. The pathologized

understanding of homosexuality was introduced in order to condemn men who had sex with other men for corrupting moral values; whereas the homophile idea that glorified homosexual love was elaborated to imagin a utopian society. Tabloid writing suggested that the term homosexuality caused some writers to pay attention to intimate relations between male peers, but the meaning of such relationships was far from settled according to the Western sexological definition of homosexuality. Pan's work suggested that the effort of Chinese intellectuals to modernize indigenous sexual knowledge was persistently carried out throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

The third chapter examines the depiction of intimate relations between men in literary works by Yu Dafu, Guo Moruo, Huang Shenzhi, Ye Dingluo, and Ye Lingfeng from the early 1920s to the early 1930s. It argues that these writings signaled a historical moment in China when male same-sex love was positively portrayed as a beautiful human experience. Similar to Hu Qiuyan's position in his translation of Edward Carpenter's work, these writers deemed male same-sex love as a foundation of a utopian human society. They differentiated this kind of same-sex love from the old hierarchical model of male same-sex relations and relegated the latter to China's past, considering the former as meaningful as freedom of heterosexual love in the protest against conventional social morality.

The fourth chapter focuses on conservative views of sex between men mainly by examining writings of two major urban tabloid newspapers, *Crystal* in Shanghai and *Heavenly Wind* in Tianjin. Tabloid writers represent a group of people whose point of view has rarely been given attention in the work of historians of modern China. They were culturally conservative, in favor of maintaining the old Confucian gender order, but politically nationalistic, concerned about the survival of China. This chapter argues that, during the first half of the twentieth century, sex between men was severely stigmatized in a new way by these tabloid writers. While recognizing that some translators of Western sexology contributed to this stigmatization, I argue that they were not the sole culprits in bringing about this effect. The national crisis also produced social anxieties among cultural conservatives such as these tabloid writers, who played a more significant role than some sexology translators in the process of stigmatization.

In Peking Opera, male actors who played female roles served as a major popular image for the interpretation of male same-sex relations during the first half of the twentieth century in China. Based on analysis of writings on Peking Opera in various genres including historical writings and commentaries, tabloid news reports, government edicts, and literary works, the final chapter argues that the first half of the twentieth century saw a changing meaning of

the actor-patron relationship in the Peking opera field. In the past, it had been considered evidence of refined taste for literati to patronize female-role actors and form intimate relationships with them. With the deepening national crisis, establishing a masculine image of Chinese men in the international arena became a public concern. The actor-patron same-sex relationship was reconfigured by conservative literati and progressive intellectuals alike as a source of shame for the nation and was gradually erased from both tabloid and literary writings.

Together, these five chapters recover a part of modern Chinese history that many think never existed. By resisting an understanding of gender and sexuality as naturally given, and by investigating the processes by which their meanings were produced, this book demonstrates the important work that masculinities and male same-sex relationships did in the historical formation of nationhood, modernity and semi-colonialism in China.

Notes

1. For example, Katz 1976; Weeks 1977; Foucault 1978; Boswell 1980; D' Emilio 1983; Halperin 1989; Chauncey 1994; Howard 1999; Healey 2001; Boag 2003; Johnson 2004; Houlbrook 2005.
2. Leupp 1995; Pflugfelder 1999; McLelland, 2000, 2005; Reichert, 2005.
3. Wu and Steveson 2006; Zhou 2006.
4. An 1995; Fang 1955; Li 1992, 1998; Chen 2003.
5. Rofel 1999, 2007.
6. Hanan 1980.
7. McMahon 1988.
8. Volpp 1994.
9. Xiaomingxiong 1984; Ng 1987, 1989; Hirsch 1990.
10. Xiaomingxiong is not the first to write on this topic in Chinese. Pan Guangdan wrote what became a classical essay, "*Zhongguo wenxinzhong tongxinglian juli* " ("Examples of homosexuality in the Chinese Documents") in 1946, which I study in the Chapter Two. In addition to Pan's writing, among the sources that Xiaomingxiong uses is *Zhongguo tongxinglian mishi* (*The secret history of homosexuality in China*), authored by Weixinshiguan Zhaizu and published in Hong Kong in 1964.
11. Vitiello 1992.
12. Brook 1998: p. 232.
13. Volpp 2001: p. 81.
14. Sommer 2000.
15. Szonyi 1998:
16. Dikotter 1995: pp. 137–45.
17. Sang 2003: pp. 99–126.
18. Liu 1997: pp. 49–50.
19. Quoted in Xiao 2000: p. 28–29. My translation.
20. Xiao 2000: p. 29.
21. Liu 1995: p. 48.
22. Liu 1995: p. 47.
23. Liu 1995: p. 394, note 5.
24. Liu 1995: p. 45–76.
25. In *Dangerous Pleasures*, Hershatter found that male prostitution was discussed in tabloids and city guidebooks. See Hershatter 1997: p. 63.
26. In his studies of Shanghai tabloids, Hong Yu divides the life of Shanghai tabloid newspapers into four periods: the creation period 1897–1918, the flourishing period 1919–1930, the

transformation period, 1930–1937, and the declining period, 1937–1952. Hong 2007: pp. 53–74.

27. Other topics include historical stories and satires aimed at government officials as well as people on the street. Li 2006: pp. 342–343.
28. See Li 2006: pp. 343–344.
29. In her study of Shanghai tabloids, Li Nan calls the tabloid language "loose classical" (*songdong de wenyan*, 鬆動的文言). Li 2006: pp. 275–276.
30. Li 2006: pp. 157–159.
31. Hong 2007: pp. 143–157. Also see Li 2006: pp. 151–177.
32. Quoted in Li 2006: p. 340. My translation.
33. Homoeroticism appeared in seventeenth-century notation books, as Sophie Volpp's study shows. Volpp reads "notation books as rhetorically motivated rather than documentary." Volpp 2001: p. 80
34. Li 2006: p. 339.
35. Li 2006: p. 340–341. For characteristics of recreational articles, see Li 2006: p. 342. Li's argument is evidently influenced by the opinions of May Fourth writers such as Mao Dun, as her reference suggests. The relationship between May Fourth and tabloid writers is discussed below.
36. Li 2006: p. 342.
37. Lee 2000: p. 4. I am indebted to Hong Yu's work for calling my attention to Lee's Chinese essay "'Piping kongjian' de kaichuang: cong *Shenbao* 'ziyoutan' tanqi" ("Creating 'Critical Space:' Beginning with *Shanghai Journal*'s 'Freedom forum,'" "批評空間" 的開創—從 «申報» "自由談" 談起). Many early tabloids had names whose meaning is related to recreation and entertainment, for example, *Xiaobao* (笑報, Laughter news) (1897), *Xiaoxianbao* (消閒報, Pastime news) (1897), *Qubao* (趣報, Amusement news) (1898), and *Xiaolinbao* (笑林報, Laughter forest news) (1901). For a list of Shanghai tabloids, see Hong 2007: pp. 388–439; Li 2006: pp. 383–416.
38. In fact, some tabloids were originally supplements of standard large-format newspapers, *Jingbao* (*Crystal*) being a good example. See Chapter Four.
39. For a study of *Shenbao*, see Link 1981: 95–118.
40. Lee suggests that it might mean "being in one boat" (*tongzhou gongji*, 同舟共濟). Lee 2000: p. 6.
41. The original article written in classical Chinese is punctuated by Lee and quoted in Lee 2000: pp. 5–6.
42. Lee 2000: pp. 7–14.
43. Lee 2000: p. 13.
44. For how the censorship worked in the case of compiling "Compendium of Modern Chinese Literature," see Liu 1995: pp. 214–238.
45. Lee 2000: pp. 14–20.
46. Hong 2007: p. 353–354.
47. *Fu'ermosi* 1929, March 8, quoted in Hong 2007: p. 354.
48. Hong 2007: p. 321.
49. "Shanghai style" is understood to mean commercial and shallow, among other things.
50. Both are quoted in Hong 2007: p. 321.
51. "Celebrities" included "film stars, theatre owners, diviners, fake Daoists (charlatans), brothel madams, prostitutes, famous opera actors, deserted women, female 'heroes' who killed an adulterer or an adulteress, protagonists of love affairs between master and servant, and shoe makers, among others." Li makes this list based on a series of reports in *Tiebao* (鐵報, Iron news). Li 2006: p. 179.

52. See Li 2006: p. 178. The passage Li quotes from Chang's essay is: "Mankind is naturally inclined to mind other people's business. Why shouldn't we take the occasional stealthy glance at one another's private lives, if the person being looked at suffers no real damage and the one who looks is afforded a moment of pleasure?" (Andrew Jones's translation) Chang 2005: p. 28.
53. Huang 2005: p. xi. According to Huang, Chang explains the meaning of *liuyan* in her *Honglou Mengyan* (紅樓夢魘, Nightmare of the Red Chamber).
54. Tabloids published in Shanghai numbered over one thousand from 1897 to 1952, but most of them did not last very long. Hong 2007: p. 2. *Crystal*, the most successful one, had a circulation of 30,000 in Shanghai alone in 1930. Hong 2007: p. 323. But the size of the readership could not be based on the volume of circulation alone. The practice of newspaper leasing could make a small newspaper bankrupt. See Hong 2007: pp. 108–109.
55. For a recent example of creative use of gossip as historical sources to write a queer history, and a major intervention in the field of art history, see Butt 2005.
56. Liu 1995: p. 207.
57. For how wartime Shanghai as a historical context influenced Chang's understanding of human life in her writing, see Huang 2005.
58. In China, recently, Li Nan and Hong Yu respectively devoted their entire work to Shanghai tabloid studies.
59. As Leo Lee explains, "The term 'Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School (*Yuan-yang hu-tieh p'ai*) has been traced to one of the bestsellers of this type, Hsu Chen-ya's *Yü-li hun* (Jade pear spirit), first published in 1912—a sentimental novel padded with poems comparing lovers to pairs of butterflies and mandarin ducks. The label, initially pejorative, was applied in the era from 1910 to about 1930 to an increasing crop of some 2,215 novels, 113 magazines and 49 newspapers. The label [Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School] is also interchangeable with the title of the best-known magazine, *Li-pai-liu* (Saturday), which explicitly declared its purpose to "help pass the time." Lee 1983: pp. 461–462.
60. Liu 1995: p. 233.
61. Liu further complicates the debates between May Fourth writers and the so-called "conservatives" by bringing in the *Critical Review* (*xueheng* 學衡) group into the picture. Her argument is that "The stake in these battles consisted ultimately in who owned the right to speak for China and the West." Liu 1995: pp. 233–234. For a comprehensive discussion on relationship between nation building and literary canon making in modern China, see Liu 1995: pp. 183–256.
62. Lee observes, "But on closer examination, this theoretical antagonism is more apparent than real. Two groups represent, in fact, two related facets of a prevailing ethos which characterized most new writers of the May Fourth period. It is an ethos anchored in a humanist matrix of self and society but often expressed in strong emotionalism." Lee 1983: pp. 474–475. Wen Rumin also points out that the Literary Society writers also opposed "writing in order to convey the correct moral value" (*wenyi zaidao*). Wen 2007: p. 21.
63. Liu 1995: pp. 188–189.
64. For the development of realism in modern Chinese literary theory, See Wen 2007.
65. See Lee 1973, and Lee 1983.
66. Lee 1983: p. 476.
67. Lee 1983: p. 477.
68. Of course, it also included love between women. Sang 2003: pp. 127–160.
69. Lee 1983: p. 477.

70. As Shih points out, "'Aestheticist decadence'(*weimei tuifei*) had been a 'public secret' in China, as Xie Zhixi puts it, until his book length study was published in 1997." Shih 2001: p. 112. Another book-length study on aesthetic decadence published recently in China is Xiao Tongqing's *Shijimo sichao yu zhongguo xiandan wenxue* (Fin-de-siècle thought and modern Chinese literature) in 2000.
71. Hsia 1961: p. 103. For comments on C. T. Hsia's revisionist approach and anti-communist ideological stand, see Liu 1995: p. 231.
72. Hsia 1961: p. 106.
73. Hsia 1961: p. 109.
74. Hsia 1961: p. 105.
75. Hsia 1961: p. 109.
76. Lee 2000: pp. 141–173.
77. Sun 1996: p. 194.
78. Sun 1996: p. 194–209.
79. Wang 1997: pp. 1–52. Wang points out the connection between the Qing courtesan novel Wei Zi'an's *Traces of the Flower and the Moon* and Yu Dafu's work, and between the late Qing grotesques exposés and Lao She's writing. Wang 1997: pp. 80–1, and p. 220.
80. Shih 2001: p. 111.
81. See Wen 2007: pp. 78–146; and Xie 2003: pp. 159–179.
82. For comments and criticism on Bao Jin and Lao She's work at the time of their publishing, see Xie 2003: pp. 308–324.
83. For further analysis of *Begonia* and a comparison between *Begonia* and *The Man Returned in Snowy Night*, see She 2004: pp. 186–193.
84. Chen Pingyuan argues that the number in circulation should not be the sole criteria to determine the influence of different literary productions. Popular literature was for pure consumption; readers bought them simply to read. But May Fourth literature was bought not only to be read, but also commented on and criticized, and taught in university classrooms, and became sources to be recreated. That's why May Fourth literature has greater influence than popular literature. Chen 2004: p. 119.
85. Liu 1995: p. 216.
86. Quoted in Liu 1995: p. 217.
87. For a brief summary of the debate, see Lee 1986: pp. 433–437. Also see Lu Xun 2006: vol. 3, pp. 247–253, especially the editors' footnotes.
88. In Zhang Shuhan's wonderfully written biography of Hu Qiuyan, first published in Taiwan in 1988 and later in PRC in 2007, the author does not mention Hu's work on Carpenter. See Zhang 2007.
89. For Pan's association with the *Crescent Moon* group, see Wang 2007: pp. 81–96. For the *Crescent Moon* group, see Lee 1986: pp. 430–433.
90. Warner 1993: pp. vii–xxxi.
91. Muñoz 2006.
92. Freccero 2006: pp. 18–19.
93. Zeitlin 1993: pp. 107–116.
94. Hinsch 1990: p. 4.
95. Human prodigy is Zeitlin's translation, see Zeitlin 1993: p. 98. "Fairy" is my own translation for the term in the context of the first half of the twentieth century.
96. For the provenance of this expression, see Vitiello 2000b: pp. 236–239.
97. Sedgwick 1990: p. 86.
98. Sedgwich 1900: p. 87.
99. Sedgwick 1990: p. 1.

100. Sedgwick 1990: pp. 1–2.
101. Sedgwick 1990: p. 47.
102. For a brief study of *Han Fei Zi*, see Watson-Watson 1962: pp. 175–178.
103. Watson's translation, see Watson-Watson 2003: p. 78. I have changed "looks" in the original into "sensual beauty" for the translation of "se," and added the Chinese.
104. Watson 1962: p. 176.
105. Watson 1962: pp. 176–177.
106. For a study and English translation of the *Intrigues*, see Crump 1964, 1996 (1970); 1998. Also see Watson 1962: pp. 74–91. For a short discussion of the relationship between the *Records of the Historian* and the *Intrigues* concerning the origins of two works, see W. Li 1994: p. 372, note 51.
107. For the original Chinese text of *Zhanguo ce*, see Liu Xiang ed. 1985 (Han): pp. 917–918. The English translation is my own with some sentences adopted from Hinsch, whose translation is based on an abridged later version of the story. See Hinsch 1990: p. 32. Also see Crump's translation in Crump 1996: pp. 417–418.
108. Pan 1997 (1942): p. 721.
109. Watson 1962: p. 75.
110. Watson 1962: p. 75.
111. Another well-known male favorite story appearing in *Intrigue* is about the relationship between Lord Anling and the King of Chu. Both stories had a happy ending, not showing clear negative judgment about this kind of relationship. For an English translation of the Lord Anling story, see Crump 1996: pp. 229–230.
112. For a basic introduction of *Shi ji* and other historical and philosophical writings of pre-Han and Han times, see Watson 1962; for a recent study of *shi ji*, see W. Li 1994: pp. 345–405.
113. Sima Qian 1959: p. 3191. This is Watson's translation, but I have changed "looks" into "sensual beauty" for the translation of *se*. See Watson (trans.) 1961: p. 462.
114. See Qian Zhongshu 1979: p. 377. Watson's translation, see Watson (trans.) 1961: p. 467. The original Chinese can be found in Sima Qian 1959: p. 3196.
115. Li 1994: p. 367.
116. Li 1994: p. 381.
117. Li 1994: p. 383.
118. For a brief introduction of *Han shu*, see Watson: pp. 103–108.
119. Vitiello's translation from the *Han shu* ch. 93, Vitiello 1992: p. 344. For the original Chinese text, see Ban Gu 1974 (Han), pp. 3721–3742.
120. For a historical narrative based on the section about Dong Xian in "Biographies of Male Favorites" of *Han shu*, see Dubs (1955), pp. 8–10; for a history of the Reign of Emperor Ai, see Loewe 1974: pp. 252–285.
121. Watson 1962: p. 106.
122. See *Han shu* Ch. 93. Ban Gu 1974 (Han): pp. 3739–3740.
123. The complete text is: "Confucius said: 'He stands to benefit who makes friends with three kinds of people. Equally, he stands to lose who makes friends with three other kinds of people. To make friends with the straight, trustworthy in word and the well-informed is to benefit. To make friends with the ingratiating in action, the pleasant in appearance and plausible in speech is to lose.'" "The plausible in speech" are the friends that Confucius described as "*bian ning*" (便佞). "See the Analects (16.4), D. C. Lau trans. (1979): p. 139.
124. Ban Gu 1974 (Han): p. 3741.
125. See the Analects: 16.4, Lau trans. (1979): p. 139. For Confucius, *ning* is not always a good quality of men. Also, see Analects: 5.5, 6.16, and 11.25. Lau trans. (1979): pp. 76, 83, and 110.

126. According to Sima Qian, male favorites did not have any talents. In more than one place, he expressed this idea, such as "not possessing talents" (非有才能) and "having no talent" (無技能). See Sima Qian 1959 (Han): pp. 3191–3192.
127. Sima Qian 1959 (Han): p. 3191; Ban Gu 1974 (Han): p. 3733.
128. For a discussion of the terms for male same-sex relations in Ming and Qing period, see Vitiello 1992: pp. 347–350.
129. Volpp's translation, Volpp 2001: p. 84.
130. Vitiello's translation, Vitiello 1992: p. 343.
131. I use Volpp's translation of notation books for *biji* See Volpp 2001: p. 80.
132. Quoted in Zhang 2001: p. 104, note 1; my translation.
133. The full name is *Qinding siku quanshu zhongmu tiyao*, Wilkonson's translation, Wilkonson 2000: p. 276, note 18.
134. Quoted in Zhang 2001: p. 104, note 1.
135. For example, the story in Feng Menglong's *Qingshi* (情史, History of feelings) and Wuxia Ameng's *Duanxiu pian* (斷袖篇, The chapter of cut sleeve). See Feng 1998 (Ming): p. 576, and the English translation of Wuxia Ameng, Hinsch 1990: p. 46.
136. First explanation of pi (癖) in *Gujin Hanyu Cidian* (古今漢語詞典, Classical and Modern Chinese Dictionary) is a name of a type of illness in Chinese medicine: *jikuai* (積塊, lumps accumulated on both side of the ribs). The second explanation is *shihao* (嗜好, hobby, or weakness for something, addition). I understand the second meaning deprives from the first one. In his study of late Ming homoerotic fiction *Longyang yishi* (龍陽逸史, The Forgotten Story of Longyang), Giovanni Vitiello also points out: "The homosexual inclination is sometimes described as a patholgocial weakness (*bing*, 病), a congential one, or more literally, residing in someone since the womb (*taili bing*, 胎俚病)." Vitiello 2000b: p. 230. Meanwhile, Vitiello argues, the congential nature also renders male same-sex desire natural. Vitiello 2000b: p. 232.
137. Zeitlin 1993: p. 63.
138. Zeitlin 1993: p. 65.
139. Zeitlin 1993: p. 66.
140. Zeitlin 1993: p. 69. The Chinese words are 情,狂,癡, and癲.
141. Zeitlin 1993: p. 71.
142. See Vitiello 1992: pp. 341–372.
143. See Volpp 2001: pp. 77–117.
144. Volpp 2001: p. 81.
145. Zeitlin 1993: p. 61.
146. Zeitlin 1993: p. 63.
147. Zeitlin 1993: p. 63.
148. Vitiello also makes this point. Vitiello 2000b: p. 229. As shown above, the concept of *pi* (obsession) is closely related to the collecting of things or connoisseurship. But Vitiello points out, *Longyang yishi* (The Forgotten Story of Longyang) appears "to highlight the area in which the two come into contradiction. Since, if in a way a connoisseurship always involves a degree of obsession, at the same time, by implying sharp evaluative criteria, it is opposed to obsession, which is characterized by unclear vision." For male prostitutes, the connoisseur has a discrimining gaze, while the obsessed has a distorted one. Vitiello 2000b: p. 229.
149. Yu 1998: p. 24.
150. For a brief introduction of the writer, see the publisher's note in Yu 1998 (1933 & 1935): p. 1.

151. For another example in which the writer understood *tongxinglian'ai* as *jijian*, see an article "Rabbits and Law" (兔兒爺與法律) *Jingbao* 1929: March 30.
152. For another example in which the writer replaced *mojing* with *tongxinglian'ai*, see Wang Zhongxian 1999 (1935): p. 149.
153. Yu 1998 (1933 & 1935): p. 25.
154. Yu 1998 (1933 & 1935): p. 25.
155. Pflufelder (1999): p. 248.
156. For a study of female same-sex relations in China, see Sang 2003.
157. Zeitlin 1993: p. 104.
158. Gender change could be either pure sartorial disguises or could include sexual organ transformations as described in the classical writings. See Zeitlin 1993: pp. 98–131.
159. Zeitlin 1993: p. 108.
160. Quoted in Zeitlin 1993: pp. 107–108.
161. Zeitlin 1993: p. 108.
162. Zeitlin 1993: p. 98–106.
163. Furth 1993 (1988): p. 487.
164. See Sophie Volpp's study of Li Yu's "A Male Mencius's Mother." Volpp 1995.
165. *Jingbao* 1925: February 21.
166. *Jingbao* 1936: August 16.
167. *Jingbao* 1938: March 9.
168. *Tianfengbao* 1932: January 20; *Jingbao* 1937: February 27.
169. *Jingbao* 1936: July 24.
170. *Jingbao* 1925: February 21. For a detailed discussion on *Jingbao* (*Crystal*), see chapter 4.
171. *Jingbao* 1925: February 21.
172. *Jingbao* 1936: August 16.
173. *Jingbao* 1936: August 16.
174. See Spence 1990: pp. 356–359; Wakeman 1995: pp. 229–243; Dikotter 1995: p. 175.
175. *Jingbao* 1938: March 9.
176. *Jingbao* 1938: March 9.
177. This is only time the writer used a personal pronoun in the story. *Yi* could refer to both male and female in Shanghai dialect. But around the May Fourth period, according the *Modern Chinese Dictionary* (現代漢語詞典), *yi* referred to female.
178. *Jingbao* 1938: March 9.
179. "Cultivated ladies" is Susan Mann's translation of *guixiu*. See Mann 1997: p. 93.
180. According to *Classical and Modern Chinese Dictionary* (*gujin hanyu zidian*), *youwu* could refer to a beautiful woman or a rare object. *You* itself could mean "outstanding." I translate *youwu* into "unique creature" to make the connection with the meaning of *yao*, as the Chinese idiom "*wuyouzheyao*" suggested, which means when something is too outstanding, it became a freak.
181. *Tianfengbao* 1932: January 20.
182. *Jingbao* 1937: February 27.
183. See Chapter Five.
184. It is usually written as *zhaoyaoguoshi* (招搖過市), which is my translation in the text. But the writer used the *yaorao guoshi* (妖嬈過市), for the effect of the word *yao*. In fact, *Yaorao* (妖嬈) means "enchanting" in written Chinese.
185. *Jingbao* 1936: July 24.
186. *Jingbao* 1936: July 24.
187. This kind of anxiety was also displaced on the Chinese women at that time. For example, see Chow 1991; Hershatter 1997; Barlow 2004.

188. I am not going to dwell on the question whether acts became identities with the arrival of modern sexology. As David M. Halperin points out, "It is a matter of considerable irony that Foucault's influential distinction between the discursive construction of the sodomite and the discursive construction of the homosexual, which had originally been intended to open up a domain of historical inquiry, has now become a major obstacle blocking further research into the rudiments of sexual identity-formation in pre-modern and early modern European societies." Foucault's approach to history of sexuality "was too searching, too experimental, and too open-ended to tolerate converting a heuristic analytical distinction into an ill founded historical dogma." Halperin 2002: p. 44. I believe that we would risk committing the same mistake if we assumed the rigid act/identity binary in studying the history of sexuality in non-Western contexts. The assumption would create a false impression that the non-West needed the arrival of a Western concept to conceptualize sexual identities. In the end, what Foucault teaches us, again as Halperin argues, is to approach sexuality "from the perspective of the history of discourses, as an element in a larger political-discursive technology: he treats it accordingly not as a positive thing but as an instrumental effect, not as a physical or psychological reality but as a social and political device; he is not trying to describe what sexuality is but to specify what it does and how it works in discursive and institutional practice." I have adopted this approach in the present study. Halperin 2002: pp. 44–45. For a comprehensive definition of colonial modernity, see Balow 2004: pp. 87–89.
189. See Sang 2003: pp. 99–126.
190. Here I differ from Sang, who argues that the Chinese translation of "homosexuality" as *tongxing lian'ai* meant "romantic love between people of the same sex." See Sang 2003: p. 104. I will further discuss the Chinese translation of "homosexuality" later in this chapter.
191. I use "homosexuality" to translate Yang's use of *tongxing'ai* because he understood the concept in sexological terms, and use "same-sex love" to translate Hu's use of *tongxing'ai*, because his use of term came from Carpenter's idea of "intermediate sex," "urning," and "homogenic love," and rarely referred to the term "homosexuality." For a biography of Hu Qiuyuan, see Zhang, 2007.
192. The original Western language title of this journal was *La Nova Virineco*.
193. In "The Emerging Lesbian," Sang did not discuss Yang's writing. Among the essays analyzed by Sang is "*Tongxing ai yu jiaoyu*" (同性愛與教育, Same-sex love and education) published in a 1923 issue of *Jiaoyu zazhi* (教育雜誌, Chinese education review). This is an annotated translation of the British socialist writer Edward Carpenter's "Affection in Education" chapter in *The Intermediate Sex* by Shen Zhenmin (沈澤民). See Sang 2003: pp. 109–111. Another essay Sang discusses is "*Tongxing lian'ai lun*" (同性戀愛論, On same-sex romantic love), which appeared in a 1929 *Xin nüxing* issue of (*New Women*), a Chinese rendition of Carpenter's "The Homogenic Attachment" chapter of the same book by a writer whose name was Qiu Yuan (秋原). See Sang 2003: pp. 118–120. Sang should be right to speculate that Qiu Yuan might be Hu Qiuyuan. Sang 2003: p. 118. The content of the two translated essays appeared as part of Hu's works in *A Collection of Discussions on the Issue of Homosexuality*. Clearly, Hu included Shen's earlier work in this book. Shen Zhemin was most likely the writer Mao Dun's younger brother of the same name, a May Fourth intellectual in his own right. Appareantly, the 1923 piece by Shen could not be written by Hu, who was born in 1910 and was 13 thirteen years old in 1923. I thank Sang for pointing this out to me.
194. Yang 1930: p. 47.

195. According to Hu, he wrote the book in Shanghai in February 1929. (It is possible that he included Shen Zhemin's earlier work in the book.) The manuscript was partially destroyed in a fire after he handed it in to the publisher. By this time, Hu had already begun studying in Japan. So he rewrote the manuscript in Japan in September 1929. See Hu 1930: p. 222.
196. Yang 1930: p. 2.
197. For a study of the European sexologists, see Bland and Doan, ed. 1998. For a study of Sawada Junjirô, see Pflugfleder 1999: pp. 235–335. Yang acknowledged the European sources, but not the Japanese. It was possible that part of his writing is a translation of Japanese sources such as Sawada's work.
198. My reversed English translation is based on the English translation of Richard von Kraft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1965). Apparently, Yang's use of the Chinese term *lian'ai* emphasized the sexual dimension of the relationship. I will further discuss the meaning of *lian* and *ai* later in this chapter.
199. Here, Yang quoted Albert Moll. See Yang 1930: p. 2.
200. Yang 1930: p. 2. Yang did not provide the English translation. "Psychical" is the spelling in the 1965 English version of Krafft-Ebing's work, published in the U.S.. See Krafft-Ebing 1965.
201. Yang 1930: pp. 3–4.
202. Yang 1930: p. 4.
203. Yang 1930: p. 6.
204. See Yang 1930: pp. 34–5. The seven causes were not Yang's own formulation, but were copied almost verbatim from Sawada Junjirô, one of the most important Japanese sexologists of the 1920s. Pflugfelder lists exactly the same causes of acquired *doseiai* by Sawada. See Pflugfelder 1999: p. 272.
205. Yang 1930: p. 35.
206. Yang 1930: p. 36.
207. Yang 1930: p. 39.
208. Yang 1930: p. 43.
209. This is another list of social triggers. Yang 1930: p. 43.
210. For a recent study of the relationship between evolution and homosexuality in Darwin's thought, see Gandhi 2006: pp. 47–55.
211. For a concise description of Edward Carpenter's thought and life, see Weeks 1977: pp. 68–83. For a recent study of Carpenter, see Gandhi 2006: pp. 34–66.
212. Zhang 2007: pp. 22–60. Also *Zhongguo gujin mingren dacidian* 1991: pp. 563–564. According to Zhang, Hu withdrew from the Communist Youth League around the end of 1926. Zhang 2007: pp. 44–46. Hu never joined the Chinese Communist Party.
213. Hu 1930: p. 55.
214. Most of the time, Hu, following Carpenter, used the term "urnings" without translation to refer to homosexuals. According to Joseph Bristow, Carl Heinrich Ulrichs believed in the wholly natural status of homosexual men and women and contended that such people constituted a third sex distinct from male and female. "He specified this third sex in the figure of urning—which he named after Uranos, featured in Plato's *Symposium*." Bristow, in Bland and Doan. ed. 1998: p. 99. Also, see Bleys 1995: pp. 157–159.
215. Hu 1930: p. 70.
216. Hu 1930: pp. 71–84.
217. For example, Carpenter often used Albert Moll, Richard von Kraft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis and Karl Heinrich Ulrichs to support his argument.
218. *Tianfengbao* 1932: January 8.

219. Birds usually referred to two people in love.
220. In context, it should be from male to female (*hua xing wei ci*, 化雄為雌). Either the writer made a careless mistake, or he purposely feminized the two men.
221. *Tianfengbao* 1932: January 11.
222. *Bing xin* literally means ice heart, but usually refers to people with a pure mind.
223. *Tianfengbao* 1932: January 15. These sophisticated jokes might have concerned male same-sex relations.
224. *Tianfengbao* 1932: January 15.
225. *Tianfengbao* 1932: January 18.
226. See *Tianfengbao* 1938: April 18.
227. See Pan 1997 (1946): pp. 716–48.
228. See Pan 1997 (1946): p. 1.
229. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 1.
230. Fei, in Pan 1997 (1946): p. 775.
231. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 6. For more on Pan, see Barkey 2000, and Rogaski 2004: pp. 240–244.
232. For example, see Krafft-Ebing 1965 (1906).
233. See Hu 1930: p. 54, and Carpenter 1948 (1923): pp. 16–17.
234. Sometimes the word *ai* could convey the same meaning as *ni* (昵) or *xia* (狎), which meant "to be sexually intimate." For example, a newspaper article wrote: "If an actor is loved by men (*lingren wei nanren suo'ai*, 伶人為男人所愛), he is considered to be a rabbit, and if loved by women (*wei nüxing suo'ai*, 為女性所愛), he is an adulterous actor." See *Jingbao* 1924: August 27.
235. See Pan 1993 (1927): pp. 1–66.
236. Homosexuality was not the main topic in *Feng Xiaoqing*. For a study of this essay, see Tsu 2005: pp. 149–52.
237. See Pan 1997 (1946): pp. 483–484, note 8.
238. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 717.
239. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 717.
240. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 720. Based on a story from *Shishuo xinyu* (世說新語, New tales of the world), a fifth-century anthology of stories, Ruan Ji was reputed to have had same-sex relations with his friend Ji Kang.
241. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 717.
242. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 723.
243. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 723.
244. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 725
245. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 725.
246. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 727.
247. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 730.
248. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 717.
249. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 732.
250. For a study of Hu Tianbao and Yuan Mei, see Szonyi 1998: pp. 1–25.
251. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 740.
252. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 745.
253. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 748.
254. Pan 1997 (1946): p. 748.
255. Fei, in Pan 1997: p. 755.
256. The words are from Baudelaire. See Nicholls 1995: p 5. The relationship between modern Chinese homoerotic writings and decadent writings in the West is expored later in the chapter.

257. For recent studies of the Creation Society, see Huang 1995, 2004; Xian 2006. The name "creation" demonstrated an understanding of literary writing that Guo Moruo and Yu Dafu often referred to as art. As Guo explained, "In my understanding, art should not be reflective, but instead, it should be creative." Huang 1995: p. 169.
258. For studies on Western decadent writings, see Schoolfield 2003; Spackman 1989. For a basic introduction to decadence in modernist writings, see Nicholls 1995: especially pp. 1–111. For decadent writings in modern Chinese literature, see Shih 2001: pp. 110–127, 231–275; Lee 1999: pp. 232–265.
259. Sedgwick 1900: pp. 127–130.
260. Schoolfield 2003; Hanson 1997; Sedgwick 1900; Spackman 1989.
261. Shih 2001: p. 111.
262 Shih 2001: p. 112.
263 Shih 2001: p. 113.
264. Shih 2001: p. 113, emphasis in original.
265. The expression was from Oscar Wilde. For related discussion, see Sedgwick 1990, especially pp.131–251.
266. Shih 2001: p. 115.
267. Shih 2001: pp. 110–123. For studies of Yu, also see Hsia 1961: pp. 102–111; Lee 1973: pp. 81–123. For biographies of Yu Dafu, see Yu 1984 and Yuan 1998.
268. Nicholls 1995: p. 46.
269. In this aspect, Yu departed from the tendency that blamed sexual perversity as the cause for the fall of civilization and configured same-sex love as a protest against social norms, as the Western decadent writers did in their writings.
270. For the story, see Yu 1989 (1922): pp. 113–155.
271. Yu 1989 (1922): pp. 123–124.
272.1Yu 1989 (1922): p. 131.
273. Yu 1989 (1922): p. 131.
274. According to the narrative, this passage was inspired by a poem written by the Irish decadent writer George Moore. See Yu 1989 (1922): p. 131. For Moore, see Schoolfield 2003: pp. 16–128.
275. Yu 1989 (1922): pp. 131–132.
276. Yu 1989 (1922): p. 132.
277. Shih 2001: p. 116; *Zhinaren* is a derogatory term for "Chinese."
278. Thoughts in Yu's other essays support this argument. For example, Yu believed that Verlaine's and Wilde's writings attacked old moral values, and the writers used their art to express their disappointment in society. See Yu 1982 (1923): Vol. 5, pp. 134–135.
279. Yu 1989 (1922): p. 132.
280. Yu 1988 (1922): p. 126.
281. In the first two chapters of the story, holding hands was mentioned eight times. See Yu 1988: p.124 (twice), 125, 126 (twice), 128, 132, and 133.
282. See Yu 1989 (1922): p. 124.
283. Yu 1989 (1922): p. 127.
284. Yu 1989 (1922): p. 127.
285. Yu 1989 (1922): p. 128.
286. Yu 1989 (1922): p. 128.
287. Yu 1989 (1922): pp. 132–133.
288. Yu 1989 (1922): p. 136.
289. Guo 1979 (1932): p. 123.

290. See Yu 1982 (1922): Vol. 5. pp. 121–6. The criticism was from reader's letters to Yu, who summarized them in the article entitled "*Mangmang ye* fubiao yihuo" ("茫茫夜"發表以後, After the publication of "Boundless Night"). It was published in the newspaper supplement *Xuedeng* (學燈, Study light) on June 22, 1922.
291. Yu used the French expressions in addition to Chinese. See Yu 1982 (1922): Vol. 5. p. 125.
292. Yu 1982 (1922): Vol. 5 p. 125.
293. Yu 1982 (1922): Vol. 5 p. 1125–1126. The French and German are in Yu's original text.
294. Tsu 2000: p. 282.
295. Yu 1982 (1922): Vol. 5 p. 126. The English words "nostalgia" and "mood" were in Yu's original.
296. Tsu 2000: p. 282.
297. The two names both imply China. Chisheng meant "born late," a characterization of China as a nation falling behind other nations that had become imperialist powers. Haitang meant "begonia." It was said that the map of China resembled a begonia leaf.
298. Huang 1923 in *Creation Quarterly*: Vol. 2 No. 1. pp. 71–82.
299. Huang 1923: p. 71.
300. Huang 1923: p. 74.
301. Huang 1923: p. 72.
302. Huang 1923: p. 79.
303. See Chen's "Bianzhe jianyan" (Editor's recommendation remark) in Ye 2004 (1927): p. 1.
304. Ye 2004 (1927): p. 7.
305. Ye 2004 (1927): p. 17.
306. Ye 2004 (1927): p. 13.
307. Ye 2004 (1927): p. 14.
308. Ye 2004 (1927): p. 16.
309. For studies of Guo Moruo's earlier works, see Lee 1973: pp. 177–200; Shih 2001: pp. 96–109.
310. Huang 1995: p. 180. Also see Hsia 1961: pp. 93–102.
311. For a discussion of Guo's autobiographical memoir, see Larson: pp. 113–152.
312. See Guo 1979 (1928): p. 2, p. 35 and p. 100.
313. The school was established in the wake of the abolition of the imperial civil service examination in 1905. Although it was called elementary school, any male who had not passed the county level imperial examination could attend. The age of the students ranged from early teens to thirties. According to Guo, those in their thirties took up more or less half of the student body. Guo also thought this phenomenon characteristic of the transitional period. See Guo 1979 (1928): p. 62.
314. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 67.
315. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 68.
316. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 69.
317. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 92.
318. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 92.
319. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 102.
320. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 102.
321. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 106.
322. Guo 1979 (1928): p. 111.
323. Eribon 2004: p. 174.
324. For a study of Ye Lingfeng and his unfinished novella *Taboo*, see Lee 1999: pp. 255–266.
325. Shih 2001: p. 255.
326. Shih 2001: p. 255.

327. Shih 2001: p. 255.
328. For a discussion of Ye lingfeng's writing in general, see Huang 1995: pp. 271–278.
329. Huang 1995: p. 275.
330. Ye 1997 (1931): p. 284.
331. Ye 1997 (1931): p. 260.
332. Ye 1977 (1931): p. 260. Lee's translation, I use it with a minor change. Lee 1999: p. 258.
333. Here, my reading differs from Lee's, who sees the male character as "effeminate." See Lee 1999: p. 258.
334. Ye 1997 (1931): pp . 262–263. Lee's translation with modification. The English and French words in capitals are original in Ye's text. Lee 1999: pp. 258–259.
335. Ye 1997 (1931): p. 284.
336. Ye 1997 (1931): p. 286.
337. Ye 1997 (1931): p. 291.
338. Lee 1999: p. 261.
339. Lee 1999: p. 261.
340. *Tianfengbao* (*Heavenly Wind*, 天風報) published similar articles, but did not appear in Tianjin until 1930 and closed in 1938. In this chapter, I cite *Tianfengbao* as well.
341. Studies on the May Fourth Movement and the thoughts of Chinese intellectuals during this time are numerous; see Tse-tsung Chow 1960, Schwarcz 1986, Rey Chow 1991,Wang 1999, Forth 2002, Schwartz 2002. .
342. See Sang 2003: pp. 23–26; and pp. 99–126.
343. I thank Sang and another anonymous reader for helping me make this point.
344. Dikotter 1995: p. 145.
345. On women's education in the 1920s and the history of Chinese feminist thought, see Wang 1999 and Barlow 2004.
346. It was published every three days, and thus was named Jing (Crystal, Jing 晶 is written as three days 日 in Chinese). Compact in format, a small paper like *Jingbao* was only half the size of a regular paper, easy to hold and read. Instead of relying on advertisements, its survival depended on its sales. Very soon, *Crystal* became independent and *China Daily* closed. See Bao. 1999: p. 550.
347. Bao 1999 (1971): pp. 571–580. For a discussion of *Crystal*, see Link 1981: pp. 118–124; Hu 2001: pp. 197–202.
348. *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao xuji* 1984 (1937): p. 312.
349. The names were: Ye Xiaofeng (葉小鳳), Bao Tianxiao (包天笑), Wang Dungen (王鈍根), Liu Jiagong (劉迦公), Shuliu shanfang (漱六山房, a.k.a. Zhang Chunfan 張春帆), Ouyang Yuqian (歐陽予倩), Sun Quyuan, Qian Shengke (錢生可), Zhang Danweng (張丹翁), Zhou Shoujuan (周瘦鵑), Shen Nenggyi (沈能毅), and Hu Jichen (胡寄塵). See *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao xuji* 1984 (1937): p. 312. Apparently, Ouyang Yuqian was not a Mandarian Duck fiction writer and could not be characterized as the cultural conservative either. Also those names were listed for the beginning of the newspaper, some important contributors such as Yuan Hanyun (袁寒雲) and Zhang Henshui (張恨水) were not listed here. See Hu 2001: p. 199. For an in-depth study of the Mandarin Ducks writers, see Link 1981; for a feminist critique of the scholarship on those writers and a feminist reading of the texts, see Chow 1991: pp. 34–83. For a study of the topic in Chinese, see Xu 2000.
350. Xu 2000: pp. 141–260.
351. Most of their fiction was published in newspapers first at that time.
352. Meisner 1999: pp. 12–16.
353. This composite title refers to five late Ming works, including *Yushi Mingyan* (喻世明言, Illustrious tales to instruct the world, 1620, *Jingshi Tongyan* (警世通言, Comprehensive

tales to admonish the world, 1624), and *Xingshi Hengyan* (醒世恒言, Lasting the tales to awaken the world, 1627); and *Erpai* includes *Chuke paian jingqi* and *Erke paian jingqi* (初刻拍案驚奇, 二刻拍案驚奇, Striking the table in amazement at the wonders, first and second editions 1628, 1632). The translation of the titles and the dates are all from Wang 2004: p. 264.

354. Chow 1991: p. 38 and p. 51; and Xu 2000: p. 185 and p. 217.
355. E. Perry Link explains that under the Mandarin Duck writers' "merrymaking covered their feelings of bitterness and insecurity" because the old path to success, the imperial exam, was abolished. For more background information on those writers, see Link 1981: pp. 10–11.
356. Xu 2000: p. 230. To support his argument, Xu Deming uses the famous popular fiction writer Xu Zhenya (徐枕亞) as an example, who, also writing political commentary for a newspaper, understood that readers usually did not take fictional writing seriously and asked them to take his own fiction seriously, not to read it as other fictions.
357. Xu 2000: pp. 216–217.
358. See Wang 1999: pp. 14–16.
359. For more information on Yu Daxiong, see Link 1981: p. 123, and Hu 2001: pp. 201–202.
360. Bao 1999 (1971): pp. 550, 574–575. Yangzhou scholars were famous for eccentric behavior in stories dating from the Qing period.
361. For a biography of Yuan Hanyun, see Wang 2004. For concise introduction of Yuan, see Xu 2003: pp. 36–37.
362. According to Lu Xun, *Yangchang*, also called *yichang* (夷場, 彝場) refers to foreign concessions in Shanghai. Lu 2006 (vol. 3): pp. 102. The term, *Yangchang caizi*, which was popular in Republican period Shanghai, had a sarcastic tone, referring to a group of writers whose specialty was sensational stories happening in the semi-colonial city.
363. Bao 1999 (1971): pp. 575–576.
364. *Jingbao* 1922: November 5; *Jingbao* 1923: October 21; *Jingbao* 1924: May 12; *Jingbao* 1925: March 18; *Jingbao* 1925: March 24.
365. *Jingbao* 1921: November 27.
366. *Jingbao* 1923: November 18. Along with this piece of news was another one on women's education, which reported the following story: in a Shanghai Christian girl's school, a Chinese woman director was crying all the time. When a teacher quit, she cried; when a student did not make any progress, she cried; and occasionally, when a student was punished, she also cried. She was simply known as a crying principal. Reading the two reports side by side, the reader could easily conclude that female same-sex relations were an undesirable but inevitable result of the girl's school system that women themselves were unable to manage. For a story that suggested that girl's schools caused female sexual relations, see *Jingbao* 1929: July 15. For further discussion of social anxiety engendered by women's education, see Sang 2003: pp. 99–126.
367. See Hershatter: p. 118, and Sang: p. 309.
368. *Jingbao* 1925: August, 18.
369. *Jingbao* 1926: January 31.
370. See Huang 2001: pp. 18, 21.
371. Huang 2001: pp. 2, 16, 18, 180.
372. Huang 2001: p. 163.
373. Huang 2001: p. 166. The Chinese characters are added.
374. Huang 2001: p. 182.
375. *Jingbao* 1925: August 27.
376. I have not been able to locate the original writer of the work.

377. Wu referred to the criminal code used in the first twenty years after the fall of the Qing dynasty, the New Criminal Code Temporarily in Force (*zanxingxinxinglü*, 暫行新刑律), which promulgated in 1912. According to Philip Huang, "the criminal code was patterned after the new Japanese code, borrowed almost intact from German law." Huang 2001: p. 16. For a study of Qing law in Chinese, See Zhang (ed.) 1998: pp. 695–704.
378. Wu 1925: pp. 134–135.
379. Wu illustrated his points by listing the articles of the criminal code (*xingfa*, 刑法):

    Those who conducted lewd act with male or female younger than 13 years old should be sentenced to from the third to fifth degree of imprisonment, or be fined from 30 to 300 yuan. Those who conducted lewd acts through force, threat, medicine, hypnotism and other means that made the person unable to resist should be sentenced to from the second to the third degree of imprisonment, or be fined from 50 to 500 yuan. (Article 283)

    Those who conducted lewd acts with male or female older than twelve old through force, threat, hypnotism and other means that made the person unable to resist should be sentenced to from the third to the fifth degree of imprisonment or be fined from 30 to 300 yuan. (Article 284)

    Those who conducted lewd acts or illicit sex (*jianyi*, 姦淫) with anyone who had lost consciousness or could not resist should be punished according to the second item of the article 283, as well as article 284, and article 285. (Article 286)

    In case death or injury occurred in the above four offenses, the sentence should be as follows: from the first degree imprisonment to life imprisonment to the death penalty for death or fatal injury (*duji*, 篤疾); from the second degree imprisonment to the death penalty for an incapacitating injury (*feiji*, 廢疾). If the victim committed suicide out of humiliation or was injured due to an attempted suicide, the sentence should be the same as the previous article. (Article 287)

    All the civil rights will be revoked for those who were sentenced to the second degree imprisonment or above for the felonies listed in this chapter. (Article 295) Wu 1925: pp. 135–136.
380. *Jingbao* 1926: January 31.
381. *Jingbao* 1926: February 3.
382. The writer did not mention which time period the law was from.
383. Quoted in Sommer 2000: pp. 119–120, the Chinese are added.
384. Sommer 2000: p. 120.
385. Sommer 2000: p. 124.
386. Sommer 2000: p. 125.
387. Sommer 2000: p. 125.
388. When looking for records on male same-sex relations in the Beijing Municipal Archive, the researcher was told by a senior staff that male same-sex relations was not criminalized during the Republican era, therefore no records could be found in the Archive.
389. Quoted in Zhang (ed.) 699.
390. *Jingbao* 1929: July 15. The title "A Pair of Sinful Flowers in the Mirror" is play on words. "A pair of sinful flowers" refers to the two women, and "mirror" refers to the same-sex relationship between the two women, as in "mirror rubbing."
391. Other cases of such relationships were those between high-ranking officials and Peking Opera actors, as I discuss in Chapter Five.
392. See Zhang 1978: pp. 172–178; Boorman (ed.) 1967–1979: pp. 302–305.
393. Tao 1998 (1934): pp. 45–46.
394. *Jingbao* 1924: January 15.

395. This explanation is not necessarily accurate. In Cantonese, the word *zai* (崽) is written as another character (仔), and means boys or children. The writer simply used his explanation to make his second point.
396. In the writings about female same-sex relations, conservative writers did not hesitate to use imported Western terms such as homosexuality (*tongxinglian'ai*) to draw a connection between the phenomenon and new Western thoughts in order to attack the New Culture advocates. In writings about the Cao-Li case, however, "homosexuality" was never used. For these writers, the emperor-male favorite model was sufficient to explain the Cao-Li relationship.
397. *Jingbao* 1924: March 3 and 6.
398. *Jingbao* 1924: July 27 and August 3.
399. *Jingbao* 1924: November 9.
400. *Jingbao* 1924: October 30.
401. *Jingbao* 1924: December 9.
402. *Jingbao* 1925: April 9.
403. *Tianfengbao* 1938: December 22–23, 25–27; also see Tao 1998 (1934): pp. 45–48;
404. For the history of the puppet state Manchuria, see Young 1998, Duara 2003.
405. *Jingbao* 1931: August 18.
406. Here, "was not favored" means the emperor did not have sexual intercourse with her. The expression "*xing*" is a special verb used to describe the emperor's choice of his concubines for the night in a euphemistic way. Interestingly, male favorite was called "*xing*."
407. *Jingbao* 1931: September 3.
408. *Jingbao* 1932: January 21.
409. *Jingbao* 1933: August 26. A *Heavenly Wind* report was entitled "Puyi Indulging in Alcohol and Sex." See *Tianfengbao* 1933: February 15.
410. A 1935 *Crystal* report said that two beautiful young men, each from a rich family, went to Puyi's court and became his personal bodyguards. One was newly married, but left his wife and came to the northeast to take care of his family property. The other one had just divorced his wife. They were so rich that they did not mind taking a low position. The report clearly hinted that the relationship between Puyi and the two young guards was sexual. See *Jingbao* 1935: August 13.
411. People from Jiangbei were mostly poor rural immigrants in Republican period Shanghai. See Honig 1992.
412. The official Chinese translation was *yinghuang zaihua gaodeng fayuan*, 英皇在華高等法院. See Wang 1998: p. 275.
413. *Jingbao* 1925: March 6.
414. *Jingbao* 1925: July 12.
415. For an introduction of Tianqiao area in Beijing duing the Republican period, see Dong 2003: pp. 172–207.
416. Before the 1925 May Thirtieth Massacre, in which eleven demonstrators were killed and twenty more were wounded, striking workers of a Japanese textile mill were locked out and they had to decide through which door to break into the factory. The conflict between workers and the factory led to the police opening fire on Chinese workers and one of the workers was killed. See Spence 1999: pp. 322–323.
417. The official name from 1916 to 1929 was the Shanghai Office of Negotiators Specially Designated to Jiangsu by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*waijiaobu tepai jiangshu zhu hu jiaosheyuan gongshu*, 外交部特派江蘇駐滬交涉員公署). See Xue (ed.) 1999: p. 89.
418. *Jingbao* 1927: November 18.
419. *Jingbao* 1931: November 12.

420. See Wang 1932: pp. 44–46.
421. For the classification of female prostitution in Shanghai, see Hershatter 1997: pp. 34–65.
422. One popular entertainment center was the "Great World" (*Dashijie*, 大世界). See Wakeman 1995: pp. 12–13, and 105–106.
423. See Chapter Five.
424. *Jingbao* 1922: February 18.
425. For a discussion on the third-person pronoun, see Liu 1995: pp. 36–38.
426. *Jingbao* 1926: February 6, 9, 12, 15.
427. Writings using the issue of male prostitution to attack women who were supposedly influenced by the New Culture continued to appear in *Crystal*. For example, a 1928 article said that, after being allowed to sit with men in theatres, some women broke into bathhouses that were only open to men. Other women opened hotel rooms to summon male prostitutes. See *Jingbao* 1928: August 20. In 1935, a report said that, in the United States, rich women could visit male brothels and choose the young men they liked. It showed what liberated women were like. See *Jingbao* 1935: April 27–28.
428. *Jingbao* 1927: September 30.
429. For his pictures, see *Jingbao* 1930: February 27, in women's clothing and *Jingbao* 1930: March 24, in Peking opera costume. For report on him, see *Jingbao* 1929: December 9; *Jingbao* 1930: March 24, and April 9.
430. Reference to Zhong were numerous. See, for example, Yu 1998 (1933): p. 18; *Jingbao* 1933: February 22; *Jingbao* 1934: August 20. *Jingbao* 1938: August 2.
431. *Jingbao* 1930: March 24.
432. *Jingbao* 1929: Demember 9.
433. *Jingbao* 1930: March 24.
434. *Jingbao* 1930: April 9.
435. *Jingbao* 1940: March 16. I realized that 1940 was the "isolated island" period of Japanese occupation of Shanghai, but I did not found any significant change regard the reports on male same-sex relation. From 1939, under a new management, *Crystal* began to lose the readers' support because it often published news of Japanese control news agency. The newspaper closed in May 1940. See Hu 2001: p. 201.
436. *Jingbao* 1938: August 2.
437. *Tianfengbao* 1936: April 6.
438. The writer apparently believed that his soul would leave the body if he was very frightened, and burning paper could call back his soul.
439. *Jingbao* 1929: August 12.
440. Wang 1932: p. 44.
441. *Jingbao* 1928: November 30.
442. *Jingbao* 1929: August 9.
443. *Tianfengbao* 1933: February 18.
444. When Manchu rulers first established their capital in Beijing in the seventeenth century, they divided the city into two parts, intending to segregate the Manchu and the Han, with the inner city for the residence of the Manchus and the outer city for the residence of the Han. But it soon proved difficult to maintain the separation, although the division remained until the early Republican period. See Chang 2004, pp. 119–123, and Dong 2003, pp. 21–53.
445. Zhang, ed. 1988 (1934 & 1937): p. 1243.
446. For information on Tian Jiyun, see Wu 2004: p. 156; and Zhang 2001: p. 592.
447. In his *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, Timothy Brook provides an insightful interpretation of the provenance and the significance of the practice

of literati choosing boy actors over female courtesans. According to Brook, literati began to hire boy actors to entertain at banquets in the mid-Ming. But the practice "*as a fashion* rather than as a matter of private desire seems to have fully entered the repertoire of status competition only in the late Ming" (Brook 1998: p. 231, emphasis in the original). The open homoeroticism became a signifier of the elite. "Like the buying of rare displayable artifacts, it marked off the truly rarefied at the pinnacle of elite status" (Brook 1998: p. 232). Literati had the option of hiring either boys or girls for entertainment, but the price for boys was higher. Most importantly, however, as Brook argues, money was not the sole factor that lent the choice of a boy social power. Male homoeroticism as a bold social transgression also marked an elite status that even not every rich man could afford, and thus separated the rarefied few from the rest. As Brook writes:

> It was wealth entwined around the social and psychological pressures in Chinese culture against *nanse*, "male color," or less literally, "erotic attraction to the male body." These pressures distinguished homoerotic love as an exclusive gesture within reach of only a tiny minority of those able to afford a catamite or a courtesan. This fashion was accordingly differently constructed than courtesanship: more daring, repugnant to sexual norms, indifferent to ideologies of self-cultivation and loyalism. While it may be that the expression of natural homoerotic desire could only burst forth with the peculiar erosion of Confucian norms in the sixteenth century, those norms paradoxically ensured that pederasty was a sexual fashion beyond the emotional reach of most people, and for that reason rich in social credit.

Brook 1998: pp. 232–233.

448. Sophie Volpp's study on poems in praise of the actor Xu Ziyun (徐紫雲, d.1675?), focusing on the early Qing period, further illustrates Brook's argument. The study also sheds light on the meaning of elite masculinity in the late Qing and enhances the understanding of literati-actor relations. The Qing poet Chen Weisong (陳維崧, 1826–82) had a life-long intimate relationship with the actor Xu Ziyun, and Chen's literati friends wrote many poems, as did Chen, in praise of Xu. Volpp argues that the position of Chen Weisong and Chen's patron Mao Xiang (冒襄, 1609–92) was

> at the center of the most rarefied stratum of the mid-[seventeenth-]century elite, which made men of the age anxious to establish social connection with them. Though those poems testify to the social pleasure of expressing desire for the actor, they testify even more to the pleasure of expressing membership in a community centered on Chen Weisong and, perhaps more importantly, his powerful patron Mao Xiang. (Volpp 2002: p. 955)

In the early Qing context, literati wrote poems admiring the actor in order to identify themselves with influential men such as Chen and Mao, and the desire for the actor in their writing indicated their belonging to the upper echelon of the society. Therefore, as Volpp argues, the figure of the actor became secondary, and the desire for the actor served to demonstrate the literati's rarefied cultural taste and elite social status. The cultural taste and social status that Volpp describes could be understood as the meaning of the masculinity that those literati aspired to embody. See Volpp 2002: pp. 949–984.

449. Sophie Volpp calls the interpretation the "substitution trope." As she argues in her "Classifying Lust: The Seventeenth-century Vogue for Male Love," a similar prohibition against visiting prostitutes also existed in the Ming period, and the substitution explanation

could be found in the writings of that time too. The claim "that because courtesans were banned from serving at official functions in the capital, literati began to engage in relationship with boy actors instead" is "a theory that has acquired the status of fact." In the Ming period, male same-sex relations were also described as the southern mode (*nanfeng*, 南風), a homophone for male mode (*nanfeng*, 男風), which meant that the practice was from the southern part of China, therefore, a regional phenomenon. As Volpp argues, "If the notion of the Southern Mode implicitly polices the spatial boundaries of male love, the substitution trope controls its temporal boundaries, decreeing that sex between men is excusable only when women are unavailable." See Volpp 2001: pp. 97–98.

450. See Sommer 2000: pp. 114–165.
451. What is now called Peking opera in English or *Jingju* (京劇, Beijing opera) in the People's Republic of China, in its early development, fused different local operas into one Beijing localized form. During the first half of the twentieth century, the art form was referred to by different names. One of them was *pihuang* (皮黃), referring to two major local opera singing forms, one of which was performed by the Anhui opera troupe. *Pihuang* distinguished itself from *kunqu* (昆曲), a classical opera form, whose decline coincided with the rise of *pihuang*. Many writers simply called the art form *xi* (戲), which literally meant "opera." May Fourth-New Culture intellectuals called the opera *jiuju* (舊劇, old drama or old play) or *jiuxi* (舊戲, old play or old opera) to distinguish it from the new Western-style spoken drama. From the mid-1930s, the term *pingxi* (平戲, Beiping opera) appeared. *Ping* referred to Beiping (北平), which was the name of the city of Beijing after the Nationalist government established its capital in Nanjing. In Communist Yan'an, the Opera troupe was called "Yan'an Pingju Yuan" (延安平劇院, Yan'an Beiping opera theatre). While the opera was still referred to as *jingxi* (京戲, Beijing opera), the new term *guoju* (國劇, national opera) appeared during the Republican era. The terms *pingju* (Beiping Opera) and *guoju* (national opera) are still used in Taiwan today. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Communist government standardized the terminology as *jingju* (京劇, Beijing Opera). In my writing, I use "Peking opera" for consistency in English. The above summary is based on my survey of a two-volume collection of writings on Peking Opera. See Weng ed. 1999. For a genealogy of the Anhui theatre troupe, see Song and Wu 2002: pp. 8–10; Mackerras 1972: pp. 124–131. For the term "national opera," see Goldstein 1999: pp. 377–420.
452. For a basic introduction to Peking opera as an art form, see Wichmann-Walczak 2004: pp. 129–152.
453. Tiaoxi Yilan Sheng (pseudonym), in Zhang 1988 (1934 & 1937): p. 603. Andrea S. Goldman suggests that this explanation of the origin of the use of *xianggong* is "most likely apocryphal," but argues that "even if the etymological research here is false, the explanation underscores an awareness of the mapping of feminine qualities onto boy actors of the *dan* role." Goodman 2008: p. 20.
454. For biographical information of Xu Ke, see Ko 2005: pp. 18–23.
455. Xu 1986 (1920): p. 5094.
456. Interestingly, it is exactly the term *xianggong*, instead of *xianggu*, that established a parallel relationship between boy actors and female courtesans, as a more plausible explanation of the origin of the use of term found by Goodman suggests:

> A prime minister is called an "assisting lord" (*xianggong* 相公), the meaning of which is based on [the duties of those who serve as] lords and officials of states. Scholars are called "xianggong," the meaning of which is borrowed from the term for a minister of the state; this meaning has been in common

> usage for a long time. The city-dwelling men in the north are all called "master" (*ye* 爺); investigation reveals that their courtesans are sometimes called "*xianggong*." City-dwelling men in the south are called "*xianggong*"; those in the Wu region also call their courtesans "*xianggong*." Those who perform the dan roles in the capital playhouse are called "*xianggong*." Though I do not know when this practice began, doesn't it signify that this meaning is also borrowed from the term for courtesans?

Huaxu, in Zhang, ed. 1988 (1934 & 1937): p. 246. Quoted in and translated by Goodman 2008: pp. 19–20.

457. Tiaoxi, in Zhang, ed. 1988 (1934 & 1937): pp. 603–604.
458. Xu 1986 (1920): p. 5094.
459. See Wang 1992 (1934): pp. 317–328.
460. Mackerras 1972: p. 151.
461. Mackerras 1972: p. 151.
462. For a biography of Mei, see Li 2001. Mei Lanfang, Cheng Yanqiu (程硯秋, 1904–1958), Shang Xiaoyun (尚小雲, 1900–1973), and Xun Huisheng (荀慧生, 1900–1966), are known until today as four most famous *dan* actors (*sida mingdan*, 四大名旦). For the establishment of the reputation as the four most famous dan actors, see Li, 387–396. I will discuss issues related to the four actors later in the chapter.
463. Goldstein 1999: 381–382.
464. Mackerras 1972: p. 140–150.
465. Mackerras 1972: p. 152.
466. A term for *juren* (舉人) in Ming and Qing period.
467. Hershatter 1997: p. 105.
468. Hershatter 1997: pp. 129–131.
469. Hershatter 1997: pp. 34–65.
470. Xu 1986 (1920): p. 5095.
471. Zhang 1884: p. 49.
472. In her English language work *Homoerotic Sensibilities in Late Imperial China*, Wu Cuncun provides valuable historical information on male same-sex relations between literati and actors from the late Ming through the Qing period. However, she insists that *xianggong* were simply male prostitutes, and describes the boy actors as being sexually consumed by their patrons and economically exploited by their masters. While historical evidence testifies to the exploited lives of lower class *xianggong* and other types of male prostitutes, as Wu demonstrates, she fails to consider the class hierarchy that existed among *xianggong*, as well as the complex relationship between literati and actors, and among the literati themselves. See Wu 2004: especially pp. 116–158.
473. Volpp argues that this had to do with the understanding of *qing* (情) and *se* (色) in the late Ming. As she explains, "*Qing* is more akin to love, it is an internal quality and thus more idealized. *Se* is more akin to lust. It speaks directly to the power of external appearance to move the beholder and more sexual" (Volpp 2001: p. 105). Male same-sex relations are generally viewed as a matter of *se* rather *qing* in late Ming writings. However, the Chinese notions of *qing* and *se* could hardly be separated. *Qing* might seem to stand in opposition to *se*. But a careful reading of certain stories will find that "*qing*, although originally motivated by *se*, ultimately proves more powerful than *se*"(Volpp 2001: p. 107). *Qing* and *se* contain each other. Thus, although the writing claims that no *qing* is to be found in the male same-sex relations, *qing* is affirmed at the same time. For comprehensive discussion on male love in the late Ming, see Volpp 2001, pp. 77–117.

474. For a study of *Cap and Hairpins*, see Vitiello 2000: pp. 207–257. For a study of *The Forgotten Story of Longyang*, see Vitiello 2000: pp. 227–247. For a study of *Fragrant of Essences of Spring*, see Vitiello 1996: pp. 291–320.
475. Susan Mann locates a change of moral values from the late Ming to the High Qing times, calling the new ideology "familistic moralism" discourse. As Mann writes,

> This discourse clearly distinguishes the High Qing era from the late Ming period studies by Ko, when the cult of *qing* – passion, love, or desire – dominated the literary imagination of elite writers, male or female. In the High Qing times, despite dissenting voices like the poet Yuan Mei's and the fiction writer Li Yu's, the cult of *qing* was repressed. Pornographic works and romances remained on the market, but illustrated sex manuals became harder to find, and "unbridled descriptiveness" gave away to "more cerebral" story telling. As Keith McMahon puts it, the chaste Qing couple "replaces sex with words: poems, letters, and polite conversation."

Mann 1997: p. 22.

476. According to the introduction of the *Zhonghua shuju* (中華書局) 2004 edition, the novel was written in a time span of ten years and was probably finished in 1849. For studies of this novel in English, see Wang 1997: pp. 60–76; Starr 1999: pp. 268–302; McMahon 2002: pp. 70–109. Wu 2004: passim.
477. Some Qing writers also wrote affectionately about their romantic relationships with boy actors, who were described as physically beautiful and emotionally dependable companions. These passages hardly mentioned any details of sexual contact. For example, see *Fengcheng pinhua ji*, (鳳城品花記, The record of judging flowers at the phoenix city) by Xiangxi Yuyin (香溪漁隱, 1876) in Zhang ed. 1988 (1934 & 1937): pp. 567–577. Mackerras also finds many writings on love affairs between literati and boy actors from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth century, and suggests that same-sex relations were the reason that most of the writers used pseudonyms. Most of the writings that Mackerras refers to can be found in Zhang ed. 1988 (1934 & 1937): *Historical Materials on Beijing Theatre in the Qing Period*.
478. See Su Tong's *Wuchinu* (無恥奴, Shameless slaves), quoted in Zhang 2001: p. 569.
479. For a study of the fiction, see Wang 1997: pp. 81–89.
480. Zhang 1989 (1910): pp. 969–970, my translation. The same argument appeared in Su Tong's *Shameless Slaves*. One character described the change as occurring gradually, but still used 1900 as a pivotal point. As he put it, "After occupying Beijing for more or less a year, the allied army returned the city to China. The Empress Dowager and the Emperor also returned from Xi'an. But because of the event, the atmosphere of the city had changed tremendously. The protocol of 'valuing actors over prostitutes' was turned upside down." Quoted in Zhang 2001: p. 570, my translation.
481. Zhang 1989 (1910): p. 971, my translation.
482. See Zhang 1988 (1934 & 1937): p. 7, my translation.
483. Zhang 1989 (1910): pp. 971–972, my translation.
484. See the following speech by Observer Yao in Zhang 1989 (1910): p. 972. Also see Su, quoted in Zhang 2001: pp. 569–570.
485. Weng ed. 1999: p. 5.
486. Weng ed. 1999: p. 47.
487. Weng ed. 1999: p. 6.
488. Weng ed. 1999: p. 8.
489. See Goldstein 1999: pp. 377–420.

490. Goldstein 1999: p. 401.
491. Goldstein 1999: p. 405.
492. Goldstein 1999: p. 408.
293. See Guqu zhoulang (顧曲周郎, music expert) 1921: pp. 4–5.
494. Guqu zhoulang 1921: p. 5.
495. Guqu zhoulang 1921: p. 5.
496. Chen 1943: p. 25. For another version of this story, see Chen 1997 (1928): pp. 81–82.
497. According to Bao's memoir, the novel was given to the China Bookstore (*zhonghua shuju*, 中華書局) to be published in 1924. See Bao 1999 (1971): 591–8. pp. Two *Crystal* reports also showed that the novel was published in 1925. See *Jingbao* 1925: July 3, and 27. But the reprinted version dates the novel to 1922. See Bao 1999. Bao did not finished novel because it was too ambitiously planned to continue to write, not because anything related to Mei Lanfang.
498. For a study of *A Flower in the Sea of Sins*, see Wang 1997: pp. 38–41; 102–114.
499. For the unfinished novel, see Bao 1999: pp. 150–258. For Bao's experience of writing the novel, see Bao 1999 (1971): pp. 584–629.
500. Mei Qiaoling was called the master of the Hall of Harmonious. Chen 1943: p. 23. A 1923 *Crystal* article wrote that, twentieth years in previous, he visited the *xianggong* residence and knew that Mei Lanfang was trained there. But at that time, Mei was very young and did not meet guests. See *Jingbao* 1923: August 23. According to a brief biography of Mei Lanfang, the house belonged to the actor Zhu Xiaofen (朱小芬) when Mei was studying there. *Jingbao* 1923: December 24, 1923.
501. Bao 1999 (1971): p. 587, my translation. The translation of *baiguizhidian* is from the *Far East Chinese-English Dictionary.*
502. Bao 1999 (1971): p. 587.
503. See Li 2001: pp. 85–86. Xu 2003: p. 103.
504. Bao 1999 (1971): p. 587.
505. Bao 1999 (1971): p. 750.
506. Bao 1999 (1922): p. 176.
507. See Bao 1999 (1922): pp. 171–179.
508. See Bao 1999 (1971): pp. 585.
509. Ironically, this made him feel the need to write a novel on the 1911 Revolution.
510. See Xu 1986 (1920): p. 5905. Andrea Goodman translates *laodou* into "old roués." For a in-depth study of *laoduo*, see Goodman 2008: pp. 47–53.
511. See *Jingbao* 1920: January 24. The article was reprinted in *Jingbao* 1939: August 20. The writer Feng Shuluan (馮叔鸞) wrote under the pseudonym Ma'er xiansheng (Mr. Ma II, 馬二先生). For his writing on theatre reform in the same period, see Weng ed. 1999: pp. 241–242.
512. Referred as Feng Zongcai (馮總裁, President Feng). See *Jingbao* 1920: January 24.
513. Another *Crystal* article entitled "pseudo-*xianggong* house" (*ban shifang*, 半私坊) argued that some *dan* actors' homes continued to functions as *xianggong* house; and among those actors were Shang Xiaoyun (尚小雲) and Zhu Qinxin (朱琴心). *Jingbao* 1924: June 3.
514. See, for example, *Jingbao* 1921: December 21, *Jingbao* 1922: May 24, and September 6. These articles were on the relationship between Mei Lanfang and Feng Youwei.
515. *Jingbao* 1924: May 15.
516. *Jingbao* 1924: May 15.
517. See Zhang 2001: p. 540.
518. See *Jingbao* 1924: June 9. The other two pairs identified were Feng Liuye (馮六爺) and Mei Waihua (梅畹華), and Mr. Yinggong (癭公先生) and Cheng Yushang (程玉霜), whose more

well-known name is Cheng Yanqiu (程硯秋). I will discuss the representation of Cheng later in the chapter.

519. For another article that could reveal that Shang Xiaoyun was the actor who was intimate with the Minister of Transportation Wu Yulin, see *Jingbao* 1924: May 1924. The content, predictably, was a homoerotic joke at the expense of the actor.
520. See *Jingbao* 1925: August 27.
521. See *Jingbao* 1939: January 14.
522. See *Jingbao* 1921: December 21.
523. *Jingbao* 1923: October 30.
524. In his *Historical Materials of Peking Opera in Qing Dynasty Beijing*, published in 1934, Zhang Cixi wrote the following introduction: "Zhu Qinxin (朱琴心), a student of the Union Medical College in Peking, indulged in opera music when he was young and became an actor later. He was appreciated by Cheng Ke (程克), who bought costumes and organized a performing group for him, and therefore became famous." Zhang: p. 1245.
525. *Tianfengbao* 1 933: February 8.
526. See *zhongguo jin xian dai renming dacidian* (Biographical Dictionary of Modern China) (1989): p. 675.
527. See *Jingbao* 1924: May 15. In this article, Zhu's name was not mentioned. Also see *Jingbao* 1924: July 24. In this satire, the name of both Cheng and Zhu were mentioned and the relationship was denounced. In 1938, once again, a writer talked about the lawsuit, but the tone had changed, characterizing their relationship positively as "bosom friends" (*moni*, 莫逆); see *Jingbao* 1938: December 29.
528. *Jingbao* 1933: February 23.
529. See *Dagong bao* 1933: February 15.
530. See *Tianfengbao* 1933: February 16. Most of arguments made in this statement would be rehearsed in court. Another commenting article "Dachuang yu shide" (Intestine and private virtue, 大腸與私德) was published in the *Heavenly Wind*, see *Tianfengbao* 1933, February 16. A article entitled "Zhichang zhong de hualiubing yanju" (A study of venereal disease related hemorrhoids, 痔瘡中的花柳病研究) that sided with the *Heavenly Wind* appeared in the *Crystal*. See *Jingbao* 1933: February 25.
531. See *Tianfengbao* 1933: March 20.
532. See *Jingbao* 1933: April 5, and June 4. The *Crystal* published a summary of the case from the very beginning to the end five years later, entitled "Zhu Qinxin yu tianfengbao zhi song" (The lawsuit of Zhu Qinxin vs. the *Heavenly Wind*, 朱琴心與天風報之訟); see *Jingbao* 1938: December, 29.
533. One report on the Zhu Qinxin case stated that a man who did not appear in the public (referring to Cheng) encouraged Zhu to pursue the lawsuit. See *Jingbao* 1933: April 5.
534. See *Jingbao* 1933: April 5.
535. For a concise biography of Li, see Boorman and Howard, pp. 319–321. A 1933 *Crystal* article seemed to suggest that Li's relationship with his chauffer was unusual. See *Jingbao* 1933: May 19.
536. The writer refers to the early Republican period before Jiang Jieshi took power and established his government in Nanjing 1927.
537. *Jingbao* 1938: September 15.
538. *Jingbao* 1938: September 15. Cheng visited Europe from 1932 to 1933. For a biography of Cheng Yanqiu, see Tu 1993.
539. The article was published in two installments in *Crystal*. See *Jingbao* 1938: September 21 and 22.
540. See *Jingbao* 1938: September 24.

541. See *Jingbao* 1940: April 1, 2, and 3.
542. Quoted in *Jingbao* 1939: November 30.
543. See *Jingbao* 1939: November 30. Also see Zhang ed. 1988 (1934 & 1937): 1225–1231.
544. See chapter Four.
545. See *Jingbao* 1939: November 9.
546. For the heterosexualization of the image of Mei Lanfang, see Goldstein, 1999: pp. 395–399.
547. See *Jingbao* 1923: May 15, 24 and July 24.
548. Mei had a wife when marrying Meng. For a biography of Meng, see Xu 2003. For more information on Mei-Meng relationship, see Xu 2003: pp. 102–174. For contemporary reports and comments, see *Jingbao* 1928: December 30, *Jingbao* 1932: January 27.
549. See *Jingbao* 1923: March 9–April 24 (sixteen installment in total).
550. For a detailed analysis of different types of supporters, see Wu 1998 (1938): pp. 361–365.
551. A *dan* actors' sexual involvement with married women was socially condemned because it was harmful to the conventional social norms, while possible sexual relationships with other men, although not a surprise for the public, were criticized because they hurt the image of the nation.
552. See Ba 1936 (1932): pp. 105–134. For a study of this short story, see Wang 2003: pp. 31–61. I am indebted to David Der-wei Wang's essay "Impersonating China" (2003) for calling my attention to the short story.
553. Ba 1936 (1932): pp. 124–125.
554. Ba 1936 (1932): pp. 133.
555. In the 1950s, Ba Jin changed the *dan* actor character into a "real woman." See Wang 2003: p. 149. For a new version of the story, see Ba 1989: pp. 450–463.
556. Ba 1936 (1932): p. 127.
557. See Lao 2004 (1937): pp. 16–34. For an English translation of the short story, see Lao 1999: pp. 183–210. For a brief study of the story, see Wang 1992: pp. 175–176.
558. Lao 2004 (1937): p. 20.
559. Lao 2004 (1937): p. 22–23.
560. Lao 2004 (1937): p. 29.
561. See Cheng and Dong 1989: p. 568.
562. Wu 1998 (1944): p. 38.
563. On women's image in music texts during the same period, Andrew Jones writes:

> Just as the modern "new woman" (in the 1935 Nie Er composition of the same title) would be assimilated to the leftist mobilization effort as a "vanguard" who "wanted to be the same as a man," the sing-song girls was represented in the leftist films not as frivolous courtesan ignorant of "grief of fallen dynasties" (as in Du Mu's famous Tang Dynasty quartrain), but rather as an oppressed subaltern eager to add her voice to the chorus of enlightened citizens crying out for national salvation.

Jones 2001: p. 114.

564. For a study of this novel, see Wang 2003: pp. 133–63; Ng 1995: pp. 1–22.
565. Qin 1998 (1944): p. 17.
566. Wang 2003: pp. 133–163.
567. Qin 1998 (1944): p. 21.
568. For example, Gail Hershatter's work on prostitution in Shanghai has persuasively illustrated how the meaning of gender and female sexuality and that of modernity were mutually constructed in semi-colonial China. Hershatter 1997.

569. The point that sex between men was policed by coloinal authorities is persuasively argued by M. Jacqui Alexander. See Alexander 2005: pp. 21–65.
570. See *Zhongguo jingshen zhang'ai fenlei yu zhenduan biaozhun (disanban)* (中國精神障礙分類與診斷標準, 第三版), known as CCMD-3: Section 66.3. This document was released on April 20, 2001.
571. These reports are published in different local newspapers and websites, many of which are collected on the mainstream website: www. sina.com. For example, on prevention advice, see *Nanjing chenbao* (Nanjing Morning News) 2005: February 28; on robberies, see *Xinhua wang* (New China Net): 2005: February 25; on blackmail, See *Dahe bao* (Big river news) 2005: March 1; on male prostitution, see *Chongqing Chenbao* (Chongqing morning news) 2005: February 18; on crimes of passion, see *Jinling wanbao* (Jinling evening news): 2006: April 26.
572. This view is represented by Zhang Beichuan, a medical expert who advocates gay liberation in contemporary China. In Zhang's writing, China's embrace of global capitalism is positively described with the officially sanctioned phrase *gaige kaifang* (改革開放, reform and open [policy]). See Zhang 2002: pp. 71–73.
573. A recent *New York Times* report typifies this kind of view, see *New York Times* 2005: "A Chinese University Remove a Topic from the Closet" by Howard W. French, September 5, p. 8.
574. For the idea of comspolitianism, see Rofel 2007: pp. 112–115.
575. Rofel 2007: pp. 197–198. For a definition of "cultural citizenship," see Rofel 2007: pp. 94–95.
576. Rofel 2007: p. 200.

Index