

Eileen Chang

Romancing Languages, Cultures and Genres

Edited by Kam Louie



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# Introduction

## *Eileen Chang: A Life of Conflicting Cultures in China and America*

Kam Louie

Eileen Chang [Zhang Ailing 張愛玲] was born into a large Shanghai family in 1920 and died alone in Los Angeles in 1995. In accordance with the terms of her will, she was cremated and her ashes were scattered to the wind. Since her death, Chang's life and writings have been closely scrutinized and her literary work has extended its reach through translations and screen adaptations. Chang herself retold her personal stories in different languages and from different perspectives, times, and places throughout her life, so these recent renditions build upon a lengthy tradition of retellings.

Since Chang's death, her life and times have been accorded more critical and popular attention and significance than ever before. In recent years, the number of articles and books about Chang has continued to multiply. However, there is still relatively little written about her in English. This book seeks to go some way to correcting this imbalance. And this introduction provides a short summary of Chang's life, pointing to junctures that provided the impetus for her creative output. It pays tribute to this remarkable woman and will hopefully elicit many more studies that will give her further life. Eileen Chang's experiences and observations are worth telling, not only because she lived in exciting times and places, but also, as Eva Hung remarks, because "circumstances and temperament combined to make her an observer of the details of Chinese urban life at a time when the majority of writers felt that it was their obligation to look at the grand picture,"<sup>1</sup> and she was almost unique in the honesty with which she recorded her reactions to life around her.

The essays in this book reveal a highly observant young woman weaving tales of romance amid war and "fallen" cities. When she was older, during the latter part of her American sojourn, she seemed to live in deafening silence and isolation. But her inner life, harking back to her days in Hong Kong and



Shanghai, was still filled with stories of romance, this time more personal and complex. Despite a long writing career, Eileen Chang seemed obsessed with those few years in the early 1940s when she was one of the most celebrated writers in Shanghai. Her best creative works, whether written in China or America, center on that period. While she wrote some novels about Communist China in the 1950s, these novels, in keeping with the political requirements of the time, are about peasants, and Chang clearly did not write them with much personal knowledge or commitment. They had little impact then, and it is unlikely they ever will. In keeping with Chang's own focus, the essays in this book mostly relate to her observations and reminiscences of her Hong Kong and Shanghai years, although the rehearsals of these memories took place over the course of several decades. Because it is not the content but the way in which she expressed her memories that is most interesting, the chapters of this book are arranged so that Chang's major works are discussed approximately in the chronological order in which they were released.

Eileen Chang's penchant for evocatively recalling the lives of members of wealthy families in decline in occupied Hong Kong and Shanghai meant that there was no way her writings could thrive in the Mainland in the 1950s and 60s, no matter how dispassionately she expressed herself. However, her work continued to generate interest in Taiwan and Hong Kong. As well as critics such as C. T. Hsia and David Wang who though based abroad publish in Chinese and so exert an influence in the Greater China region, numerous critics who are based in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and increasingly Mainland China, such as Shui Jing (水晶), Tang Wenbiao (唐文標), Chen Zishan (陳子善), William Tay (鄭樹森), Joseph Lau (劉紹銘) and Zhang Jian (張健), continue to publish volumes on Chang's writings. More importantly, in Taiwan in particular, many creative writers have been influenced by Eileen Chang, to such an extent that several generations of "Chang School writers" are said to have emerged.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed several of her novels have been made into plays and films in the last few decades, and her popularity has increased as a consequence. But, as indicated above, she has remained relatively unknown among the lay reading public in the West, despite having written and published several novels in English. Until recently, only a few scholars in the West had researched her work in depth, and even this was mostly due to C. T. Hsia's claim in his authoritative 1961 book on modern Chinese fiction that she was "the best and most important writer in Chinese today."<sup>3</sup> But such praise only reached readers interested in contemporary Chinese literature, and they were few in number

outside Hong Kong and Taiwan. However, in the last few years, thanks to the success of Ang Lee's film *Lust, Caution* (色, 戒, 2007) and the controversies surrounding it, interest in Chang's work has received an international boost beyond Sinological circles. Given the truly modern concerns that Eileen Chang represented, this international recognition is timely.

In today's world where cultures collide and interact in so many different ways and places, Eileen Chang presents a fascinating study. She came from a distinguished family—her great-grandfather was Li Hongzhang (李鴻章), the eminent late-Qing official. As well as having suppressed several rebellions, Li Hongzhang was known to Westerners as the Superintendent of Trade—the chief architect of foreign policy in the late Qing. He was such a highly regarded figure that Queen Victoria made him a Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order. Despite this pedigree, the family fortunes had declined considerably by the time Eileen was born. She was named Zhang Ying (張瑛), but her Europhile mother changed this to the English-sounding Zhang Ailing (i.e. Eileen Chang 張愛玲) when she was ten years old.<sup>4</sup> As Karen Kingsbury remarks, “even Eileen Chang's name speaks her dual heritage: a surname linked to the declining patriarchal world of the late imperial scholars and statesmen; and a maternally bequeathed, English-derived given name, with its associations of modern-style female assertiveness.”<sup>5</sup> Indeed, her mother so admired things European that, when Eileen was only two, her mother left for the UK, and stayed there for five years. From a very early age, then, Eileen's life revolved around Chinese high culture and the imagined allure of Europe.

Despite being born into a privileged family with such a cosmopolitan background, Eileen Chang was not a happy child. Not only was her mother more concerned with personal liberation than with her children's happiness; her father, like so many of his class and generation, led a dissolute life, taking on a second wife and using opium. Her parents' irreconcilable differences and the consequent drawn-out estrangement and divorce embittered them both and had a lasting impact on the hapless child. Eileen recalls that “Dream of Genius” (天才夢, 1940), her first story, written at the age of seven, was about a family tragedy, and her second story was about a young woman who commits suicide. Her first published work, which appeared in her school magazine when she was only twelve, was appropriately titled “The Unfortunate Her” (不幸的她, 1932).<sup>6</sup> The story is only a few pages long, but the protagonist's lament—at seeing her best childhood friend with a loving family as an adult—that “I cannot bear to see your happiness, it only accentuates my sadness,”<sup>7</sup> already

foreshadows the maudlin tone of her writings decades on. Indeed, Eileen Chang's descriptions of dysfunctional families such as the short story "The Golden Cangue" (金鎖記, 1943) stand as some of the best fictional pieces in modern Chinese literature. While "The Unfortunate Her" verges on pretentiousness and childish self-pitying sentimentality, it foreshadows many of the emotions and themes of Chang's later writings. The young protagonist may not be a likeable character, but her feelings are sincerely expressed and are far from insipid. Apart from the obvious envy she manifests for her friend's perceived existence, there is a sad yearning for a loving and harmonious family life.

"The Unfortunate Her" was published a year after Eileen Chang's parents divorced. In the same year, her mother again left for Europe, her father remarried, and Eileen's relationship with him deteriorated. In the spring of 1938, after a particularly vicious argument with her stepmother, her father beat Eileen heartlessly and isolated her in a room for several months before she was able to escape to join her mother, who had by then returned to Shanghai. While locked up, Chang suffered from dysentery and nearly died. She wrote about this incident and her unhappy childhood in an essay entitled "What a Life! What a Girl's Life" (1938), which was published in the English language newspaper *Shanghai Evening Post*. Thus, right from the beginning, Eileen Chang demonstrated that she was keen to reach out to both English and Chinese readers. She continued to refine and utilize her bilingualism and biculturalism during the course of her writing career. In her teenage years and earliest publications, Chang already portrayed the themes that were to be repeated throughout her writing career: the misfortunes that befall young women and the warped families of urban China at that time, which give rise to emotionally isolated and crippled personalities. That lingering sense of melancholy and desolation was to resonate throughout her creative works. By Chang's own reckoning, the word she used most often is "desolation" (荒涼), reflecting the mood that dominates her writings.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, Lin Zou argues that Chang was able to develop this feeling of desolation into a very successful aesthetics for the commercial consumption of the petty bourgeois.<sup>9</sup>

Despite her literary talent, Eileen Chang's family circumstances meant that for much of the time she was literally locked up, with nothing to do but dream and read, and as she grew older she became increasingly introverted. Unlike most of her contemporaries who were swept up in the New Culture and nationalist movements, her concerns were focused on personal rather than national salvation. The dramatic social upheavals taking place in China

at the time were only background noise in her writings. In the midst of the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1937–38, Chang was recounting in her essay “Whispers” (私語, 1944) her misfortunes as a young girl struggling to survive her father’s drug-induced violence and mother’s self-indulgent bohemianism, even as some of the fiercest fighting in modern times was claiming hundreds of thousands of lives around her. The whole essay focused on the family violence at home, and we only hear of the war because “we were kept awake at night by the shelling.” The only other mention of it is when Chang “wished a bomb would land on our home. I would have been happy to die along with them.”<sup>10</sup> Eileen Chang’s ability to write about very personal turmoil in the midst of great human upheavals as if such upheavals were happening elsewhere makes her unique in modern Chinese literature. It also meant that she was, as she intimates, not able or willing to parrot the nationalist or revolutionary slogans so prevalent in that era. Such isolationism in the midst of war and revolution was considered a great shortcoming in those days. Indeed, Chang’s unhappy childhood meant that she became, as her brother recalls, “self-defensive, selfish and self-absorbed.”<sup>11</sup>

Nonetheless, it was not all tragedy and unhappiness. In 1939, Chang went to study at the University of Hong Kong, with the understanding that she would proceed directly to Oxford for further study. She worked hard and did so well that she achieved very high grades and won two scholarships. Unfortunately, the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong after a short but brief battle in December 1941 and the consequent closure of the University meant that she was not able to graduate, and her plans to study in England were also dashed. Nonetheless, her years at the University of Hong Kong were pivotal in the evolution of Eileen Chang as an author. The University had an international faculty and student body. While there, she met a diverse range of people from different parts of China as well as Southeast Asia, many of whom she would draw upon for inspiration in her later writings. She also made a number of good friends, one of whom, Fatima Mohideen (Yanying 炎櫻), was a cheerful and intelligent woman. Their friendship was to last throughout their lives. In fact, Yanying was probably the only friend that Chang truly admired and loved. Yanying’s wit and good humour can be glimpsed in the “Sayings of Yanying” (炎櫻語錄, 1944) that Chang collated and published.<sup>12</sup>

The University of Hong Kong also provided the linguistic environment that enabled Chang to perfect her English writing skills. In fact, she made a commitment to only writing in English during the time she was in Hong Kong, to

the extent that when she returned to Shanghai in 1942 and tried to enroll in St. John's University she failed to get in because her Chinese grades were too low. But her English was so good that her early paid writings were film criticism pieces she wrote in 1942 for the only English language daily in Shanghai at the time, *Shanghai Times*. She also wrote essays for magazines for the English readership in China on aspects of Chinese life. Essays such as "Chinese Life and Fashions" (1943), published in *The XXth Century*, demonstrated her increasing awareness of how the mundane in Chinese culture could interest foreigners. Furthermore, the sojourn in Hong Kong enabled her to look at her native city from a distance—a crucial factor in developing her sensibility to Shanghainese culture. In her 1943 essay "Shanghainese, After All" (到底是上海人, 1943),<sup>13</sup> she shows how she came to really understand the Shanghainese by contrasting them with people from Hong Kong. Much like the present day, in Eileen Chang's time these were the two most cosmopolitan and exciting cities in Greater China. Clearly, her time in Hong Kong allowed her to gather much material and inspiration for her subsequent creative writing.

In the few years after she returned to Shanghai in 1942, Eileen Chang produced several short stories that catapulted her to celebrity status as a young fiction writer. Her hugely popular "debut work" "Love in a Fallen City" (傾城之戀, 1943) is rare among her fiction because it can be read as a romance with a happy ending. The story is also significant because barely a year after it was published, a script for "Love in a Fallen City" written by Eileen Chang was staged successfully, demonstrating her ability to write across a variety of genres. The first chapter of this volume is on male-female relations in "Love in a Fallen City," and Chapter 2 focuses on how the play has been rewritten for contemporary audiences in Hong Kong and cities in North America. In Chapter 1, I describe how the young Chang was quite different from other more "mainstream" writers of the time in her portrayal of romance and men, particularly Westernized men. Indeed, even though she saw her stories as "romances" (傳奇), her views were highly pragmatic and almost unromantic in terms of the characters' attitudes to love and marriage. The adaptation of the short story for the stage so soon after the former appeared is telling, but more significantly, in Chapter 2 Jessica Li demonstrates how its "new" version shows that Chang's works are, with few alterations, still highly relevant in a totally different culture and time. The changes to the story, while small, are significant: in contemporary Hong Kong, the female search for true love is paramount—diverging from the original story's emphasis on marriage as the ultimate goal.

While these romantic tales were influential and helped propel Chang to fame, her more tragic stories demonstrated to greater effect Chang's skills in character development and in portraying the stifling effects of family life. They are a cutting and merciless description of men and women and their relationships in a changing China. "The Golden Cangue" (1943) and "Red Rose, White Rose" (紅玫瑰與白玫瑰, 1944), published a couple of years after Chang's return to Shanghai from Hong Kong, reveal the moral disintegration of women (in the former story) and men (in the latter, also discussed in Chapter 1) caught up in a Shanghai on the cusp of transforming into a modern society in the early years of the twentieth century. There is no doubt that characters such as Cao Qiqiao in "The Golden Cangue" are some of the most memorable and iconic personalities in modern Chinese literature. Indeed, C. T. Hsia claims that Chang has successfully combined Chinese and Western styles of fiction writing in "The Golden Cangue," opining that this is "the greatest novelette in the history of Chinese literature."<sup>14</sup> Certainly, Qiqiao encapsulates very effectively the frustrations and destructiveness of a woman who is situated in a modernizing world but trapped in a stifling traditional family. According to Eileen Chang's brother Zijing, Cao Qiqiao is based on a real aunt, a capable village girl who was married into the Zhang family through marriage to an uncle who had rickets. Apparently, Eileen Chang's portrayal of this woman is accurate.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike her fictional creation Cao Qiqiao, Eileen Chang herself was not a victim of circumstance. She was determined to break free of the shackles of the family system that threatened to destroy her life, and at the same time to build her reputation as a writer. Following the success of "Love in a Fallen City" and "The Golden Cangue," Chang continued to produce a series of short stories such as "Shut Down" (封鎖, 1943), "Red Rose, White Rose," and "Waiting" (等, 1944). At around the same time, she also wrote a number of very influential essays such as "From the Mouths of Babes" (童言無忌, 1944) and "Whispers,"<sup>16</sup> expressing her innermost thoughts about her private life and the world around her. These essays invaluable document how a sensitive observer perceived everyday life in Japanese-occupied Shanghai. Even in occupied Hong Kong or Shanghai Chang's career blossomed, as indicated by the success of her stories. Her success in Japanese-occupied Shanghai showed that she was capable of operating easily in the Chinese-Western binary, but also in the milieu of Japanese occupation. As Nicole Huang shows in Chapter 3, she was an incredibly savvy operator who was able to bridge a variety of cultures and languages. Her popularity in Taiwan in later years suggests that she

had pan-Asian tastes. This may be due to her ability to delight in the universal and sometimes sublime significance of the mundane, such as clothing. Not only did Chang have an eye for the everyday; her genius lay in her ability to delight in “romancing the ordinary”<sup>17</sup> even at times of social dislocation. As well as illustrating this point, Esther Cheung in Chapter 4 demonstrates how Chang’s fiction and essays weave an intricate relationship between the literary, the mundane and gender. Cheung shows that this relationship is not just a “fashion show” that displays the surface of a shallow modern Shanghai, but can be traced to an ancient memory of Chinese antiquity.

With the publication of her early stories and essays, Eileen Chang won many admirers, one of whom was Hu Lancheng (胡蘭成), a cultured literatus who served in Wang Jingwei’s puppet government. Holding an important government position as an undersecretary in the Ministry of Information, Hu had considerable influence in the cultural sphere. He was editor of the literary journal *Bitter Bamboo Monthly* (苦竹月刊), in which Eileen Chang had some essays published, including her response to critics of her work, most notably Fu Lei, who had earlier claimed that stories such as “Love in a Fallen City” were too ornate and lacking in substance.<sup>18</sup> When Hu met Chang he was already married. This did not stop him from pursuing her, and he published glowing essays in praise of his latest romantic interest. He describes Chang as a staunch upholder of individualism, and likens her to a goddess who places great value on both human beings and the material world.<sup>19</sup> A year later, he wrote another essay in which he compares Chang to the leftwing writers. He accuses the leftwing writers of promoting collectivism without understanding that collectives are made up of individuals and claims that in order to write about the masses well, one must know about relationships between individuals. That, he says, Chang does well.<sup>20</sup>

By the time this second essay was published in June 1945, Hu and Chang had already been married for nearly a year. Their courtship and ensuing doomed marriage would have been non-controversial had the times been normal. Indeed, Chang would have been happy with Hu Lancheng had he been a more devoted husband. But the times were abnormal, and though talented, Hu was powerful mainly because he was an official in the puppet regime that owed its existence to the invading Japanese. To make matters worse, when the Japanese were retreating and Hu had to go into hiding, he continued his womanizing ways and became romantically involved with

other women even after Chang had sent him money to help him survive. Her deep sense of betrayal comes through in her recollections of this period. In Chapter 5, Shen Shuang points out that one reason the readership in the Mainland has been so fascinated by Eileen Chang in recent years could be because the Mainland is still feeling the effects of the Cultural Revolution, when stories of betrayal by family members and close friends were widespread. Shen uses Chang's narratives to explore the relationship between the sense of betrayal, historical memories, and the formation of the Chinese identity. She goes beyond the conventional perception of betrayal as immoral or unethical, and demonstrates how Chang's case shows that it is best understood in historical and personal contexts.

Even though her writings have experienced a revival in recent decades in the Sinophone world, including Mainland China, Eileen Chang's life as wife of a Japanese collaborator and her insistence on being "apolitical" made her unwelcome in Communist China after 1949, although her literary talents did help her to lead a reasonably successful life there for a couple of years under the new regime. In fact she published the novel *Eighteen Springs* (十八春) in 1950, and even participated in the inaugural Writers' and Artists' Conference in Shanghai in 1950. But in 1952 she went back to Hong Kong, where she worked for the United States Information Service, and wrote the novel *The Rice-Sprout Song* (1955) in English.<sup>21</sup> Produced in the opening stages of the Cold War, the novel could be considered a propaganda work showing the widespread suffering being experienced in China. In the same vein, Chang also finished the novel *Love in Redland* (赤地之戀), which she subsequently translated into English as *Naked Earth* (1956).<sup>22</sup> In these works she again demonstrated her ability to manage two entirely different languages and cultures. She then went to America in 1955, where, apart from a short spell in Taiwan in 1960–62, she remained until her death in 1995. In America, Chang spent some years immersing herself in classical Chinese literature. She loved English literature, but was also thoroughly conversant with traditional Chinese fiction, which she adored. When she obtained some short-term research positions at universities in America such as the University of California, Berkeley and Miami University in Ohio, she translated *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* (海上花列傳, 1894) and researched the novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* (紅樓夢, 1792). Such academic work was probably considered "safe" given the Cold War climate of the time. As Wang Xiaojue indicates in Chapter 6, Chang's *Dream of*



*the Red Chamber* research and forays into screenwriting are best appreciated in the wider context of Cold War politics and how they affected diasporic writing across disparate languages and cultures.

In stark contrast to her self-proclaimed haste to publish and become famous when she was younger, the semi-autobiographical works Chang wrote in adulthood literally took years to appear. The most significant work (if only because it resulted in the film that launched her twenty-first century international fame) is “Lust, Caution,”<sup>23</sup> a short tale that underwent several revisions before being published in 1978. As noted above, the story twists the martyrdom of the beautiful secret agent Zheng Pingru (1918–40) into a tale of betrayal. Zheng failed to assassinate Wang Jingwei’s security chief Ding Mocun; she was executed, but never betrayed her comrades. However, in “Lust, Caution,” the heroine warns her lover/would-be victim moments before the assassination attempt, and he escapes. He quickly rounds up all the conspirators (including the heroine) and has them executed. Critics such as Cai Dengshan have written in depth about the historical events to reflect on Chang’s complicated love affairs and marriages in complex political intrigues and times,<sup>24</sup> and other critics have also comprehensively explored the connections between and controversies surrounding Eileen Chang’s story and Ang Lee’s film.<sup>25</sup>

Neither the story nor the historical incident would have come to international attention but for the fact that Ang Lee chose to make a film based on this tale of multiple betrayals. And, to borrow a phrase from Lee Haiyan, Ang Lee’s film successfully shows how the collaborator security chief gets “under the skin”<sup>26</sup> of the young protagonist Wang Jiazhi by way of a series of explicit sadomasochistic scenes in the movie. When he gives her an expensive diamond ring at the climactic point just before the assassination, she momentarily believes that this sadistic security chief is in love with her and warns him to escape; in so doing, she betrays her comrades, herself, and the nationalist cause. While Ang Lee has liberally reinterpreted the relationship between the heroine and her lovers/comrades, his film vividly captures the sexual-political dimensions of the story and makes explicit the many layers of betrayal that the story narrates.

The results of the “partnership” between two of the most talented artists in twentieth-century China in the production of the film is the focus of attention in Chapters 7 and 8 by Gina Marchetti and Hsiu-Chuang Deppman. Gina Marchetti’s chapter plays on the idea of betrayal, showing how Lee’s film goes beyond Chang and betrays its literary source. She shows how Lee appreciates

the perspectives of all his characters, transforming Chang's anger toward Yi (and men of his ilk) into some form of understanding. Deppman by contrast shows that despite using different framing strategies, Chang and Lee "match" each other and in their different ways both present the issue of human cruelty extremely adroitly employing the resources at their disposal. Certainly, both the novel and the film are finely crafted works, and both are multi-layered, multi-vocal texts. However, even though the subtle psychological portrayals of the interplay between individual romantic reveries and the political demands of wartime nationalism may owe something to Eileen Chang's personal experiences, "Lust, Caution" is a work of fiction.

In real life, Eileen Chang actually married Hu Lancheng, even though the marriage did not last long. Despite a couple of attempts to save it, Hu Lancheng's infidelities and the collapse of the puppet regime that he served caused the couple to go their separate ways. After Japan surrendered, Eileen Chang was in danger of being officially charged with being a "cultural traitor"—indeed, this was a label she was given by some in Shanghai after the War ended—in the same way that Wang Jiazhi (and even the actress who played the role) in "Lust, Caution" has aroused unforgiving accusations of selling out. In June 1947, Eileen Chang divorced Hu Lancheng, who escaped to Japan in 1949. The story was published over thirty years after they separated, so if it was indeed a result of Chang's tumultuous marriage to Hu, it does seem he "got under her skin." Even though "Lust, Caution" underwent several revisions before it was published, it is a relatively short piece in the Chang oeuvre.

In the last decades of her life Eileen Chang was deeply involved in writing two long novels, one in Chinese and one in English. She began writing the Chinese work, the semi-autobiographical novel *Little Reunion* (小團圓), in the early 1970s. By July 1975, she had finished half of it. But the novel was only published posthumously in 2009. This was due mainly to the advice and intervention of her friend and quasi-literary agent Stephen Soong (宋淇), who feared that Hu Lancheng would profit from her fame or use her personal revelations to harm her.<sup>27</sup> Undoubtedly, fans will continue to speculate about the feelings Eileen Chang and Hu Lancheng had for each other or whether publishing *Little Reunion* before she died would have had any effect on Chang's reputation.<sup>28</sup> But as Pang Laikwan illustrates in Chapter 9, Chang's alter ego in the novel, Julie, seems to be most passionate towards the character in the novel that is Hu Lancheng's counterpart. Pang deftly looks at the dilemma of someone like Eileen Chang, who could be almost detached

and merciless in her assessments of people but could at the same time create so lovingly and in such detail some of the most memorable characters in modern Chinese literature. Pang gives us a number of perspectives on the meaning of the term “*tuanyuan*” (團圓, reunion) and what it suggests about human relationships, especially those between the protagonist Julie and her mother and lover, who seem to be unambiguously modelled on Eileen Chang’s own mother and Hu Lancheng.

Cold war politics and other world tensions might have created in Chang a sense of insecurity about the possibility of personal and political betrayal. But as Sang Tze-lan shows in Chapter 10, instead of radically revising the manuscript of *Little Reunion*, as suggested by Stephen Soong, Chang chose to delay and withhold the novel from publication, effectively demonstrating her lack of concern about her “moral” reputation or whether she would be bothered by the ageing Hu. In this way, Eileen Chang seems to have transcended the conventional ideologies of motherhood and nationalism. If she was insecure about human relationships, it could have been due as much to her parents—a mother who “abandoned” her twice to go to Europe when she was very little, and a father who sided with her stepmother and beat her savagely—as to her failed marriage to Hu Lancheng. It could even be argued that she looked for a parental figure in her relationships. Hu Lancheng was fifteen years her senior and Ferdinand Reyher (1891–1967), her second husband whom she married in 1956, was thirty years older. More significantly, while Chang had herself worked for the American Information Service, which at that time was mostly concerned with fighting Communism, Reyher was known to be leftwing and sympathetic to the Communists, and a close collaborator of Bertolt Brecht. Coming at the height of the Cold War and fears about the Red Peril, this suggests that Chang was unconcerned about whether her private affairs would harm her reputation politically.

Unless her unpublished papers, which Roland Soong is now gradually making public, tell us otherwise, Chang’s main concern in America was literally how to survive with minimal fuss. There is little to indicate that she was involved in social action in America, and she was probably even less active politically there than she had been in China. Even though Eileen Chang spent more than half her life in America and was married to Reyher for over ten years, and despite the fact that in recent years there have been waves of “Eileen Chang fever” and her life and works have been subjected to minute

examination in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China, there has been nothing major written about her life in America or her marriage to Reyher, apart from an excellent book by Sima Xin. C. T. Hsia remarks that the absence of even one photo of Reyher in Chang's book *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album* (對照記：看老照相簿, 1994) is a "strange" situation.<sup>29</sup> In fact, this "strange" phenomenon seems to characterize the second, "American" half of Chang's life. She became more and more introverted, and did not say much about America at all, but instead repeatedly revised what she had written about her life as a young woman in Shanghai and Hong Kong, or translated and interpreted traditional Chinese novels such as *Dream of the Red Chamber* and *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai*. She became increasingly reclusive, and by the end of her life was taking great precautions to avoid being bothered by visitors. Her introspection did produce some extremely enlightening novels. As early as the 1950s, she began writing the novel *The Book of Change* in English. This project was so large that it eventually became two books, with the first part becoming *The Fall of the Pagoda*. The two semi-autobiographical novels that resulted recapture Chang's memories from her earliest childhood until she returned to Shanghai from Hong Kong. She was never able to find a publisher for these books, and only in 2010 did they appear with Hong Kong University Press amid great anticipation and acclaim.

In Chapter 11, which focuses on these posthumously published works, David Wang shows that the way in which Eileen Chang repeats herself has given rise to a peculiar poetics, one that highlights not revelation but derivation. Because she was a sensitive person living in times of tumultuous cultural transformation, her sensitivities are worth relating, and they are worth examining. At a time when most writers were obsessed with the idea of saving or changing the Chinese nation or Chinese culture, Eileen Chang presents a personal story, one that she felt compelled to rehearse many times. She manages to reveal her feelings and thoughts not via the theme of revolution or national salvation so prevalent at that time, but through a deliberate involution in the telling of her life. One thing is sure: this singular voice will continue to appeal to readers, who will no doubt respond to it in their own individual ways.

The contributors to this volume have given their responses from different perspectives to different aspects of Eileen Chang's life and work. This is just a beginning. I hope we have done Eileen Chang justice and that more research on Chang and her times will follow.

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Eva Hung, "Editor's Page," *Renditions: A Chinese-English Translation Magazine*. Special Issue on Eileen Chang 45 (1996): 4.
2. Su Weizheng 蘇偉貞, *Copying: On the Generations of Taiwanese Chang School Creative Writers* 描紅：臺灣張派作家世代論 (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2006).
3. C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, 1917-1957* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 389.
4. See Yu Qing 于青, *Biography of Eileen Chang* 張愛玲傳 (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 2008), 15.
5. Jin Kai-jun 金凱筠 (Karen Kingsbury), "Eileen Chang's 'Cenci de duizhao' and Eurasian Culture-Creation," 張愛玲的《參差的對照》與歐亞文化的呈現, ed. Yang Ze 楊澤, *Reading Eileen Chang: Collected Essays from the "International Conference on Eileen Chang Research"* 閱讀張愛玲：張愛玲國際研討會論文集 (Taipei: Maitian, 1999), 311.
6. Eileen Chang, "The Unfortunate Her" 不幸的她, *Eileen Chang: Writings, Supplement* 《張愛玲：文集·補遺》, ed. Zi Tong 子通 and Yi Qing 亦清 (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 2003), 270-72.
7. Chang, "The Unfortunate Her," 272.
8. Eileen Chang, "Comments on the Reprint of *Romances*" 《傳奇》再版的話, reprinted in *Complete Essays of Eileen Chang* 張愛玲散文全集, ed. Wu Danqing 吳丹青 (Zhengzhou: Zhongguo nongmin chubanshe, 1996), 439.
9. Lin Zou, "The Commercialization of Emotions in Zhang Ailing's Fiction," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 70, 1 (2011): 29-51.
10. Eileen Chang, "Whispers," trans. Janet Ng, *Renditions* 45 (Spring 1996): 43-44.
11. Zhang Zijing 張子靜 and Ji Ji 季季, *My Sister: Eileen Chang* 我的姐姐張愛玲 (Changchun: Jilin chuban jituan, 2009), 133.
12. Originally published in 1944. Reprinted in "Sayings of Yanying" 炎櫻語錄 in *Complete Essays of Eileen Chang* 張愛玲散文全集, 307-9.

13. The essay was collected in the volume 《流言》 in 1945, which was later translated as *Written on Water*, trans. Andrew F. Jones, co-ed. with an introduction by Nicole Huang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 53–55.
14. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, 398.
15. Zhang Zijing, *My Sister: Eileen Chang*, 198–203.
16. These essays are collected in *Written on Water*.
17. Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 289.
18. 〈自己的文章〉, translated as “Writing of One’s Own,” in *Written on Water*, 15–22.
19. Hu Lancheng 胡蘭成, “On Eileen Chang” 論張愛玲, published in 1944, reprinted in Hu Lancheng, *Writing in the Age of Turbulence 亂世文談* (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 2007), 30.
20. Hu Lancheng, “Eileen Chang and the Leftists” 張愛玲與左派, published in 1945, reprinted in *Writing in the Age of Turbulence*, 36.
21. Eileen Chang, *The Rice-Sprout Song*, first published in 1955, reprinted in *The Rice-Sprout Song: A Novel of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
22. Eileen Chang, *Naked Earth* (Hong Kong: Union Press, 1956).
23. Translated in Eileen Chang, “Lust, Caution,” trans. Julia Lovell, in *Lust, Caution and Other Stories* (London: Penguin, 2007), 1–37.
24. Cai Dengshan 蔡登山, *Eileen Chang: “Lust, Caution” 張愛玲：色戒* (Beijing: ZuoJia chubanshe, 2007).
25. For example, Leo Ou-fan Lee 李歐梵, *Looking at Lust, Caution: Literature, Cinema, History* 睇色·戒：文學·電影·歷史 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
26. Lee Haiyan, “Enemy under My Skin: Eileen Chang’s *Lust, Caution* and the Politics of Transcendence,” *PMLA* 125, 3 (2010): 640–56.
27. For selected correspondence between Chang and relevant people such as Stephen Soong about the publication of the novel, see Song Yilang 宋以朗 (Roland Soong), Preface to Eileen Chang’s *Little Reunion* 小團圓 (Hong Kong: Huangguan, 2009), 1–17.
28. For a very interesting discussion of the implications of the publication of the novel on Eileen Chang’s relationship with her readership in Taiwan and Hu Lancheng’s impact there, see Peter Lee, “Eileen Chang’s Fractured Legacy,” *Online AsiaTimes*, April 29, 2009. <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/KD29Ad01.html>.
29. C. T. Hsia, “Preface,” in Sima Xin 司馬新, *Eileen Chang in America 張愛玲在美國* (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1996), 14.

## Chapter 1

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2. Zhang Junli 張鈞莉, “The Masculine World in Eileen Chang’s Fiction” 張愛玲小說中的男性世界, in *Eileen Chang’s Fictional World* 張愛玲的小說世界, ed. Zhang Jian 張健 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1984), 55.
3. Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 100–11.
4. Eileen Chang, “Writing of One’s Own” 自己的文章, in *Written on Water* 流言, trans. Andrew F. Jones, co-ed. with an introduction by Nicole Huang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 18.
5. Eileen Chang, “Red Rose, White Rose,” in *Love in a Fallen City*, trans. Karen Kingsbury (New York: New York Review Books, 2007), 255.
6. Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” in *Love in a Fallen City*, 130.
7. Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*.
8. Xun Yu 迅雨 (Fu Lei’s pen name), “On Eileen Chang’s Short Stories” 論張愛玲的小說, first published in 1944, appended in Tang Wenbiao 唐文標, *On Eileen Chang* 張愛玲研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshiyegongsi, 1976), 113–35.
9. Yu Guanying 余冠英, trans. and annotator, *Selections from The Book of Songs* 詩經選 (Beijing: Renminwenxue chubanshe, 1982), 22–23.
10. Eileen Chang, “Love in a Fallen City” 傾城之戀, in *Complete Works of Eileen Chang*, Volume 5 張愛玲全集·五 (Hong Kong: Huangguan chubanshe, 2007), 216.
11. Eileen Chang, “Writing of One’s Own,” in *Complete Essays of Eileen Chang* 張愛玲散文全集 (Zhengzhou: Zhongyuan nongmin chubanshe, 1996), 314.
12. Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” 148.
13. Ibid.
14. Leo Ou-fan Lee, “Eileen Chang: Romances of a Fallen City,” in Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 299.
15. Yu, *Selections from the Book of Songs*, 28.
16. Bob Hodge and Kam Louie, *The Politics of Chinese Language and Culture* (London: Routledge, 1998), 103.
17. Chang, “From the Ashes” 燼餘錄, in *Written on Water*, 45.
18. Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” 149.
19. Luo Xiaoyun 羅小雲, Appendix 2: Examining Eileen Chang’s Attitudes to Life in “Love in a Fallen City” 附錄2：從〈傾城之戀〉看張愛玲對人生的觀照, in *Collected Critical Essays on Eileen Chang’s Short Stories* 張愛玲短篇小說論集, ed. Chen Bingliang 陳炳良 (Taipei: Yuanjing chubanshe shiye gongshi, 1983), 154.
20. Luo, Appendix 2, 155.
21. Lee, “Eileen Chang: Romances of a Fallen City,” 292–93.
22. Chang, “Red Rose, White Rose,” 255.
23. Chang, “Red Rose, White Rose,” 256.
24. Rey Chow, “Seminal Dispersal, Fecal Retention, and Related Narrative Matters: Eileen Chang’s Tale of Roses in the Problematic of Modern Writing,” *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 11, 2 (1999): 163.

25. See Chen Bingliang 陳炳良, “The Narcissus and the Rose—on Red Rose, White Rose 水仙與玫瑰——論〈紅玫瑰與白玫瑰〉中的佟振保, in *Collected Critical Essays on Eileen Chang’s Short Stories* 張愛玲短篇小說論集, 73–85, for further discussion on this distinction.
26. Chang, “Red Rose, White Rose,” 256.
27. Chang, “Red Rose, White Rose,” 259.
28. Chang, “Red Rose, White Rose,” 262.
29. Chang, “Red Rose, White Rose,” 262.
30. *Ibid.*, 312.
31. Eileen Chang, “Frank Comments on ‘Love in a Fallen City’” 關於〈傾城之戀〉的老實話, in *Information on Eileen Chang Old and New* 舊聞新知張愛玲, ed. Xiao Jin 肖進 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 42.

## Chapter 2

1. In the film adaptation, the conflicts in the Shanghai household are not depicted in very much detail, but the battle against the Japanese in Hong Kong with the help of British soldiers is recounted at length. The film was released in 1984, after the signing of the agreement between the People’s Republic of China and Britain confirming that the sovereignty over Hong Kong would return to China in 1997. Ann Hui declared that the film was dedicated to the nostalgic history of Hong Kong, and sought to reproduce Hong Kong’s past before it vanished.
2. Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 177.
3. Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 177.
4. Eileen Chang, “Reflections on ‘Love in a Fallen City’” 回顧傾城之戀, in *Complete Works of Eileen Chang*, Volume 18 張愛玲全集·十八 (Hong Kong: Huangguan wenxue chubanshe, 2005), 16. Eileen Chang, “Shanghainese, After All” 到底是上海人, in *Written on Water* 流言, trans. Andrew F. Jones, co-ed. with an introduction by Nicole Huang (New York: Columbia University Press), 16.
5. Eileen Chang, *Little Reunion* 小團圓 (Hong Kong: Huangguan chubanshe, 2009), 45.
6. Eileen Chang, “Frank Comments on ‘Love in a Fallen City’” 關於《傾城之戀》的老實話, in *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album* 對照記：看老照相簿 in *Complete Works of Eileen Chang*, Volume 15 張愛玲全集·十五 (Hong Kong: Huangguan chubanshe, 2000), 103.
7. Eileen Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” in *Dragonflies—Fiction by Chinese Women in the Twentieth Century*, trans. and ed. Shu-ning Sciban and Fred Edwards (Ithaca, New York: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2003), 39.
8. George Bluestone, “The Limits of the Novel and the Limits of Film,” in *Novels into Film* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 47.
9. Fredric Mao 毛俊輝 and Leo Ou-fan Lee 李歐梵, “Sophistication Made in Hong Kong—Dialogue between Lee Ou-fan and Mao Junhui” 香港製造的上海世



- 故——李歐梵與毛俊輝對談, (*New Love in a Fallen City* (program) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Repertory Theatre, 2006), 21.
10. Hoyan Hangfeng 何杏楓 has analyzed in detail the singing and dancing elements in her essay, “Tonight What Songs Are You Singing?—On Hong Kong Repertory Theatre’s (*New Love in a Fallen City*) 「今夜你們唱甚麼歌」——論香港話劇團的《(新)傾城之戀》, in *Hong Kong Drama Journal* 香港戲劇學刊, no. 4 (2006): 252.
  11. Eileen Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” trans. Karen Kingsbury, *Renditions* 45 (Spring 1996): 82.
  12. Chang, “Frank Comments on ‘Love in a Fallen City,’” 103.
  13. Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” 58.
  14. Before the production opened, several popular Toronto newspapers reported that Leung had greeted 500 fans in Market Village, a Chinese Canadian shopping mall in Toronto. For example, the *Toronto Sun* published a close-up of Leung’s face with many fans taking photographs of him, under the heading, “Fans Love Chinese Idol—Big Welcome for Top Actor” (April 27, 2006); *Metro* displayed a close-up of Leung’s smiling face as he shook someone’s hand under the title, “Fans Fall for Tony” (April 27, 2006); and *Ming Pao* used the caption, “The King of Movies Arrives in Toronto” (April 26, 2006). Similarly, *Singtao Weekly* printed the heading, “Newly Born Movie King Arrives in Honor” (April 29, 2006).
  15. For example, *Singtao Daily News* published the news that “Leung Kar-fai arrived to celebrate ‘Hong Kong Culture & Heritage Day’” (April 27, 2006), which is a celebration proclaimed by the Toronto City Council and held on April 26. To further promote *NLFC* in Toronto, Leung donated a pair of “Bruno Magli—Love” shoes he wore in the French film *L’Amant* (*The Lover*, dir. Jean-Jacques Annaud, 1992) to Mrs. Sonja Bata, the Founding Chair of the Bata Shoe Museum in Toronto. The Hong Kong Economic Trade Office released a report that “Tony Leung presents footwear for Museum’s ‘Walk of Fame’” (April 27, 2006), which was carried by newspapers such as *Singtao Daily News* (April 28, 2006), *Today Daily News* (April 28, 2006) and *Ming Pao* (April 30, 2006). Furthermore, the money generated by the show was donated to the Yee Hong Community Wellness Foundation. Newspapers carried photographs of Leung chatting and joking with seniors (*The Mirror*, April 28, 2006) and laughing with the president of the Foundation and a resident of the Yee Hong Centre (*Singtao Daily News*, April 28, 2006). The *Toronto Sun* also published a photograph of Leung receiving a kiss from a seventy-seven-year-old woman (April 28, 2006).
  16. Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 126.
  17. Rey Chow, “Against the Lures of Diaspora: Minority Discourse, Chinese Women, and Intellectual Hegemony,” in *Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Chinese Literature and Society*, ed. Tonglin Lu (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 41.

18. Sigmund Freud, “The Uncanny,” in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. Vincent B. Leitch (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2001), 934.
19. Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” 51.
20. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 13.
21. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 54.
22. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2.
23. Eileen Chang, “Writing of One’s Own,” in *Written on Water*, 17.
24. Chang, “Writing of One’s Own,” 17.
25. Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 92.
26. Mao and Lee, “Sophistication Made in Hong Kong,” 20.
27. Yanyan Guo 郭延廷, “Hong Kong Repertory Theatre Artistic Director Fredric Mao—Untangled Fate of Drama in This Life” 香港話劇團藝術總監毛俊輝——這一世解不開的戲劇緣, *Toronto City Newspaper*, May 12, 2006, 32.
28. Ban, Gu 班固, “Biographies of the Empresses and Imperial affinities,” no. 67a, 外戚傳·第六十七上, in *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, Volume 97a 前漢書·卷九十七上. <http://www.xysa.net/a200/h350/02qianhanshu/t-097.htm>.
29. Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” 70.
30. Julia Kristeva, “Woman Can Never Be Defined,” trans. Marilyn A. August, in *New French Feminisms: An Anthology*, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (New York: Schocken Books, 1981), 137.
31. Chang, “Love in a Fallen City,” 70.
32. Chang, “Shanghainese, After All,” 55.
33. The crew of the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre for the stage production *NLFC* consisted predominantly of Hong Kong people. Although Fredric Mao was born in Shanghai, he grew up in Hong Kong and most of his theatrical career unfolded in that city. The playwrights who worked on the production included Chan Koo-chung, who was born in Shanghai and grew up in Hong Kong, and Nick Yu, who was from Shanghai and was recruited to add a feeling of that city. The actors and actresses came mainly from Hong Kong or from Mainland China via Hong Kong.

### Chapter 3

1. Hu Lancheng 胡蘭成, “A Woman of the Republican Era: On Eileen Chang” 民國女子：張愛玲記, in *This Life, These Times 今生今世* (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1996), 167–200.
2. Ikegami Sadako 池上貞子 is the only scholar who has written on the subject. See Ikegami Sadako, “Eileen Chang and Japan” 張愛玲和日本, in *Reading Eileen Chang: Collected Essays from the “International Conference on Eileen Chang Research”* 閱讀張愛玲：張愛玲國際研討會論文集, ed. Yang Ze 楊澤 (Taipei: Maitian, 1999), 83–102.
3. See “A Gathering of Summer Cooling” 納涼會記, *The Miscellany Monthly* 雜誌月刊 15, 5 (August 1945): 67–72. The photo in question appears on page 71. The

- image is also included in Chang's *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album* 對照記：看老照相簿, the last work to be published before the author's death in 1995. In the captions that accompany the photo, the date is wrongly given as 1943. Perhaps even Chang herself could not fathom the fact that the photo was taken on the eve of Japan's defeat. See *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album* (Taipei: Huangguan, 1994), 65–66.
4. See Yiman Wang, "Between the National and the Transnational: Li Xianglan/Yamaguchi Yoshiko and Pan-Asianism," *IJA Newsletter* 38 (September 2005): 7. For a study of Li Xianglan's role in Japan's colonial film industry, see Shelley Stephenson, "'Her Traces Are Found Everywhere': Shanghai, Li Xianglan, and the 'Greater East Asian Film Sphere,'" in *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943*, ed. Yingjin Zhang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 222–45. See also Yamaguchi Yoshiko's own account in Li Xianglan, *The First Half of My life* 我的半生, trans. Jin Ruoqing (Hong Kong: Baixing wenhua shiye, 1992), and Ri Ko-ran and Tanaka Hiroshi et al., "Looking Back on My Days as Ri Ko-ran," *Sekai* (September 2003): 171–75. Translated by Melissa Wender, the interview is located at <http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/7000> (accessed August 13, 2009).
  5. For an analysis of the film, see Poshek Fu, *Between Shanghai and Hong Kong: The Politics of Chinese Cinemas* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 110–18. See also Zhiwei Xiao, "The Opium War in the Movies: History, Politics and Propaganda," *Asian Cinema* 11, 1 (Spring/Summer 2000): 68–83.
  6. Paul Pickowicz, in his comments on an earlier version of this chapter, noted this peculiar phenomenon.
  7. Chang, *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album*, 65–66.
  8. Chang, *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album*, 65.
  9. The legend goes that this was the dress that earned Chang her reputation as a public figure with a particular taste for "strange costumes" (奇裝異服). Zhang Zijing, Eileen Chang's younger brother, wrote about her dress sense. Pan Liudai, another woman writer of the time who was not particularly friendly with Chang, also wrote of Chang's penchant for setting fashion trends. See Zhang Zijing 張子靜, *My Sister Eileen Chang* 我的姊姊張愛玲 (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2003).
  10. The group photo is an index to important cultural figures in occupied Shanghai. Chen Binhe (1897–1945), considered an enigmatic figure in modern Chinese history, had many ties with the Leftist movement early in his career. He had been an editor at *Shenbao* 申報 since the early 1930s, and was known as a fierce critic of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government. In 1936 he fled to Hong Kong, only to reappear in 1941 in Shanghai, where he was transformed into a promoter of pan-Asian projects and ideologies. When the war ended, he fled to Japan, dying a mysterious death in a mental institution in 1945. Jin Xiongbai (1904–85), a well-known figure in Shanghai's newspaper circle, became a key member of the Wang Jingwei government during the occupation. When the war ended, he was prosecuted, and was imprisoned for a period of time but released in 1948. He lived out the second

- half of his life in Hong Kong and was the author of a series of memoirs about his newspaper career and the vicissitudes of the Wang Jingwei administration.
11. See “A Roundtable Discussion on Sai Shoki’s Dance” 崔承喜舞蹈座談, *The Miscellany Monthly* 12, 2 (November 1943): 33–38. For a discussion of Choe’s wartime activities, see Sang Mi Park, “The Making of a Cultural Icon for the Japanese Empire: Choe Seung-hui’s U.S. Dance Tours and ‘New Asian Culture’ in the 1930s and 1940s,” *positions: east asia culture critique* 14, 3 (2006): 597–632. See also Wen-hsun Chang, “Choi Seung-Hee and Taiwan: ‘The Joseon Boom’ in Taiwan of the Pre-war Period,” *Platform Anthology: Asia Culture Review* (September 2009): 28–32, and a short documentary on Choe titled *Choi Seunghhee: The Korean Dancer*, produced and directed by Won Jong-sun (West Long Branch, NJ: Kultur, 1998).
  12. For a study of Chang’s essay writing, see Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 122–58. For a Chinese version of the relevant section, see *Writing against the Turmoil: Eileen Chang and Popular Culture of Occupied Shanghai* 亂世書寫：張愛玲與淪陷時期上海文學及通俗文化, trans. Hu Jing (Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Press, 2010), 149–92.
  13. Original text in “Written on Water” 流言, 1945, 7–8. The paragraph here is translated by Andrew F. Jones, in *Written on Water*, co-ed. with an introduction by Nicole Huang (New York: Columbia University Press), 7–8.
  14. See examples in Jacqueline Atkins, ed., *Wearing Propaganda: 1931–1945: Textiles on the Home Front in Japan, Britain, and the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
  15. My gratitude to Wen-hsun Chang, who shared her readings of these two portraits with me.
  16. See *Written on Water*, 53–54.
  17. See David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, “The Genesis of Russian Sinology,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 1, 2 (Spring 2000): 355–64. See also Schimmelpenninck van der Oye’s new book entitled *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), in which he again traces Russian interest in the Orient to well before the Revolution of 1917. The long history of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg, which can be traced to Peter the Great in the 1700s, testifies to the genesis of Russian studies of Asia. By the 1860s, the acquisition of various Asian languages had become of paramount importance to the Russian Empire. See <http://www.orientalstudies.ru/eng/> (accessed February 19, 2010). My gratitude to Louise Young and David MacDonald for suggesting these sources.
  18. See *Written on Water*, 30. Eileen Chang’s knowledge of the Japanese language seems to have stayed with her in the later stages of her life. In Qiu Yanming’s 1987 interview with Wang Chen-ho 王禎和, Wang reminisces about the time when Chang visited Taiwan in the fall of 1961 and briefly stayed at Wang’s parents’ home in Hualian. Wang mentions that Eileen Chang could speak Japanese, and that her conversations with Wang’s mother were often conducted in Japanese. See Qiu

- Yanming 丘彥明, “Eileen Chang in Taiwan” 張愛玲在台灣, in *The World of Eileen Chang* 張愛玲的世界, ed. William Tay 鄭樹森 (Taipei: Yunchen, 1989), 21.
19. See *Written on Water*, 141. Chang’s essay was originally published in *Miscellany Monthly* in August 1944.
  20. My translation.
  21. See *Sankashū zenchūkai* (*The Complete and Annotated Poems of a Mountain Home*, 山家集全註解) (Tokyo: Kazama shobō 風間書房, 1971), 142. I am grateful to Charo D’Etcheverry who located the original poem for me.
  22. Zhou’s original Chinese translation is: “夏天的夜，有如苦竹，竹細節密，不久之間，隨即天明”; rendered in English, it is almost identical to the revised text by Shen Qiwu. See Zhi An 止庵, “On the ‘Bitter Bamboo’ Poem” 苦竹詩話, *Southern Weekly* 南方週末, April 3, 2008.
  23. *Written on Water*, 143. My translation.
  24. See Shen Qiwu 沈啟無, “Random Notes from My Southbound Journey” 南來隨筆, *Bitter Bamboo* 2 (November 1944): 11–12. My translation.
  25. See *Written on Water*, 165–56.
  26. See Ikegami Sadako, “Eileen Chang and Japan,” in *Reading Eileen Chang*, 86.
  27. See *Written on Water*, 186.
  28. See *Written on Water*, 185.
  29. Tōhō’s touring schedule is cited in Ikegami Sadako, “Eileen Chang and Japan,” *Reading Eileen Chang*, 89–92.
  30. Source cited in Yau Shuk-ting 邱淑婷, *The Filmic Relations between Hong Kong and Japan: In Search of the Origin of the Pan-Asian Film Sphere* 港日電影關係：尋找亞洲電影網絡之源 (Hong Kong: Tiandi tushu, 2006), 54. An English edition of Yau’s book was published as *Japanese and Hong Kong Industries: Understanding the Origins of East Asian Film Networks* (New York: Routledge, 2009).
  31. The most recent remake of the Tanuki Goten story was directed by Suzuki Seijun 鈴木清順 in 2005, and was also a musical, starring Zhang Ziyi as Princess Racoon.
  32. See “On Dance,” in *Written on Water*, 189.
  33. For a discussion of wartime transnational Japanese film culture in general, see Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).
  34. A list of Japanese films shown in Shanghai can be found in Yau Shuk-ting, *The Filmic Relations between Hong Kong and Japan: In Search of the Origin of the Pan-Asian Film Sphere*, 191–99.
  35. See Yiman Wang, “Screening Asia: Passing, Performative Translation, and Reconfiguration,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 15, 2 (2007): 319–43.
  36. See C. T. Hsia 夏志清, “Letters from Eileen Chang to Me” 張愛玲給我的信件, *Unitas* 聯合文學 150 (April 1997): 155–58. My translation.
  37. See Su Weizhen 蘇偉貞, ed., *The World of Eileen Chang, Sequel* 張愛玲的世界，續編 (Taipei: Yunchen, 2003), 185–86. My translation.
  38. “A Return to the Frontier,” *The Reporter* (March 1963): 38–39.
  39. See *Crown Magazine* 皇冠雜誌 650 (April 2008): 70–91. My translation.

40. My translation. The essay was first published in *Heaven and Earth Monthly* 天地雜誌 18 (March 1945); reprinted in *Lingering Melodies* 餘韻 (Taipei: Huangguan, 1987), 49–63. The title implies a clever pun. The phrase *shuangsheng* 雙聲, meaning two or more characters with the same initial consonant, is often used in conjunction with *dieyun* 疊韻, meaning two or more characters with the same vowel formation. It is a linguistic terminology that suggests the basic rhyming principles in the Chinese language, but can also imply a sense of harmony. For a discussion of the roundtable talk as an important cultural genre in Shanghai of the 1940s, see Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s*, 75–76.
41. *Lingering Melodies*, 58–59. My translation.

## Chapter 4

1. See Huang Ziping 黃子平, “‘Changing Clothes’ and ‘Mutual Reflections’: Images of Clothes and Ornaments in Eileen Chang’s Writings” 更衣對照亦惘然——張愛玲作品中的衣飾, in *Re-reading Eileen Chang* 再讀張愛玲, ed. Liu Shaoming 劉紹銘, Leung Ping-kwan 梁秉鈞, and Xu Zidong 許子東 (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2002), 132–39; and Rey Chow, “Modernity and Narration—in Feminine Detail,” in *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between West and East* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 84–120.
2. See Chang Hsiao-hung 張小虹, “Fetish and Eileen Chang: Sex, Commodity and Colonial Charm” 戀物張愛玲：性、商品與殖民迷魅, in *Reading Eileen Chang: Collected Essays from the “International Conference on Eileen Chang Research”* 閱讀張愛玲：張愛玲國際研討會論文集, ed. Yang Ze 楊澤 (Taipei: Maitian, 1999), 177–210; and Li Xiaohong 李曉紅, *Eileen Chang: In the Face of Tradition* 面對傳統的張愛玲 (Kunming: Yunnan People’s Publishing House, 2007).
3. See Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
4. Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity*, xxiv.
5. See Leo Ou-fan Lee 李歐梵, “Eileen Chang: Romances of a Fallen City,” in *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 267–303; and “Historical Associations 2” 歷史的聯想 (二), in *Reading Lust, Caution: Literature, Film, and History* 睇色·戒：文學、電影、歷史 (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2008), 87–96.
6. See Harry D. Harootunian, *History’s Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 5.
7. Walter Benjamin, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), 182.
8. Quotation from Walter Benjamin, cited in Richard Wolin, *Walter Benjamin, An Aesthetic of Redemption* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 130.
9. Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity*, 51.
10. Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity*, 128.

11. See Lim Chin Chown 林幸謙, *Eileen Chang's Discourse: Writing of Female Subjectivity and Castration* 張愛玲論述：女性主體與去勢模擬書寫 (Taipei: Hungyeh Publishing, 2000), in which he argues that Chang's fiction reveals a dual consciousness. While Chang reveals how women in her time are subordinated to tradition and patriarchy, she insists on a subversive attitude toward oppression.
12. Paul de Man, "Literary History and Literary Modernity," in *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 157.
13. Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, ed. and trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1964), 13.
14. The translation is taken from Eileen Chang, "Writing of One's Own," in *Written on Water* 流言, trans. Andrew F. Jones, co-ed. with an introduction by Nicole Huang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 17.
15. *Romances* 傳奇增訂本 (Shanghai: Shanhe tushu, 1946) was published two years after the first edition. The enlarged edition contained five new fictional works and an epilogue "Days and Nights of China" by Chang. In the preface, Chang revealed that "Days and Nights of China" was developed from a poem of the same title that she had written earlier.
16. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 258.
17. C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, 1917–1957* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 389.
18. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, 398.
19. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, 396.
20. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, 414.
21. In Wang Guowei's critical essay "On the *Dream of the Red Chamber*" (紅樓夢評論, 1904), he proposes two ways of classifying Chinese literature. *Peach Blossom Fan* deals with history, politics, and the nation while *Dream of the Red Chamber* tends toward the universal and the philosophical. See "On the *Dream of the Red Chamber*," in *Wang Guowei's Three Literary Treatises* 王國維文學論著三種 (Beijing: The Commercial Press Library, 2001): 1–24.
22. See Liu Zaifu, "Eileen Chang's Fiction and C. T. Hsia's *A History of Modern Chinese Literature*," trans. Yunzhong Shu, MCLC Resource Center, July 2009. <http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/liuzaifu.htm> (accessed February 19, 2010). The original Chinese essay was first published in *Re-reading Eileen Chang*.
23. Liu, "Eileen Chang's Fiction and C. T. Hsia's *A History of Modern Chinese Literature*."
24. Chang, "Writing of One's Own," in *Written on Water*, 17–18.
25. Chang, "From the Ashes," in *Written on Water*, 52.
26. Chang, "Writing of One's Own," 17.
27. Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity*, 85.
28. Liu, "Eileen Chang's Fiction and C. T. Hsia's *A History of Modern Chinese Literature*."

29. Liu, "Eileen Chang's Fiction and C. T. Hsia's *A History of Modern Chinese Literature*."
30. See Rey Chow's *Woman and Chinese Modernity*; and Hu Lancheng 胡蘭成, "On Eileen Chang" 論張愛玲 (1944) and "Eileen Chang and the Leftist" 張愛玲與左派 (1945), in *Writing in the Age of Turbulence 亂世文談* (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 2007), 12–30 and 31–37.
31. See Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991–2005).
32. Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 65.
33. Harootunian, *History's Disquiet*, 55.
34. See Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," 261–63.
35. Peter Osborne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and Avant-garde* (London: Verso, 1995), 196.
36. Chang, "Epilogue: Days and Nights of China," in *Written on Water*, 214.
37. See Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *The Blackwell City Reader*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 11–19.
38. Chang, "On the Second Edition of *Romances*," in *Written on Water*, 199.
39. Chang, "On the Second Edition of *Romances*," 199.
40. See Lee, "Eileen Chang: *Romances of a Fallen City*" for his discussion of decadence in Chang's fiction.
41. Chang, "On the Second Edition of *Romances*," 199.
42. Richard Lehan, *The City in Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 73.
43. Osborne, *The Politics of Time*, 189.
44. See Sapajou with R. T. Peyton-Griffin, *Shanghai's Shemozzle* (Hong Kong: China Economic Review Publishing, 2007). The publication collates the cartoons crafted by Russian army-lieutenant-turned-cartoonist Georgii Avksent'ievich Sapojnikoff, who also went under the artistic alias of Sapajou. Sapojnikoff became a refugee in Shanghai in 1920, and for fifteen years, beginning in 1925 and through the Japanese occupation, published daily cartoons in the *North-China Daily News*, the most influential English language newspaper of the time.
45. Chang, "Epilogue: Days and Nights of China," 215.
46. Franz Kafka, *The Diaries of Franz Kafka, 1910–23*, ed. Max Brod, trans. Joseph Kresh and Martin Greenberg (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964), 301.
47. Chang, "Writing of One's Own," 16.
48. Chang, "Writing of One's Own," 17.
49. Chang, "Writing of One's Own," 18.
50. Chang, "Epilogue: Days and Nights of China," 214.
51. This translation is taken from Eileen Chang, "Preface to the Second Printing of *Romances*," trans. Karen S. Kingsbury and Chang, *Love in a Fallen City and Other Stories* (London: Penguin, 2007), 2.



52. Chang, “Steamed Osmanthus Flower: Ah Xiao’s Unhappy Autumn,” trans. Simon Patton, ed. Eva Hung, *Traces of Love and Other Stories* (Hong Kong: Research Center for Translation, CUHK, 2009), 60.
53. Tao Fangxuan 陶方宣, *Colorful Clothing of Eileen Chang 霓裳——張愛玲* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2009).
54. Eileen Chang, *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album 對照記：看老照相簿* (Hong Kong: Huangguan, 1994).
55. Chang, “Epilogue: Days and Nights of China,” 218.
56. Chang, “Chinese Life and Fashions,” *Unitas 聯合文學* 5 (1987): 71. The essay was originally in English and published in *The XXth Century* 4 (January 1943): 54–61. Chang later expanded it into a Chinese essay entitled “A Chronicle of Changing Clothes” (更衣記, 1944).
57. See Chang, “Yanying’s Catalogue of Clothes” 炎櫻衣譜, *Ming Pao Daily News* (December 25, 2009): D06. The essay was originally published in April 1945 in *Li Bao*, a Shanghai tabloid.
58. See <http://online.sfsu.edu/~wenchao/translation/nora.pdf> for Li Wenchao’s new translation of Lu Xun’s “After Nora Walks Out, What Then?” (accessed February 19, 2010).
59. Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity*, 85.

## Chapter 5

1. Based on the files of the poet Nie Gannu, which have recently been opened to the public, writer Yu Zhen wrote a long article on the persecution of Nie before and during the Cultural Revolution. The article contains many detailed descriptions of the spying activities carried out by Nie’s friend, artist Huang Miaozi, whose reports to the authorities caused Nie to be sentenced as “an anti-revolutionary element.” This article was published in the lesser-known journal *The Chinese Writer 中國作家* in February 2009. On March 18, 2009, the popular essayist Zhang Yihe’s article “Who Sent Nie Gannu to Jail?” appeared in *Southern Weekly 南方週末*. She later wrote several other articles that revealed that the translator Feng Yidai had been sent by the authorities to spy on her father Zhang Bojun. All of these articles were widely circulated on the Internet after their publication, prompting many discussions and debates in the public sphere.
2. The Taiwan and Hong Kong editions of *Little Reunion 小團圓* were published in February 2009. The mainland Chinese edition of the novel did not come out until April 2009, but many people had read sections of the novel on the Internet by the time the mainland version was published.
3. For mainland criticism of Ang Lee’s film and Chang’s short story, see the website “Utopia” (<http://www.wyzxsx.com/>), which organized a discussion forum on both texts. Many articles included in this forum had previously been published in the print media. See Huang Jisu’s articles, “‘Lust, Caution’ and Eileen Chang,” “‘Lust, Caution’ and Ang Lee,” and “China Has Stood Up, but People Like Ang Lee Are

- Still Kneeling Down,” all of which can be found on “Utopia” as well as many other websites.
4. Conventional interpretations of Eileen Chang’s works portray her as an aesthetic writer not concerned with major political issues. One can trace the origin of this line of criticism to C. T. Hsia’s *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (1961), which was the first academic endeavor to seriously consider Chang’s work in the context of modern Chinese literary history.
  5. See my manuscript “Betrayal and Historical Representation in Zhang Ailing’s ‘Little Reunion,’” under review by MCLC.
  6. Crystal Parikh, *An Ethics of Betrayal: The Politics of Otherness in Emergent U.S. Literatures and Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009), 10.
  7. Parikh, *An Ethics of Betrayal*, 10.
  8. See Shuang Shen, Introduction, *Cosmopolitan Publics: Anglophone Print Culture in Semi-Colonial Shanghai* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009).
  9. For a discussion of May Fourth cosmopolitanism, see Chapters 2 and 3 of Shu-mei Shih’s book *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semi-Colonial China, 1917–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). Here I am using “May Fourth tradition” to refer to the literary production in the post-May Fourth period that consciously followed the legacy of the May Fourth and New Culture movements.
  10. See Rey Chow’s *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between East and West* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) for a discussion of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School and its relationship to May Fourth discourse.
  11. For a critique of some current discourses of Chinese cosmopolitanism from a diasporic perspective, see Ian Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese* (London: Routledge, 2001).
  12. Quoted by Martin K. Doudna in *Concerned about the Planet: The Reporter Magazine and American Liberalism, 1949–1968* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), 94.
  13. Parikh, *An Ethics of Betrayal*, 12.
  14. In *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*, Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik have tried to rethink the space “Asia Pacific” as not just “formulated by market planners and military strategists” but a “space of cultural production” (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995, 6). Yunte Huang uses the term “transpacific” as a place of “history, literature, counterpoetics,” as indicated in the title of his book *Transpacific Imaginations: History, Literature and Counterpoetics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008).
  15. Parikh, *An Ethics of Betrayal*, 32.
  16. For a definition of “Sinophone,” see Shu-mei Shi’s discussion in *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations Across the Pacific* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 23–39.

17. Yunte Huang argues in his book *Transpacific Imaginations: History, Literature, Counterpoetics* that the trans-Pacific has to be narrated from the perspectives of “both shores.” In fact, the “trans-Pacific” has more than two shores. The strategic role played by an urban locale such as Hong Kong—a city of refugees and diasporic peoples of various kinds—in the Cold War imagination complicates the portrayal of the trans-Pacific as just consisting of the United States and China.
18. In her analysis of Chang’s translation of her own story “Stale Mates” (1956) into the Chinese “Wusi yishi” 五四遺事 (1957), Jessica Tsui Yan Li finds that Chang’s translation manages to “represent” the source text without “reproducing” it faithfully, and that there is a relationship of interdependence between the source text and the translated text, the author and the translator. “This interdependent relationship breaks through the boundaries between the source texts and translations as well as between author and translator. The two works cannot substitute one another; this renders the significance of the two texts as a whole greater than that of the texts seen in isolation,” according to Jessica Tsui Yan Li in “Politics of Self-Translation: Eileen Chang,” *Perspectives: Studies in Translation* 14, 2 (2006): 101. Li’s reading emphasizes the “whole” that is “greater” than the text in each language, which sounds a lot like Benjamin’s notion of the “suprahistorical kinship” among languages and his understanding of translation and the original as “fragments.” However, not only is the unalienated “whole” an idealistic notion, but in Chang’s case, what is the original is already open to question.
19. Tina Chen, *Double Agency: Acts of Impersonation in Asian American Literature and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 14.
20. Judith Butler, “Betrayal’s Felicity,” *Diacritics* 34, 1 (2004): 82.
21. Klaus Mehnert, “Shoulder Straps—And Then?” *The XXth Century*. 6, 2 (February 1944): 81.
22. Eileen Chang, “Chinese Life and Fashions,” *The XXth Century* (January 1943): 54.
23. Eileen Chang, “A Chronicle of Changing Clothes” 更衣記, in *Written on Water* 流言, trans. Andrew F. Jones, co-ed. with an introduction by Nicole Huang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 65.
24. Eileen Chang, “Peking Opera through Foreign Eyes,” in *Written on Water*, 105.
25. Chang, “Peking Opera through Foreign Eyes,” 111.
26. This manuscript was published in the March 2008 issue of *Muse* (Hong Kong), 64–72.
27. John G. Cawelti and Bruce A. Rosenberg, *The Spy Story* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 20.
28. Cawelti and Rosenberg, *The Spy Story*, 21.
29. Chang, “The Spyring,” 67.
30. Chang, “The Spyring,” 67.
31. Chang, “The Spyring,” 72.
32. Cawelti and Rosenberg, *The Spy Story*, 55.
33. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of the Harvard Press, 2003), 420.

34. Chen, *Double Agency*. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of Chang-rae Lee's *Native Speaker*.
35. Chang, "The Spyring," 70.
36. Chang, "The Spyring," 70.
37. Chang, "The Spyring," 70.
38. Chen, *Double Agency*, 15.
39. Chen, *Double Agency*, 15.
40. Doudna, *Concerned about the Planet*, 127.
41. Eileen Chang, *A Return to the Frontier* 重返邊城 (Taipei: Huangguan chubanshe, 2008), 63.
42. Chang, *A Return to the Frontier*, 64.
43. Chang, *A Return to the Frontier*, 64.
44. Chang, *A Return to the Frontier*, 66.
45. Chang, *A Return to the Frontier*, 74.
46. Chang, *A Return to the Frontier*, 74.
47. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 150.

## Chapter 6

1. For a reading that focuses on Chang's special destruction of political orthodoxy in these two anti-Communist novels, see David Der-wei Wang, "Three Hungry Women," in *The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2004), 117–47; and his preface to the reprint of Eileen Chang's *The Rice-Sprout Song* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998), xii–xxv.
2. Kenny K. K. Ng, "Romantic Comedies of Cathay-MP&GI in the 1950s and 60s: Language, Locality, and Urban Character," *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media* 49 (Spring 2007, [www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc49.2007/text.html](http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc49.2007/text.html)).
3. Stephen Soong later became Eileen Chang's lifetime friend. It was actually with Soong's support that she was able to obtain the opportunity to write screenplays for MP&GI during the 1950s and 60s, and screenwriting became her main source of income. For further discussion on the MP&GI screen committee, see Poshek Fu, "Modernity, Diasporic Capital, and 1950's Hong Kong Mandarin Cinema," *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media* 49 (Spring 2007, [www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc49.2007/text.html](http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc49.2007/text.html)); Law Kar, "A Glimpse of MP&GI's Creative/Production Situation: Some Speculations and Doubts," and Shu Kei, "Notes on MP&GI" in *The Cathay Story*, ed. Wong Ain-ling (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2002), 58–65; 66–81.
4. For a study of Eileen Chang's film scripts, see Leo Ou-fan Lee, "Eileen Chang: Romances in a Fallen City," in *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999),

- 276–80; William Tay 鄭樹森, “Eileen Chang and Two Film Genres,” 張愛玲與兩個片種 in *INK* (印刻文學生活誌) 2, 1 (September 2005), 154–55.
5. Eileen Chang, “Preface,” in *Nightmare in the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢魘 (Taipei: Huangguan, 1976), 10.
  6. Wang Kai 王愷, “The Birth of the Yue Opera *Dream of the Red Chamber*,” 越劇《紅樓夢》的誕生 in *Sanlian Weekly* 三聯週刊 (July 9, 2009), 56–65.
  7. Adaptations of *Dream* on the big screen continued in the 1970s. The production with the greatest circulation was the Shaw Brothers’ *Dream of the Red Chamber* 金玉良緣紅樓夢 (1977), which starred Brigitte Lin Qingxia and Sylvia Zhang Aijia and was directed by Li Hanxiang.
  8. For a detailed examination of the 1955 “Criticize Hu Shi Campaign,” see, for instance, Jerome Grieder, “The Communist Critique of *Honglou meng*,” *Papers on China* (Harvard University, East Asian Research Center) 10 (October 1956): 142–68. For a discussion of the “New Redology” (New Hongxue) of the early twentieth century, see Louise Edwards, “New Hongxue and the ‘Birth of the Author’: Yu Pingbo’s ‘On Qin Keqing’s Death,’” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (CLEAR) 23 (December 2001): 31–54.
  9. Mao Zedong 毛澤東, “Speech on Philosophical Issues,” 關於哲學的講話 (1964) in *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought* 毛澤東思想萬歲 (n.p., 1969), 549.
  10. Su Qing was implicated in the ensuing anti-Hu Feng campaign in 1955 and was imprisoned in the same year as a member of the Hu Feng cohort, which precipitated the virtual disappearance of the opera excerpt from the theater repertoire. The excerpt “Baoyu and Daiyu” originally starred the opera diva Yin Guifang.
  11. For a brief discussion of Su Qing’s Yue opera reworking of *Dream*, see Wang Yixin 王一心, *They Three: Zhang Ailing, Su Qing, Hu Lancheng* 他們仨: 張愛玲, 蘇青, 胡蘭成 (Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin, 2008), 130–41.
  12. The original lyrics composed by Xu Jin reads: “拋卻了莫失莫忘通靈玉, 掙脫了不離不棄黃金鎖。離開了蒼蠅競血骯髒地, 撇開了黑蟻爭穴富貴窠。”
  13. See Eileen Chang’s letters to Ferdinand Reyher, collected in Zhou Fengling 周芬伶, *Turquoise Blues: A Biography of Zhang Ailing* 孔雀藍調: 張愛玲評傳 (Taipei: Maitian, 2005), 179–206.
  14. Eileen Chang, “Postscript to Mandarin Translation of *Sing-song Girls*,” in Han Bangqing, *Mandarin Translation of The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* 《海上花開》, 《海上花落》, trans. and annotated by Eileen Chang (Taipei: Huangguan, 1983), 639.
  15. For related research on this genre in Hong Kong film history, see, for instance, Chen Weizhi 陳煒智, *I Love Huangmei Tune: Classic Impressions of Traditional China—A Preliminary Study of Hong Kong and Taiwan’s Huangmei Opera Films* 我愛黃梅調: 絲竹中國, 古典印象——港臺黃梅調電影初探 (Taipei: Muchun, 2005); Ng Ho 吳昊, *Period Drama, Huangmei Opera* 古裝, 俠義, 黃梅調 (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2004).
  16. Haun Saussy, “The Age of Attribution: Or, How the ‘Honglou meng’ Finally Acquired an Author,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (CLEAR) 25

- (December, 2003): 129. In this article, Saussy provides an important perspective on the theory of *Dream's* authorship.
17. Chang, *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*, 10.
  18. Xiaojue Wang, "Stone in Modern China: Literature, Politics, and Culture," in *Approaches to Teaching The Story of the Stone (Dream of the Red Chamber)*, ed. Andrew Schonebaum and Tina Lu (Modern Language Association, forthcoming), 662–91.
  19. Chang, *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*, 6.
  20. Guo Yuwen 郭玉雯, "Nightmare in the Red Chamber and Redology" 《紅樓夢魘》與紅學, in *Studies on Dream of the Red Chamber: From Red Inkstone to Eileen Chang* 紅樓夢學：從脂硯齋到張愛玲 (Taipei: Liren, 2004), 341–68.
  21. There have been few studies of Eileen Chang's *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*. Some articles worth noting are Guo Yuwen, "Nightmare in the Red Chamber and Redology," and "On *Nightmare's* Textual Analysis and Its Value" 《紅樓夢魘》的考證意見與價值, in Guo, *Studies on Dream of the Red Chamber*, 341–68, 369–415; Kang Laixin 康來新, "Mutual Reflections: Eileen Chang and *Dream of the Red Chamber*" 對照記：張愛玲與《紅樓夢》, in *Reading Eileen Chang: Collected Essays from the "International Conference on Eileen Chang Research"* 閱讀張愛玲：張愛玲國際研討會論文集, ed. Yang Ze 楊澤 (Taipei: Maitian, 1999), 29–58; Zhao Gang 趙岡, "Eileen Chang and Redology" 張愛玲與紅學, *United Daily News* 聯合報, November 21, 1995.
  22. Zhou Ruchang 周汝昌, *She Must Have Been a Character in Dream of the Red Chamber: Eileen Chang and Dream of the Red Chamber* 定是紅樓夢裡人：張愛玲與紅樓夢 (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 2005).
  23. In his 1921 treatise "Textual Research on *Dream of the Red Chamber*," 紅樓夢考證 Hu Shi first identified Cao Xueqin as *Dream's* author. More importantly, he utilized historical pragmatism as a critical method, providing a new point of departure for the study of *Dream*, and launched a new school of Redological studies—the kaozheng school. See Hu Shi, "Textual Research on *Dream of the Red Chamber*," in *Selected Writings of Hu Shi* 胡適文存 (Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), 575–620. Among recent *Dream* research, Anthony C. Yu's *Rereading Stone: Desire and the Making of Fiction in Dream of the Red Chamber* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997) is particularly noteworthy.
  24. Eileen Chang, "Remembering Hu Shi" 憶胡適之, in *Chang's View* 張看 (Taipei: Huangguan, 1996), 152.
  25. A main hypothesis Eileen Chang proposes in this regard is about the character Xiren. She maintains that Gao E has deliberately distorted the image of Xiren and projected his own failed relationship with his maid-cum-concubine Wanjun onto the persona of Xiren. See Eileen Chang, "An Anecdote about *Dream*: Gao E, Xiren, and Wanjun" 紅樓夢插曲之一：高鶚、襲人與畹君, in *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*, 57–68.
  26. Chang, "The Incomplete *Dream of the Red Chamber*," in *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*, 22.

27. Chang, *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*, 9.
28. Eileen Chang, “From the Mouths of Babes,” 童言無忌, in *Written on Water* 流言 (Taipei: Huangguan, 1991), 12.
29. Eileen Chang, “The Fifth Close Reading of *Dream of the Red Chamber*: The Original Authentic Version” 五詳紅樓夢：舊時真本, in *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*, 333.
30. Chang, “The Fifth Close Reading of *Dream of the Red Chamber*,” 333.
31. Chang, “The Fifth Close Reading of *Dream of the Red Chamber*,” 333.
32. Chang, “The Fifth Close Reading of *Dream of the Red Chamber*,” 333.
33. Eileen Chang, “Preface,” in *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*, 10.
34. Eileen Chang, “Writing of One’s Own” 自己的文章, in *Written on Water*, trans. Andrew F. Jones, co-ed. with an introduction by Nicole Huang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 19.
35. Eileen Chang, *Nightmare*, 329. The English word “Ms. Know-all” is from Chang’s original text.
36. Lu Xun 魯迅, “On the Historical Evolution of Chinese Fiction” 中國小說的歷史的變遷, in *The Complete Work of Lu Xun*, vol. 9 魯迅全集·九 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1991), 338.
37. Eileen Chang, “The Religion of the Chinese” 中國人的宗教, in *The Lingering Cadence* 餘韻 (Taipei: Huangguan, 1991), 17. The English translation was quoted from David Pollard, ed. and trans., *The Chinese Essay* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 284.
38. For instance, see Leo Ou-fan Lee, “Eileen Chang: Romances in a Fallen City,” in *Shanghai Modern*; and Rey Chow, “Modernity and Narration: In Feminine Detail” in *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between West and East* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 84–120.
39. Chang, “Writing of One’s Own,” 19.
40. Wang Guowei 王國維, “A Critique of *Dream of the Red Chamber*” 紅樓夢評論, in *Critical Materials on the Chinese Novel by Twentieth-Century Chinese Scholars* 二十世紀中國小說理論資料, vol. 1, 1897–1916, eds. Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 and Xia Xiaohong 夏曉虹 (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1989), 96–115.
41. Qian Min 錢敏, “Eileen Chang and Her *Nightmare in the Red Chamber*” 張愛玲和她的《紅樓夢魘》, *Dushu* 讀書 11 (2000): 110–11.
42. Huang Xincun 黃心村, “Dreaming in the Red Chamber, Writing in a Different Age” 夢在紅樓，寫在隔世, in *Eileen Chang Degree Zero* 零度看張：重構張愛玲, ed. Shen Shuang 沈雙 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2010), 99–118.
43. Zhou Ruchang, *She Must Have Been a Character in Dream of the Red Chamber*, 30.
44. For Hu Shi’s letter to Eileen Chang, see Chang, “Remembering Hu Shi,” in *Chang’s View*, 141–54. For Hu Shi’s article on *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai*, see Hu Shi, “Preface” to Han Bangqing, *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* 海上花列傳 (Taipei: Guangya, 1984), 8. This remark was originally proposed by Lu Xun.

45. Ye Zhaoyan 葉兆言, "Laughter in the Besieged City," 圍城裡的笑聲 *Shouhuo* 收穫, no. 4 (2000): 149.
46. For an exploration of how the McCarthyistic anti-Communist campaign affected cultural production in the United States in the Cold War era, see Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999).
47. See Eileen Chang's letter to C. T. Hsia on October 16, 1964, collected in C. T. Hsia 夏志清, "Eileen Chang's Letters to Me," 張愛玲給我的信件 in *Unitas* 聯合文學 13, 11 (September 1997): 69–70.
48. Hsia, "Eileen Chang's Letters to Me," 70–71.
49. For an examination of the construction of China imageries in Chinese American literature, theater, and film, see, for instance, Sau-ling Cynthia Wong, *Reading Asian American Literature: From Necessity to Extravagance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Weijie Song 宋偉傑, *Images of China in American and Chinese-American Novel and Drama* 中國、文學、美國：美國小說戲劇中的中國形像 (Guangzhou: Huacheng Press), 2003; Shan Dexing 單德興, *Inscriptions and Representations: Chinese American Literary and Cultural Studies* 銘刻與再現：華裔美國文學與文化論集 (Taipei: Maitian, 2000).
50. See Eileen Chang's letter to C. T. Hsia on December 31, 1965, collected in C. T. Hsia, "Eileen Chang's Letters to Me," in *Unitas* 聯合文學 13, 6 (April 1997): 52–53.
51. Ye Zhaoyan, "Laughter in the Besieged City," 149.
52. Ye Zhaoyan, "Laughter in the Besieged City," 149.
53. The English translation of "The Golden Cangu" by the author herself is collected in Joseph S. M. Lau, C. T. Hsia, and Leo Ou-fan Lee, eds., *Modern Chinese Stories and Novellas, 1919–1949* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 530–59.
54. David Wang, "Foreword," in Eileen Chang, *The Rouge of the North* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1998), xi–xii.

## Chapter 7

1. Eileen Chang, Wang Hui-ling, and James Schamus, *Lust, Caution: The Story, the Screenplay, and the Making of the Movie* (New York: Pantheon, 2007).
2. Chen Lin, "The Real Story behind Lust, Caution Revealed," China.Org, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/entertainment/224552.htm> (accessed September 14, 2007).
3. Lung Ying-tai on *Lust, Caution*, East South West North, [http://www.zonaeuropa.com/20070915\\_1.htm](http://www.zonaeuropa.com/20070915_1.htm) (accessed September 18, 2011).
4. Anita Mui portrays her in Eddie Fong's *Kawashima Yoshiko—The Last Princess of Manchuria* (Hong Kong, 1990).
5. See Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
6. See, for example, Ann Hui 許鞍華, *Love in a Fallen City* 傾城之戀 (1984); Stanley Kwan 關錦鵬, *Red Rose, White Rose* 紅玫瑰與白玫瑰 (1994); Ho Hsiao-Hsien



- 侯孝賢, *Flowers of Shanghai* 海上花 (1998); and Fred Tan 但漢章, *The Rouge of the North* 怨女 (1989).
7. Leo Ou-fan Lee 李歐梵, *Watching Lust, Caution: Literature, Cinema, History* 睇色·戒: 文學·電影·歷史 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). See also Leo Ou-fan Lee, “Ang Lee’s *Lust, Caution* and its Reception,” *boundary 2* 35, 3 (2008): 223–38.
  8. Quoted in Poshek Fu, “The Ambiguity of Entertainment: Chinese Cinema in Japanese-occupied Shanghai, 1941 to 1945,” *Cinema Journal* 37, 1 (Autumn 1997): 66–84 (see p. 74).
  9. See Eileen Chang, *The Rice-Sprout Song* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), originally published in 1955 with another edition in 1967, and *The Naked Earth* (Hong Kong: Union Press, 1956).
  10. Geoffrey Macnab, “‘I Had to Get to the Heart of Darkness’: An Interview with Ang Lee,” *The Guardian*, December 14, 2007. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2007/dec/14/1>.
  11. Robert Stam and Ella Shohat, “Film Theory and Spectatorship in the Age of the ‘Posts,’” in *Reinventing Film Studies*, ed. Christine Gledhill and Linda Williams (London: Oxford University Press, 2000), 381–401 (see p. 390).
  12. Michael Wood, “At the Movies: *Lust, Caution*,” *London Review of Books* 30, 2 (January 24, 2008): 31. [http://www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n02/wood01\\_.html](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n02/wood01_.html) (accessed September 18, 2011).
  13. James Schamus, a film professor at Columbia University, may need to have a particularly good command of Hollywood and Shanghai screen classics to teach his courses there.
  14. Corrado Neri, “The Enemy within: A Comparative Reading of *Lust, Caution* and *Daybreak*” (conference paper), a conference on “Locality, Translocality, and De-Locality: Cultural, Aesthetic, and Political Dynamics of Chinese Language Cinema,” University of Shanghai, July 12, 2008.
  15. Miriam Hansen, “Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons: Shanghai Silent Film as Vernacular Modernism,” *Film Quarterly* 54, 1 (2000): 10–22 (see p. 19).
  16. Fu, “The Ambiguity of Entertainment,” 80.
  17. Nicole Huang gives a fascinating account of the reception of *Gone with the Wind* (1939) in *Women, War, Domesticity*.
  18. Stam and Shohat, “Film Theory and Spectatorship,” 398.
  19. Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and out* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 44.
  20. Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom*, 34.
  21. Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom*, 53. Emphasis in original.
  22. Bernardo Bertolucci later cast Giovanna Galletti as a prostitute in *Last Tango in Paris*, 1972.
  23. Susan Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” *New York Review of Books*, February 6, 1975. Reprinted online at <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/33d/33dTexts/SontagFascinFascism75.htm>.

24. Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism.”
25. Nicole Sperling, “Ang Lee and James Schamus Get Frank,” *Entertainment Weekly*, March 19, 2008. <http://www.ew.com/ew/article/0,,20185085,00.html> (accessed September 18, 2011).
26. Leo Lee has noted the connection to *The Conformist* (confirmed in a conversation Lee had with Ang Lee). However, the connection, in my view, extends far beyond that particular film.
27. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 34.
28. Karsten Witte, Barbara Correll, and Jack Zipes, “Introduction to Siegfried Kracauer’s ‘The Mass Ornament,’” *New German Critique* 5 (Spring 1975): 59–66 (see p. 66).
29. Macnab, “‘I Had to Get to the Heart of Darkness.’”

## Chapter 8

1. When “Lust, Caution” was first published in the “Literary Supplement” of the *China Times* in 1978, Yu Wai-ren (the pen name of the famous science fiction writer Zhang Xiguo) wrote a scathing review that criticized Chang’s immorality for “lauding a Chinese traitor.” A month later, Chang published a response that defended her position and accused Yu Wai-ren of misinterpreting her story. See Cai Dengshan 蔡登山, *Lust, Caution, Eileen 色戒愛玲* (Taipei: INK Publishing, 2007); and Eileen Chang, *The Sequel 續集* (Taipei: Huangguan, 1997).
2. Cai Dengshan’s *Lust, Caution, Eileen* suggests that Chang’s story might be based on a true historical incident that implicated KMT’s spy Zheng Ruping and her unsuccessful assassination of Ding Mocun, the spy chief in Wang Jingwei’s puppet government in 1939. In *Looking at Lust, Caution: Literature, Cinema, History 睇色·戒：文學·電影·歷史* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Leo Ou-fan Lee 李歐梵 offers an insightful comparison of Chang’s and Lee’s different characterizations. Gina Marchetti’s essay “Eileen Chang and Ang Lee at the Movies: the Cinematic Politics of *Lust, Caution* (Chapter 7 in this anthology) argues that adaptation is both a form of translation and an act of “betrayal.” Peng Hsiao-yen 彭小妍 examines the ways in which *Lust, Caution* uses woman as “metaphor” to “deconstruct the fundamental ideals of patriotism and romance.” See “Woman as Metaphor: the Historical Construction and Deconstruction in *Lust, Caution*” 女人作為隱喻：《色 | 戒》的歷史建構及解構, *Journal of Theater Studies* Vol. 2 (2008): 209–36. Chang Hsiao-hung 張小虹 draws attention to the complex cultural connotations of the two concepts “lust” and “caution” in “Wide Open Lust Caution—from Ang Lee to Eileen Chang” 大開色戒——從李安到張愛玲 in *China Times*’ “Literary Supplement,” September 28–29, 2007, E7. Lee Haiyan uses the notion of “contingent transcendence” to argue that Chang’s fiction allows women to “locate [their] ethical and political agency in the domain of the social, the everyday, and the feminine” (“Enemy under My Skin: Eileen Chang’s *Lust, Caution* and the politics of Transcendence.” *PMLA: Publication of Modern Language Association* 125.3 (2010): 640–56. Finally, Robert Chi analyzes

- the reception of the movie in “Exhibitionism: ‘Lust, Caution,’” *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 3, 2 (2009): 177–87.
3. From Yuan Qionqiong to Zhong Xiaoyang and from Zhu Tianwen to Hou Xiaoxian, Chang’s life and work have inspired writers, dramatists, and directors in Hong Kong, Taiwan, overseas Chinese communities, and China. See Yvonne Sungsheng Chang, “Yuan Qionqiong and the Rage for Eileen Zhang among Taiwan’s Feminine Writers,” in *Gender Politics in Modern China: Writing and Feminism*, ed. Tani Barlow (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 215–37.
  4. Eileen Chang, *The Sequel*, 3. If not noted otherwise, all translations of Chang’s non-fiction writings are mine.
  5. Michael Berry, *Speaking in Images: Interviews with Contemporary Chinese Filmmakers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 155.
  6. Chang’s experience in the film industry has been well documented. In addition to seeing many of her stories adapted as stage plays and movies, she wrote several film scripts and collaborated with the renowned Hong Kong director Sang Hu in 1947. See William Tay 鄭樹森, ed., *From the Modern to the Contemporary 從現代到當代* (Taipei: Sanmin, 1994); William Tay, *The World of Eileen Chang 張愛玲的世界* (Taipei: Yunchen, 1994); and Liu Shu 劉澍 and Wang Gang 王綱, eds., *Eileen Chang’s Space of Light and Shadow 張愛玲的光影空間* (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 2007).
  7. Both Rey Chow and Leo Ou-fan Lee have analyzed Chang’s writing in light of her cinematic vision. See Chow’s *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between West and East* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) and Lee’s *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
  8. Michael Berry, *Speaking in Images*, 340.
  9. Shui Jing 水晶, *The Art of Eileen Chang’s Novels 張愛玲的小說藝術* (Taipei: Dadi, 2000), 38.
  10. See Ma Ning, “Symbolic Representation and Symbolic Violence: Chinese Family Melodrama of the Early 1980s,” in *Melodrama and Asian Cinema*, ed. Wimal Dissanayake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 29–58; and Chris Berry, “Wedding Banquet: A Family (Melodrama) Affair,” in *Chinese Films in Focus: 25 New Takes*, ed. Chris Berry (London: British Film Institute Publishing, 2003), 183–90.
  11. Cai, *Lust, Caution, Eileen*, 20.
  12. Ang Lee, “Afterword,” in *Lust, Caution*, trans. Julia Lovell (New York: Anchor Books, 2007), 59.
  13. See, for instance, Leo Ou-fan Lee’s *Shanghai Modern* and Poshek Fu’s *Between Shanghai and Hong Kong: The Politics of Chinese Cinemas* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).
  14. Cai, *Lust, Caution, Eileen*, 24–27; Zhang Zijing, *My Sister Eileen Chang 我的姊姊張愛玲* (Taipei: Shibao, 1996), 220–21.
  15. Chang, *The Sequel*, 4.

16. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, trans. Julia Lovell (New York: Anchor Books, 2007), 3.
17. Lee, “Afterword,” 60.
18. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 19.
19. Lee, “Afterword,” 59.
20. A good example is Lee’s *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000), where he opens a martial arts film with a five-minute expositional conversation between the two main characters, Yu Xiulian and Li Mubai.
21. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 39–40. I have modified Lovell’s translation substantially here. See Chang’s original text in *The Story of Regret* (惘然記), 27.
22. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 45–46. Again, I have modified Lovell’s translation of this passage.
23. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 26.
24. Jean Baudrillard, *Seduction*, trans. Brian Singer (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), 81.
25. Critics have various interpretations of why Jiazhi lets down her guard at this critical moment. Haiyan Lee, for example, suggests that Chang’s Jiazhi is touched by the image of Yi’s vulnerability: “In the film, her utterance of ‘Run’ seems activated by bodily memories—an instance of speaking sexual truth to power, as it were. In the story, by contrast, it is the face of a man whose eyelashes are likened to ethereal moth wings that take Jiazhi to the beyond.” See Lee’s “Enemy under My Skin: Eileen Chang’s *Lust, Caution* and the Politics of Transcendence,” *PMLA* 125, 3 (May 2010): 648.
26. Jean Baudrillard, *Seduction*, 69. Original italics.
27. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 39
28. Lee, *Looking at Lust, Caution*, 24.

## Chapter 9

1. Eileen Chang, *Little Reunion* 小團圓 (Hong Kong: Huangguan, 2009), 276. All page references to *Little Reunion* are drawn from the first Chinese edition. All English translations are my own.
2. Hu Lancheng 胡蘭成, *This Life in This World* 今生今世 (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1996), 173.
3. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 218.
4. Su Tong 蘇童, “Eileen Chang Reminds Me of Lin Daiyu” 張愛玲讓我想起了林黛玉, *Wanxiang* 萬象 February 2001, 3, 2: 127–29.
5. Eileen Chang loved *Dream of the Red Chamber*, and wrote a book about it, entitled *Nightmare in the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢魘 (Hong Kong: Huangguan, 1996). But in the book there is scant description of Lin Daiyu, revealing Chang’s own lack of interest in this character.
6. Related letters, as well as Roland Soong’s own explanation, are reproduced in the introduction to *Little Reunion*.

7. I choose to refer to the characters by the anglicized names Julie, Rachel, and Jody rather than using Chinese pinyin because I think Chang intended these characters (and almost everyone in the colonial city) to have Western names.
8. Although Zhiyong went to Shanghai often, his own family was in Nanjing, and he also ran a newspaper and literary magazine in central China, where he met Ms. Kang. Zhiyong, like Hu Lancheng, collaborated with the Japanese government during the Second World War, and was accused of being a traitor after the war, which meant he had to flee urban areas and hide in the countryside.
9. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 277.
10. Zhi An 止庵, “Only a Floating Life for Xiao tuanyuan” 浮生只合小團圓, *Wen Wei Po* 文匯報, March 23, 2009, <http://trans.wenweipo.com/gb/paper.wenweipo.com/2009/03/23/BK0903230001.htm> (accessed April 16, 2009).
11. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 325.
12. Hu, *This Life in This World*, 177.
13. This dream of children might be remotely connected to her abortion, depicted earlier in the book, and which I will discuss in the next section.
14. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 256.
15. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 262–64.
16. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 171.
17. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 284.
18. Sang Hu 桑弧 is a film director whose creative life spanned the Republican and socialist eras. Among the thirty-plus films he directed are *Everlasting Love* (不了情, 1947) and *Viva the Wife* (太太萬歲, 1948); Eileen Chang wrote the scripts for both films.
19. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 287.
20. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 179.
21. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 265.
22. This idea was raised in a letter Soong wrote to Chang in 1976, after he finished reading *Little Reunion*. The letter appears in the introduction to Chang’s novel (*Little Reunion*, 11).
23. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 155.
24. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 221.
25. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 248.
26. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 89.
27. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 294.
28. Eileen Chang describes *Little Reunion* thus in a letter to Stephen Soong: “This is a story full of passions. I want to articulate the many meandering pathways romantic love engenders; even when love is completely disillusioned, there is still something left.” The letter is quoted in the introduction to *Little Reunion*, 10.
29. This has been observed in another autobiographical work by Chang, *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album* 對照記：看老照片簿 (Hong Kong: Huangguan, 1994). See Laikwan Pang, “Photography and Autobiography: Eileen

- Chang's Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 13, 1 (Spring 2001): 73–106.
30. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 265.
  31. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 129.
  32. Chang, *Mutual Reflections: Looking at My Old Photo Album*, 6.
  33. Mladen Dolar, "At First Sight," in *Gaze and Voice as Love Object*, ed. Reneta Salecl and Slavoj Žižek (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 135.
  34. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 187–88.
  35. As Jean Baudrillard has pointed out, distance can no longer be conceptualized in this global world, where advanced communication technology erases the existence of strangers. We have simply lost the ability to accept and respect the state of "incomprehension." This inability to come to terms with otherness is therefore not only an attribute specific to some persons, but a social phenomenon permeating our global society. See Jean Baudrillard and Marc Guillaume, *Radical Alterity*, trans. Ames Hodges (Los Angeles: Semiotext[s], 2008), 113–31.
  36. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 177.
  37. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 180.
  38. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 324.
  39. For a pertinent reading of the relationship between pain and self, see Jane Kilby, "Carved in Skin: Bearing Witness to Self-Harm," in *Thinking through the Skin*, ed. Sara Ahmed and Jackie Stacey (London: Routledge, 2001), 124–42.
  40. For an elaborate discussion of the use of the notion of "otherness" in contemporary critical discourse, see Tamise Van Pelt, "Otherness," *Postmodern Culture* 10, 2 (January 2000). [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/postmodern\\_culture/v010/10.2vanpelt.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/postmodern_culture/v010/10.2vanpelt.html) (accessed September 18, 2011).
  41. As Van Pelt reminds us in the aforementioned article, Lacan's theory develops from his earlier mirror stage theory to the later theory of the registers: in the former, Lacan attempts to explain the dynamics of an intrapsychic alterity in interpersonal terms; it is only in his later theory of the registers that he focuses primarily on intrapsychic dynamics, thereby moving from the (imaginary) other to the (symbolic) Other.
  42. Jessica Benjamin, *The Bonds of Love: Psychoanalysis, Feminism, and the Problem of Domination* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 20.
  43. Benjamin, *The Bonds of Love*, 21.
  44. Jessica Benjamin, *Shadow of the Other: Intersubjectivity and Gender in Psychoanalysis* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 86.
  45. Joseph S. M. Lau, a long-time Eileen Chang scholar and personal friend, finds this book second-rate compared to the works Chang created in her golden age—the 1940s. For Lau, the value of *Little Reunion* lies mostly in its autobiographical nature, in the sense that we can better understand Chang and her works through this piece. Liu Shaoming 劉紹銘 (Joseph Lau), "No Little Reunion Yet" 小團未圓, *Ming Pao* 明報, March 16, 2009. In fact, this position coincides with the *Little Reunion*-mania in the Chinese-speaking world. Immediately after its publication

in February 2009, comments on the work abounded, both in print and online, by lay readers and devoted scholars, and the pirated and imported versions were widely read in mainland China in the mere two-month gap before its official simplified Chinese version was published in April 2009. Not surprisingly, an enormous amount of readerly and critical effort has been devoted to matching the characters in the book to actual persons, as well as to the reconstruction of Chang's own life, which has attracted so much curiosity. Some fans claim to be able to trace the identities of even the most minor characters. See, for example, Meidusha's 美杜莎 blog, "Little Reunion and Its Characters" 小團圓 · 以及出場人物, March 2009, <http://schlafen.pixnet.net/blog/post/22868102> (accessed April 15, 2009). Because of the book, the personal lives of past literary figures such as Hu Lancheng (as Zhiyong), Sang Hu (as Yanshan), and even Ke Ling 柯靈 (as Xunhua) have enjoyed renewed popular attention.

46. Benjamin, *Shadow of the Other*, 90.
47. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 181–83.
48. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 189–90.
49. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 190.
50. Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 115–54.
51. Benjamin, *Shadow of the Other*, 93.

## Chapter 10

1. Chang lived in the United States from 1955 to 1995. She spent a short time in Hong Kong in 1961 to write film screenplays and made a brief visit to Taiwan later that year, but otherwise spent all her time in the United States.
2. The title of the novel has been variously translated into English as "Little Reunion" and "small reunion." Song Yilang (Roland Soong), son of Song Qi and the executor of Chang's literary estate, states that he originally translated the title as *Little Reunion* but now believes that the title should be translated as *Small Reunions*. He cites Chang's usage of the same phrase 小團圓 in something she wrote on August 13, 1991 that described the trajectory of her childhood and adolescence as resembling "bamboo sections," in that it consisted of four periods—each four years long—demarcated by the departures and returns of her mother. Following these was a five-year period that ended in Chang's return from Hong Kong to Shanghai (in 1942) to be reunited with her aunt. In her own words, she experienced "several small reunions" (幾度小團圓) following periods of separation; see Song, "A Blog about *Little Reunion*" 《小團圓》的 BLOG, Post 30 (May 19, 2009), at [http://zoniaeuropa.com/culture/c20090419\\_1.htm#016](http://zoniaeuropa.com/culture/c20090419_1.htm#016) (accessed September 30, 2009). Although Song's discovery is illuminating, I will use the less awkward *Little Reunion* as the translation for 小團圓, to be consistent with other contributing authors of this volume.

3. Eileen Chang comments on the connection between *Little Reunion* and *The Book of Change* in a letter dated March 14, 1976 to Song Qi, excerpted in Song Yilang 宋以朗, “Preface to *Little Reunion*” 小團圓前言, in Eileen Chang, *Little Reunion* 小團圓 (Taipei: Huangguan, 2009), 6. According to Song Yilang, Chang began to work on *The Book of Change* in 1957 (“A Blog about *Little Reunion*,” Post 16, May 4, 2009, at [http://zoniaeuropa.com/culture/c20090419\\_1.htm#016](http://zoniaeuropa.com/culture/c20090419_1.htm#016), accessed September 30, 2009).
4. A year after the publication of *Little Reunion*, Chang’s two English autobiographical novels were released by Hong Kong University Press in the spring and fall of 2010. I regret not being able to delve into them here due to space limitations. Suffice it to say that, as texts written for the purpose of courting an English-speaking audience, Chang’s English novels should be situated in the literary and cultural contexts of mid-century America, which deserves a full study of its own. For a related discussion, see Shuang Shen’s chapter in this volume, which interprets Chang’s shorter English writings in terms of Cold War politics and her struggle to find a place for herself and her works while in exile. For a reading of Chang’s repeated rewriting of her life story as epitomizing a poetics of “involution and derivation,” focusing especially on Chang’s English autobiographical novels, see David Wang’s chapter in this volume. My own chapter is dedicated to understanding Chang’s self-fashioning textual performances directed at Chinese reading publics as her mirror and audience.
5. Eileen Chang, “On Reading” 談看書, in *Chang’s View* 張看 (Taipei: Huangguan, 1991), 155–97. “On Reading” was followed by a shorter essay, “An Afterword to ‘On Reading’” 〈談看書〉後記, in the same year. Publication years are based on the chronology included at the end of Huangguan’s 2001 collector’s edition of *Eileen Chang’s Collected Works: 張愛玲典藏全集* (Taipei: Huangguan, 2001), 14: 247–54. For the dates of composition, see Eileen Chang, *The Story of Regret* 惘然記 (Taipei: Huangguan, 1991), 4; and Song, “Preface to *Little Reunion*,” 3–17.
6. The 1970s also saw Chang devote considerable energy to a textual study of *Dream of the Red Chamber*, which deserves separate consideration.
7. Chang, “On Reading,” 189.
8. Zhang Xiaohong 張小虹, “Legally Pirating Eileen Chang—There Will Never Be a Reunion Hereafter” 合法盜版張愛玲，從此永不團圓, *United Daily* 聯合報, February 27, 2009.
9. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 3.
10. Song, “Afterword to *Little Reunion*” 小團圓後記, [http://www.zoniaeuropa.com/culture/c20090305\\_1.htm](http://www.zoniaeuropa.com/culture/c20090305_1.htm) (accessed September 30, 2009).
11. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 15–16.
12. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 4, 5.
13. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 6.
14. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 8.
15. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 8.



16. 妨礙 in modern Chinese usually means hindrance or interference. However, here it seems to be used interchangeably with 礙語, or inappropriate words, an expression that appears in another letter Chang wrote (dated July 18, 1975) commenting on her revisions (Chang, *Little Reunion*, 4).
17. Du Yu 杜預, et al., annotated, *The Three Biographies of The Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋三傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 144.
18. If the deceased held an official title or if the family was affluent, it was common for their family to commission an eminent writer to write a lavishly embellished biography based on a draft provided by the family; see Pei-yi Wu, *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 24, 58. See also Denis Twitchett, "Chinese Biographical Writing," in *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank (London and New York: Oxford, 1961), 95–114.
19. Paul de Man, "Autobiography as Defacement," *MLN* 94, 5 (1979): 919–30; Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 13.
20. Quoted in Song, "Preface to *Little Reunion*," 13. The English words "unconventional" and "unsympathetic" appear in the Chinese original.
21. See, for example, Sima Wensen 司馬文森, *A History of Cultural Traitors' Crimes* 文化漢奸罪惡史 (Shanghai: Shuguang chubanshe, 1945). It is difficult to ascertain Sima's identity and relationship to the returning Nationalist government. The label "cultural traitor," though ill defined, was common in popular media at the time and was adopted by the state in its prosecution of certain prominent writers and intellectuals who had held administrative positions during the Japanese era. Chang never held any position, so she was never prosecuted by the state despite suffering virulent personal attacks in the press. For further discussion, see Xia Yun, "Traitors to the Chinese Race (Hanjian): Political and Cultural Campaigns against Collaborators during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 2010, especially Chapters 4–5.
22. Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, 3–21.
23. Lejeune gives a basic definition of autobiography thus: "Retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own life, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality" (Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, 4). This definition describes *Little Reunion* well, even if formally it is not what Lejeune would call a classic autobiography.
24. Lingzhen Wang, *Personal Matters, Women's Autobiographical Practice in Twentieth-century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), Chapter 5; Amy Dooling, *Women's Literary Feminism in Twentieth-century China* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), especially discussion on Bai Wei; Ruihua Shen, "New Woman, New Fiction: Autobiographical Fictions by Twentieth-century Chinese Women Writers," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 2003.

25. Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 45.
26. Compared with letters and diaries, poetry was a relatively public genre commonly used by late imperial Chinese women. For a taste of the common motifs of longing and sickness in late imperial women's poetry, see Kang-i Sun Chang and Huan Saussy, eds., *Women Writers of Traditional China: A Collection of Poetry and Criticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). Although women may have expressed their thoughts and feelings in less formulaic ways in their private letters and diaries, few such writings were published. One late imperial woman who wrote a very original public work about her life expressing frustration and discontentment with the lack of career opportunities for women was Wu Zao 吳藻, but she was a rare exception rather than the norm; see Wei Hua, "The Lament of Frustrated Talents: An Analysis of Three Women's Plays in Late Imperial China," *Ming Studies* 32 (1994): 28–42. It should also be noted that Wu Zao's work, *The Disguised Image* 喬影, though highly self-referential, is very different from a modern autobiography in that Wu speaks through a dramatic persona, and the plot concerns mainly the present, not the past.
27. Wang, *Personal Matters*, 61–139; c.f. Sally Lieberman, *The Mother and Narrative Politics in Modern China* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998).
28. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 30, 32, 136, 144–45, 149.
29. Dooling, *Women's Literary Feminism*, 3–6.
30. Chang, *Mutual Reflections*, 20.
31. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 138.
32. Sima, *A History of Cultural Traitors' Crimes*, 2–6, 49–50. See also Anonymous, *The Heinous History of Female Collaborators* 女漢奸醜史 (Shanghai: Dashidai shushe, ca. 1940s), 10. For Hu's recollection of his involvement in Wang's government, see Hu Lancheng 胡蘭成, *This Life in This World* 今生今世 (Taipei: Yuanjing, 2004), 173–257; this edition restores the chapter on Wang's regime that was excised from the 1976 Yuanjing edition. The complete version was first published in Japan in 1959 under the variant title 今世今生. For a collection of Hu's political writings during the war, see Hu Lancheng, *War Is Difficult, So Is Achieving Peace* 戰難和亦不易 (Shanghai: Zhonghua ribao guan, 1940).
33. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 64.
34. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 38, 104, 107, 110, 119–22, 197.
35. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 241.
36. Chang, *Little Reunion*, 8.
37. Eileen Chang, *Written on Water* 流言 (Taipei: Huangguan, 1991), 21.
38. Elsewhere, Chang tentatively translates the term 社會小說 into English as "the novel of manners" (Chang, "Remembering Hu Shi" 憶胡適之, in *Chang's View*, 153).
39. Chang, "On Reading," in *Chang's View*, 188.
40. Chang, "On Reading," 188.
41. Chang, "On Reading," 188.

42. Chang, “On Reading,” 189.
43. Chang, “On Reading,” 190.
44. Chang, “On Reading,” 190.
45. Her excitement as a teenager upon discovering allusions to her paternal grandparents’ lives in *A Flower in a Sea of Sin* is described in *Mutual Reflections*, 34–38; the incident also appears in *Little Reunion*, 119–22, but the novel’s title is changed to *Record of a Clear Night* (清夜錄).
46. Chang, “On Reading,” 185.
47. Chang, “On Reading,” 184–85. New journalism was a style of news writing that arose against the background of the civil movement and anti-war protests in the US in the 1960s and 1970s, using some literary conventions then considered unconventional for news reporting. Representative writers included Truman Capote, Norman Mailer, Thomas Wolfe, Joan Didion, and Robert Christgau. See Thomas Wolfe, *The New Journalism: Conversations with America’s Best Nonfiction Writers on Their Craft* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005); Michael L. Johnson, *The New Journalism: The Underground Press, the Artists of Nonfiction, and Changes in the Established Media* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1971). Judging from Eileen Chang’s reading list in “On Reading,” she was well informed about cultural developments in the US. Her championing of factual representation in the Chinese social novel would make her a close ally of the American new journalists in their theoretical outlook. For instance, Truman Capote wrote *In Cold Blood* (1966) as a “nonfiction novel,” and Norman Mailer advocated “history as the novel, the novel as history.” However, based on her terse comments on new journalism, Chang apparently did not care for the strong political agendas of some new journalists.
48. Chang mentions that the story was based on some “material” she had obtained, which vaguely implies that it was inspired by a real incident (Chang, *The Story of Regret*, 4). Since the story’s adaptation as a film by Ang Lee, there has been wide speculation that it is loosely based on the KMT underground agent Zheng Pingru’s attempt to lure and assassinate the collaborationist intelligence chief Ding Mocun in 1939. On the Zheng Pingru incident, see Luo Jiurong 羅久蓉, “Historical Reality and Literary Imagination: Gender and the Discourse of the Nation in the Death of a Female Spy 歷史真實與文學想像：從一個女間諜之死看近代中國的性別與國族論述,” *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History* 近代中國婦女史研究 11 (2003): 47–98; for an excellent study comparing the Zheng incident and Eileen Chang’s story “Lust, Caution,” see Guo Yuwen 郭玉雯, “A Study of Eileen Chang’s ‘Lust, Caution,’—Mentioning Also the Relevant Historical Records and Ang Lee’s Screen Version of the Story 張愛玲〈色戒〉探析——兼及相關之歷史記載與李安的改編電影,” *NTU Studies in Taiwan Literature* 台灣文學研究集刊 4 (2007): 41–76.
49. On Eileen Chang’s comic screenplays, see Kenny K. K. Ng, “The Screenwriter as Cultural Broker: Travels of Eileen Chang’s Comedies of Love,” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 20, 2 (Fall 2008): 131–84; Poshek Fu, “Eileen Chang,

Woman's Film, and Domestic Culture of Modern Shanghai," *Tamkang Review* 29, 4 (1999): 9–28.

50. Eileen Chang, *Lust, Caution and Other Stories*, trans. Julia Lovell (London: Penguin, 2007), 4. Citations of the story in English are based on this translation.
51. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 3.
52. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 20.
53. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 29.
54. Chang, *Lust, Caution*, 40.

## Chapter 11

1. *The Shanghai Evening Post* was run by Carl Crow (1884–1945), a Missouri-born newspaperman, businessman, and author. Carl Crow arrived in Shanghai in 1911 and made the city his home for a quarter of a century. For more information, see Paul French, *Carl Crow, A Tough Old China Hand: The Life, Times, and Adventures of an American in Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006). The title of Eileen Chang's essay was provided by newspaper editors.
2. C. T. Hsia was the first scholar to introduce Eileen Chang as a canonical writer to the English-speaking world. See Hsia's chapter on Chang in *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, 1917–1957* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).
3. Chang's letter to Stephen Soong, April 2, 1963.
4. For more comprehensive discussions of Chang's bilingualism and rewriting, see Liu Shaoming 劉紹銘 (Joseph Lau), "Transmigration: On the Shuttling of Eileen Chang's Bilingual Translations" 輪迴轉生：張愛玲的中英互譯; and Zhang Man 張曼 "The Flow of Culture in the Midst of Intertextual Flux" 文化在文本間穿行：論張愛玲的翻譯觀, in Chen Zishan 陳子善, *Re-reading Eileen Chang 重讀張愛玲* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2008), 214–33; 234–46.
5. According to Stephen Soong, Chang wrote the English version first. See also Kao Chuan-chih 高全之, *Eileen Chang Reconsidered 張愛玲學* (Taipei: Maitian, 2008), 418.
6. See my introduction to *The Rouge of the North* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), viii.
7. See Kao's analysis, 321–44.
8. Chang's letter to Stephen Soong 宋淇, September 5, 1957.
9. I am using Andrew F. Jones's translation. See *Written on Water 流言*, trans. Andrew F. Jones, co-ed. with an introduction by Nicole Huang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 131.
10. It should also be noted that Chang married Ferdinand Reyher (1891–1967) in 1956. This marriage was nevertheless soon burdened by Reyher's health problems and the resultant financial strain. As with the writing of *The Fall of the Pagoda*, Chang wrote *The Book of Change* in the midst of worrying about Reyher and their future.

11. Chang's letters to Stephen Soong, June 23, 1963; January 25, 1964. In the 1963 letter Chang called her novel *The Leifengta Pagoda Has Fallen* 雷峰塔倒了; in the 1964 letter she called it *The Leifeng Pagoda* 雷峰塔.
12. For Lu Xun and contemporary literati's responses to *The Fall of the Pagoda*, see Eugene Wang's succinct analysis in "Tope and Topos: The Leifeng Pagoda and the Discourse of the Demonic," in *Writing and Materiality in China*, ed. Judith Zeitlin and Lydia Liu (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 517–35.
13. See T. A. Hsia's analysis in *The Gate of Darkness: Studies on the Leftist Literary Movement in China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), Chapter 4.
14. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 257–58.
15. Chang, "Writing of One's Own," *Written on Water*, 18.
16. Eileen Chang, "Love in a Fallen City": "Hong Kong's defeat had brought Liusu victory. But in this unreasonable world, who can distinguish cause and effect? Who knows which is which? Did a great city fall so that she could be vindicated? Countless thousands of people dead, countless thousands of people suffering, after that an earthshaking revolution... Liusu did not feel anything subtle about her place in history." Karen Kingsbury's translation, in *Love in A Fallen City* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2007), 167.
17. Chang, "From the Ashes," *Written on Water*, 52.
18. Eileen Chang, *The Book of Change* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 230.
19. Cheng Zhongying 成中英, *Theory of Benti in the Philosophy of Yijing* 易學本體論 (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 2006), 3–34.
20. Cheng, *Theory of Benti in the Philosophy of Yijing*, 29.
21. "The Great Treatise I," Zhouyi 周易·繫辭上, trans. James Legge, *Chinese Text Project* 中國哲學書電子化計劃, <http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/text.pl?node=46908&if=gb&en=on>.
22. Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995). See also J. Hillis Miller's discussion of repetition as an aesthetic principle of fictional creation, in *Fiction and Repetition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), Chapter 1.
23. Chang, *The Book of Change*, 10–11.
24. Chang, *The Book of Change*, 201.
25. This character is based on Chang's best friend at the time, Fatima Mohideen, a girl whose father was from Ceylon and her mother a native of Tianjin.
26. Chang, *The Book of Change*, 181.
27. For more definition of derivative aesthetics, see my discussion in *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849–1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 76–80.
28. Chang, *The Book of Change*, 20.
29. See my discussion in *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, 89–101.

30. This novel is a playful parody of Cao Xueqin's masterpiece. It was aborted by Chang after she composed the initial chapters and has never been published.
31. I am using David Hawkes' translation, *The Story of the Stone*, vol. 1 (New York: Penguin, 1973), 51.
32. “張愛玲五評《紅樓夢》·看官們三棄《海上花》”. Eileen Chang, “Afterword to the Mandarin Edition of *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai*” 國語版《海上花》譯後記, in Chang, trans. with annotations, 國語海上花列傳, vol. II (Taipei: Huangguan chubanshe, 1995), 724.
33. By “translingual practice” I am referring to the theory of translated Chinese modernity developed by Lydia Liu, in *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). I am using the term in Chang's case anachronistically so as to stress Chang's alternative view of translation. Chang wrote her English essay “Chinese Life and Fashions” in 1943 for the English language journal *The XXth Century*. She translated and revised the piece for the Chinese language magazine *Past and Present* 古今, retitling it “A Chronicle of Changing Clothes” 更衣記. This piece was later included in Chang's collection “Written on Water” 流言. See Andrew F. Jones's triangulated translation into English of Chang's translation into Chinese in *Written on Water*, 65–77.

## Afterword

1. Leo Ou-fan Lee 李歐梵, *Watching Lust, Caution: Literature, Cinema, History* 睇色·戒：文學·電影·歷史 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
2. Doris Sommer, *Bilingual Aesthetics: A Sentimental Education* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); and *Bilingual Games: Some Literary Investigations* (New York: Palgrave, 2004).
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