

When True Love Came to China

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1

Love's Entrée

With love being in an embryonic state in the China of today, pure love is hard to find.

Chen Guangding, in *The Ladies' Journal*, 1926

'We don't put much store by love,' you hear the Chinese say of themselves, not in any tone of self-depreciation but matter-of-factly. In one sense it is true: except among a small minority, romantic love is not felt to be of overriding importance in the choice of whom the Chinese marry.

Small as that minority is, it is still considerably larger than it was in the early years of the twentieth century, when all marriages were arranged by parents through appointed go-betweens, and no one chose their own spouses on the basis of romantic love. At the urging of the intellectual vanguard of the time, this millennia-old custom began to change in the years leading up to the communist revolution in 1949. It was to the start of this change that the person quoted in the epigraph to this chapter traced the 'embryonic state' of love in 1926.

Of course, not to marry for love is not necessarily to be innocent of love: lovelessly married Chinese men had immemorially looked to courtesans and concubines for romance. But that was not true love, according to those intellectuals, for it could only be that with the exercise of free will and the attainment of man-woman equality; love was only true if it was a relationship freely entered into on the basis of man-woman equality. And since relations were neither free nor equal in China, the Chinese 'have no love to speak of,' some said of themselves, 'Chinese don't understand what love is, so you can't talk about love to Chinese.' A commentator who heard these words thought them a little exaggerated: 'It isn't that the Chinese don't understand love,' he wrote, 'it's that we don't get a chance at *true* love; and we don't because Chinese society won't allow it . . . and therein lies the Chinese tragedy.' Chinese society would not allow it because it was shackled still by such age-old Confucian ritual practices as sequestering maidens, so the liberty to love was simply not there. How, he asked, are we to improve and evolve? He himself came to the conclusion that a 'love revolution' was needed.¹

Calls for such a revolution were hard to ignore in one place in particular. This was Shanghai, the most Westernized of China's cities by virtue of its being a treaty port harbouring British, American and French concessions. China's chief publishing centre, Shanghai was where all the books, magazines and especially translations of foreign works introducing new ways of love saw the light of day. There was a flood of these in the 1920s, a period exceptionally preoccupied with love. A periodical named *The Ladies' Journal*, for example, dedicated whole issues to the subjects of love, divorce and mate selection, while special columns were started so that readers could write in and air their views on questions such as, 'What is my ideal match?' and 'What do I expect of men (or women)?'² It was a time that promised crucial breakthroughs in Chinese attitudes to love, sex and marriage. Contrasting notions of these were on offer, with those from the West threatening to upstage native ones among the educated young. That those Western ideas did transplant, but not all that well and not wholly, was what the Shanghai-born writer Eileen Chang (1920–95) had in mind when she wrote her short story 'Stale Mates' (1956).³

She subtitled it 'A Short Story Set in the Time When Love Came to China.' The title of my book, *When True Love Came to China*, consciously echoes the subtitle. The time in which her story is set is 1924, when the fashion is to address a young unmarried woman as *misi* (Miss), wear spectacles with round black rims even when there is no call for them, clip a fountain pen on your lapel and read Shelley. Boating on the West Lake, the story's hero Mr Luo reads the English poet aloud to the twenty-year-old Miss Fan, who, whenever she feels moved, would tightly grasp the hand of her girl companion.

He is sweet on her and she him. Inevitably, he is married—no Chinese man his age would still be single. A 'universal predicament,' Eileen Chang calls it, and observes wryly of the time that 'practically everybody was married and had children before ever hearing of love.' That Luo and his men friends *have* heard of it can be deduced from the pleasure they take in talking endlessly about their beloved among themselves, showing each other the girls' letters and analyzing their personalities from their handwriting. You might think that none of this amounts to much, but for these young men it is rapture enough, love being such a new experience in China 'that a little of it goes a long way.'

Luo declares himself to Miss Fan, who is asked to wait for him while he extricates himself from his marriage. Divorce, once raised with his wife back home in the country, causes rage and consternation to the two mothers, his and hers, Chinese matrimony being more a matter of family than of the couples themselves. Alas, the six years it takes to come to an agreement prove too long for Miss Fan, who at twenty-six is fast becoming an old maid. Indeed, if she does not hurry she would be too old to qualify even for what is called a 'room-filler,' one who marries a widower. A matchmaker is engaged, and while a pawnbroker is the best that this go-between could do, Miss Fan

does receive a big diamond engagement ring from him and gets taken out to dine on European food.

In a fit of pique, the by-now divorced Luo turns (through the agency of a match-maker) to a Wang family, whose eldest daughter accepts his suit after the usual exchange of photographs and due investigations. But while he is married within three months, Miss Fan's match falls apart. Is it because the man turns out to be older than first thought, or is it she who has lied about her age? Malicious gossip is not altogether clear on this.

Luo's and Miss Fan's friends see to it that the two run into each other, in all likelihood because they think it would be 'sad and beautiful—and therefore a good thing—' if the two were to meet again on the West Lake under the moon. Under the moon, Luo is smitten once again. For the second time he starts divorce proceedings, a struggle no less prolonged than the previous one, made all the worse perhaps by his being seen now as 'a scoundrel where he has once been a pioneer.' She stands by him through thick and thin and, without being 'monotonously pliant,' falls in with his moods, reads all the books that he gives her and remains devoted to Shelley.

Once married, however, she forsakes Shelley for mah-jong, revealing a side to her that Luo has not suspected. She lets herself go, lounging about at home in unwashed old gowns when not out playing mah-jong, and cracking watermelon seeds in bed and spitting out the shells onto the bedclothes and floor.

Word of their squabbles reaches his relatives, who suggest a simple solution: why not get Miss Wang to come back? Luo wavers, but is then persuaded. As expected, his wife throws a tantrum, then rises to her new role by appearing to be magnanimity itself when Miss Wang is brought home—not, it is understood by *her* family, as a secondary wife or concubine but as ranking equally with the former Miss Fan.

And if two, why not three? There is his first ex-wife, whom a clan elder says it would only be fair for Luo to take back. Luo agrees, and goes down to the country to fetch her from her family. Yet he does not feel blessed though onlookers say so. Not that his having all these wives is matter for congratulation these days, since it is already 1936, an age 'at least nominally monogamous.' But none of his friends take him seriously when he confesses his unhappiness. Never mind, one of them guffaws, 'There are four of you—just right for a nice game of mah-jong.'

It might seem as though, for Luo, the pieces have fallen into place against the odds. Yet in a way it is not against the odds that he should end up polygamous—the satirist in Eileen Chang mocks his all too inevitable reversion to ancestral practice. What is more, the reversion seems to be more duty than pleasure; he does what his clan elders, or hoary Chinese tradition, expect of him. It is true that he is a trailblazer—and not once but twice over—marrying for love, a new thing under the Chinese sun; and

divorcing his wife in the teeth of opposition. But that is his new self, one fired in part by Shelley and the new banner of progress. His old self is another matter. There is no eradicating it root and branch, and it is bound to break out sooner or later. Selves are after all not created in a day; such selves, on so colossal a scale as China's, have millennia-long roots, not easily pulled up.

Yet pulled up they ought to be, urged the champions of the love revolution, pulled up and discarded. The self must be reshaped, and any inadequacy in cultural make-up and character made good by foreign borrowing. The inadequacy was gloomily felt to be general, love being just one of many spheres of Chinese life, from the scientific to the artistic and philosophical, that cried out for Western input. An across-the-board Westernization was seen by many to be the way forward.

Eileen Chang, who wrote 'Stale Mates' in two versions, English then Chinese, tells us when it was that the Chinese looked so enthusiastically to the West: she does so by including the date 'May Fourth' in the title of the Chinese (which translates very roughly as 'It Happened in the May Fourth Period').⁴ A date resonant in the Chinese revolutionary memory, this is a shorthand for the May Fourth movement of 1919, a sweeping literary and intellectual renewal that has been called the 'Chinese Renaissance' and is said to be the Chinese answer to the Enlightenment in Europe.

Its ignition was a patriotic student demonstration, staged in front of the Gate of Heavenly Peace in Beijing, to protest the humiliating decision of the Paris Peace Conference to transfer Germany's rights in Shandong province, in northern China, to Japan rather than return them to Chinese sovereignty. The thousands that took to the streets saw it as a stinging betrayal of China by the allied powers. Galling it was too, to find their country counting for so little in the world. As they saw it, it was China's backwardness that made it weak, and weak, it invited the depredations visited upon it by Western and Japanese imperialists. At this rate, the protestors asked, how was the nation to survive the twentieth century?

Campus rallies, street processions, impassioned speechifying, an upsurge of nationalism and anti-imperialism—these were the May Fourth movement in its strict sense. In its broader sense, it coalesced with two sweeping changes that had preceded it. One cleared the decks for the emergence of the Republic of China by toppling the Qing dynasty, the Manchu ruling house, from its throne in 1911. The second was a clearing of the decks of another sort: the New Culture movement of 1915 was exactly as its name suggests, a move to renew Chinese culture. Age-old ways of thinking, of saying things, of ordering personal relationships—all these had to be swept away. Thus thought hamstrung and conventionalized by the Classical language was to be freed and made new by the modern vernacular; top-down relations of father to son, and husband to wife, were to be ditched in favour of equality, and so on.

Renewing Chinese culture meant a cathartic casting out of demons, and of no demon was exorcism more needed than Confucius. It had to be done for China to be

saved. Only then might Chinese culture emerge from its political, moral and intellectual darkness into the light of 'science' and 'democracy.' Once Confucianism had been jettisoned, the web of ideas that went with it, ideas relating to morality, family and of course women, might be discarded as well.

As the protests grew, so did the force of ideas voiced in a spate of new periodicals—with names like *New Youth*, *The Renaissance* (*Xinchao* in Chinese) and *The New Woman*—that appeared to call for a new page to be turned. The writers, intellectuals and radicals who contributed to these journals or read them make up what I call the May Fourth generation.

In the passage from oldness to newness, May 4, 1919 was a milestone. But to say that that date marks a change from old-style love to new-style love is rather like Virginia Woolf announcing that 'on or about December 1910 human character changed.' Of course, she is not saying that 'one went out, and there saw a rose had flowered, or that a hen had laid an egg. The change was not sudden and definite like that. But a change there was, nevertheless, and since one must be arbitrary, let us date it about the year 1910.'⁵

Apart from supposing romantic love to be *terra incognita* to the Chinese, what did those May Fourth intellectuals think about when they thought about love? What were they talking about when they talked about love? They were thinking and talking about a liberation from the dark tyranny of 'feudal' matchmaking, about free will and individualism and self-determination. They were condemning inequality and sexual double standards, how unfair it was to demand chastity and constancy of women while tolerating male philandering and polygamy. They were talking about the New Woman and clamouring for a release from Confucian prudery. They were rejecting sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy and calling for a new and superior morality based on love.

On 'love' itself, however, they were less clear. Some thought it a euphemism and mask for animal appetite; some an ideal unattainable in real life. Others decried it as merely a modish word, with nothing of substance behind it. All were agreed that its meaning was not to be found in the Chinese cultural script, for there was always to the old Chinese idioms for amorous relations a tinge of unseriousness, of dalliance even; in their view such relations were either sensualized and sentimentalized as 'wind, flowers, snow, moon,' or regarded with tongue firmly in cheek.⁶ It became a cliché to suppose that historically there had only ever been two attitudes to love in China: to prohibit it as immorality; or to play it like a game of refined taste and elegance.⁷ The refinement and elegance came of the fact that in the long tradition of connoisseurship created and shaped by elite men of letters, women were an object of erotic appreciation, on a par with, say, collecting art; feminine beauty was there for the delectation of men of taste, for whom the ability to take pleasure in it was a mark of elegant sensibility.

As for what those men wrote in the way of fiction, it was no better than what they practised. The love stories of old were harshly judged by progressive May Fourth critics, as being either pornographic or formulaic. The first kind has lovers giving in readily to consuming passion and clandestine sex; while the second, the so-called 'scholar-beauty' romance, pairs a talented scholar with a chaste and clever maiden, and all's well that ends well in matrimony. Love is often at first sight and unmarried lovers frequently fall ill from unassuaged longing. In fact it is love by any measure, but the progressive critic's view was anything but dispassionate, and he found love wanting in the pages of Chinese fiction not only because it was not free but because it was somehow less sentiment than sex.

It was time to throw that sort of love over. Surveying the scene in 1926, a commentator remarked, 'Frankly speaking, Western authors of sentimental novels have more insight into individual character, so their portrayals make more sense. Besides, in the West love is sacred and it is free. There men and women mix socially in more varied ways than in China; here it is always just more of the same. In times past we worked at vivid phraseology; today we're only inclined to sad endings and melancholy. Really, you're better off looking to translations if you want works of a higher and purer calibre. The care that their authors take in writing about love is of the closest, finest and most meticulous quality.'⁸

Love was neither 'sacred' nor 'free' in China. To trace how it became so under Western influence is one of the aims of this book. The conduits of this influence were Western works of literature, social theory and psychology. From these, new foreign ideas on the nature of love not only entered the Chinese conception but became constitutive of it. What are those ideas about the nature of love and how are they different from the homegrown variety?—that, too, is a question this book tries to address. Different, the homegrown variety was counted deficient. From this it was but a short step to the conclusion that the Chinese were a people little given to love.

The conclusion is of course unwarranted, since not exalting or privileging love does not necessarily imply a want of natural amorous feeling in a people. It could mean that such feelings were denied or disdained, or simply that other things were considered more important. Or that the feelings were there, only little expressed. Yet it has been a marked tendency among both Chinese and Western commentators to suppose the Chinese less captive to love than Europeans (see Chapter 3). Compared to Europeans they are indeed little given to general theorizing on love, but what is one to make of Eileen Chang's astonishing remark (in a letter to her closest friends dated June 16, 1969), 'To this day we Chinese don't much love, and even our love stories don't often tell of love?'⁹

Surely not, you think, unless she means by 'love' something different from how that word is understood by the general run of Chinese? Does she mean by 'love' something more than what is professed by characters in Chinese love stories? And if so what is

that something more? The notion having been advanced that the Chinese thought only of lust when they thought of love, that 'something more' could only be not-lust. But 'not-lust' is not a good enough definition of love, and since there had been no Chinese attempt to define it before, guidance was sought again in Western writing.

The closest thing to a Chinese classification of love was a seventeenth-century (or late Ming) anthology of tales, legends and historical anecdotes compiled by a man of letters called Feng Menglong. Because these materials are grouped under various headings, Western scholars have named the compilation *An Anatomy of Love*, but in many cases the categorization is not so much of kinds of love as of kinds of person—'homosexual,' for example, and 'knight errant' (more of whom in Chapter 4).

Even less was it a case of defining love when early twentieth-century publishers of a school of popular fiction named 'Mandarin Duck and Butterfly' (mandarin ducks and butterflies being the very image of lovers in the Chinese tradition) brought novels out under subgeneric labels like Triste Love, Bitter Love, Strange Love, Voluptuous Love and so on. These tags give the book-buying public some indication of what to expect but they hardly describe the nature and meaning of love.¹⁰

By contrast, Westerners are quick to say what love is and what it is not, when it is 'true' and when it is not; they are quick to define it as x and not y, what is at stake in love and what are the proofs of love. They are quick to analyze it too; there is hardly a book on the subject that does not speak of *kinds* of love. Such concerns became a new frame in which the Chinese learned to place their feelings. Today the Chinese who try to make sense of their feelings in terms of it do so with little grasp that it is a cultural construct, not objective reality but merely one way, perhaps uniquely Western, of carving up the semantic domain of 'love.'

One of the first thoughts to emerge in the course of researching this book was how much better it would be for this study if it were to pay attention to the carving of the semantic domain of love, especially as it has to tell the Chinese story alongside the West's. Of the different ways of slicing the semantic melon of love, the one that makes the most sense to me is the one that marks off the state of 'falling' or 'being in love' from 'love.' The former is a distinctly definable emotional condition, the only reliably identifiable state under the 'love' rubric, its onset frequently allegorized as being pierced by Cupid's arrow or struck by a thunderbolt. In his book *Love (De L'Amour)* the French writer Stendhal describes this moment: 'The most surprising thing of all about love is the first step, the violence of the change that takes place in a man's mind.'¹¹ More recently, John Armstrong describes it in his book *Conditions of Love* as 'an amazing explosion of feeling': 'All our desires become focused upon that person and we look, dazzled, into those beloved eyes and see—if only for a while—the summation of our own existence and a new world of happiness.'¹²

One brave American psychologist, Dorothy Tennov, thought the condition deserved a name all to itself and coined one, limerence; then published a whole study

of it in 1979 using interviews and a questionnaire. Her book is dedicated to Stendhal, from whom she quotes a description of the 'intrusive thinking' that is so typical of the limerent experience: 'A person in love is unremittingly and uninterruptedly occupied with the image of [the] beloved.'

It was a state, Tennov finds, that 'some people were in much of the time, others in some of the time, but still others never in . . .'¹³ This last surprised her, but she hastened to reassure those who had never fallen in love that they were not on that score not loving, if loving were defined as caring. You could be caring, affectionate, even tender without being limerent.

At its most full-blown limerence carries all before it, eclipsing other human relationships. It is not mere sexual attraction, but nor is it limerence if the potential for physical consummation was not there. Returned feelings might be what the limerent yearns for above all, yet there is no rapture equal to that of having those feelings expressed in sexual union.

Limerence blooms and fades, and by its nature it is transitory. In duration it could be as brief as a few weeks or as long as a few years. Intimacies initiated by limerence might well outlast it, by years or by even a lifetime, but then it is no longer limerence that sustains these relationships but some other kind of attachment.

That it is involuntary, not subject to reason or the will is one reason it has been disparaged, given such pejorative labels as 'infatuation,' 'puppy love,' 'obsession,' 'addiction,' 'destructive passion,' 'selfish love,' and even 'pseudo-love' by people who, one guesses (as Tennov does), had never been in love themselves. Tennov's book was coolly received by the academic community when it came out, and resistance to her theory persists to this day, with psychologists and other experts looking to see if limerence might not be clinically classed as an obsessive-compulsive disorder, and others wondering how it might be distinguished from true love!

Still, was it necessary to coin a new term for it? No, says the biological anthropologist Helen Fisher: it is your classic, standard romantic love.¹⁴ Fisher, who has been named the world's leading expert on the biology of love, has also called it infatuation, obsessive love, passionate love and romantic attraction.¹⁵ Fisher believes that, call it what you will, it is one of three interrelated yet distinct emotion systems in the brain involved in mating, reproduction and the rearing of the young, the other two being the sex drive (or lust, as she has also called it) and attachment (or companionate love). Neuro-scientific research using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) has led her to the theory that each of the three emotions systems is correlated with a specific neurobiology in the brain (feelings of romantic attraction being associated with high levels of the neurotransmitters dopamine and norepinephrine and with low levels of serotonin, lust with testosterone and attachment with oxytocin and vasopressin). The three systems are linked but they can operate independently, so lust and romantic attachment need not go together, and deep attachment to a long-term mate need not

stop one from falling in love with another or being sexually stimulated by a third. You can 'love' more than one person at the same time, in other words, feeling companionate love for one, say, and romantic love for another.¹⁶

The trouble with using the term 'romantic love' for limerence is that not everyone means the same thing by it. Also, while limerence denotes a distinct state or lived experience, 'romantic love' has been understood not only in the experiential sense but as a cluster of ideas with a history. Hardly had I started reading up on the subject than I ran across the debate, a lively and still unresolved one among literary scholars and social scientists, as to whether romantic love is universal, or whether, far from being quintessentially human, it is a cultural construct specific to Western culture. Indeed, it has long been held by literary scholars that romantic love was an invention of the West, one whose medieval version was the *fin'amors* (or courtly love) of the Middle Ages (see Chapter 3). Poets and novelists created it, they say; they are the ones who have made romantic love so central to the lives of individuals in the West.¹⁷ So you would not expect answers to the question, 'What does it mean to love someone romantically?' to be the same across time and space. By contrast, you would expect the answers to be much more similar if the question were, 'How does it feel to be in love (or limerent?)'

But while Tennov differentiates 'being in love' from 'love,' 'romantic love' has not been so isolated. John Armstrong, whose description of falling in love I earlier quoted, calls it the 'opening stages of love,' implying it goes on. Tennov, on the other hand, would say that Armstrong's 'explosion of feeling' comes to an end sooner or later. People call it love, but if they do, they will also have to take on board the fact that it is not, by its very nature, destined to endure. Yet the idea that love is a short-lived thing is widely resisted. 'Real love,' writes Armstrong, is 'love that lasts.'¹⁸

It is no wonder that Tennov's work was coolly received. Also, it runs counter to an age-old vision of love in the West and the way thinkers and writers have habitually characterized it. The old way, too ingrained in the Western tradition to be ever questioned, is to carve it up into love and lust (or, as we shall see, sacred and profane love, or the spiritual versus the physical). But here she is, identifying a distinct emotional state that is not just sexual attraction but is nonetheless sexual and, what is more, so intense and overwhelming in feeling and sensation that to those who experience it, it can't not be the real thing.

For the Chinese, as we shall see, there was no distinction between love and lust comparable in significance to that drawn in the West, and it was not until they modelled their love on that of the West that they began to share in the metaphysical dualism of 'flesh' and 'soul' characteristic of Western thinking. The story which this book tells reaches its climax with the adoption, by members of the Chinese intelligentsia if not by the population at large, of the Western notion of true love as the 'oneness of spirit and flesh' (see Chapter 11).

My story is mainly of the early twentieth century, but as I have to return to the origins to make any sense of it, I go as far back as antiquity. There is love and 'love.' The former is what people actually experience (which it is impossible for another person to know), while the latter is what they say they experience. The people who say it best, and at length, are poets, novelists and essayists; and as this account is historical, the only way it could get at the experience of love is by studying what these authors have left behind in the way of diaries, letters, autobiographical writings, stories, articles, tracts and translations. These, then, are its main sources. Its focus is on China, but love belongs to all humanity and it is my hope that, from seeing its place and meaning in the minds of another people, those not of that culture will learn something about themselves.

2

Confucius and Freud

There are three things which the gentleman must guard against. In youth, when the energy in his blood is still not settled, he should guard against lust. When he is strongly grown and in full vigour, he should guard against quarrelsomeness. In old age, when his energy is on the wane, he should guard against covetousness.

The Analects of Confucius

For true love to come to China and take root, it had at some point to wrestle with Confucius, or rather with the brand of Confucianism that governed conjugal and family relationships in the early decades of the twentieth century. Luo, the young man in the short story recounted in the previous chapter, dutifully did as he was told by his clan elders. Now *that* is Confucianism, the unquestioned authority of the father and the male members of your extended family. By marrying Miss Fan, he subscribed to the romantic love ideal, the belief that one should marry for love, but in doing so he was not only going out on a limb but violating the standards set by that framework of fixed convention that is the proper Confucian way of conducting oneself.

Any pursuit of love had also to contend with the sexual prudery that the Chinese say—much as the English say of the Victorians or of Western missionaries—had come of Confucian moralizing. Not that sex as such interested the Sage, since politics—that is, a proper state of affairs between the ruler and the ruled—was what really concerned him. But it is a measure of his influence that a couple of gnomic statements on sex he made well over two thousand years ago should still be matter for literary and historical criticism in the twentieth century. These statements were made on a set of airs in the *Book of Songs* (*Shi jing*), a collection purportedly compiled by Confucius in 600 BC.

It was the very first anthology of poetry in China but it would not be too much to say that it, along with the other books in the Confucian canon, formed the very bedrock of Chinese tradition. It was scripture, no less, a classic pored over by Confucian scholars through the ages, accreting so many layers of exegesis and interpretation in the process that it is now impossible to free it from its carapace of commentary. Nor were these the province only of crusty old bookworms, for such was the nature of the bureaucratic empire that was China that no man could hold office unless he competed successfully in the civil service examinations that were open to everyone—unless, in other words,

he was a scholar with years of Confucian learning behind him. And he was no scholar if he could not quote from the *Book of Songs*.

Confucian learning meant knowing not just the classics but what the classics imparted in the way of appropriate norms and practices, in other words, ritual propriety. Only men with that sort of cultivation, moral no less than intellectual, were deemed fit to govern. No vision of hellfire torments was necessary to keep such a person on the straight and narrow, only his internalization, through all that classical book learning, of Confucian moral conventions. Nor did formal law hold him in check so much as ethical code. And Confucius would call a man educated if he valued virtue more than physical beauty, if he exerted himself to the utmost in serving his father and mother, if he was prepared to give his life for his sovereign, and if in intercourse with friends he was true to his word.¹ Confucius prized self-control—it seldom led men astray, he said—and if he comes across as rather proper, more intellectual than appetitive, that does seem to be how he really was.² Anyone who heard him say, ‘Hard is it to deal with him, who will stuff himself with food the whole day, without applying his mind to anything’³ and put him down for a sobersides would not, one imagines, be too far wrong.

His legacy has a lot to answer for, his twentieth-century debunkers claim, not least the squeamishness with regard to sex that he and his followers had handed on. Did Confucius not famously say of certain airs in the *Book of Songs* that he disliked their music and their lyrics for their licentiousness? And did this pronouncement not invite centuries of anti-sex annotations and commentaries? One commentator even doubted the truth of the tradition that it was Confucius who selected and edited the *Book of Songs*, for if it had been the Sage himself who anthologized them, how could the lewd ones not have been weeded out? Confucius has famously said, ‘The three hundred *Songs* are summed up in one single phrase: “Having no depraved thoughts.”’⁴ It would be hard to square that with those errant verses.

For example, surely these lines have no business in a canonized work?

Out in the bushlands a creeper grows,
The falling dew lies thick upon it.
There was a man so lovely,
Well rounded his clear brow.
By chance I came upon him:
‘Oh, Sir, to be with you is good.’⁵

The poem from which these lines are drawn is in the voice of a woman who fancies a handsome man she sees in a chance encounter. Just desire is enough to raise moralistic hackles in a Confucian scholar, let alone female desire. And there are plenty of other poems like it in the anthology. For example, sleeplessness is seen to join with amorous longing against an evocation of stormy weather in the song ‘Wild and Windy’:

A great wind and darkness;
 Day after day it is dark.
 I lie awake, cannot sleep,
 And gasp with longing.
 Dreary, dreary the gloom:
 The thunder growls,
 I lie awake, cannot sleep,
 And am destroyed with longing.⁶

Though not part of the set singled out for condemnation by Confucius, this and many other songs speak of young lovers. A fair number would seem to be connected to a spring festival where boy met girl—perhaps lined up with others of their sex on opposite sides of a stream—for courtship and mating. It was an occasion when male and female could proposition and unabashedly sport and flirt with each other. Ever since then phrases such as ‘spring thoughts,’ ‘spring heart,’ and ‘spring feeling’ have denoted love and sexual awakening.

In another poem, a girl yearning for spring in the third line is seduced by the fourth:

In the field there is a dead roe.
 With white grass we wrap it.
 There is a girl who longs for spring.
 A fine fellow seduces her.
 In the forest there is a *pusu* tree.
 In the field there is a dead deer.
 With white grass we bind it.
 There is a girl like jade.
 Oh, undress me slowly.
 Oh, do not touch my kerchief.
 Do not make the shaggy dog bark.⁷

A barking dog would wake the parents, who are too close at hand for comfort. The kerchief, worn at the belt like an apron, is symbolically torn on the wedding night, as a girl’s maidenhead was. Metaphorically too, the dead roe wrapped is the lovers’ coupling ‘covered up,’ this perhaps accomplished by the boy making an honest woman of the girl.

Sex has always been hemmed in by taboo, regardless of culture. Nowhere in the world could sexual expression break loose into the open unbridled by ritual code. In ancient China sex seemed to have been even more of a matter of state than in other civilizations. There sexual promiscuity seemed to have been political licentiousness by another name. It was almost as if you could only be a libertine if you were a conspirator or fomentor of rebellion. It was a Chinese historian’s reflex to blame disorder in the country on the emperor’s excessive attachment to his harem. Confucians were *for*

correct political comportment by being *against* improper sex. As has been observed by Paul Rakita Goldin, the author of *The Culture of Sex in Ancient China* (2002), ‘order and disorder of a political nature are frequently associated with order and disorder of a sexual nature.’⁸

Old habits die hard, none more so than when they are Chinese *and* ideological. Twenty-five centuries separate the time of Confucius from that of Chris Patten, but when that radical last governor of Hong Kong instituted electoral reforms to make the local legislative system of the then British colony more democratic before handing it over to China, an outraged Chinese government reviled him by calling him names, famously ‘whore’ and ‘perpetrator of a 1,000-year crime.’⁹ Patten had threatened the unity of centralized power and offended against political propriety: was this not licentious of him? It is hard to imagine any other of the world’s governments thinking in this way. Communist as this one might be, Chinese it still is.

Sex was read as politics in another way, by understanding sexual intercourse allegorically, as the relationship between a ruler and his subjects, or between a deity and his human worshippers. Allegorical readings of this kind are of course not confined to the Chinese: the Bible’s *Song of Songs* comes immediately to mind as another example. Exegetes of that book have pressed lines like ‘Oh give me the kisses of your mouth / For your love is more delightful than wine,’ into service as an allegory of God’s relationship with Israel (or the love between Christ and the Church).¹⁰

We know from the *Book of Songs* as well as other ancient texts that during propitiatory ritual observances, worshippers sometimes invoked the spirits in songs employing sexual imagery, with the relationship of earthling to deity represented in the metaphor of hierogamous union. Goldin chooses to read the anthology’s very first song in this metaphoric way. The song’s imagery famously opens with the cry of ospreys on an islet, then ends with the lines, ‘The reclusive, modest girl— / as a bell to a drum, he delights in her.’ In between it describes a keyed-up lover:

Long and short is the duckweed
 To the left and to the right we look for it.
 The reclusive, modest girl—
 waking and sleeping he seeks her.
 He seeks her and does not obtain her.
 Waking and sleeping he pines and yearns for her.
 Oh, anxious! Oh, anxious!
 He tosses and twists and turns onto his side.¹¹

Goldin thinks the sexual imagery a metaphor for the yearning of a worshipper for his goddess, the bells and drums in the last line echoing those sounded in rituals in which supplicants invoked the spirits of their dead ancestors. She is ‘reclusive’ and so aloof, but still the worshipper will try to entice her to mate with him on earth.¹²

Goldin's interpretation is a far cry from orthodox commentary. With Confucius in mind, generations of Chinese commentators have been at pains to give the whole poem a moral spin. Every literate Chinese knows by heart what the Sage has said of the poem: 'There is joy without licentiousness, grief without injury.' As the orthodox version has it then, the girl is the royal consort, beyond the reach of any admirer's ardour because she observes the 'separation of the sexes' decreed by propriety—'her seclusion is deep' is how the commentary puts it—just like the crying ospreys which keep clear of each other instead of being promiscuously hugger-mugger. Morally and politically, the consequences of sex segregation are seen to be immense, indeed nothing short of world-shaking: 'When husband and wife have separation,' the commentary continues, 'father and son are intimate; when father and son are intimate, lord and vassal are respectful; when lord and vassal are respectful, the court is upright; when the court is upright, the royal transformation is complete'¹³—'royal transformation' being the King's perfect and complete moral make-over of all the world.

Readings of this kind might now seem forced to us, even ridiculous, with too much of a 'she doth protest too much' air to it. Yet in the ancient frame of mind a reckless love affair is not just a reckless love affair but an indication of how far the government of the day had gone off course. A deserted woman is not just a deserted woman but a metaphor for the misunderstood and unappreciated courtier or official. Her plaint is not just a plaint about her husband's or lover's neglect but a government official's plea for a return to good government. Indeed, read a relationship between the sexes as anything but a relationship between the sexes and you would be thought to be doing right by Confucius. Politics being the Sage's true calling, it was political meaning and metaphor that Confucian scholars found under every bed: sex needn't be sex if it could be symbol.

'But it *is* just sex,' protests Wen Yiduo, who set out to prove this point in essays he wrote on the *Book of Songs* in the 1930s.

Readers create anew each classic they read. They may misunderstand it, then pass on that misunderstanding to those who come after them. So long as it is read, the text will continue to develop, or to undergo disfigurement, in the minds of its readers. Far from being a problem though, the different readings of the *Book of Songs* are as much grist to my mill as the songs themselves, since it cannot be stressed enough that my concern is with what people understood love to be and how that understanding changes. Wen's reading tells me something about how the modern conceptions of it relate to the traditional ones, and my interest is not in whether their readings were correct but how they came to think the way they did.

Wen Yiduo (1899–1946) was a poet, illustrator, scholar of classical Chinese literature and political activist who posed a challenge to tradition in more ways than

one. Such challenges were the main item of business on the agenda of the May Fourth movement, for whose rebels Confucian morality was a particular *bête noire*. Wen was a twenty-year-old student in the prestigious, American-founded Tsinghua University in Beijing the year the movement erupted. He was a rebel in the mind as well as on the street, penning and handing out agitprop pamphlets in Beijing. A fine artist, he has left us, in the form of an illustration published in the Tsinghua University yearbook, a drawing of a student protestor speaking to an audience of passers-by in front of the Gate of Heavenly Peace (Tiananmen) in Beijing.¹⁴

When Wen left for the United States on a scholarship in 1922, it was to study at the Art Institute of Chicago. The school thought well of him, as a report there for 1923 indicates: ‘He is one of the strongest members of his class and has maintained a uniformly high standing through the year.’¹⁵ The next year he transferred to Colorado College, enticed there by his friend Liang Shiqiu, whom he had known at Tsinghua University and of whom we will hear more in the next chapter.

By the time Wen returned to China, in 1925, his interest in painting had already been overtaken by his interest in poetry—and new-style poetry at that. The May Fourth movement saw the breakthrough out of the Classical Chinese written style into that of the vernacular, or Modern Chinese, and Wen won a name for himself as a pioneering practitioner of the new form. However, the old was not jettisoned, and before long he was delving into the oldest Chinese poetry of all, namely the *Book of Songs*. Here he broke with tradition yet again by offering his readers an entirely new reading, one informed by his acquaintance with Western thinking, not least that of Sigmund Freud.

Look at this classic with an unoccluded eye, he advises, and you will see that it *is* ‘licentious,’ indeed utterly licentious! Of course this is not at all to decry the book. What age are we living in? What age did the compilers live in? We’re twentieth-century Chinese; they lived in antiquity, a primitive stage in the evolution of society. If we cannot imagine how frankly and baldly they must have talked about sex in those days, then there is something wrong with us. As primitive people they could not possibly have repressed sexual instincts to the extent of *not* expressing them. Yet that is what all those commentaries would have us believe, when in fact we ought to be surprised that the book is not more ‘licentious.’¹⁶

Wen then analyzes the five ways in which the book refers to sexual intercourse: outright, metaphorically, by hints, by association, and by symbolization. This last is where Freud comes in: following the Viennese doctor’s interpretation of dreams, in which apparently innocent content is seen to be symbolic of wishful, unmistakably sexual impulses, Wen unlocks the sexual meaning of words, phrases, and even whole poems in the *Book of Songs*. The best known of his interpretations is that of the symbolic meaning of fish. He decodes it as symbolizing sexual relations, citing linguistic usages in ancient texts as well as in folk songs and sayings; and thanks also to his interest in

ethnography, he is able to find support for his assertion in the occurrence of fish as symbols of fertility in other cultures.¹⁷

Not all Wen's Chinese contemporaries were persuaded by his Freudian reading—Liang Shiqiu thought it too slanted towards sex. Yet his decoding of fish and fishing, and also of hunger as signifying sexual desire, is widely accepted today. There is one poem, 'Banks of the Ru,' which would be hard to understand unless read in his way. This starts with images of the female narrator collecting kindling or cutting firewood by the riverbank and thinking of 'her lord,' then breaks for no apparent reason into a new stanza with the line, 'The bream has a reddened tail . . .' The academic Edward L. Shaughnessy is surely not alone in taking this to signify 'an engorged phallus,' following Wen's interpretation.¹⁸

It might be thought that Wen's enthusiasm for psycho-literary history was idiosyncratic, whereas in fact he was quite characteristic of his generation. A friend of his, the sociologist and eugenicist Pan Guangdan (1899–1967), did what Freud did in his classic *Leonardo da Vinci and A Memory of His Childhood* (1910)—he probed the psyche and sexuality of a historical figure.

Pan, who converted to Christianity when he was about seventeen, was first a student at Tsinghua University in Beijing, then at Dartmouth College and Columbia University in America. Upon his return to China in 1926 from the United States, he taught at universities in Shanghai but from 1934 onwards he was back in Beijing, and it was there that students heard him lecture on sex, one of a host of subjects on which he brought his reading of American, English and German authors to bear.¹⁹

There they all are—Freud of course; Havelock Ellis, of whom he wrote a potted biography and whose writings he translated; Aldous Huxley, whom he also translated; the Bible; Arthur Schopenhauer; Jean-Jacques Rousseau and numerous others. While still a student in Beijing, Pan decided to revisit the story of the seventeenth-century Feng Xiaoqing, a girl who died from an excess of emotion on an island in the West Lake in Hangzhou, leaving a portrait and eleven of her poems.

She had beauty and she had talent—and by her time beauty-and-talent twinned had become the stock characteristic of a literary or fictional heroine. What is more, she was touched by tragedy, sold as a concubine at the tender age of fifteen and then banished to the island by her husband's jealous principal wife, only to die alone of consumption two years later. As tragedy spoke to the self-styled 'men of feeling' of her time, *the* age of sensibility (see Chapter 4), her story inspired biographies and a flood of poetry and drama right up to the twentieth century; and, if Pan Guangdan had anything to do with it, she would also become the subject of Freudian analysis.

After perusing the literary sources for evidence of obsessive self-absorption, he had her down for a case of narcissism, a condition first identified by Havelock Ellis, the Victorian English pioneer of sexology. How Pan explains Feng's case smacks of Freud's theory, which posits narcissism as a disorder of the libido; this has been withdrawn

from the outside world and turned in and back upon the ego, and it is the turning back that causes the illness. The inhibition of the libido makes emotional life all but impossible.

From undergraduate paper, Pan's essay grew into a serialized article published in a popular woman's magazine in Shanghai in 1924, then was brought out as a book in 1927.²⁰ This enjoyed several reprints in succeeding years, one as recent as 1990. The first edition has an illustration by his friend Wen Yiduo, a watercolour in which the poetess is seen with her back to the viewer, her left shoulder sensually exposed by the loose folds of her robe. Framed by uncombed hair, her face, reflected in the mirror before which she sits, has a look of strain and neediness about it, as well as an anxiety that is emphasized by her two long nervous fingers touching the lower lip.²¹

Like his friend Wen, Pan was ready to find in the *Book of Songs* sexual content capable of being explained by newly available European terminology, only in his case it was for the purpose of advancing a study of homosexuality. By his day homosexuality had been given a new, modern Chinese name, one that translates as 'same-sex love.'²² Pan combed the literature from the *Book of Songs* onwards and down to the last dynasty (Qing) for accounts of male-male love, and found that the list of recorded homosexuals, including emperors, is a long one in Chinese history. Pan carefully and eruditely tabulates it with the literary source for each of the names and, wherever possible, the names of their catamites, favourites or lovers spelt out in an adjoining column.²³

He found the evidence to be particularly marked for the period known in Chinese history as the Six Dynasties (AD 220–589), when there emerged an extraordinary sensibility to a person's looks and manners. A famous dandy of the time, Pan Yue, had only to step out into the streets to be mobbed by admiring ladies. Outward beauty counted as never before, and perfumes, cosmetics, and hair and body ornaments were widely employed to enhance it. Pan Guangdan told his students and readers that the period was China's closest parallel to Classical Greece, where homoerotic relationships—usually between an upper-class older man and a boy—were widely tolerated (see Chapter 3). More than tolerated, said Pan—male-male love was regarded as purer and loftier than man-woman love. He was not sure whether it was so regarded in Six Dynasties China but he did not doubt that it was met with far less prejudice and moral censure than in later times.²⁴

Pan wrote about homosexuality without moralizing and with almost a sense of discovery. In translating the catalogue of sexual conduct in Havelock Ellis's *Psychology of Sex* (a condensation of his multi-volume *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*), Pan's enthusiasm for pressing home parallels found in Chinese literary sources turned his footnotes into a commentary so extended that it eclipsed the body text. Though rarely stumped for a Chinese equivalent, two English words, 'prudery' and 'frigidity,' made him hesitate for a moment or two. In the end, there being no conceivable situation in life for which the Chinese cannot furnish some apt proverb or set phrase, he explained

the first in his footnotes by citing an idiom of the lower Yangtze region: ‘to love plums yet pretend to fear sourness.’ For the second he borrowed the Chinese word for ‘cold,’ ‘gloomy,’ and ‘glum’—*yinleng*—the first syllable of which, *yin*, denotes the feminine force in the feminine-masculine (or negative-positive) yin-yang polarity in Chinese cosmology. It is obvious why new words had to be coined: heirs to Confucius could only think of a prude as a paragon of rectitude and sexual discipline, and of frigidity as praiseworthy feminine modesty and chastity.²⁵

This mining of the native vein with the pickaxes of foreign concepts was an exercise which writers of the time other than Pan and Wen relished. My next and last example concerns bound feet, those three-inch ‘golden lotuses’ on which Havelock Ellis could write a whole book were he Chinese. If ever an object of desire were of man’s making—culturally constructed rather than biologically given—those lily feet were it. What a sophisticated form of female subjugation it was too: no woman could be a gadabout with maimed feet, and what better guarantee of a wife’s fidelity to her husband than to bind her physically to the home. Until the twentieth century few mothers dared to leave their daughters’ feet unbound, since big feet were the butt of ridicule and scorn and, what is worse, robbed a girl of her chances of catching a good husband.

A woman who stumped about on her heels would be an unattractive spectacle today, but so much and for so long had ‘golden lotuses’ been eroticized by Chinese men of letters that a girl was not desired by any man unless her feet were tiny. Never mind her lips or breasts or eyes, you could imagine the man thinking, let us just take a look at her feet. The hero of *Romance of the West Wing*, a famous thirteen-century play I shall discuss more fully in another chapter, says something to that effect when he first catches sight of the heroine and falls head over heels in love with her:

Such a girl in this world! Isn’t she a heavenly beauty, a real ‘state-toppler’? Needn’t mention her figure—why, that pair of feet alone are worth a hundred talents of gold.

And again:

It is not necessary to say, ‘The corners of her eyes, there she lets passion linger,’
Because this single footprint relays all the feelings of her heart.²⁶

But while men of earlier times waxed lyrical about feet, those of Wen’s and Pan’s generation did not. Decidedly not: the writer Guo Moruo (1892–1978), who will make much more than a cameo appearance later, writes that what the hero as well as the author had was foot fetishism. Earlier men of letters had aestheticized their fixation, passing judgements on small feet rather as today’s connoisseurs would on wine or art. But not Guo: Pan Guangdan credits him with being the first in China to point out that a fetish is what it is.²⁷ In Freudian theory, if the developing sexual aim is frustrated short of fulfilment at a crucial stage of infancy, it settles for a symbolic substitute. Feet

are such a substitute, Guo writes, and Confucian sexual repression is what fixates the libido on the fetish symbol. Guo as good as calls China, or at least its upper-class male population, a nation of sick perverts. As for the women, it is clear to him that they embrace subjection and sexual exploitation out of masochism.

Not that Guo thinks any the less of Wang Shifu, the play's extremely fine author, for having a foot fetish; with all that 'twisting' of the libido by Confucian morality, how could Wang's sexual aim not be deflected to an abnormal sexual object? *Romance of the West Wing* is a great creative work, and on reflection Guo is not at all sure that Wang would have produced it had his dammed-back libido not have to seek another path for expression.²⁸ Here Guo is really talking about sublimation, the Freudian means of converting libidinal energy displaced from normal sexual fulfilment to higher, artistic use.

Still, it has been 'volcanic,' the way education in recent years has awakened young men and women to their 'individual consciousness.' The perversion is now 'withered,' Guo says, 'turned to ashes.' Though he strikes a brighter note when he observes this, he is deeply disturbed at how many older men and women are still stuck with it.

The movement against foot-binding started in the 1890s. Its extreme cruelty apart, educated Chinese came to see it as a mark of backwardness that shamed China in the eyes of the world, and they viewed it with total aversion. Their campaign against it must be counted a success because so firmly entrenched a custom is seldom brought to an end in so little time. The change vividly indexes the speed and scope of the movement for women's rights in China. Nevertheless, it came too late for the twenty-nine-year-old Guo Moruo. Though there was nothing he and his generation found more repugnant than bound feet, he himself was married to a small-footed woman. His mother had chosen her for him in total disregard of his desire or pleasure, let alone of romance or love. It was against such marital unions—of which those golden lilies were a detested symbol—that his cohort fought. The next milestone of progress they aimed for was the abolition of the system of arranged marriage. Since that exercise involved a freeing-up of the choice of mate, love was thrust to the fore.

Notes

Note: Brackets enclose translated titles supplied by the author while parentheses enclose existing translated titles.

Chapter 1 Love's Entrée

Epigraph: Chen Guangding, 'Ruhe ke shi shilian de zhiyu' [How to heal the loss of love?], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 12, no. 7, 1926, 209.

1. Shi Heng, *Zhongguo funü wenti taolun ji* [Collected discussions of the question of Chinese women], vol. 4. Xin wenhua shushe, 1923, 73–81.
2. *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal): 'Divorce,' vol. 8, no. 4, 1922; 'Mate Selection,' vol. 9, no. 11, 1923; 'Love,' vol. 12, no. 7, 1926.
3. Eileen Chang, 'Stale Mates,' *The Reporter*, 15, no. 4, September 20, 1956, 34–37, reprinted in Zhang, *Sequel*, 1988, 255–73. 'Chang' and 'Zhang' are the same surname spelled differently. Her published writings are listed in the References under 'Chang' if they are in English and 'Zhang' if in Chinese.
4. Zhang, 'Wusi yishi: Luo Wentao san mei tuanyuan,' reprinted in Zhang, *Sequel*, 255–73.
5. Virginia Woolf, 'Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown,' Hogarth Press, 1924.
6. Zhou Zuoren, 'Ren de wenxue' (Humane Literature), *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 5, no. 6, 1918.
7. See Chen Hui, 'Wusi shiqi xianjin zhishifenzi guanyu lian'ai wenti de tantao' [Exploration of the question of love by progressive intellectuals in the May Fourth period], *Journal of Neijiang Normal University*, vol. 28, no. 9, 2013, 82–84.
8. Fan Yanqiao, *Xiaoshuo hua* [On fiction], in Rui et al., vol. 1, 1926, 42.
9. See Soong, 2010, note 50, 84.
10. See Rui et al., vol. 1, 39.
11. Stendhal, 61.
12. Armstrong, *Love*, 93.
13. Tennov, 15.
14. Quoted in Gilda Carle, 'Is it Love . . . or Limerence?' www.match.com/magazine/article/12710/Is-It-Love-Or-Limerance. Accessed July 5, 2012.
15. Fisher in Jankowiak, 25.
16. Helen E. Fisher, Arthur Aron, Debra Mashek, Haifang Li and Lucy L. Brown, 'Defining the Brain Systems of Lust, Romantic Attraction, and Attachment,' *Archives of Sexual Behavior*,

- vol. 31, no. 5, October 2002, 413–19. H. E. Fisher, ‘Brains Do It: Lust, Attraction, and Attachment,’ *Cerebrum: The Dana Forum on Brain Science*, 2, January 1, 2000, 34–42.
17. See Jonathan Gottschall and Marcus Nordlund, ‘Romantic Love: A Literary Universal?’ *Philosophy and Literature*, vol. 30, no. 2, October 2006, 450–71.
18. Armstrong, *Love*, 6.

Chapter 2 Confucius and Freud

Epigraph: *The Analects of Confucius* 16.7, Legge, 312–13.

1. *Analects* 1.7, Leys, 4.
2. *Analects* 4.23, Leys, 17.
3. *Analects* 17.22, Legge, 329.
4. *Analects* 2.2, Legge, 146.
5. ‘Out in the Bushlands a Creeper Grows,’ no. 94, Waley, *Songs*, 75.
6. ‘Wild and Windy,’ no. 30, Waley, *Songs*, 27.
7. ‘In the Field There Is a Dead Doe,’ no. 23, Goldin, 25.
8. *Ibid.*, 73.
9. See the Chinese Wikipedia entry on Peng Dingkang, Chris Patten’s Chinese name.
10. Lines of *Songs of Songs* quoted in Miles, 334–35.
11. ‘The Ospreys Cry,’ no. 1, trans. Goldin, 12.
12. *Ibid.*, 17.
13. *Ibid.*, 64.
14. Wen and Zhang, 21.
15. Chen Wen, 28.
16. ‘*Shijing de xingyu guan*’ [Views of sexual desire in the *Book of Songs*], in Wen Yiduo, 1.
17. *Ibid.*, ‘*Shuo yu*’ [On fish], 66–91.
18. Shaughnessy, 233.
19. Lü, *passim*.
20. Pan Guangdan, 1–66.
21. Colour plate in Wen and Zhang, unpaginated front matter.
22. Sang, 278.
23. Pan Guangdan, 701.
24. *Ibid.*, 700.
25. *Ibid.*, 597.
26. West and Idema, 179. The play’s other English titles are *The Story of the Western Wing* and *The Romance of the Western Chamber*.
27. Pan Guangdan, 619–20.
28. Guo Moruo in Zhao Shanlin, 71–76.

Chapter 3 Love in the Western World

Epigraph: Paglia, 35.

1. Waley, *Hundred*, 18.
2. Liu and Lo, xvii–xviii.
3. Lewis, *Allegory*, 22.

4. Hazzard, *Greene*, 139.
5. Birrell, *Love*, 1.
6. Waley, *Hundred*, 17.
7. *Ibid.*, 18.
8. Ovid, *Love*, passim.
9. Dai, 1. Dai translated it from the French.
10. Lewis, *Allegory*, 2.
11. Warner, 150.
12. Reddy, 44. I am much indebted to this exceptionally illuminating book.
13. *Ibid.*, 45.
14. Andreas Capellanus, 135–36.
15. *Ibid.*, 122.
16. *Ibid.*, 123 and 197.
17. Zhou Zuoren, ‘Ren de wenxue’ (Humane Literature), *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 5, no. 6, 1918. The English translation of Lucka’s book by Ellie Schleussner was published under the title *Eros: The Development of the Sex Relation Through the Ages* by G. P. Putnam’s Sons in New York and London in 1915. This is the edition on which the Japanese edition (entitled *The Evolution of Love*) is based. I am much indebted to Miho Kinnas for help with acquiring a copy of the Japanese edition. Kuriyagawa refers to Lucka’s book as *The Three Stages of Love (Eros)*.
18. ‘Jindai de lian’ai guan’ (Modern Views of Love) by Wu Juenong writing as Y. D., *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 8, no. 2, 1922.
19. See under Kuriyagawa. I read the revised, ninth edition of 1934 online at http://book.ynlib.chaoxing.com/ebook/detail_11336654.html
20. Xia’s preface to his translation of Kuriyagawa, 1.
21. Dante, 17. The *Vita Nuova* came out in a Chinese translation by Wang Duqing (published by Guangming shuju) in 1934.
22. Lucka, 231.
23. The first partial Chinese translation of Engels’s work appeared in the newspaper *Tianyi bao* (Natural Justice) in 1907. Portions of the work translated by Yun Daiying saw print in the periodical *Dongfang zazhi*, nos. 17, 19 and 20 in 1920.
24. Engels, 37.
25. See *Exhibition of Chinese History: An Illustrated Catalogue*, Morning Glory Publishers, Beijing, 1998.
26. Letters 1 and 2 in the periodical *Xinyue yuekan* (Crescent Moon Monthly), vol. 1, no. 8, 1928; then in book form in 1928. I first learned of this from Bai Liping, ‘Babbitt’s Impact in China: The Case of Liang Shiqiu,’ *Humanitas*, vol. XVII, nos. 1 and 2, 2004, 46–68.
27. de Rougemont, 74.
28. Radice, 82.
29. *Ibid.*, 68.
30. *Ibid.*, 53.
31. *Ibid.*, 86.
32. The Temple Classics edition of 1901 was the fourth edition of a version by John Hughes published by J. M. Dent in 1914. The French version on which this was based was itself a paraphrase rather than a faithful translation of the original Latin text. Hughes’s version was reprinted in 1901 and ran through ten editions before it went out of print in 1945. See Radice, 1. My citations from this edition are taken from the 1901 version digitally

reproduced by www.sacred-texts.com. This has a preface by the editor, H. Morton. Liang Shiqiu's version includes his translation of 'the editor's preface to the English version.' Comparing this to Morton's reveals the source preface to be Morton's.

33. Hughes's version, 73.
34. *Ibid.*, 46.
35. Babbitt, 101.
36. *Ibid.*, 51.
37. Quoted in Brown, 202.
38. *Ibid.*, 412.
39. *Ibid.*, 422.
40. May, 99.
41. Bruckner, 169.
42. Hughes's version, 56.
43. *Ibid.*, 46.
44. *Ibid.*, 54.
45. Gospel According to St. Matthew 19:12; Radice, 82.
46. Radice, 82.
47. Gao Shan, 'Jinyu zhuyi he lian'ai ziyou' [Asceticism and freedom of love], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 4, 1926, 233–37.
48. See Tian Pu, 'Ai zhi yanjiu' [Researches into love], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 12, no. 7, May 1927, 111.
49. I owe much of my understanding of 'Christian love' to Simon May.
50. 1 John 4:8 and 16.
51. Lewis, *Four*, 127.
52. May, 18.
53. *Ibid.*, 239.
54. Lewis, *Four*, 9.
55. *Ibid.*, 109 and 110–11.
56. May, 260, note 38.
57. See Zheng Zhenduo, *Xila Luoma shenhua yu chuanshuo zhong de lian'ai gushi* [Love stories in Greek and Roman mythology and folklore], first published in 1929 in Shanghai. An early outing of Cupid was in the cover design of the Chinese translation, *Chun de xunhuan*, of Rabindranath Tagore's *The Cycle of Spring*, published by the Commercial Press of Shanghai in 1921.
58. Cahill, 30.
59. Lewis, *Four*, 91–92.
60. *Ibid.*, 106; Wang Yongmei, 90.
61. Gill's introduction to Plato, *Symposium*, x.
62. Among other texts Chinese had the *Symposium's* and *Phaedrus's* doctrine of love explained to them by 'Bolatu de lian'ai guan' [Plato's conception of love] in *Lian'ai de lishi guan* [Concepts of love in history], Weimei congshu she, 1929, 46–50. This was a paraphrase of an essay by Bernhard A. Bauer, an Austrian gynaecologist and the author of an encyclopaedic study of women and love. Another explanatory text is 'Ai de lishi' [A history of love], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 12, no. 7, 1926.
63. Waterfield's introduction to Plato, *Phaedrus*, xi–xii.
64. Jacobs, 9.
65. Panofsky, 144, note 51.

66. Ibid., 150–53.
67. *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 38, 1928, 1387.
68. Ibid.
69. Shih, 147.
70. Berlin, 139.
71. The best known of the Chinese translations of Rousseau's *Confessions* was the version brought out by Zhang Jingsheng (1889–1970), a Peking University professor of philosophy who had studied in France and who got into trouble with the authorities in China for his promotion of sex education and for his book *Sex Histories*. The first version of *Confessions*, a partial translation, came out in 1928, while a full version was published the following year and reprinted five times. See Jing Wang, 47.
72. May, 169.
73. Ibid., 160.
74. May, 154.
75. In his book *Désepoirs*, cited by de Rougemont, 71.
76. Lewis, *Allegory*, 4.
77. Bloch, 8.
78. Charles Lindholm, 'Romantic Love and Anthropology,' *Etnofoor*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2006, 11.
79. Mead, 74.
80. See Macfarlane.
81. This and other citations may be found in his book; see Chapter 3, 'Romantic Love and Other Attachments,' Giddens, 37–48.
82. Fisher, 51–52.
83. William R. Jankowiak and Edward F. Fischer, 'A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Romantic Love,' *Ethnology* 31, 1992, 149–55.

Chapter 4 Keywords

Epigraph: Feng, *Anatomy*, Chapter 7, 149.

1. *Si* standardly appears in the compound word *xiangsi*, literally 'mutual longing'.
2. Chang and Saussy, 59.
3. Birrell in Hegel and Hessney, 45–46.
4. Rouzer, *Ladies*, 130.
5. Rouzer, *Dream*, 73.
6. Paz, 26 and passim.
7. *Analects* 9.18 and 15.13.
8. *Mencius* Book VI, Part A, 4.
9. Confucius has famously pronounced on those airs (heard in the state of Zheng) that voice desire in the anthology: 'The songs of Zheng are licentious.' *Analects* 15.11.
10. Lewis, *Allegory*, 4.
11. 'The Trial of Lady Chatterley's Lover: Regina v. Penguin Books Ltd. 1960,' in Bedford, 143.
12. Wang Shifu, 138; West and Idema, 118.
13. For Jin's annotations and editorial comments, see Church.
14. For the sources of the two quotations, see Church, 345.
15. 'Still not' or 'not yet' expressed versus 'expressed' is how Tang Chun-I renders the two terms in his chapter, 'The Development of the Concept of Moral Mind from Wang Yang-ming to

- Wang Chi,' in de Bary, 94. I have opted for 'yet unstirred' and 'stirred' to make them tally with John Minford's translations in a passage I quote from *The Story of the Stone* in my Chapter 5.
16. *Doctrine of the Mean*, I.4 and I.5. I have slightly modified Legge's translation, 384.
 17. Martin W. Huang, 'Sentiments of Desire: Thoughts on the Cult of *Qing* in Ming-Qing Literature,' *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 20, 1998, 153–84.
 18. Feng, *Anatomy*, Chapter 1: 'Chastity,' 23.
 19. Jonathan D. Spence calls it that in 'The Energies of Ming Life,' in Spence, *Roundabout*, 106.
 20. Feng, *Anatomy*, first preface, 1; Mowry, 13.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. Feng, *Anatomy*, 'Wang of Luoyang,' 143.
 23. Feng, *Anatomy*, 'Transformed into a Woman,' 235.
 24. Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, 221.
 25. Feng, *Anatomy*, 'Young Sun from Wusong,' 206.
 26. *Tang Jieyuan fang gujin huapu* [Tang Yin's book on the art of painting: after ancient and contemporary masters], a woodblock-printed book in seven volumes with illustrations by the great painter Tang Yin (1470–1523). Reprint, Wenwu chubanshe, 1981.
 27. Wei, *Wu Jianren*, 166.
 28. A Ying, 174.
 29. Armstrong, 76.
 30. James Liu, 125.
 31. I read this story not in Feng but in James Liu, 96–97.
 32. See Li, 54.
 33. Kang-I Sun Chang, 34.
 34. *Ibid.*, 126.

Chapter 5 Two Great Works on Love

Epigraph: Sternberg, 87.

1. The two works have appeared under other titles: *The Dream of the Red Chamber* as *The Story of the Stone* and *The Peony Pavilion* as *The Soul's Return*. Both were banned books in history.
2. Ko, 82.
3. Tang, 1.
4. The scholar is C. T. Hsia, and the citations are from his chapter, 'Time and the Human Condition in the Plays of T'ang Hsien-tsu,' in de Bary, 277.
5. The translation is Chang Hsin-chang's, 298.
6. *Ibid.*, 298–99.
7. The scholar is Chang Hsin-chang, 299.
8. Birch, *Peony*, 60; Tang, 59 (Scene 12).
9. 'Knead her into flakes' is Chang Hsin-chang's translation, 299.
10. The passage is rendered by John Minford as follows: 'Before the emotions of pleasure, anger, grief and joy stir within the human breast, there exists the "natural state" of love; the stirring of these emotions causes passion. Our kind of love, yours and mine, is the former, natural state. It is like a bud. Once open, it ceases to be true love.' Cao, 1262; Minford, vol. 5, 211.

11. For Tang's criticism of meditation and disagreement with Daguang, I am indebted to Lou Yulie, 'Tang Xianzu zhaxue sixiang chutan' [A preliminary discussion of Tang Xianzu's philosophical thought]. <http://www.guoxue.com/discord/louyl/007.htm>, 2000. Accessed July 3, 2011.
12. Chang Hsin-chang, 267.
13. The translation of these four lines is mine.
14. Tang, 47 (Scene 10).
15. Plato, *Symposium*, 191–92.
16. Spence, *Roundabout*, 107.
17. Birch, *Scenes*, 142.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Tang, 120.
20. Cao, 52; Hawkes, vol. 1, 32.
21. Hawkes, vol. 2, 376.
22. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 178.
23. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 146.
24. Matthew 5:28. The analogy is solely mine.
25. Cao, Chapter 5, 88.
26. See Faure.
27. May, 180.
28. Wang Guowei et al., 1–38.
29. May, 186.

Chapter 6 The Camellia Lady

Epigraph: Dumas *films* in Coward's translation, 17.

1. Hutters, 106.
2. *Ibid.*, 107.
3. Pollard, *Translation*, 6.
4. Waley, 'Notes on Translation,' *The Atlantic Monthly*, 100th anniversary issue, 1958.
5. Zou Zhenhuan, 122–24. Lin Shu's translation is listed in the References with the name of his collaborator, a returnee from Paris called Wang Shouchang.
6. Dumas *films* in Coward translation, 199.
7. *Ibid.*, 186.
8. *Ibid.*, 86.
9. *Ibid.*, 60–61.
10. *Ibid.*, 17.
11. *Ibid.*, 122.
12. *Ibid.*, 146.
13. *Ibid.*, the four examples are on pages 128, 71, 131 and 67 respectively.
14. *Ibid.*, 147.
15. Zeng, 221.
16. Xu Zhenya, Chapter 22.
17. C. T. Hsia, 234.
18. Leo Lee, 44–45.
19. The three editions are dated March 21, March 24, and March 26, 1937 respectively.

20. In Chinese the films' names are *Ye cao xian hua* (directed by Sun Yu, 1930) and *Chahua nü* (directed by Li Pingqian, 1938).
21. Yu Hua, 46.
22. Wang Dianzhong, 26.
23. *Ibid.*, 273.
24. The phrase in French is on page 118 of *Le Livre de Poche* edition; in English on page 87 of Coward's translation; in Chinese on page 129 of Wang's translation.

Chapter 7 Joan Haste and Romantic Fiction

Epigraph: Pan Shaw-Yu, 42.

1. Haggard, 156.
2. *Ibid.*, 233.
3. *Ibid.*, 368.
4. *Ibid.*, 130.
5. *Ibid.*, 73.
6. Yin Bansheng, 'Du Jiayin xiaozhuan liang yibenshu hou' [After reading the two translations of *Joan Haste*], *Youxi shijie*, no. 11, 1907. Reprinted in *Ersbi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo lilun ziliao* [Materials on theories of twentieth-century Chinese fiction], vol. 1, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997, 228–30.
7. Haggard, 91.
8. Yin Bansheng in article cited in note 6 above.
9. Jin Tianhe writing under his courtesy name Songcen, 'Lun xieqing xiaoshuo yu shehui zhi guanxi' [On the relationship between romantic fiction and society], *Xin xiaoshuo* (New Fiction), no. 17, 1905.
10. Yin Bansheng in article cited in note 6 above.
11. Pan Shaw-Yu, 163.
12. See Zou.
13. Frye, 186.
14. Pan Shaw-Yu, 1, quoting Mao Dun.
15. Quoted in Pan Shaw-Yu, 82. I am indebted to Pan's dissertation for most of my information on Zhou Shoujuan.

Chapter 8 The Clump

Epigraph: Hazzard, *Fire*, 188.

1. Haggard, 150.
2. Barthes, 147.
3. Orsini, 293, 294, 301.
4. 'What Makes a Great Tenor?' BBC4, June 1, 2010.
5. Haggard, 369.
6. *Analects* 1.5, Leys, 4.
7. 'To the Tune of He man zi' in Li Yi, ed., *Huajian ji* (Among the Flowers), Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 1986, 231.

8. Bao Zhao (414–466), ‘Dai Jing Luo pian,’ in *Yu tai xin yong* (New Songs from a Jade Terrace), Huaxia chubanshe, 1998, 139.
9. Birrell, *Love*, 287.
10. ‘To the Tune of Cai sang zi,’ *Renditions Special Issue on T’zu*, no. 11 and 12, 1979, 108.
11. John 3:16; and Matthew 22:37 respectively.
12. These are quotes from Xu Zhimo’s poem, ‘For Mother,’ 1925, reproduced in Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 21–22.
13. Instead of *aiqing*, the more established term and the one used in the Chinese translation of *La Dame aux Camélias* was where the two syllables, *ai* and *qing*, were combined in the reverse order, as *qingai*. In the Chinese scheme of things, that counts as a different word. In any case it went out of fashion, and while the two terms, *aiqing* and *qingai*, coexisted in writing for a while, presently it was *aiqing* that Butterfly authors favoured and made their own.
14. From the story entitled ‘Du Zichun san ru Chang’an’ [Du Zichun thrice enters Chang’an], Feng, *Words*, 438.
15. In Chinese the novel is entitled *Kong gu jiaren* [The beauty in the empty valley], Shangwu yingshuguan (Commercial Press), 1907.
16. Xu Zhenya, Chapter 23.
17. *Ibid.*, Chapter 19.
18. Wei, *Wu Jianren*, 197 and 128.
19. From Du Mu’s ‘Farewell Poem,’ in A. C. Graham’s translation, *Poems of the Late T’ang*, Penguin Books, 1965, 134.
20. Gunn, 63.
21. Lippert, 62.
22. Tong, 22.
23. Lippert, 57–66.
24. Yokota-Murakami, 41.
25. Kuriyagawa in Xia’s translation, 10.
26. Yokota-Murakami, 87.
27. *Ibid.* Kitamura was his surname but it is customary to refer to him by his given name—actually pen-name.
28. Qi, Chapter 6, 101.
29. ‘Lian’ai wenti de taolun’ [A discussion of the problem of love], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 8, nos. 9 and 10.
30. Orsini, 32 and 163.
31. Quoted in Leith Morton, ‘The Concept of Romantic Love in the Taiyō Magazine 1895–1905,’ *Japan Review*, no. 8, 1997, 84.
32. Yokota-Murakami, 41.
33. Leith Morton in the article cited in note 31 above, 84.
34. Suzuki, 9.
35. Yuan, *Singing of Life*, 144.
36. ‘Lian’ai zashuo’ [Sundry remarks on love], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), vol. 17, 1927, 511.
37. *Ibid.*, ‘Xin lian’ai wenti’ [Questions on the new love], vol. 36, 1928, 1349, 1357.
38. ‘Lian’ai wenti de taolun’ [A discussion of the problem of love], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 8, nos. 9 and 10.
39. ‘Chang’e zishu’ [Chang’e as told by herself], in Yuan, *Scene Sealed in Dust*, 13–18.

Chapter 9 Two Ways of Escape

Epigraph: italics mine. *Mencius* Book III, Part B, D. C. Lau translation, 108.

1. ‘Nuola zou hou zenyang?’ [What happens to Nora after she leaves home?], in Lu Xun, *Tomb*, 127–34.
2. Dabhoiwala, 360–61.
3. Bruckner, 83.
4. Orsini, 33 and 179.
5. Lan and Fong, 80.
6. Pollard, *True*. It is as well to note that since Lu Xun’s real name was Zhou Shuren, he bore the same surname as his two younger brothers, who appear as Zhou Zuoren and Zhou Jianren in this book.
7. Haiyan Lee sees Lu Xun as pioneering a ‘self-Orientalizing project,’ one that ‘would continue to define the self-perception of Chinese intellectuals for generations to come.’ See Haiyan Lee, 231.
8. The words ‘love alone is true’ evoke the Romantic age. They are, for example, the very ones that Werther utters in Act 3 of Jules Massenet’s opera *Werther* (1887). ‘How to Be a Father Today’ is in Lu Xun, *Tomb*, 106.
9. Quoted in Pollard, *True*, 127.
10. *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 6, no. 1, 1915.
11. McDougall, 40.
12. One of three compositions she published between December 1925 and February 1926, this text can be found on numerous Chinese websites, e.g., <http://baike.baidu.com/view/901216.htm>, accessed August 18, 2012. See also Pollard, *True*, 96.
13. Lu Xun and Jing Song, 278.
14. ‘Shang shi’ (Regret for the Past), in Lu Xun, *Fiction*, 113–38.
15. McDougall, 58.
16. Egan and Chou, 129 and 166. I could not have written this account of Hu Shi’s private life without this marvellous study.
17. *A Doll’s House* was jointly translated into Chinese by Hu Shi and Luo Jianlun. The impact of Hu Shi’s essay ‘Ibsenism,’ published in *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 4, no. 6, 1918, was second to none.
18. The script was published in *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 6, no. 3, 1919.
19. On his betrothal, see his own memoir: Hu Shi, *Himself*. On the firecrackers, see Chiang, 87–88, and Egan and Chou, 122.
20. Egan and Chou, 11.
21. *Ibid.*, 14.
22. Hu Shi, *Works*, 16–17.
23. Chiang, 76.
24. Grieder, 12.
25. Guo Wan, 32.
26. Chiang, 60.
27. Hu Shi, *Works*, 305.
28. Egan and Chou, 173.
29. Chiang, 93.
30. *Ibid.*, 66.

31. Letter dated September 26, 1933. Egan and Chou, 241.
32. Ibid.
33. Chiang, 123.
34. Ibid., 121.
35. Guo Wan, 262.
36. Chiang, 129.
37. Ibid., 342.
38. Guo Wan, 163.
39. Egan and Chou, 428.
40. Chiang, 131.
41. Quoted in Egan and Chou, 217.
42. Guo Wan, 280.
43. Grieder, 40.

Chapter 10 Faust, Werther, Salome

Epigraph: Act 3 of *Werther*, lyric drama (after Goethe) by Jules Massenet.

1. Zong, Tian and Guo, 51–52.
2. For Guo Moruo's wedding and difficulties with parents, I have drawn on Xiaoming Chen, 11–15.
3. Chen Jihong, 'Lun wan Qing fanyi xiaoshuo de yingxiang' [On the influence of late Qing translated fiction], *Journal of Nanjing University of Science and Technology*, vol. 14, no. 5, October 2001.
4. Hulse's introduction to his translation of Goethe's *Werther*, 16.
5. I have relied heavily on Armstrong, *Goethe*.
6. Zong, Tian and Guo, 83.
7. Ibid., 30.
8. Ibid., 30–31.
9. Ibid., 32–33.
10. Ibid., 45. Letter to Guo Moruo, dated February 9, 1919.
11. Ibid., 16.
12. Ibid., 54–55. The letter is undated.
13. Tong, 58–59.
14. Guo's preface in Zong, Tian and Guo, 5.
15. Zong, Tian and Guo, 88–89.
16. Ibid., 107.
17. Armstrong, *Love*, 1.
18. For this and other pieces of information on the Chinese reception of *Werther*, I am indebted to Terry Yip.
19. Wang Fan.
20. Yip, 170.
21. Ye, 267–68.
22. Goethe, *Werther*, 54.
23. Ibid., 86.
24. Ibid., 54.
25. Guo Moruo's preface to his translation of Goethe, *Werther*, 4.

26. Ibid., 5.
27. Yip, 44–45.
28. Armstrong, *Goethe*, 59–60 and 62.
29. Goethe, *Werther*, 64.
30. Ibid., 97.
31. Bruckner, 94.
32. Zhou Zuoren quoted in Yip, 74.
33. Cited in Armstrong, *Goethe*, 71–72.
34. Goethe, *Werther*, 112.
35. Ibid., 128.
36. Ibid., 112.
37. Ibid., 118.
38. Xiaomei Chen, ‘Reflections on the Legacy of Tian Han: “Proletarian Modernism” and Its Traditional Roots,’ *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, vol. 18, no. 1, Spring 2006, 155–215.
39. He records being introduced to Ellen Key by Honma Hisao’s work (which he names in Chinese), *Xing de daode zhi xin qingxiang* [New trends in sexual morality], in his article ‘Mimi lian’ai he gongkai lian’ai’ [Loving in secret and loving in the open], *Shaonian Zhongguo* (The Journal of the Young China Association), vol. 1, no. 2, 1919, 34. The Japanese work appeared in a Chinese translation in *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 8, no. 4, 1922. For Honma Hisao’s work on Oscar Wilde, see Yoko Hirata, ‘Oscar Wilde and Honma Hisao,’ *Japan Review*, 21, 2009, 241–66.
40. Qi Chen, 210–11.
41. It was first published in *Shaonian Zhongguo* (The Journal of the Young China Association), vol. 2, no. 9, 1921. The 2013 illustrated edition is listed in the References under Tian Han.
42. Quoted in Chinese by Qi Chen, 281.
43. *Shanghai huabao* (Shanghai Pictorial), no. 73, September 14, 1929, 3.
44. *Liangyou* (The Young Companion), October 1929.
45. Paglia, 563.
46. Qi Chen, 280–81.
47. Xiaomei Chen (see note 38 above), 180.
48. Online entry on Yu Shan, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/1256210.htm>.
49. Xiaomei Chen (see note 38 above), 174.
50. Luo Liang, ‘Modern Girl, Modern Men, and the Politics of Androgyny in China,’ *Michigan Quarterly Review*, vol. XLVII, no. 2: *China*, University of Michigan, Spring 2008.
51. Xu Zhimo, ‘Guanyu nüzi’ [About women], *Xinyue yuekan* (Crescent Moon Monthly), vol. 2, no. 8, 1929, 1–18.
52. Zhang Xichen, *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 8, no. 9, 1922.
53. Havelock Ellis’s introduction to Key, *Love*, xv.
54. Key, *Love*, 15.

Chapter 11 Ellen Key

Epigraph: *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 12, no. 7, 1926, 131.

1. Key, *Love*, 15.
2. The phrase in Chinese is *lingrou yizhi*. Key, *Love*, 93.

3. See Pan Shaw-Yu, 173.
4. Ibid., 170.
5. Qian, 23.
6. Suzuki, 66, and passim. I shall follow custom in calling her Raichō rather than Hiratsuka.
7. The cover design is reproduced in ‘The Taisho Era: When Modernity Rules Japan’s Masses’ by Michael Hoffman in *The Japan Times*, July 29, 2012.
8. Suzuki, 13.
9. Suzuki, 69.
10. Tian Han circulated Key’s ideas in China by airing them in an essay ‘Mimi lian’ai he gongkai lian’ai’ [Loving in secret and loving in the open] that he published in *Shaonian Zhongguo* (The Journal of the Young China Association), vol. 1, no. 2, 33–35.
11. *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 4, no. 1, 1918.
12. *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 5, no. 2, 1919.
13. Mao Dun’s abridged translation of *Love and Marriage* appeared in *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 6, no. 3, 1920. A full translation by Zhu Xunqin was published by Shehui gaijinshe in 1923.
14. *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies’ Journal), vol. 7, no. 2, 1921, 24.
15. Key, *Love*, 98–99.
16. I owe the date to Miho Kinnas’ research (personal communication).
17. Zhou Zuoren, ‘Ren de wenxue’ (Humane Literature), *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 5, no. 6, 1918. An earlier appearance of the phrase was in his translation of Yosano Akiko, ‘On Chastity,’ *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 4, no. 5, 1918.
18. Hong Jun, ‘Maoxian de lian’ai guan’ [A risky view of love], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 37, 1928, 65.
19. Zhang Xichen, ‘Weiba yiwai zhi xu’ [Beyond the tailpiece, continued], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 32, 1026, 888.
20. Gao Shan, ‘Lian’ai de ling de fangmian he rou de fangmian’ [The soul aspect and flesh aspect of love], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 12, 1927, 1209.
21. Zhang Xichen, ‘Weiba yiwai’ [Beyond the tailpiece], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 30, 1928, 884.
22. The quote is on page 16 of the digital version of Carpenter’s book at sacred-texts.com. Huang Shi, ‘Lian’ai yu qingyu’ [Love and passion], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 30, 1928, 624.
23. Mao Yibo, ‘Zai lun xing’ai yu youyi’ [Sexual love and friendship revisited], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 35, 1928, 1248–58.
24. *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 29, 1928, 520. Anarchism, which advocates the abolition of capitalism and private property (just as communism does), was in vogue at the time.
25. Ibid., 1250.
26. Reported by Mao Yibo, ‘Fei lian’ai de you yisheng’ [A love naysayer speaks once more], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 39, 1929, 329.
27. Shanghai was rich in graphic artists and designers but it is beyond the scope of this book to examine their treatment of love.
28. Bernhard’s piece, ‘Routi de ai he jingshen de ai,’ appears in *Lian’ai de zhexue* [A philosophy of love], Weimei congshu she, 1929, 20–21. Bauer’s piece was published in the same series. See note 62 of Chapter 3 for the full reference.
29. Pan Guandian, vol. 8, 65.

30. Tian Pu, 'Ai de yanjiu' [Research on love], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 12, no. 7, 1926, 112.
31. Lucka, 234. The reference to Werther is on page 242.
32. *Jinkaku* was a Japanese neologism coined in 1889 to stand for 'personality.' In Japanese usage it took on meanings, from moral character to individual dignity, not conveyed by the English word. Its imprecision is no doubt why the meaning of *ren'ge*, the Chinese loan (and pronunciation) of the Japanese *jinkaku*, is so hard to pin down. Some scholars choose to translate *ren'ge* as 'personhood' rather than 'personality.' I have not so chosen because I have even less grasp of the meaning of 'personhood' than of *ren'ge*.
33. Lucka, 232.
34. *Ibid.*, 120.
35. *Ibid.*, 120, 262.
36. See Y. D., 'Jindai de lian'ai guan' (Modern Views of Love), *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 8, no. 2, 1922, 7–12. This is an excellent précis of Kuriyagawa's treatise. 'Y. D.' was the pseudonym of Wu Juenong (1897–1989), a tea expert who, at the time of his studies in Japan, was extremely interested in the woman question.
37. Suzuki, 6.
38. Martel, 125. Francis Mathy's 'Kitamura Tōkoku: Essays on the Inner Life,' *Monumenta Nipponica* 19, 1964, 66–110, has been a useful source.
39. May, 164.
40. Armstrong, *Love*, 49–50 and 53.
41. de Botton, 138.
42. Lucka, 286.
43. See note 10 above.
44. Leith Morton, 'The Concept of Romantic Love in the Taiyō Magazine 1895–1905,' *Japan Review*, no. 8, 1997, 84, 92, 98.
45. Zhang Xichen, 'Ailun Kai nüshi yu qi sixiang' [Ellen Key and her ideology], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 7, no. 2, 1921, 25.
46. Mao Dun, 'Liang xing jian de daode guanxi' [The moral relationship between the sexes], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 6, no. 7, 1920.
47. Zhang Xichen, 'Jindai sixiangjia de xingyu yu lian'ai guan' [Modern thinkers' views of sexuality and love], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 6, no. 10, 1920.
48. Mao Dun, 'Xing daode de weiwu shiguan' [The historical materialist view of sexual morality], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 11, no. 1, 1925.
49. Key, *Love*, 128.
50. Key, *Morality*, 16.
51. Key, *Love*, 38.

Chapter 12 One and Only

Epigraph: Zhou Jianren writing as Ke Shi, 'Lian'ai yu zhencao' [Love and chastity], *Shenbuo zhoukan* (Life Weekly), vol. 8, no. 15, April 1933.

1. Hu Shi, 'Zhencao wenti' [The question of chastity], *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 5, no. 1, 1918.
2. See Elvin, 302–51.
3. Brownell and Wasserstrom, xiii.

4. Wei, *Wu Jianren*, 128 and 197.
5. Feng, *Anatomy*, 23.
6. *Ibid.*, 343.
7. Pratt and Chiang's translation, 29.
8. Shen, 4.
9. *Ibid.*, 8.
10. *Ibid.*, 35.
11. The play's Chinese title, *Lian xiang ban*, has also been rendered as *The Love of the Perfumed Partner* and *Two Belles in Love*, the latter given to an operatic production of it staged in Beijing in 2010. The Beijing production has been reviewed by Xu Peng, 'The Essential Li Yu Resurrected: A Performance Review of the 2010 Beijing Production of *Lian Xiang Ban* (Women in Love),' CHINOPERL (The Conference on Chinese Oral and Performing Literature) Papers No. 30, 2011.
12. McMahon, 304–20.
13. Mann, 123–24.
14. Pratt and Chiang, 9.
15. Pan Guangdan, *Zhongguo jiating wenti* [The problem of the Chinese family]. First published by Xinyue shudian (Crescent Moon Bookstore) in 1928. Reprinted in Pan, 115–16.
16. For this paragraph and the next two, I am indebted to two papers by Lisa Tran, 'Sex and Equality in Republican China: The Debate over the Adultery Law,' *Modern China*, vol. 35, no. 2, March 2009, 101–223; and 'The ABC of Monogamy in Republican China: Adultery, Bigamy and Conjugal Fidelity,' *Twentieth-Century China*, vol. 36, no. 2, July 2011, 99–118.
17. Bernhardt, 208.
18. Quoted in Jonathan Hutt, 'La Maison D'or—The Sumptuous World of Shao Xunmei,' *East Asian History*, no. 21, June 2001, 113.
19. Sheng, 51.
20. Hahn, *Letters*, 5.
21. Hahn, *China*, 15.
22. Quoted in Cuthbertson, 140.
23. Jonathan Hutt, see note 18 above, 122.
24. Hahn, *China*, 9.
25. Quoted in Cuthbertson, 163.
26. *Ibid.*, 140.
27. *Ibid.*, 147.
28. Sheng, 182.
29. *Ibid.*, 192.
30. Hahn, *China*, 9.
31. *Ibid.*, 12.
32. Cuthbertson, 146.
33. Hahn, *China*, 59.
34. Hahn, *Letters*, 46–49.
35. *Ibid.*, 52.
36. Hahn, *China*, 158.
37. *Ibid.*, 165.
38. Shao, 273.
39. Shao, *Xinyue* (Crescent Moon), vol. 3, no. 10, August 1931. Reprinted in Shao, 215.

40. Zhou Zuoren, 'Zhencao lun' (On Chastity), *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 4, no. 5, 1918.
41. Lu Xun, another to enter the fray, called them a 'deformed morality' in 'Wo zhi jielie guan' (My Views on Chastity), *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 5, no. 2, 1919.
42. Hu Shi, 'Zhencao wenti' [The question of chastity], *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 5, no. 1, 1918. Reprinted in Hu Shi, *New Life*, 221–20.
43. *Analects* 15.24.
44. 'Hu Shi Answers Lan Zhixian,' *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 6, no. 4, 1919. Reprinted in Hu Shi, *New Life*, 221. 'Lan Zhixian Answers Hu Shi' and 'Lan Zhixian Answers Zhou Zuoren,' *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), vol. 6, no. 4, 1919, 333–59.
45. Lan Zhixian, *ibid.*, 353. As Lan's 'ren'ge-love' excludes feelings (*ganqing* in Chinese), it would not work to translate it as 'personality-love.'
46. Hu Shi, *New Life*, 222.
47. Tagore, *Stray Birds*, 73.4, 1916. Quoted in Shen Guangding, 'Ruhe ke shi shilian de zhiyu' [How to heal the loss of love?], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 12, no. 7, 1926, 210.
48. Paz, 107.
49. Zhou Jianren writing as Ke Shi. Chapter 1 of *Lian'ai yu zhencao* [Love and chastity], edited by Shenhuo shudian (Life Bookstore) Editorial Department, 1933, 1–6.
50. See, for example, *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 33, 1926, 1264.
51. Hong Jun, 'Hunzhang sheng zhong' [A cry from amidst a melee], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), vol. 35, 1928, 1263–68.
52. Zou Taofen, 'Xinxiang zhencao' [Letters on chastity], in *The Collected Writings of Zou Taofen*, vol. 1, Joint Publishing, 1955.
53. Hu Shi, *New Life*, 221–27.
54. *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 7, no. 2, 1926, 26.
55. Key, *Love*, 13.
56. Key, *Love*, 22–23.
57. George Sand's words are quoted, for example, by Jiao Songzhou, 'Ruhe ke shi lian'ai de chengli' [How to establish love], *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 12, no. 6, 1926, 204. Zhang Xichen also cites them in *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), vol. 32, 1928, 876.
58. This according to Mao Dun, see Chen Hui, 'Wusi shiqi xianjin zhishifenzi guanyu lian'ai wenti de tanta' [Exploration of love by progressive May Fourth intellectuals], *Journal of Neijiang Normal University*, vol. 28, no. 9, 2013, 81–84.
59. Just one example out of many can be found in *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal), vol. 12, no. 7, 1926, 182.

Chapter 13 Looking for Love: Yu Dafu

Epigraph: Diary entry on February 17, 1927, in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 227.

1. The italicization indicates that the words are in English in the text. The story is *Chunlun* (Sinking) and is collected in Yu Dafu, *Autobiographical*, 20–66.
2. Tong, 70, 49.
3. 'Xueye' [Snowy night], in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 58.
4. 'Yi feng xin' [A letter], *ibid.*, 159.

5. Ibid., 157.
6. Chen Zidong, 102–3.
7. ‘Boundless Night,’ or *Mangmang ye* in Chinese, is in Yu Dafu, *Classics*, 75–96.
8. Yu Dafu interpolates Edith Wharton’s statement in English in the text of his essay, see Chen and Wang, 288.
9. ‘Late-Flowering Osmanthus’ (*Chi guihua*) is collected in Yu Dafu, *Classics*, 168–93.
10. ‘Silvery Grey Death’ (*Yinhuise de si*) is in Yu Dafu, *Autobiographical*, 1–19.
11. Yu Dafu wrote about Dowson in ‘Jizhong yu Huang mian zhi de renwu’ [The people clustered around the Yellow Book], in *Chuangzao zhoubao* (Creation Weekly), nos. 20, 21, 1923. The essay is collected in ‘Bi zhou ji,’ *Yu Dafu quanji* [The complete works of Yu Dafu], vol. 5, 1721–40.
12. Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 75.
13. Paglia, 233.
14. Yu Dafu’s words of commendation come from his essay ‘Lusuo de sixiang he ta de chuanguo’ [Rousseau’s thought and his writings], in ‘Bi zhou ji,’ *Yu Dafu quanji* (The Complete Works of Yu Dafu), vol. 5, 396.
15. Yu Dafu, *Works*, 311 and 341.
16. Chen Zidong, 149.
17. Quoted in Tong, 89. Yu is quoting Max Stirner, the German author of a work known in English as *The Ego and Its Own* (1845).
18. Yu Dafu, *Works*, 311.
19. ‘Ling yu zhe’ (A Superfluous Man), in Yu Dafu, *Works*, 168–74.
20. ‘Nanxing zaji’ [Record of a journey south], in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 171.
21. Preface to ‘Niaoluo xing’ (Wisteria and Dodder), 1923, in Chen and Wang, 5.
22. Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 219–20.
23. Ibid., 190.
24. Ibid., 171.
25. Jiang, 45.
26. Preface to *Jilei ji* [Chicken ribs], 1927, in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 69.
27. ‘Niaoluo xing’ (Wisteria and Dodder), 1923, in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 79–93.
28. ‘Yi feng xin’ [A Letter], in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 157.
29. ‘Niaoluo xing’ (Wisteria and Dodder), in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 89.
30. Ibid., 91.
31. Diary entry for January 12, 1927, in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 209.
32. An account Wang Yingxia wrote of her life with Yu Dafu, ‘Bansheng zishu’ [Half my life as told by myself], was published in 1982 and excerpted in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 289.
33. Quoted in diary entry for April 16, 1927, in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 272.
34. Letter (1927) may be found in Yu Dafu, *Works*, 391–95.
35. Diary entry for February 28, 1927, Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 235.
36. Letter, April 16, 1927. For source reference see note 34 above.
37. Preface to *Jilei ji* (Chicken Ribs), 1927, in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 69.
38. Diary entry for March 26, 1927, in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 256.
39. Diary entry for February 27, in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 233.
40. Jiang, 276.
41. Ibid., 344.
42. Wang Yingxia makes these complaints in her memoir (see note 32 above), excerpted in Yu Dafu, *Self-Account*, 303.

Chapter 14 Exalting Love: Xu Zhimo

Epigraph: Letter to Lu Xiaoman, March 10, 1925, in Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 321–22.

1. Hu Shi, 'Zhuidao Xu Zhimo' [In memoriam: Xu Zhimo], first published in *Xinyue* (Crescent Moon), vol. 4, no. 1, August 1932, reprinted in Hu Shi, *Works*, 97.
2. Quoted in Spurling, 192.
3. *Ibid.*, 193. Actually he was not northern Chinese, his birthplace being Zhejiang province to the south of the Yangtze. Buck could have been following 'deep southerners' like the Cantonese in making a *relative* distinction.
4. Chiang, 176.
5. Xu Zhimo, 'Xiyan yu wenhua' [Smoking and culture], in Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 78.
6. Wood, 193.
7. Quoted in Hu Shi, *Works*, 98, see note 1 above.
8. I reckoned the 'ten years' from the date (1912) of publication of *Jade Pear Spirit*, a novel which links love and freedom, see Chapter 8.
9. Xu Zhimo, *Supplement*, vol. 1, 1.
10. Xu Zhimo, 'Wo suo zhidao de Kangqiao' [The Cambridge I know], 1926, collected in Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 80–89.
11. Chen Xinhua, 68.
12. Quoted from a letter he wrote to Jiang Dongxiu, see Egan and Chou, 185.
13. The guest was the painter Liu Haisu, see Chen Xinhua, 120.
14. *Ibid.*, 120–21.
15. Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 234.
16. Letter to Hu Shi dated January 7, 1927, in Hu Shi, *Himself*, 360–61.
17. Su Xuelin, in preface to Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 8.
18. *Ibid.*, 6.
19. Hu Shi notes this in his essay (see note 1 above), 98.
20. 'Xing shi yinyuan xu' (Preface to *Marriage Destinies to Awaken the World*), Xu Zhimo, *Supplement*, vol. 3, 396–415.
21. Hu Shi quotes from Liang's letter of January 1923, in Hu Shi, *Works*, 98–99.
22. *Ibid.*, 99.
23. Quoted in Chen Xinhua, 121.
24. Xu Zhimo, *Supplement*, 413, see note 20 above.
25. The airing is owed to Hu Shi's 1918 essay in *New Youth* on Ibsenism, reprinted in *Works*, 14.
26. Letter from Xu Zhimo dated March 3, 1925, in Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 145.
27. *Analects* 9.28.
28. Xu Zhimo, 'Jiushi da po le tou, ye haiyao baochi women linghun de ziyou' [We must preserve our freedom of spirit even if we were to have our heads broken], *nuli zhoubao*, no. 39, January 28, 1923; reproduced in Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 158.
29. Xu Zhimo, 'Taige'er lai Hua' [Tagore comes to China], September 10, 1923, *Xiaoshuo ribao*, vol. 14, no. 9, September 10, 1923; in Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 244.
30. 'Taige'er' [Tagore], *Chenbao fukan*, May 15, 1924; in Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 253.
31. Letter to May dated March 11, 1925, in Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 151.
32. Quoted in Chen Xinhua, 88.
33. *Ibid.*, 111–12.

34. Ibid., 90–91.
35. Ibid., 106.
36. Quoted in Hu Shi, *Works*, 102–3. Translation is based on Michelle Yeh's.
37. Diary entry for March 18, 1925, Lu Xiaoman, *Diaries*, 188.
38. Diary entry for March 15, 1925, *ibid.*, 186.
39. Diary entry for March 25, 1925, *ibid.*, 197–98.
40. Letter dated July 17, 1925, Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 133–34.
41. Letter dated March 22, 1925, *ibid.*, 110–11.
42. Letter dated July 17, 1925, *ibid.*, 133–34.
43. Diary entry for March 15, 1925, Lu Xiaoman, *Diaries*, 186.
44. Spence, *Gate*, 177.
45. Xu Zhimo, *Innocent*.
46. Letter dated April 1, 1931, Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 217.
47. Letter dated July 8, 1931, *ibid.*, 233.
48. Xu Zhimo, 'Bailangning furen de qing shi (er)' [Mrs Browning's love poetry (2)], *Xinyue* (Crescent Moon), vol. 1, no. 1, 1928.
49. Letter dated June 16, 1931, Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 228.
50. Letter dated March 7, 1931, Xu Zhimo, *Innocent*, 195.
51. Xu Zhimo, 'Gei muqin' [For mother], composed on August 1, 1925; in Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 20–23.
52. Xu Zhimo, 'Art and Life,' first published in *Chuangzao jikan* (Creation Quarterly), vol. 2, no. 1, 1923; reproduced in Xu Zhimo, *Supplement*, vol. 3, 441.
53. *Ibid.*, 433–59.
54. For example, in letter to May from Paris dated June 25, 1925, Xu Zhimo, *Himself*, 329, 330, 331; and in diary entry dated August 9, 1925, in Xu Zhimo, *Works*, 362.
55. Diary entry for January 6, 1927, excerpted in Xu Zhimo, *Innocent*, 261.
56. Xu zhimo, *Xinyue* (Crescent Moon), March 1928, in Xu Zhimo, *Works*, 344.
57. Letter dated March 3, 1925, Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 142–45.
58. Letter to May, August 14, 1925; Xu Zhimo, *Works*, 366.
59. Extract from Xu Zhimo, 'Ai de linggan' [Love's inspiration], *Works*, 203; very finely translated into English by Cyril Birch in his paper 'English and Chinese Metres in Hsü Chih-mo,' *Asia Major*, vol. 8, Part 2, 1960, 285–86.
60. For an example, see 'To Fanny Brawne,' Xu Zhimo, *Supplement*, vol. 1, 213–15.
61. Excerpted from Cyril Birch's translation in the paper cited in note 59 above, 288.
62. Xu Zhimo, *Supplement*, vol. 1, 184–89 and 203–13.
63. Letter dated March 10, 1925, Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 149.
64. Diary entry for August 11, 1925, Xu Zhimo, *Works*, 363.
65. Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 167.
66. Rieger, 68.
67. Xu Zhimo, 'Ting Huaigene (Wagner) yueju' [Listening to Wagner's music dramas], first published in 1923, collected in Xu Zhimo, *Supplement*, vol. 1, 4–8. The poet Shelly Bryant has richly added to my appreciation of this poem by translating it into English.
68. 'Qing si' (Liebestod), in Xu Zhimo, *Works*, 11–12.
69. Rieger, 108. The idea of redemption through *love*, too deeply ingrained in the cultural DNA of the West to be thrown over, is at the core of Wagner's other operas, notably *The Flying Dutchman*. For its untranslatability to another culture, see Chapter 6.
70. *Ibid.*, 108.

71. Letter dated June 25, 1925, Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 167.
72. Letter dated March 3, 1925, Lu Xiaoman, *Flowers*, 144.
73. Diary entry for August 14, 1925, Xu Zhimo, *Works*, 366.
74. Leo Lee, 149.
75. Hu Shi, *Works*, 101.

Chapter 15 Love Betrayed: Eileen Chang

Epigraph: Brookner, 149.

1. Eileen Chang, *Change*, 25.
2. Zhang, *Reflections*, 22.
3. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 106.
4. *Ibid.*, 131.
5. ‘Hua diao’ [A withered flower], Zhang, *Stories*, 463.
6. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 140.
7. *Ibid.*, 283.
8. ‘Siyu’ (Whispers), in Zhang, *Water*, 145–46.
9. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 130.
10. Zhang, *Water*, 147.
11. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 131.
12. *Ibid.*, 184.
13. Bernhardt, 188.
14. ‘Cubist’ is what would be termed ‘art deco’ years later. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 212.
15. *Ibid.*, 157.
16. *Ibid.*, 200.
17. ‘Siyu’ (Whispers), in Zhang, *Water*, 150.
18. Eileen Chang, *Change*, 70.
19. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 261.
20. Eileen Chang, *Change*, 27.
21. *Ibid.*, 26; Zhang, *Reunion*, 236.
22. The paper was *Libao*, August 24, 1944, quoted in Xiao, 23.
23. Eileen Chang, ‘Chinese Life and Fashions,’ in *XXth Century*, vol. 4, 1943, 59.
24. Eileen Chang, *Reunion*, 128, 236.
25. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 201, 132.
26. Eileen Chang, *Change*, 3–4.
27. Eileen Chang, *Reunion*, 288; and *Change*, 108.
28. Eileen Chang, *Change*, 54.
29. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 264.
30. Zhang, *Reunion*, 138.
31. Zhang, *Water*, 23.
32. Zhang, *Reunion*, 288.
33. Zhang, *Stories*, 150–202.
34. Eileen Chang, *Pagoda*, 283.
35. Zhang, *Reunion*, 57.
36. *Ibid.*, 49.
37. *Ibid.*, 162.

38. Zhang, *Water*, 75; Xiao, 129.
39. Eileen Chang, *Change*, 269.
40. Zhang, 'Ziji de wenzhang' (Writing of My Own), in Zhang, *Water*, 22.
41. Liu Chuan'e, 128.
42. Kingsbury, 141; Zhang Ailing, *Stories*, 228. In Chinese the title is 'Qingcheng zhi lian.' Hong Kong falls to the Japanese in the story but as the words *qing cheng*, 'city-toppling,' are usually used of a woman beautiful enough to cause the fall of a city, Eileen Chang intended 'Love in a Fallen City' to be open also to an alternative interpretation: 'A Love that Falls a City.'
43. Xiao, 41–42.
44. Kingsbury, 149.
45. Zhang, *Reunion*, 171.
46. Zhang, 'Jing yu lu' (From the Ashes), 1944, in Zhang, *Water*, 47.
47. Hu Lancheng, 'Ping Zhang Ailing' [Zhang Ailing: an appraisal], 1944; in Hu Lancheng, *Literature*, 210–11.
48. In Chinese the stock phrases are *tong xin tong de* (of one heart and mind), *tong gan gong ku* and *huannan zhi jiao* (sharing weal and woe or going through thick and thin together).
49. Hu Lancheng, *Life*, 154.
50. Zhang, *Reunion*, 228.
51. Hu Lancheng, *Life*, 146.
52. Zhang, *Reunion*, 165.
53. Xiao, 53–54.
54. Zhang, *Reunion*, 273.
55. Hu Lancheng, *Life*, 245–46.
56. Zhang, *Reunion*, 274.
57. Hu Lancheng, *Life*, 274.
58. Letter dated January 25, 1976, in the preface to Zhang, *Reunion*, 6.
59. Letter from Soong to Zhang dated April 28, 1976, *ibid.*, 13.
60. Peter Lee, 'Eileen Chang's Fractured Legacy,' *Asia Times Online*, April 29, 2009.
61. Letter from Zhang to Soong dated July 18, 1975, in the preface to Zhang, *Reunion*, 4.
62. Letter from Zhang to Soong dated September 18, 1975, *ibid.*, 5.
63. Quoted in Kao, 151.
64. Hu Lancheng, *Life*, 193.
65. Zhang, *Reunion*, 237.
66. *Ibid.*, 234.
67. *Ibid.*, 234, 310.
68. *Ibid.*, 324.
69. *Ibid.*, 277.
70. *Ibid.*, 167.
71. *Ibid.*, 257, 306.
72. Her words are: 'To love more than one is actually not to love them at the same time; it's really to love only one but to hold on also to the former loves simultaneously.' Zhang, *Reunion*, 236–37.
73. Zhang, *Reunion*, 188.
74. Hu Lancheng, *Literature*, 209.
75. *Ibid.*, 75, 76.
76. Hu Lancheng, *Life*, 185.

77. Hu Lancheng, *Literature*, 74.
78. Zhang, *Reunion*, 310.
79. Letters dated January 25, 1976; March 14, 1976; April 22, 1976; in the preface to Zhang, *Reunion*, 6, 10.
80. *Ibid.*, 138.
81. Eileen Chang, *Change*, 54.
82. Zhang, *Reunion*, 23.
83. Eileen Chang, *Change*, 100.
84. *Ibid.*, 103.
85. *Ibid.*, 107.
86. *Ibid.*, 108; Zhang, *Reunion*, 288.
87. Letter dated July 31, 1956, in Soong, 157.
88. Ang Lee's afterword to 'Lust, Caution' ('Se, jie'), in Eileen Chang, *Lust*, 59.

Chapter 16 Love's Decline and Fall

Epigraph: Gao Shan, 'Jin yu zhuyi he lian'ai ziyou' [Asceticism and freedom of love], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), vol. 1, no. 4, 1926, 237.

1. Yan Shi, 'Da Jianbo Qiandi er jun' [In reply to Messrs Jianbo and Qiandi], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 21, 1927, 517.
2. *Ibid.*, 517, 520.
3. *Guangzhou minguo ribao* [Canton Republican Daily], April 21 to June 16, 1926. For coverage of the debate, see 'Lian'ai yu geming wenti de taolun ji dui "geming jia lian'ai" chuanguo de yingxiang' [Discussions of the question of love and revolution and its influence on 'revolution plus love' writing] at <http://blog.sina.com.cn/wind1007>, dated July 20, 2009.
4. Quoted in Bryna Goodman, 'Appealing to the Public: Newspaper Presentation and Adjudication of Emotion,' *Twentieth-Century China*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2006, 65.
5. The classic account of the Guomindang–communist split is Isaac's.
6. Hu Yepin, 'Dao Mosike qu' (Bound for Moscow), *Guanghua shuju*, 1930. I read it at <http://www.millionbook.com/xd/h/huyepin/001/001.htm>.
7. Quoted in Tsi-an Hsia, 167–68, with Hu's name changed into pinyin by me.
8. A. S. Byatt, 'Scenes from a Provincial Life,' *The Guardian*, July 27, 2002. Reading this greatly helped my understanding of the novel.
9. *Ibid.*
10. In Kollontai's collection *A Great Love*, read online at marxists.org.
11. Carleton, 40.
12. Li Jin, 'Keluntai he Sulian de xing wenxue' [Kollontai and the sex literature of the Soviet Union]. *Zhongguo wenxue wang* [Chinese Literature Site], <http://www.literature.org.cn>, accessed September 28, 2013.
13. Xia Yan published it under his real name, Shen Duanxian, *Lian'ai zhi lu* [Paths of love], Shanghai Kaiming shudian, 1928. Hayashi Fusao's essay was translated by one Mozhi under the Chinese title, 'Xin lian'ai dao' [New way of love]. This first saw print in *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 33, 1928. The same issue carried a Chinese translation of 'The Loves of Three Generations' by one Zhi Wei, no doubt a pseudonym. Apart from Xia Yan's,

two other Chinese translations appeared in book form. One, by Li Lan, came out under the title *Weida de lian'ai* (A Great Love) in 1930; published by Shanghai Xiandai shuju, this included three stories, 'A Great Love,' 'Sisters,' and 'The Loves of Three Generations.' The other translation, by Wen Shengmin, was brought out under the title *Lian'ai zhi dao* [Ways of love] by the publisher Qizhi shuju the same year and included only 'Three Generations' and 'Sisters.'

14. Kollontai, *Morality*, 23.
15. Meisel-Hess, 128, 129.
16. Kollontai, *Morality*, 23. The previous quote is on page 25.
17. Zhu Mei, 'Lian'ai de xianzai yu jianglai' [Love now and in the future], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 36, 1928, 1373–74.
18. Jing Yuan, 'Lian'ai zhishang de masha' [Writing off the 'love is best' sentiment at a stroke], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 36, 1928, 1385.
19. *Ibid.* The translator Wen Shengmin also makes this point in his preface to *Ways of Love*, see note 13 above.
20. Wen Shengmin, preface to *Ways of Love*, see note 13 above.
21. Jing Yuan, see note 18 above. The quote in this paragraph is from *Mencius*, see the epigraph to Chapter 9.
22. Li Jin, see note 12 above.
23. See Chen Hsiang-yin.
24. Huang, 239.
25. Quoted in Spence, *Gate*, 229, with a slight modification to the translation.
26. Quoted in Wei Xu, 132.
27. Chi-hsi Hu's paper, 'The Sexual Revolution in the Kiangsi Soviet,' *The China Quarterly*, no. 59, July–September 1974, 477–90, has been invaluable.
28. Wei Xu, 157, 170.
29. This speech is reproduced in full at www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected...3/mwv3_08.html
30. Wei Xu, 176.
31. A translation into English of Ding's essay, 'Thoughts on March 8, International Women's Day, 1942,' may be found in Barlow and Bjorge, 318.
32. Quoted in Spence, *Gate*, 242.
33. Qin, 54.
34. Alber, 192.
35. *Ibid.*
36. 'Bu suan qingshu' [Not love letters] in Ding, 266, 265.
37. Hu Yepin, 'San ge bu tongyi de renwu' [Three disunited people], *Hongbei zazhi* [Red and black magazine], no. 3, 1929, 19–35.
38. Letter from Ding Ling to Feng Xuefeng dated January 5, 1932, in Ding, 270. This paragraph's other quotation (about being comrades) is from a letter that she wrote on August 11, 1931, in Ding, 267.
39. Jing Yuan, see note 18 above, 1928, 1389.
40. Yao Fangren, 'Guanyu "San dai de lian'ai" de fenxi guancha' [An analysis of 'The Loves of Three Generations'], *Xin nüxing* (The New Woman), no. 36, 1928, 1385, 1365.
41. 'Shafei nüshi de riji' (Miss Sophia's Diary), in Ding, 43–81.
42. Qin, 72 and 96.

Chapter 17 Afterthoughts

Epigraph: Hu Shi, 'Jieshao wo ziji de sixiang' [Introducing my own thinking], 1930, in Hu Shi, *Works*, 372.

1. Yuan, see Chapter 8, note 39 above.
2. Hu Shi, 'Xie zai Kongzi danchen jinian zhi hou' [Written after Confucius's anniversary], 1934. Reprinted in Hu Shi, *Works*, 308.
3. Hou, 91.
4. Hu Shi, as in note 2 above, 305.
5. See Shi. I owe my discovery of this essay to Ni Yibin.
6. The words in inverted commas are my translation of Ni Yibin's; he gave me his thoughts in an e-mail dated December 23, 2013.
7. Andreas Capellanus, 185.
8. Jianfu Chen, 430.
9. James Farrer, interview on December 29, 2013. See James Farrer and Sun Zhongxin, 'Extramarital Love in Shanghai,' *The China Journal*, no. 50, July 2003, 1–36.
10. James Farrer in Davis and Friedman.
11. James Farrer, Gefei Suo, Haruka Tsuchiya and Zhongxin Sun, 'Re-embedding Sexual Meanings: A Qualitative Comparison of the Premarital Sexual Scripts of Chinese and Japanese Young Adults,' *Sexuality & Culture*, vol. 16, no. 3, July 2012, 263–86.
12. James Farrer, interview, December 29, 2013.

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