

History-Making and Remembrance in *Taohua Shan*

Ling Xiaoqiao*

Abstract

Kong Shangren's 孔尙任 (1648-1718) *Taohua shan* 桃花扇 (*Peach blossom fan*), in its 1708 woodblock edition, was a singular printing enterprise with an extensive reference list that draws upon personal memories of a close-knit literati community whose members were involved, in one way or another, in the tumultuous political life of the rump Southern Ming court. The majority of the titles are poetry, prose essays, and casual records from these historical figures' personal anthologies (*wenji* 文集), an authorial/editorial choice which indicates that the play aims not so much at faithfully reconstructing the historical era than internalizing and reorganizing inherited memories to be shared among a community of readers a few decades removed from the conquest. By casting these historical figures as dramatic characters of the play, and by juxtaposing different modes of memory through the interaction between the main text and commentary, *Taohua shan* makes a most compelling case for the formation of historical memory as a journey of discovery mediated by aesthetic or moral choices, a journey that epitomizes the reinvention of the self alongside the renewal of traumatic memories in Chinese literary life.

Keywords: Kong Shangren 孔尙任, *Taohua shan* 桃花扇, Southern Ming, historical memory, Hongguang 弘光.

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1. Introduction: the Book Space of *Taohua Shan* and the Transference of Memories

Kong Shangren's 孔尚任 (1648-1718) *Taohua shan* 桃花扇 (The Peach Blossom Fan, hereafter *THS*) is typically known as a historical play that delineates the tumultuous and short-lived political life of the rump Southern Ming 南明 court after the fall of the Ming in 1644. Interwoven into the romantic story about Hou Fangyu 侯方域 (1618-1654) and Li Xiangjun 李香君¹ is that of the factional strife between Ma Shiying 馬士英 (ca. 1591-1646), who initiated the struggle, and Ruan Dacheng 阮大鍼 (1587-1646) against the members of the Fushe 復社 society (Restoration Society).² This resulted in Shi Kefa 史可法 (1601-1645) deploying his army to fend off Zuo Liangyu's 左良玉 (1599-1645) attack, a move that allowed the Manchu army to cross the river and to seize the southern capital Nanjing. Hou Fangyu and Li Xiangjun were first forced apart by the vindictive Ruan Dacheng. After the disappearance of the Hongguang 弘光 Emperor (r. 1644-1645) and the collapse of the Southern Ming court, the two lovers reunite only to part again, each embracing instead the Daoist order.

While the play is set at the end of the Chongzhen 崇禎 era and the Southern Ming court, two temporal frames—the *jiazi* 甲子 year (1684) in the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1662- 1722)³ and the *wuzi* 戊子 year (1648) in the Shunzhi 順治 reign (1644-1661)⁴ — historicize the dramatized events to invite reading the play as a faithful representation of history. Indeed, modern scholars have examined the

1 For a brief biography of Xiangjun (also known as Li Xiang 李香), see Yu Huai's 余懷 (1616-1695) *Banqiao zaji* 板橋雜記, collated and punctuated by Li Jintang 李金堂 (Miscellaneous Records of the Plank Bridge; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), p. 48.

2 These are Hou Fangyu, Chen Zhenhui 陳貞慧 (1604-1656), and Wu Yingji 吳應箕 (1594-1645) in the play.

3 Three acts are set in this year: the prelude (“Xiansheng” 先聲), the extra Act 20 (“Xianhua” 閒話) that concludes the first half of the play, and the added Act 21 (“Guyin” 孤吟) that starts the second part of the play.

4 This is the coda (“Yuyun” 餘韻) of the play.

play against historical happenings that have been reconstructed from various late Ming sources.⁵ For example, Lynn Struve has discussed *THS* as a historical play by invoking *Ming shi* 明史 (Official History of the Ming) and other sources modern historians deem to be reliable, such as Tan Qian's 談遷 (1593-1657) *Guoque* 國權 (An Evaluation of the Events of our Dynasty), Ji Liuqi's 計六奇 (1622-?) *Mingji beilue* 明季北略 (Outline Record of the Late Ming in the North) and *Mingji nanlue* 明季南略 (Outline Record of the Late Ming in the South), and Li Qing's 李清 (1602-1683) *Sanyuan biji* 三垣筆記 (Notes on the Three Enclosures).⁶

But the play in its 1708 woodblock edition⁷ highlights the constructed nature of historical representation, as it includes its own reference list titled “Kaoju” 考據 (Basis for Investigations), which does not include any of the sources modern historians consider “reliable.” The reference list also goes into great length to lay out the number of entries from each source followed by the title of each individual entry:

1.	Anonymous 無名氏	<i>History Narrated by a Woodcutter</i> , twenty-four entries, 樵史二十四段 ⁸
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5 For examples of modern historians' reconstructions of the history of the Southern Ming, see Xie Guozhen 謝國楨, *Nan Ming shilue* 南明史略 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957); Lynn Struve, *The Southern Ming, 1644-1662* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); and Gu Cheng 顧誠, *Nan Ming shi* 南明史 (Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe, 2011).

6 Lynn Struve, “History and the *Peach Blossom Fan*,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 2.1 (1980): 55-72.

7 The first printed edition of the play was produced by the Jie'an Studio 介安堂 in 1708. There is a modern photographic reproduction of a woodblock print from the Kangxi period in *Guben xiqu congkan wu ji* 古本戲曲叢刊五集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986). Guo Yingde 郭英德 identifies this photographic reproduction to be based on the original edition in his *Ming Qing chuanqi zonglu* 明清傳奇綜錄 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 777-778. All citations of *THS* in this paper come from this photographic reproduction. For a modern typeset edition of the play with marginal comments, see *Yunting shanren pingdian* 云亭山人評點桃花扇, collated and punctuated by Li Baomin 李保民 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012).

8 This collection is mentioned in Yang Fengbao's 楊鳳苞 (1754-1816) epilogue to Wen Ruilin's 溫睿臨 (*juren* 1756) *Nanjiang yishi* 南疆逸史 (Neglected History of the Southern Regions). See Xie Guozhen 謝國楨, *Wan Ming shiji kao* 晚明史籍考 (1981; rpt. Shanghai: Huadong shifan

2.	Dong Langshi 董闕石 (1626-1697) ⁹	<i>Superfluous Writings from Chun Village</i> , seven items, 尊鄉贅筆七條 ¹⁰
3.	Lu Lijing 陸麗京 (1613-after 1667) ¹¹	<i>Records on Retribution in the Netherworld</i> , one item, 冥報錄一條
4.	Chen Baoya 陳寶崖 (fl. 17 th century) ¹²	<i>Miscellaneous Notes from Kuangyuan</i> , one item, 曠園雜誌一條
5.	Yu Danxin 余澹心 (1616-1695) ¹³	<i>Miscellaneous Records of Plank Bridge</i> , sixteen items, 板橋雜記十六條
6.	You Zhancheng 尤展成 (1618-1704) ¹⁴	Notes on “Yuefu Songs on the Ming History,” 明史樂府注
7.	Zhang Yaoxing 張瑤星 (1608-1695) ¹⁵	<i>Accounts from [Master] Baiyun</i> 白雲述 ¹⁶

daxue chubanshe, 2011), p. 476.

- 9 Langshi is the courtesy name of Dong Han 董含 (*jinshi* 1661). He was implicated in the tax evasion case (*zouxiao an* 奏銷案) in 1661 and was discharged from office. For a brief biography of Dong Han, see Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 et al., eds., *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan* 中國文學家大辭典清代卷 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), p. 774.
- 10 There was a woodblock edition of this collection from the Kangxi period titled *Sangang zhilüe* 三岡識略 (A Brief Account of Sangang), but the text did not circulate widely.
- 11 Lijing is the courtesy name of Lu Qi 陸圻, who disappeared after his involvement in Zhuang Tinglong Seditious History Case (Zhuang Tinglong *shi'an* 莊廷鑑史案). Struve, “History and the Peach Blossom Fan,” p. 65. For a brief biography of Lu Qi, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 432-433.
- 12 Baoya is the courtesy name of Chen Yan 陳琰, who also wrote commemorative poetry on *THS* and signed his name as Qiantang Wu Chen Yan 錢塘吳陳琰. Chen Yan was among the close circle of friends of Chen Lüzhong 陳履中 (1693-1760) when the latter was serving office in Beijing after passing the provincial exam in 1711 at the age of nineteen. See *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, p. 475.
- 13 Danxin is the courtesy name of Yu Huai, who was protege of Fan Jingwen 范景文 (1587-1644) towards the end of the Chongzhen reign. For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 333-334.
- 14 Zhancheng is the courtesy name of You Tong 尤侗, who was enlisted by the Manchu government to compile the Ming history after the special examination in 1679. For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 68-69.
- 15 Yaoxing is the courtesy name of Zhang Yi 張怡. For Zhang’s life and his relationship with Kong Shangren, see Yuan Shishuo 袁世碩, *Kong Shangren nianpu* 孔尚任年譜 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1987), pp. 291-294.

8.	Wang Shide 王世德 (fl. 17 th century)	<i>Remnant Records on the Chongzhen Emperor</i> 崇禎遺錄 ¹⁷
9.	Hou Chaozong 侯朝宗 ¹⁸	<i>Collected Writings from the Studio whose Master Repents at the Prime of his Years</i> , fifteen pieces, 壯悔堂集十五篇
10.	Jia Jingzi 賈靜子 (1595-1661) ¹⁹	<i>Notes on Poems from the Studio of Four Recollections</i> , twelve items, 四憶堂詩注十二條 ²⁰
11.	Jia Jingzi	“Biography of Master Hou [Fangyu],” 侯公子傳 ²¹
12.	Qian Muzhai 錢牧齋 (1582-1664) ²²	<i>Learning Revisited</i> , eleven writings, 有學集十一首
13.	Wu Jungong 吳駿公 (1609-1671) ²³	<i>Collection of Meicun</i> , seven writings, 梅村集七首
14.	Wu Meicun 吳梅村 ²⁴	<i>Brief Records on Pacifying the Rebels</i> 綏寇紀略

16 The full name of the collection is *Baiyun dao zhe zhi shu* 白雲道者自述 (Self-Written Accounts of Daoist Master Baiyun), which survives in a manuscript edition in the Nanjing library. For a brief discussion of this collection, see Xie, *Wan Ming shiji kao*, pp. 948-949.

17 *Chongzhen yilu* is mentioned in Yang Fengbao's epilogue to *Nanjiang yishi*. The extant manuscript editions are preserved in the Nanjing and Zhejiang libraries. For Wang Shide's own preface to the collection, see Xie, *Wan Ming shiji kao*, pp. 134-135.

18 Chaozong is the courtesy name of Hou Fangyu, one of the Four Young Gentlemen of the Late Ming (*Wan Ming si gongzi* 晚明四公子). For his biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, p. 588.

19 Jingzi is the courtesy name of Jia Kaizong 賈開宗. For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 627-628.

20 This was printed together with *Zhuanghui tang ji in Sibei beiyao* 四部備要 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1920).

21 This is the “Benzhuan” 本傳 (Official Biography), one of the three biographies on Hou Fangyu in *Zhuanghui tang ji, Sibei beiyao*, p. 4.

22 Muzhai is the literary name of Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, one of the Three Master Poets of Jiangnan (*Jiangzuo san dajia* 江左三大家). For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 656-657.

23 Jungong is the courtesy name of Wu Weiye 吳偉業, one of the Three Master Poets of Jiangnan. For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 303-304.

24 Meicun is one of the literary names of Wu Weiye.

15.	Yang Longyou 楊龍友 (1596-1646) ²⁵	<i>Collected Writings from the Xunmei Studio</i> 洵美堂集
16.	Mao Pijiang 冒辟疆 (1611-1693) ²⁶	<i>Collected Writings of Kindred Spirits</i> , two pieces, 同人集兩篇
17.	Shen Meisheng 沈眉生 (1607-1675) ²⁷	<i>Collected Writings from the Thatched Hut at Gushan</i> , four pieces, 姑山草堂集四篇
18.	Chen Qinian 陳其年 (1625-1682) ²⁸	<i>Collected Writings from the Tower of Lakes and the Ocean</i> , three pieces, 湖海樓集三篇
19.	Gong Xiaosheng 龔孝升 (1615-1673) ²⁹	<i>Collected Writings from the Dingshan Studio</i> , twenty-one writings, 定山堂集二十一首
20.	[Ruan] Shichao 石巢 (1587-1646) ³⁰	<i>Chuanqi plays</i> , three kinds, 傳奇三種

Editors of the modern annotated edition of *THS* (1998)³¹ took the liberty to remove items no. 2-8 to produce a much shorter list of references, presumably because these were not written by historical figures who had been cast in the play, nor do they claim enough authority to authenticate *THS* as a historical play.³²

25 Longyou is the courtesy name of Yang Wencong 楊文聰, a renowned artist who served at the Southern Ming court.

26 Pijiang is the courtesy name of Mao Xiang 冒襄, one of the Four Young Gentlemen of the Late Ming. For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 584-585.

27 Meisheng is the courtesy name of Shen Shoumin 沈壽民. For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 364-365.

28 Qinian is the courtesy name of Chen Weisong 陳維崧, son of Chen Zhenhui. For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 466-467.

29 Xiaosheng is the courtesy name of Gong Dingzi 龔鼎孳, one of the Three Master Poets of Jiangnan. For a brief biography, see *Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian Qingdai juan*, pp. 737-738.

30 Shichao is the literary name of Ruan Dacheng 阮大鍼, a well-known playwright whose name was tarnished by his affiliation with Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568-1627) and his active engagement in factional strife during the Southern Ming.

31 Kong Shangren, *Taohua shan*, annotated by Wang Jisi 王季思 et al. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1998).

32 Modern editors also removed the first two entries in “Kaoju” no. 9, which are Hou Fangyu’s biographies on Li Xiangjun and Zuo Liangyu. The most recent edition of *THS* with marginal

Such a modern editorial choice may well have to do with what seems to be a haphazard collection of sources in “Kaoju”: casual accounts typically considered to be unofficial history (*yeshi* 野史), miscellaneous writings (*zazhi* 雜誌 or *zaji* 雜記), personal notes, collections of individual writings (*wenji* 文集) and dramatic literature. To be sure, the reference list does not need to be exhaustive. As Struve cautions, Kong Shangren most definitely knew of other historical records.³³ But it is also important to note the significance of the list as an integral element in a bound text that features, in addition to the play, a range of paratextual elements³⁴ such as a preface by Layman from Liangxi who Dreams of Cranes 梁溪夢鶴居士, commemorative poems by Kong Shangren’s friends under the title “Tici” 題辭 (Inscribed remarks), Kong’s authorial notes all signed with his pseudonym Mountain Recluse Yunting 云亭山人,³⁵ and epilogues. As Mountain Recluse Yunting figures prominently in the woodblock edition of *THS* to be both the editorial mind³⁶ and the authorial self, the reference list “casually culled by Mountain Recluse Yunting” 云亭山人漫摭 points to authorial-editorial deliberation that may not share the vision of modern editors.

commentary from 2012, *Yunting shanren pingdian* Taohua shan, reproduces the same abridged “Kaoju” as the one in the 1998 edition.

33 Struve, “History and the *Peach Blossom Fan*,” pp. 69-70.

34 I am using Gérard Genette’s definition of paratext to be a range of texts such as “a title, a subtitle, intertitles; prefaces, postfaces, notices, forewords, etc.; marginal, infrapaginal, terminal notes; epigraphs; illustrations; blurbs, book covers, dust jackets, and many other kinds of secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic.” These are elements that need to be “taken within the totality of the literary work.” Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), p. 3.

35 These are titled “Xiaoyin” 小引 (Informal Introduction), “Fanli” 凡例 (General Principles), and “Gangling” 綱領 (Guiding Principles), “Benmo” 本末 (Root and Ends), and “Xiaozhi” 小識 (Minor Notes).

36 All the paratextual entries, except for Gu Cai’s 顧彩 (1650-1718) preface, the commemorative poetry, and epilogues, end with signatures following the same formulation: “[penned / picked / settled / sequenced / recorded / culled / noted / written] occasionally / casually by Mountain Recluse Yunting,” 云亭山人偶 / 漫 (筆、拈、定、次、錄、摭、題、書).

To begin with, the reference list invokes illustrious cultural figures who shared the experiences of living through the fall of the Ming, and were involved, in one way or another, with the tumultuous political life at the Southern Ming court and the Manchu court afterwards. Chen Weisong's ("Kaoju" no. 18) father Chen Zhenhui was close friends with Mao Xiang (no. 16) and Hou Fangyu (no. 9), three of the Four Young Gentlemen of the late Ming.³⁷ All three were implicated in factional strife and faced persecution by Ruan Dacheng (no. 20), whose victims also included Shen Shoumin (no. 17), and, to a certain degree, Zhang Yi (no. 7). Yang Wencong (no. 15) served the Southern Ming court as Director in the Ministry of War and died a martyr resisting Manchu invaders. As Yang hailed from the same place of origin as Ma Shiyong (the Grand Secretary at the Hongguang court who was held responsible for the political struggles that expedited the demise of the rump Ming court), his political role at the Southern Ming court was somewhat ambiguous. The Three Master Poets—Qian Qianyi (no. 12), Wu Weiye (no. 13), and Gong Dingzi (no. 19)—all served the Manchu court after the fall of the Southern Ming, and among those who passed the civil service exam held by the Qing were Dong Han (no. 2) and You Tong (no. 6). "Kaoju" therefore provides traces and threads to access the network of remembrance shared by established writers from the "conquest generation"³⁸—those who had spent their formative years before the fall of the Ming, and whose memories of the era were subject to dramatization in Kong Shangren's play.

Given that each individual may remember the past in a distinctive way, it is then not surprising that the network of remembrance displayed in the reference list contains a variety of texts that constitute a layered memorial landscape. Not only

37 The fourth is Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611-1671). Although "Kaoju" does not include writings of Fang Yizhi, he is mentioned in Gong Dingzi's poems with a preface titled "Huai Fang Mizhi" 懷方密之 (Thinking of Fang Mizhi, no. 19.4-9). Mizhi is the courtesy name of Fang Yizhi.

38 I am using Lynn Struve's concept of "the conquest generation" in her "Chimerical Early Modernity: the Case of 'Conquest-Generation' Memoirs," in Struve, ed., *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), pp. 347-348.

are there multiple, at times conflicting, accounts of key historical figures such as Zuo Liangyu and Shi Kefa in disparate textual traditions (oral accounts, biography, commemorative poetry, and gossip or hearsay), there is also the romantic mode of memory exemplified by Yu Huai's nostalgic accounts of the dazzling courtesan culture in the Qinhuai 秦淮 area (no. 5). Supplementing Yu Huai's reminiscences are poems composed by the Three Master Poets of Jiangnan (no. 12, 13, 19) dedicated to these beautiful women (e.g. Li Xiang, Bian Yujing 卞玉京, Zheng Tuoniang 鄭妥娘, Kou Baimen 寇白門) and talented entertainers (e.g. Liu Jingting 劉敬亭, Shen Gongxian 沈公憲, Ding Jizhi 丁繼之, Zhang Yanzhu 張燕築) from the pleasure quarters, so much so that the entertainers and courtesans figure as prominent nodes of remembrance that rival those of key political events and personages.

“Kaoju” as a repertoire of memories therefore provides a point of departure for us to construe how Kong Shangren, who belonged to the generation growing up immediately after the conquest, dealt with memories transmitted from the previous generation. In one of his authorial notes, “Roots and Ends” (“Benmo”), Kong Shangren traces the origin of the play to an artistic rendition of a token of remembrance:

My elder brother from the clan, [Kong] Fangxun was in the office of the southern capital at the end of the Chongzhen reign . . . and he acquainted himself well with happenings at the Hongguang court. After he returned, he frequently told me about those happenings. When I verified [his stories against] unofficial accounts from various writers, there were none that did not match. They are therefore truthful records.

Only the story about lady Xiang[jun] staining a fan with blood [from a wound on her] face and Yang Longyou embellishing it with his painting brushes—this is [a story that] Longyou's page boy had told Fangxun. Although I was not able to find this anecdote in other writings, the story was so novel and so worthy of being passed down that the whole play *The Peach Blossom Fan* was created from my being moved. The rise and the fall of the Southern [Ming] court was thus tied to this peach blossom fan.

族兄方訓公，崇禎末爲南部曹……得弘光遺事甚悉，旋里後數數爲予言之。證以諸家稗記，無弗同者，蓋實錄也。獨香姬面血濺扇，楊龍友以畫

筆點之，此則龍友小史，言于方訓公者。雖不見諸別籍，其事則新奇可傳，《桃花扇》一劇，感此而作也。南朝興亡，遂繫之桃花扇底。³⁹

According to Kong, he received memories of the conquest through oral accounts and reading. But it is not until he came across the artistic rendition of Li Xiangjun's blood into peach blossoms—a memorable anecdote that does not exist in written records, that he was affectively inspired to cultivate his own aesthetic form of remembrance, the *chuanqi* play. To “tie” the “rise and fall of the Southern [Ming] court” under this “peach blossom fan,” then, is really a process of reorganizing historical memories under an aesthetic structure in order to approach the traumatic past with “a sense of living connection.”⁴⁰

Huang Yuanzhi 黃元治 (*jinsi* 進士 1676) in his contribution to the epilogues (“Bayu” 跋語) puts in specific terms Kong Shangren's deliberation on the structure of the memorial landscape:

At the finale of the three hundred years of the Ming, among the lord and his subjects, generals and ministers; among the treacherous and obsequious, the loyal and upright, [there were] those who were commendable and those who deserved to be executed, those who could be lauded in song and those over whom one could weep—were those that hundreds or thousands of words could not exhaustively [describe].

Here, out of all the things, [the author] availed himself of pipes, strings, and clappers to write out the apex of sorrowful feelings and entangled emotions. He also starts from all the traces from beginning to end of the trials and tribulation, separations and reunions as well as the drinking, whistling, chatting, and bantering of those who mattered the least—old men without office, an aged

39 “Benmo,” in *THS*, B.146a (in this paper, I use A to designate *juan shang* and B to designate *juan xia* of *THS*).

40 Eva Hoffman points out that the second generation born to Holocaust survivors is the “hinge generation in which received, transferred knowledge of events is transmuted into history, or into myth.” This is also the generation that has to make a decision to keep the memory of the Holocaust from being “flattened out through distance or ignorance.” Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), pp. xi, xv.

sponger, and a courtesan who had passed her prime, and in those he imputes weighty matters concerning the rise and fall of the state, gentlemen and petty men's achievements and failures, as well as their lives and deaths . . .

Where events were recorded, suddenly [the play] emphasizes emotions, and when emotions are exhausted, suddenly the Way becomes manifest—warfare becomes flowing water, and attachments between men and women are reduced to florescence of *Śūnyatā*. It is fine to view this play as a historical record; it is fine to view this play as a Buddhist work. Would you rather simply have it be a brave and forbearing tragic song, over which listeners would shed tears and nothing else?

有明三百年結局，君臣將相、奸佞忠良，其間可褒可誅可歌可泣者，雖百千萬言亦不能盡。茲獨借管絃拍板寫其悲感纏綿之致。又從最不要緊幾輩老名士、老白相、老青樓飲嘯談諧、禍患離合終始之跡，而寄國家興亡、君子小人成敗死生之大……紀事處忽爾鍾情，情盡處忽爾見道，戰爭付之流水，兒女歸諸空花。作史傳觀可，作內典觀亦可。寧徒慷慨悲歌，聽者墮淚而已乎？⁴¹

Huang captures in the epilogue the playwright's decision-making process when dramatizing historical memories. What *THS* has done, as Huang observes, is to reactivate memories of past experiences embodied by a league of marginal characters. By following the traces of these characters, one relives the ups and downs of the era vicariously in a journey of revelation, a process that not only transmits historical knowledge, but also entails self-discovery, in what Huang compares to the Buddhist quest for enlightenment.

The extensive reference list invites a reading of *THS* as Kong Shangren's contemplation on how the generation after the Manchu conquest reorganizes, internalizes and reactivates memories inherited from the conquest generation. After all, to remember properly will allow one to evoke the past as a means of relocating the self in a community of the present. It must be out of this concern that Kong stresses the reading of his play as a communal activity that contributes to a sense of collective identity in "Benmo:"

41 "Bayu," in *THS*, B.151a.

Those who have read the *Peach Blossom Fan* have left commemorative notes and epilogues that are recorded at the front and the back of the book. There are also critical judgments and poems. In each act, line comments are at the top of the page and general comments are attached at the end. “They have fathomed and calculated my heart”⁴²—[they are] not remiss even once in a hundred times. In each case I have written them by availing myself of the casual brush of the readers: the [comments] run up and down all over the pages, so much so that I cannot recall which one came from whose hand. I have therefore kept all of them to pay homage to affections from those who truly know me.

讀桃花扇者，有題辭，有跋語，今已錄于前後。又有批評，有詩歌，其每折之句批在頂，總批在尾。「忖度予心」，百不失一。皆借讀者信筆書之，縱橫滿紙，已不記出自誰手。今皆存之，以重知己之愛。⁴³

Critics generally agree that Kong Shangren wrote his own marginal commentary for the play.⁴⁴ It is therefore significant that he makes the effort here to disguise authorial intention as consensual opinions of his readers. In so doing, he has turned the marginalia of the book into a public site for a community of like-minded literati

42 This is originally a line from “Qiaoyan” 巧言 (Smart Words, Odes no. 198) from the Lesser Odes (*xiaoya* 小雅) of the *Shijing* (詩經 The Book of Songs): “What other men have in their minds, I can measure by reflection,” 他人有心, 予忖度之. I have used Legge’s translation from James Legge, trans., *The She King, or The Book of Poetry* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1991), p. 342. In the *Mengzi* (孟子 Mencius), King Hui of Liang 梁惠王 cites these lines to refer to Mengzi’s ability to understand his mind: “The king was pleased and said, ‘The Odes say: ‘Another person had the heart, I measured it.’ This describes you, Master,” 王說曰：「詩云：『他人有心, 予忖度之』, 夫子之謂也。」 *Mengzi yizhu* 孟子譯注, translated and annotated by Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1960; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), p. 15. For the English translation, see Bryan Norden, trans., *Mengzi: with Selections from Traditional Commentaries* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2008), p. 10.

43 “Benmo,” in *THS*, B.148b.

44 For a detailed discussion of the authorship of the marginal commentary, see Wu Xinlei 吳新雷, “*Taohua shan piyu chutan*” 《桃花扇》批語初探, in *Zhongguo wenxue pingdian yanjiu* 中國文學評點研究, edited by Zhang Peiheng 章培恆 and Wang Jingyu 王靖宇 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), pp. 447-457. Also see Wang Ayling 王璦玲, “‘Cunduo yuxin, bai bu shi yi’—lun *Taohua shan* pingben zhong piping yujing zhi tishixing yu quanshixing” 「忖度予心、百不失一」——論《桃花扇》評本中批評語境之提示性與詮釋性, *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 26 (2005): 170.

to rally around shared memories of the past. How do memories of the conquest generation (those who are cast in the play and whose writings the play draws upon as sources) stir the generation after (readers who were Kong's friends whose formative years were a few decades removed from the fall of the Ming) with such affective force? In the following, I will first examine "Kaoju" as a particularly rich historical archive before I return to the play to explore ways in which Kong Shangren shuffles and rearranges historical knowledge in a process of self-discovery as a means of community-building.

2. "Kaoju:" A Historical Archive with Embodied Knowledge

The twenty-four entries from *Qiao shi*, the first item in "Kaoju," set up the parameters by which the play accounts for historical happenings.⁴⁵ Compounding this representation of the era are the accounts by Dong Han (no. 2), Lu Qi (no. 3), and You Tong (no. 6). These sources, by merit of their diversity of form, add different modalities of knowledge to the historical archive. For example, Dong Han excoriates corrupt officials and the Hongguang Emperor in his *Superfluous Writings*, and goes so far as to recount what must have been a popular tale on the ignominious deaths of Ma Shiyong and Ruan Dacheng who straddled the divide between the Manchu forces and the resistance (no. 2.7)⁴⁶: "Ma [Shiyong] and Ruan [Dacheng] were both

45 Included in the entries listed are accounts of the ineffective maneuvering of the four major military camps (*sizhen* 四鎮) that guarded the Yangtze River under the jurisdiction of Huang Degong 黃得功 (?-1645), Liu Liangzuo 劉良佐 (fl. mid-17th century), Liu Zeqing 劉澤清 (?-1645), and Gao Jie 高傑 (?-1645). These are followed by the notorious investigations of the self-acclaimed heir apparent of the Chongzhen Emperor Wang Zhiming 王之明, who challenged the legitimacy of Hongguang's throne, and Née Tong 童氏, whose claim that she was a consort of Hongguang posed questions about the authenticity of the Southern Ming ruler. There are also accounts of factional strife which led to Zuo Liangyu's revolt in the name of cleansing [those posing malicious influences] around the emperor (*qing junce* 清君側) and, as a consequence, Shi Kefa's deployment of army that facilitated the Manchu's crossing of the river. The accounts end with Hongguang's desertion of the southern capital.

46 Note 2.7 refers to the seventh item of the second source in "Kaoju." All later citations follow this

torn apart while alive,” 馬阮俱被磔。⁴⁷ But Dong Han also goes beyond factional affiliations to contemplate the martyrdom of Yang Weiyuan 楊維垣 (*jinsi* 1616) and Zhang Jie 張捷 (*jinsi* 1613) in “Jiangzuo chenghao” 江左稱號 (Enthronement [in Nanjing] on the Left Bank of the River, no. 2.3): “These two had consistently spurned pure discussions, yet they died very heroic deaths. Indeed, ‘one must waive judgment until the coffin is closed,’” 二人向擯清議,而一死頗烈。信乎「蓋棺論定」也。⁴⁸

You Tong and Lu Qi’s accounts draw upon hearsay and gossip to provide alternatives to Dong Han’s recollections. In Lu’s *Mingbao lu* (no. 3.1), Ruan Dacheng dies instantly upon encountering the spirit of Lei Yanzuo 雷續祚 (1600-1645), one of his victims.⁴⁹ You Tong, in his *yuefu*-style poems on the Ming history,⁵⁰ frames the violent death of Prince Fu (Hongguang’s father) and the short-lived Hongguang court within two popular anecdotes (no. 6.4). The first records in graphic detail the murder of Prince Fu from the perspective of a passer-by:

At the market in Wuchang, someone yelled: “A hoard of pig butchers have come.” [After the] peasant rebels killed Prince Fu, they poured his blood together with a sauce of minced deer meat. [They] tasted it and said: “This is the wine of good luck and high rank and salary.”⁵¹

武昌市上有人呼曰：「一羣豬屠伯至矣。」賊害福王，洩其血雜鹿醢，嘗之，曰：「此福祿酒也。」⁵²

format.

47 Dong Han, *Sangang zhilüe*, woodblock edition from the Kangxi period, 1.16a.

48 Dong, *Sangang zhilüe*, 1.7a.

49 Lu Qi, *Mingbao lu*, in *Shuoling houji* 說鈴後集 (Speaking of Bells, Second Collection), photographic reproduction in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1960), series 39, vol. 7., B.15b.

50 These poems were very well received at the time. See Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711), *Chibei outan* 池北偶談, punctuated and collated by Jin Siren 靳斯仁 (Casual chats north of the pond; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), *juan* 18, pp. 445-447.

51 The name of the drink carries two puns: “good luck” (*fu* 福) puns on Prince Fu 福王; “high rank and salary” (*lu* 祿) puns on deer meat (*lu* 鹿).

52 You Tong, “Ni Mingshi *yuefu*,” in *Xitang shiji* 西堂詩集 (Poetry Collection by Xitang), *Xuxiu*

The second refers to a prophetic note on the last of the Ming courts:

In the fifth year of the Chongzhen reign, on the Tower of Five Phoenixes, a small note wrapped in yellow was retrieved, which bore the writing: “Tianqi [reign,] seven [years long]; Chongzhen [reign,] seventeen [years long]; and, in addition, Prince Fu, one [year long].”⁵³

崇禎五年，五鳳樓獲一黃袱小函，題云：「天啓七崇禎十七還有福王一」。⁵⁴

Not only does “Kaoju” present itself as a conglomerate space of mixed genre and contesting opinion, but it also traces the collective formation of memory by citing commentators’ remarks on sources. For example, Hou Fangyu’s *Siyi tang shiji* was printed with comments contributed by a coterie of friends: Jia Kaizong (whose notes, solely, are listed in the “Kaoju”), Lian Zhenji 練貞吉 (fl. 17th century), Xu Zuosu 徐作肅 (1616-1684), and Song Luo 宋瑩 (1634-1714). Jia’s comment on Hou’s essay in memory of Shi Kefa (no. 10.11), for example, supplements Hou’s memory with details that help bring out the pathos of the moment:

When the city fell, master [Shi Kefa] left [the city] riding a white mule, figuring that since Nanjing was still intact, he desired to achieve something. Once he was captured, the Master died without yielding.

城陷，公乘一白驃出，意以南京尚在，欲有所爲也。既被執，公不屈死。⁵⁵

The pleasure quarters of Qinhuai, a locale that played a crucial role in the late Ming with its dazzling courtesans⁵⁶ and talented entertainers, was the focal point for

siku quanshu 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), vol. 1407, 49a. There is a similar account in Ji Liuqi’s *Mingji beilüe*, punctuated and collated by Wei Deliang 魏得良 and Ren Daobin 任道斌 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), *juan* 17, p. 192.

53 The one year of Prince Fu refers to the Hongguang court.

54 You Tong, “Ni Mingshi yuefu,” 49a. This tale is also recorded in Ying Tingji’s 應廷吉 (*jinshi* 1628) *Qinglin xie* 青磷屑 (Flakes of Dark Blue Phosphorus), in *Mingji baishi chubian* 明季稗史初編, compiled by Liyun jushi 留雲居士 (Qing dynasty) (1936; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1988), *juan* 24, p. 421.

55 Hou, *Siyi tang shiji*, *juan* 5, p. 142.

56 For studies on the late Ming courtesan as a cultural construct of the Jiangnan literati, see Wai-

the memories that form around a prominent interpersonal network. Wai-yee Li has discussed the “romantic remnant subjects of Jiangnan” (*Jiangnan fengliu yimin* 江南風流遺民), such as Yu Huai and Mao Xiang, whose existential choices were made as a political statement.⁵⁷ But as Yu Huai argues in his preface to *Banqiao zaji*, the romantic recollections are foremost a mode of history-writing:

These [anecdotes] are precisely those bound up with an epoch's rise and fall and the emotional expression of a thousand years. They are not simply describing only the lanes and alleys [of the pleasure quarters] or recording for posterity only those who are dazzling and attractive. Jinling was once known as a place of great beauties, and the products of literati culture flourished most in the Jiangnan area. Its bejeweled tradition of talent was unparalleled anywhere in the land . . . Since the dynastic transition, times have changed and things are not the same . . . Towers and chambers are reduced to ash and the great beauties are now dust and dirt. How can these emotional words about such prosperity and decline ever be surpassed?

I had yet to carry out my pent-up intent, when I suddenly encountered the mournful loss and chaos. When I pondered past events in stillness, I had no means to recall them. So for the moment I shall compile [my] historical record from what I have seen and heard.

此即一代之興衰、千秋之感慨所繫，而非徒狹邪之是述，艷冶之是傳也。金陵古稱佳麗地，衣冠文物，盛於江南。文采風流，甲於海內……鼎革以來，時移物換……樓館劫灰，美人塵土，盛衰感慨，豈復有過此者乎！郁志未伸，俄逢喪亂，靜思陳事，追念無因。聊記見聞，用編汗簡。⁵⁸

yee Li, “The Late Ming Courtesan: Invention of a Cultural Ideal,” and Dorothy Ko, “The Written Word and the Bound Foot: A History of the Courtesan’s Aura,” in *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, edited by Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 46-100. Also see Liu Suping 柳素平, *Wan Ming mingji wenhua yanjiu* 晚明名妓文化研究 (Wuchang: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2008).

57 Wai-yee Li, “Introduction,” in *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature*, edited by Wilt L. Idema, Wai-Yee Li, Ellen Widmer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 15-16.

58 Yu, *Banqiao zaji*, p. 3. I have consulted Robert Hegel’s translation in “Dreaming the Past: Memory and Continuity Beyond the Ming Fall,” in *Trauma and Transcendence*, pp. 353-355.

In this preface, Yu Huai presents his records on the pleasure quarters and the courtesans to be an adequate (albeit provisional) means (*yin* 因) by which to record his own perspectives on events from the past, and, by extension, to compile his own history (*hanjian* 汗簡). This is exactly because the desolate buildings where the great beauties are no more persist as a simulacrum of a world bereft of its cultural anchor writ large. Such embodied losses physically mark the rise and fall of an epoch, evoking the most poignant sorrow. The romantic mode of memory in Yu Huai's *Banqiao zaji* is therefore not just a political gesture in a new political environment, but really a most affective medium by which to remember the ups and downs of a historical era.

We can see how such a mode of reconstituting memory shapes what Yu Huai perceives to be his own historical record of Yang Wencong in *Banqiao zaji* (no. 5.7), an account that embeds memories of Yang Wencong in recollections of the courtesan Ma Jiao 馬嬌:

Ma Jiao's courtesy name was Wanrong. Her features were pure and dainty, fair as a willow basking in a bright springtime moon, and radiant as a lotus blossom fresh from the water. She was truly deservedly described as "charming." Knowledgeable in music and well versed in tunes, she marvelously brought the modes into harmony, and veteran music masters vaunted her as being without peer. Yet she ultimately resented [the fact that] she had accidentally fallen in among the "misty flowers" (prostitutes). She desired to choose someone to serve [for life], but did not want to make promises with her body. Finally she joined Guizhu Yang Longyou's household].

Longyou's formal name was Wencong. He made a name for himself with both his poetry and painting, and Dong Wenmin [Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636)] from Huating held him in the highest regard. Previously, Guo Shengpu from Min had two concubines, one called Li Tuona, and one called Zhu Yuye. After Shengpu passed away, Longyou retained Yuye along with all [Shengpu's] collections of treasurable objects and antique vessels: books and paintings, vases and inkwells, short tables and walking sticks. On top of all these he was able to have [Ma] Wanrong in his embrace, and spent all his days affectionately caressing [these precious objects] amidst laughing and bantering.

After the earth-shattering event in the year *jiashen* (1644), Ma Shiying from Guiyang enthroned Hongguang and established himself as the prime minister. He enlisted the [adopted] son of the eunuch [Wei Zhongxian], Ruan Dacheng, to create factional strife in order to seize power, wreaking havoc all over the world to such an extent that [the emperor] fled the city in the fifth month [of 1645]. Residents of the [southern] capital burned the mansions of the two [i.e. Ma and Ruan]. Implicated by his connection to [Ma Shiying] due to sharing the same hometown, [Yang's house] was also engulfed by flame, everything burned down to ashes within moments. Longyou was then appointed Censor of Su[zhou] and Song[jiang] Prefectures, and took everyone in his household along [to take up the post]. [By then] Yuye had long since laid down her life and no one knew what had become of Wanrong. Longyou and his son gave their lives for the state in the mountainous areas of Min, leaving behind no offspring. Only [his] elderly mother survived. She begged her way back to Jinling to live out her heavenly-ordained years, depending on her family servants.

馬嬌，字婉容，姿首清麗，濯濯如春月柳，灑灑如出水芙蓉，真不愧「嬌」之一字也。知音識曲，妙合宮商，老伎師推為獨步。然終以誤墮煙花為恨，思擇人而事，不敢以身許人。卒歸貴竹楊龍友。龍友名文驄，以詩、畫擅名，華亭董文敏亟賞之。先是，閩中郭聖僕有二妾，一曰李陀那，一曰朱玉耶。聖僕歿，龍友得玉耶，并得其所蓄書畫、瓶研、几杖諸玩好、古器，復擁婉容，終日摩挲笑語為樂。甲申之變，貴陽馬士英冊立弘光，自為首輔，援引閩兒阮大鍼構黨煽權，撓亂天下，以致五月出奔。都城百姓焚燒兩家居第，以龍友鄉戚有連，亦被烈炬，頃刻灰燼。時龍友巡撫蘇淞，盡室以行。玉耶久殉，婉容莫知所終。龍友父子殉難閩嶠，無遺種也。猶存老母，丐歸金陵，依家僕以終天年。⁵⁹

In this account, the dire historical events of the Southern Ming and the heroic death of Yang Wencong are set off against the bygone days of affluence and decadence, when Yang was able to enjoy the company of the beautiful Ma Wanrong and his exquisite, superfluous things.⁶⁰ In this story, the pain at the loss of the worthy man

59 Yu, *Banqiao zaji*, pp. 42-43.

60 I am using Craig Clunas' translation of the term *zhangwu* 長物 to refer to Yang Wencong's art collection. See Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

of honor (Yang Wencong) is rendered even more palpable because it was conflated with the sadness that accompanies the disappearance of the charming lady and the destruction of iconic objects of beauty. The fusion of historical tragedy and the fading of the romantic-aesthetic aura of Jinling therefore maximizes the affective force of remembrance.

“Kaoju” also shows how an individual’s attempt at history-making is deeply enmeshed in a collective act of remembrance through the medium of poetry, as Yu Huai regularly cites esteemed poets of his time—Qian Qianyi, Wu Weiye, Gong Dingzi, Mao Xiang—to supplement his narrative in *Banqiao zaji*. Qian Qianyi was known by his contemporaries as “Master of the Teaching of Romance” 風流教主.⁶¹ As a central figure in this community of poetry writing, he acknowledged Yu Huai’s endeavor by comparing him to Yin Pan 殷璠 (fl. 753), compiler of *Heyue yingling ji* (河岳英靈集 The Collection of Superior Men of our Rivers and Peaks), as one of the notes on his thirty quatrains on Ding Jizhi’s water-front abode reads: “Danxin at the time betook himself to the labor of collecting poetry” 澹心方有採詩之役 (no. 12.7).⁶²

When we examine *Banqiao zaji* against the background of this poetic network of remembrance, it becomes clear that Yu Huai’s accounts evoke the memories of these courtesans in their capacity to bear witness to the chaotic political life in the Southern Ming court and the upheaval of the Manchu conquest. For example, “Kaoju” lists under *Banqiao zaji* Wu Weiye’s poems on Dong Bai 董白 (better

61 Zhang Mingbi 張明弼 (1584-1652), in his biography of Mao Xiang’s concubine Dong Xiaowan 董小宛, describes Qian Qianyi in the following words: “Master Qian Muzhai from Yushan at the time was not just [guardian of the] Dragon Gate in his generation, but truly Master of the Teaching on Romance,” 虞山錢牧齋先生維時不惟一代龍門，實風流教主也。Mao Xiang, *Tongren ji* (moveable-type woodblock edition, Qing dynasty, National Library of Beijing), 3.43b.

62 This is poem number 15 of the thirty quatrains (no. 12.7) under the title “In the Spring of Bingshen [1656], I was in Qinhuai for Medical Treatments and Stayed at Ding [Jizhi]’s Water-Front Abode for Two Monthes. At the Time of Departure I Composed Thirty Quatrains to Bid Farewell,” 丙申春就醫秦淮，寓丁家水閣浹兩月，臨行作絕句三十首留別。Qian Qianyi, *Muzhai youxue ji* 牧齋有學集, 2nd ed., collated and punctuated by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), p. 284.

known as Dong Xiaowan) with the following title: “Dong Bai si Meicun ku shi” 董白死梅村哭詩 (Meicun’s poems mourning Dong Bai’s death, no. 5.5). The title in “Kaoju” departs from Wu Weiye’s original compositions⁶³ to point to how Yu Huai organized and ranked poetic memories: “When she (Dong Bai) died, [Mao] Pijiang composed the two thousand four hundred words of *Reminiscences of the Plum Shadows Convent* to mourn her, and there were many elegiac writings produced by kindred spirits. But only Palace Governor of the Heir Apparent Wu Meicun’s ten quatrains can carry Xiaowan’s name [down to posterity],” 死時,辟疆作《影梅庵憶語》二千四百言哭之,同人哀辭甚多,惟吳梅村宮尹十絕可傳小宛也。⁶⁴ The things that Yu Huai deems able to “transmit” (*chuan* 傳) Dong Bai’s name, as opposed to Mao Xiang’s reminiscence, are exactly those poetic moments in which Dong Bai’s personal experiences are intertwined with political life: when her lover was implicated in factional strife⁶⁵ and Gao Jie’s army looted in Yangzhou in 1644.⁶⁶

Not only the courtesans, but also talented entertainers at Qinhuai figure

63 Wu Weiye composed a total of ten quatrains in Dong Bai’s memory under two titles. The first one comprises a set of eight poems: “Ti Mao Pijiang mingji Dong Bai xiaoxiang bashou” (題冒辟疆名姬董白小像八首 Eight Poems Inscribed on the Portrait of Mao Pijiang’s Famed Lady Dong Bai), and the second one reads: “You ti Dong jun huashan ershou” (又題董君畫扇二首 Two More Poems on Master Dong’s Painted Fan). Wu Weiye, *Wu Meicun quanji* 吳梅村全集, punctuated and collated with collected commentaries by Li Xueying 李學穎 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), pp. 525-528.

64 Yu, *Banqiao zaji*, p. 35.

65 Yu Huai cites the sixth of Wu Weiye’s eight quatrains on Dong Bai, which reads: “acceleration to [the tune] ‘Nianjia shan’ and ‘Ding fengbo,’ / My lover sets the rhythm to the newly [filled] tunes while I do the singing. / How abominable is that Minister of War Ruan [Dacheng] at the Southern [Ming] court; / Who inflicted your husband with much sickness and sorrow,” 念家山破定風波,郎按新詞妾唱歌。恨殺南朝阮司馬,累儂夫婿病愁多。 Yu, *Banqiao zaji*, p. 35. The name of the tune “Nianjia shan” literally means the mountain where one misses home, and the last ruler of the Southern Tang, Li Yu 李煜 (937-978), is said to have rendered an acceleration to the tune, an act believed to have foreboded the fall of the Southern Tang. The tune “Ding fengbo” is a pun on “to still the wind and waves (i.e. turmoil).”

66 This is the seventh quatrain, and the second couplet reads: “You have to forsake all the gem-inlaid boxes and hair pins; / [Because] the troops of Gao are camped at Yangzhou,” 鈿盒金釵渾拋卻,高家兵馬在揚州。 Yu, *Banqiao zaji*, p. 35.

prominently in this shared poetic memory.⁶⁷ Indeed, these entertainers played such an important role in the social life of the pleasure quarters that poems dedicated to them go beyond simply acknowledging their talent to revisit the places that are anchors for the Jiangnan literati's self-identification. Qian Qianyi's set of 30 quatrains on Ding Jizhi's water-front abode (no. 12.7)⁶⁸ records an array of activities ranging from corresponding to remnant subjects from the Ming to devotion to Buddhist practices.⁶⁹ Gong Dingzi, in a five-syllable *pailü* 排律 (no. 19.18), recalls an outing on the Double-Nine Festival when a coterie of friends ascended the Rongyu Terrace 容與臺 to enjoy a singing contest between Zhang Yanzhu, Ding Jizhi, and Wang Gongyuan 王公遠 (fl. 17th century), followed by a drinking party at the Garden of Withdrawal within the City (*Shiyinyuan* 市隱園).⁷⁰ How do poetic reminiscences contribute to the historical archive? Yu Huai's note on Qian Qianyi and Wang Shizhen's 王士禛 (1634-1711) poems shows the self-renewing power of memory in poetry as an extension of the lyrical tradition:

The above [poems] are all compositions that lament the present by mourning the past, impassioned with lingering emotions. They complement well the repertoire of story materials set to tunes of southern [drama]. I have thereupon recorded these in order that they can be set to melancholy strings and urgent pipes. As Huang Shangu [Tingjian] once said: "[Among those who] understand how to compose heart-breaking lines on Jiangnan; / In this world there is only He

67 Writings on Liu Jingting appear in "Kaoju" by Yu Huai (nos. 5.10, 5.13), Qian Qianyi (nos. 12.6, 12.11), Wu Weiye (nos. 13.4, 13.6-7), Chen Qianian (no. 18.2) and Gong Dingzi (nos. 19.17, 19.20-21). Ding Jizhi appears in Yu Huai's accounts (nos. 5.10, 5.12) and poems by Qian Qianyi (nos. 12.1-3, 12.7, 12.10) and Gong Dingzi (nos. 19.11-12, 19.18). Shen Gongxian appears in Yu Huai's *Banqiao zaji* (no. 5.14), and Zhang Yanzhu appears in poems by Qian Qianyi (no. 12.5) and Gong Dingzi (nos. 19.10, 19.15).

68 See note 61 for the full title of the set. Qian, *Youxue ji*, pp. 280-291.

69 Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890-1969) has discussed in detail how this set of poems attests to Qian Qianyi's efforts at restoring the Ming Dynasty. See Chen, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn* 柳如是別傳, in *Chen Yinke ji* 陳寅恪集 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2000), pp. 1096-1128.

70 Gong Dongzi, *Dingshantang shiji* 定山堂詩集 (Poetry Collection from the Dingshan Studio), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 33.24b-25a.

Fanghui [Zhu].”⁷¹

以上皆傷今弔古、慷慨流連之作，可佐南曲談資者，錄之以當哀絲急管。
黃山谷云：「解作江南斷腸句，世間唯有賀方回。」⁷²

At stake here is a genealogy of reading and writing, whereby later poets pass down the melancholic feelings by creating new artifacts based on literary precedents. The “heart-breaking lines” that Huang Tingjian extols refer to He Zhu’s 賀鑄 (1052-1125) lines in his song lyric to the tune “Qingyuan” (青玉案 Blue Jade Plate): “You ask how much idle sadness I feel? / An entire riparia of grasses in mist; / A town filled with wind-tossed willow fluff, / Or rain when the plums turn yellow,” 若問閒情都幾許？一川煙草，滿城風絮，梅子黃時雨。⁷³ Yet as He Zhu notes through allusion in the couplet that precede these lines, the “Sapphire clouds shift and change at sunset over the wild ginger swamplands, / A colored brush newly inscribes lines of a broken heart,” 碧雲冉冉蘅皋暮，彩筆新題斷腸句, the “newly composed” lines are built upon Jiang Yan’s 江淹 (444-505) acclaimed couplet “The sun sets and sapphire clouds close over; / Yet the fair one is yet to come,” 日暮碧雲合，佳人殊未來。⁷⁴ As Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077-1148) notes in his *Shilin shihua* 石林詩話 (Shilin’s Remarks on Poetry), Jiang Yan’s lines are in turn built upon Tang Huixiu’s 湯惠休 (fl. 464) poem titled “Yuanbie” 怨別 (Resenting Parting).⁷⁵ As a genealogy

71 This comes from Huang Tingjian’s 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) poem dedicated to He Zhu 賀鑄 (1052-1125) titled “Ji He Fanghui” 寄賀方回 (Sent to He Fanghui), in *Shangu shi jizhu* 山谷詩集註 (Annotated Collection of Shangu’s Poems), compiled and annotated by Ren Yuan 任淵 (ca. 1090-1164), in *Huang Tingjian shi jizhu* 黃庭堅詩集注, collated and punctuated by Liu Shangrong 劉尚榮 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), p. 638.

72 Yu, *Banqiao zaji*, p. 17.

73 *Quan Song ci* 全宋詞 (Complete Song Lyrics from the Song), 1. 513. I have consulted Ronald Egan’s translation in Egan., *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), p. 344.

74 Jiang Yan’s poem is recorded in the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Anthology of Literature) in *juan* 33 under the title “Xiu shangren bieyuan” (休上人別怨 [In imitation of] Master [Hui]xiu’s “Resenting Parting”). See “Liang shi” 梁詩 (Poetry from the Liang) in Lu Qinli 遼欽立, ed., *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 1580.

75 Ye Mengde, *Shilin shihua*, in *Lidai shihua* 歷代詩話, compiled by He Wenhuan 何文煥 (fl. 18th century), edited by Zhonghua shuju bianjishi (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), p. 434.

of reading and writing, these poetic lines overcome the flow of time to retain their affective power precisely as a result of the poetry-writing community's extension of its own tradition.

Such a mechanism of poetic memory's self renewal is also at work in poetry exchanges about entertainers that enrich these figures as nodes of remembrance. Take Liu Jingting for example. The multiple biographical accounts enlisted in "Kaoju" consolidate a shared view of the entertainer in line with Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (145-86 B.C.) biography on court jesters.⁷⁶ Building on such a reading, in his own poem, Qian Qianyi alludes to Lu You's 陸游 (1125-1210) poem on a popular performance to underscore Liu's storytelling as an alternative mode of history:

柳生柳生吾語爾, Master Liu, Master Liu, let me tell you this:
 欲報恩門仗牙齒. "If you desire to repay the kindness of your benefactor [Zuo Liangyu] you must rely on your teeth.
 憑將玉帳三年事, And from the stories about your three years at his military camp [impregnable like] jade,
 編作金陀一家史. Compile a history of its own school⁷⁷ just like that of Jintuo.⁷⁸

76 Both Yu Huai (no. 5.13) and Qian Qianyi (no. 12.11) frame Liu Jingting in the tradition of jesters by referring to Sima Qian's biography on Youmeng 優孟 in "Huaji liezhuan" 滑稽列傳 (Biography on Jesters). Yu, *Banqiao zaji*, p. 62; Qian, *Muzhai youxue ji*, pp. 1418-1420. Wu Weiye (no. 13.6) further identifies Liu's perfection of skill to be a result of Confucian self-cultivation, as Liu takes as his master a scholar who gave this advice: "Even though popular rendition is a trivial skill, in its capacity to elucidate one's dispositions and emotions, examine local customs, and sketch out the myriad kinds, they do not depart from the Way of Confucian scholars," 夫演義雖小技,其以辨性情,考方俗,形容萬類,不與儒者異道. "Liu Jingting zhuan" 劉敬亭傳 (Biography on Liu Jingting), in *Wu Meicun quanji*, *juan* 52, p. 1055.

77 This is a reference to Sima Qian's influential thesis that he wishes to "establish words of his own school" 成一家之言. Sima Qian, "Bao Ren shaoqing shu" 報任少卿書 (Letter for Vice Minister Ren [An]), in *Quan Han wen* 全漢文 (Complete Collection of Prose Essays from the Han), *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, edited by Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843) (Beijing: Shangwu chubanshe, 1999), *juan* 26, p. 269.

78 The Jintuo collection refers to Yue Fei's 岳飛 (1103-1142) descendent Yue Ke's 岳珂 (1183-1243) compilation produced at Jintuo to vindicate Yue Fei, titled *Eguo jintuo cuibian* 鄂國金陀粹編 (Essential Collection from Jintuo on the E State). The term Jintuo has thereupon

此時笑噱比傳奇, At the present the laughing and joking are comparable to
tales of the strange,
他日應同汗竹垂. But on other days they will be carried forward like
bamboo strips [that bear witness to] history.
從來百戰青磷血, It has always been the case that the green phosphors of
decaying blood from a hundred battles,
不博三條紅燭詞. Cannot rival popular tunes [on romance that take] three red
candles' [worth of time].
千載沈埋國史傳, For a thousand years, the history of a state is deeply buried
in oblivion,
院本彈詞萬人羨. While *yuanben* skits and plucking rhymes win admirations
from ten thousand spectators.
盲翁負鼓趙家莊, [Just like] the blind codger bearing his drums [to perform at]
Zhao's village;
寧南重爲開生面. [You will] draw a fresh face for [Zuo] Ningnan.”⁷⁹

The blind old man mentioned in the last couplet comes from Lu You's 陸游 (1125-1210) poem about a popular performance that captivated an entire village with a story that describes Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133-192 AD) as a faithless lover: “A slanting sun, old willows, the manse of the Zhao family; / Bearing a drum, a blind codger is right in the middle of performing. / Who can control one's judgment after death? / The entire village [has gathered] to listen to the tale on Cai Zhonglang [the faithless lover],” 斜陽古柳趙家莊, 負鼓盲翁正作場. 死後是非誰管得, 滿村聽說蔡中郎.⁸⁰ With this allusion, the persuasive power of the performance in Lu You's quatrain is lent to Qian Qianyi's poem to reinforce Liu Jingting's storytelling as a mode of history that will keep memories alive among common folk.

Poetry exchanges between Qian Qianyi and Wu Weiye dedicated to Ding Jizhi

come to refer to vindicatory writings.

79 Qian, *Muzhai youxue ji*, p. 275.

80 Lu You, “Xiaozhou you jincun shezhou bugui” (小舟遊近村舍舟步歸 Visiting a neighboring village on a small boat where I descended the boat and walked back), in *Jiannan shigao* 劍南詩稿 (Poetry drafts from Jiannan). *Lu You ji* 陸游集, Zhonghua shuju bianjibu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), *juan* 33, p. 870.

also serve to establish the well-known entertainer as a figure of reminiscence linked directly to the subjective act of remembrance. Qian Qianyi's "Ti Dingjia hefang tingzi" 題丁家河房亭子 (Inscription on the Pavilion of Ding's River-Front Abode, no. 12.1) explores the possibility of historical continuity in a subjective realm that is sealed off from the traumatic present:

小闌干外市朝新, Outside the little railings the markets assume new looks;⁸¹
 夢裏華胥自好春. But inside the dream, Huaxu,⁸² is a charming spring all on its
 own.
 夾岸麴塵三月柳, Flanking the shores are yellow willows from the third month,
 the color of yeast floating on top of wine;
 疏窗金粉六朝人. [Behind] meshed windows powdered gold is the person from
 the Six Dynasties (Ding Jizhi).
 小姑溪水爲鄰並, The Stream of the Young Maiden⁸³ is his nearest
 neighbor;
 邀笛風流是後身. And the romantic style of the flute player invited to
 perform⁸⁴ —he is the reincarnation.

81 The terms *shichao xin* 市朝新 or *shichao bian* 市朝變 (the markets and the court change) typically refer to the fall of the state.

82 Huaxu is a kingdom that the Yellow Emperor visits in a dream in the *Lie zi* 列子. The kingdom needs no ruler, as everything develops along its own natural course; nor are its people subject to aberrant desires. See "Huang di" (黃帝 The Yellow Emperor) in *Lie zi jishi* 列子集釋, compiled and annotated by Yang Bojun (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), *juan* 2, p. 41.

83 This refers to the Dark Blue Creek (Qingxi 青溪) at Nanjing, the young maiden being the third younger sister of the deity Jiang Ziwen 蔣子文 in an anonymous *yuefu* titled "Qingxi xiaogu qu" 青溪小姑曲 (Song of the Maiden at the Dark Blue Creek). See Lu Qinli, *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shi*, "Jin shi" 晉詩, *juan* 19, p. 1059.

84 Qian Zeng's 錢曾 (1629-1701) critical note on this poem cites from *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 (Records of Famous Places) the fact that that Yaodibu 邀笛步 is in Shangyuan county, where Wang Huizhi 王徽之 (?-388) met Huan Yi 桓伊 and asked the latter to play flute. See Qian, *Muzhai youxue ji*, p. 37. Wang Huizhi's encounter with Huan Yi also appears in Huan Yi's biography in *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of Jin), as well as in the "Rendan" 任誕 (The Free and Unrestrained) chapter of *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A New Account of Tales of the World). See *Shishuo xinyu huiping* 世說新語會評, compiled and collated with collected commentaries by Liu Qiang 劉強 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2007), p. 432.

白首吳鉤仍借客, White-haired [but holding fast] a sword of Wu,⁸⁵ he still
 lends himself out as a retainer;
 看囊一笑豈長貧. Inspecting the purse,⁸⁶ he gives out a laugh—will one always
 be penniless?⁸⁷

In the first half of the poem, Qian Qianyi carves out a mental space akin to the dreamland of Huaxu that is sequestered from the trauma of dynastic changes. This subjective space opens up to a resplendent spring day, where Ding Jizhi's mansion, glittering with gold powder, emits the same aura of affluence and refinement inherited undiminished from the Six Dynasties. The second half of the poem switches out of the subjective realm to describe Ding in the current moment after the fall of the state. The old entertainer, who lives at the same spot where the Dark Blue Creek flows and who is a reincarnation of Huan Yi (the legendary flute player), is of a generous disposition like a knight errant. Unlike Du Fu who bemoaned his empty purse, Ding laughs at his own lack of money, asking: "Will one always be penniless?"—a rhetorical question imbued with such an exuberant spirit as to resonate with Li Bai's 李白 (701-762) line: "A thousand pieces of gold are dispersed entirely and they will come back" 千金散盡還復來.⁸⁸ Yet exactly because Qian's poem was composed after the fall of the Ming, not the High Tang in which Li Bai lived, the old man's laughter rings a bit hollow: in what way could he not be poor when Qinhuai had fallen into ruin? The choice of the Huaxu State to be the idyllic space also seems to suggest a certain lack of commitment on the poet's part. If the cultural capital of the Six Dynasties (transformed into the glittering

85 The term *wugou* refers to the hooked swords from the Wu state. Later it came to mean simply a keen blade, or was used as a metonym for warfare.

86 This is a reference to Du Fu's 杜甫 (712-770) poem "Kong nang" 空囊 (Empty Purse): "My purse is empty, and I am worried about having to feel ashamed about it; / [I have therefore] left one coin in it for me to look at," 囊空恐羞澀, 留得一錢看. Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719) et al., eds., *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), *juan* 225, p. 2424.

87 Qian, *Muzhai youxue ji*, p. 37.

88 Li Bai, "Jiangjin jiu" 將進酒, in *Li Bai ji jiaozhu* 李白集校注, collated and annotated by Qu Tuiyuan 瞿蛻園 and Zhu Jincheng 朱金城 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), *juan* 3, pp. 225-229.

gold powder) remains intact only in a dream, then should we not see the old man's generosity as stemming from a false sense of security? By inviting such a question with the last couplet, Qian Qianyi seems to be suggesting that the Qinhuai that Ding Jizhi championed, with such high spirits, as the unadulterated continuation of Jinling from the Six Dynasties is but a spectral simulacrum of the old city.

Gong Dingzi's response to this poem reframes memories of Qinhuai in different historical settings:

開元白髮鏡中新, White hairs from the Kaiyuan reign⁸⁹ renew in the mirror;
 朱雀花寒夢後春. Flowers grow cold at Zhuque⁹⁰—[this is] the spring that
 comes after the dream.
 妝閣自題偕隱處, In the makeup gallery you wrote your own inscription, “a
 place to hide away together”;
 踏歌曾作太平人. With stomping songs we were once men of a time of peace
 and harmony.
 烏啼楊柳仍芳樹, Crows caw in the willows,⁹¹ the trees still lush;
 鷗閱風波有定身. Sea gulls,⁹² having experienced wind and waves, keep their
 unperturbed selves.
 驃騎武安門第改, The light Cavalry and Wu'an's gates⁹³ have changed;

89 This is an allusion to the white-haired old man from Li Dong's 李洞 (fl. 9th century) poem “Xiuling gong ci” 繡嶺宮詞 (Lyric on the Xiuling Palace): “The white-haired old man in front of the Xiuling Palace; / Is still singing the tune on the peaceful time from the Kaiyuan era.” 繡嶺宮前鶴髮翁, 猶唱開元太平曲. *Quan Tang shi*, juan 723. p. 8302.

90 The Zhuque Bridge encircles the long plank bridge at the Qinhuai quarters.

91 This seems to be a reference to an old *yuefu* line about Baixia 白下, based on which Li Bai composed an imitation *yuefu* known as “Yangpaner” 楊叛兒: “I have come out of the Bai[xia] Gate; / [Where I find] willow trees that can hide crows,” 暫出白門前, 楊柳可藏烏. Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559), *Sheng'an shihua* 升庵詩話 (Remarks on Poetry by Sheng'an), in *Lidai shihua xubian* 歷代詩話續編, edited by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 659-660.

92 This is a reference to the story about seagulls that admonishes against a mind with calculation (*jixin* 機心) in *Liezi*. See “Huang di” 黃帝 (The Yellow Emperor) in *Liezi jishi*, p. 67-68.

93 The General of the Light Cavalry is Wei Qing 衛青 (?-106 B.C.), and Lord Wu'an is Tian Fen 田蚡 (?-131 B.C.). They were both influential figures at the court of Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝.

一簾煙月未全貧。A full curtain of misty moonlight—not yet completely poor!⁹⁴

The difference with this matching piece is that it refrains from postulating an idyllic space that blocks out the changes of the time. Rather, ravaged by war, the pleasure quarters that like-minded people used to identify as a place of withdrawal⁹⁵ had fallen into neglect, leaving flowers cold at the side of the Zhuque Bridge. Yet after the nighmarish dynastic change, spring came once again. The second half of the poem sets this new spring as the backdrop against which the poetic subject maintains consistency despite the apocalyptic end of the Ming: without a calculating mind (*jixin* 機心), Ding Jizhi manages to keep his unperturbed self, while the misty moonlight that shines through the curtain can, at the very least, bring back memories of the place in former times.

Gong's poem also departs from Qian's earlier composition by reinscribing Qinhuai in different frameworks of historical memory. In Qian's poem, Qinhuai seems to be as a self-assured specter of the former city, living off the glory of the Six Dynasties where the glittering gold powder implies excess and portends eventual doom for the lack of moral rectitude. By contrast, Xuanzong and Wudi in Gong Dingzi's matching piece were both charismatic monarchs who had brought prosperity during their rule, yet whose lack of introspective moderation also sowed the seeds of their own destruction. Ding Jizhi, like both the white-haired man from the Kaiyuan reign and one who had witnessed the changes at the court of Wudi (the disasters that befell Wei Qing and Tian Fen's households), and himself an embodiment of all the glory and excess of Qinhuai, survives stoically but unperturbed after the fall just like the misty moonlight, a faded symbol of the place's former charm. In their explorations of the various possibilities of situating Qinhuai in historical reflection, whether the locale is restored to its full glory in a dream vision or survives in ruins, the two poems form an interesting dialogue with their

94 Gong, *Dingshantang shiji*, 20.6b-7a.

95 Martin Huang has discussed the concept of withdrawal into sex (*seyin* 色隱) in his *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), p. 38.

contemplations on the act of remembrance itself.

“Kaoju” as a repertoire of historical knowledge therefore not only draws upon multiple levels of sources that present a contested field of historical recollections, but also fuses different modes of memory, accentuating the romantic aura of Qinhuai and its cultural refinement embodied by beautiful women and talented entertainers. There are also poetic exchanges that contemplate the act of remembrance in their explorations, through historical references, of situating the memory of Qinhuai at different places within the memorial landscape. This is the knowledge that Kong Shangren and his readers had received, around which Kong had composed the play as a means to reorganize and internalize this body of inherited knowledge in a creative process, a journey of revelation, to be shared among his own generation who were dozens of years removed from the conquest. Indeed, just as Li Nan 李柟 (fl. 1692) notes in his contribution to the epilogues: “Although [Kong] established opinions of a school all of his own, they are in fact the common opinion of later generations,” 雖自成一家言，實天下後世之公言。⁹⁶

3. Re-membering History in *THS* in Order to Remember

To get a sense of how Kong Shangren organizes historical knowledge, we shall first look at “Gangling” as part of the authorial notes before the play:

That which is called “color” is a symbolic representation of separation and (re-)union. Men have their peers; women have the groups to which they belong. One finds not the slightest bit of difference between the two groups when they are separated, one to the left and one to the right. That which is called “*qi*” embodies the numbers [that indicate the] rise and decline [of matters of the state].⁹⁷ Gentlemen gather as friends, and petty men gang together as a faction.

⁹⁶ “Bayu,” *THS*, B.151b.

⁹⁷ The invocation of the concept of numbers (*shu* 數) recalls the description of how cosmic forces control the movement and change of matters through time in the ninth segment of the first part of the “Grand Commentary” (“Xici zhuan” 繫辭傳) on *Yi jing* 易經 (Book of changes): “Heaven’s numbers are five, and earth’s numbers are five. With the completion of these two sets of five

To calculate them by the odd and even numbers, the two groups have absolutely no difference.

Daoist Master Zhang is a person beyond the mundane world who can make final judgments about cases of rise and decline. Old Ritual Master is a person without a name who carefully examines occasions of separation and (re-) union. Luminous as a mirror and level as a scale, [THS] may be called a *chuanqi* play, and it truly is [as it is said], “the reciprocal process of *yin* and *yang* [that] constitute the Dao.”⁹⁸

色者，離合之象也。男有其儔，女有其伍，以左右別之，而兩部之錙銖不爽。氣者，興亡之數也。君子爲朋，小人爲黨，以奇偶計之，而兩部之毫髮無差。張道士，方外人也，總結興亡之案。老贊禮，無名氏也，細參離合之場。明如鑑，平如衡，名曰傳奇，實一陰一陽之爲道矣。⁹⁹

Critics have come to different interpretations of Kong Shangren’s reasoning behind the two groups.¹⁰⁰ But when read against the “Kaoju,” it becomes quite clear that Kong is really articulating the moral and aesthetic structure under which he had organized inherited historical knowledge. On the one hand, Kong Shangren has invoked the discourse on cosmic patterns in the “Grand Commentary” on the *Yi*

places, each number finds its match. Heaven’s numbers come to twenty-five, and Earth’s numbers come to thirty. The total sum of Heaven’s and Earth’s numbers is fifty-five. These [numbers] indicate how change and transformation are brought about and how gods and spirits are activated,” 天數五，地數五，五位相得而各有合。天數二十有五，地數三十，凡天地之數，五十有五，此所以成變化，而行鬼神也。 I have used Richard Lynn’s translation in *The Classic of Changes: a New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted By Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 60.

98 “The reciprocal process of *yin* and *yang* [that] constitute the Dao” 一陰一陽之爲道 comes from the fifth segment of the first part of the “Grand Commentary.” I have based my translation on that of Lynn in *The Classic of Changes*, p. 53.

99 “Gangling,” *THS*, A.7a-b.

100 C. H. Wang simply reads them as “positive modes” (*se*) and “negative moods” (*qi*). See C. H. Wang, “The Double Plot of *T’ao-hua Shan*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110.1 (1990): 10. Lynn Struve instead stresses “complementary characterization” in pairs of characters. Struve, “History and the *Peach Blossom Fan*,” pp. 60-63. Wai-yee Li has discussed them more broadly as the playwright’s “providential design” and “aesthetic design.” Li, “The Representation of History in the *Peach Blossom Fan*,” *JAOS* 115.3 (1995): 421-433.

*jing*¹⁰¹ to lend ontological and moral significance to the play: the rise and fall of the state; the parting and reunion of the characters illustrate the same cosmic principle ordained by the *Book of Changes*. On the other, the memories of the courtesan culture (the “color” section) embody recollections of state affairs (the “*qi*” section) as an aesthetic structure to invigorate historical memories in the play, much in the same way as Yu Huai turns to the aesthetic-romantic mode of memory as a means of history-making in *Banqiao zaji*.

Kong Shangren goes one step further than the accounts cited in “Kaoju” to emphasize the storyteller’s capacity to rectify history with what *should* have happened, as Liu Jingting’s self-introduction indicates:

My audience, what do I look like? Just like a *yama* king, carrying this big ledger to finish registering the names and surnames of countless ghosts and souls. And, I am also like Maitreya, expanding my bulging belly to finally hold boundless worldly affairs that alternate between heat and cold. I gently bring together my clappers, and immediately there is wind, thunder, rain or dew. I just slightly move my tongue and lips, and there is a whole *Springs and Autumns* of months and days.¹⁰²

These filial sons and loyal ministers who [are forced to] withhold their injustice, I will surely let them raise their eyebrows [in pride] and vent their pent-up frustration. That group of those self-satisfied traitorous heroes and treacherous cliques who had their way, I cannot avoid heaping on them human-inflicted misfortune and Heaven-meted punishment. This is subtle intervention to help [Heaven] rescue [humans]; and it is also the marvelous application of approbation and opprobrium.

101 “Those with regular tendencies gather according to kind, and things divide up according to group; so it is that good fortune and misfortune occur. In Heaven this [process] creates images, and on Earth it creates physical forms; this is how change and transformation manifest themselves,” 方以類聚,物以群分,吉凶生矣。在天成象,在地成形,變化見矣。Lynn, trans., *The Classic of Changes*, p. 47.

102 The term *yuedan chunqiu* 月旦春秋 comes from the biography of Xu Shao 許劭 in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Latter Han) to refer to imparting moral judgments on a monthly and daily basis.

列位看我像個甚的，好像一位閻羅王，掌著這本大帳簿，點了沒數的鬼魂名姓。又像一尊彌勒佛，腆著這副大肚皮，裝了無限的世態炎涼。鼓板輕敲，便有風雷雨露，舌唇纔動，也成月旦春秋。這些含冤的孝子忠臣，少不得還他個揚眉吐氣；那班得意的奸雄邪黨，免不了加他些人禍天誅。此乃補救之微權，亦是褒譏之妙用。¹⁰³

In line with the license granted to the storyteller to mold historical happenings (as championed in Qian Qianyi's poem), Kong Shangren dramatizes Lu Qi's account in "Kaoju" (no. 3) by arranging, in Act 40, for the thunder god to stab Ma Shiyong to death, and for the mountain god and yakshas to throw Ruan Dacheng off the mountain peak. In the same act, he also brings onto stage spirits of the Chongzhen Emperor and his empress in a parade as they ascend to Heaven.

In addition to rearranging historical happenings for the moral structure of the play, Kong Shangren also invests more in ways that historical events can be depicted with enough force to implant themselves as memories in the minds of the reader or audience. Shi Kefa's death makes a most compelling example, via the voice of marginal comments, of the process by which the playwright rearranges the received historical knowledge to achieve the maximum affective power to inscribe the event firmly in memory. In Act 38, after the Manchu army sacks Yangzhou, Shi Kefa flees from the city on his way to Nanjing to guard the Hongguang Emperor.¹⁰⁴ At this point he encounters a white mule. In a manner unlike Jia Kaizong's note on this

103 Act 10, *THS*, A.66a-b.

104 "Tonight the Northern troops breached the north wall [of Yangzhou], and I determined to take my own life. But I realize that three centuries of Ming rule rest on my shoulders alone for their perpetuation. What is the value, then, in a useless death which leaves my lord deserted? So I scaled the south wall by rope and made for Yizhen, where I was able to cross the river in a passing patrol-boat. (*Acts out pointing*. [Speaks:]) There, hazy in the distance, are the walls of Nanjing. But these old legs ache so that they will carry me no further. What shall I do?" 北兵今夜攻破北城，俺已滿拚自盡。忽然想起明朝三百年社稷，只靠俺一身撐持，豈可效無益之死，捨孤立之君。故此緝下南城，直奔儀真，幸遇一隻報船，渡過江來。（指介）那城闕隱隱，便是南京了。可恨老腿酸軟，不能走動，如何是好？ Act 38, *THS*, B.107a. I have used Chen Shih-hsiang and Harold Acton's translation with minor changes. See Kong Shangren, *The Peach Blossom Fan (T'ao-hua-shan)*, translated by Chen Shih-hsiang and Harold Acton (1976; rpt. Boston and Worcester: Cheng & Tsui Company, 2001), p. 273.

detail (no. 10.11), Kong Shangren reads both historicity and affective relief into this detail: 1) “There are eye witnesses who saw Master Shi riding towards Nanjing on a white mule. Some say that he was killed at Yangzhou, but they are wrong,” 史公騎白驃奔南京，有人遇見。或傳被害揚州者，誤也，¹⁰⁵ and 2) “The white mule is a white dragon that comes to greet the Master to take him into the crystal palace,” 白驃者，白龍也。來迎先生入水晶宮耳。¹⁰⁶

In the first comment, Kong Shangren rejects Jia Kaizong’s recollection that Shi Kefa was captured at Yangzhou and died a martyr, preferring instead to embrace the story that Shi had drowned himself.¹⁰⁷ In the second note, he proceeds to embellish the record with his interpretation of the detail: the white mule is a transformed white dragon bringing the tragic hero into the dragon king’s palace, thereby introducing a mythical dimension to the loyal minister’s afterlife. In the rest of the scene, various dramatic characters are called upon to witness and commemorate the death of Shi Kefa in a ritualistic manner so that the Grand Secretary’s death finds a proper niche to be lodged in memory. On his way to Nanjing, Shi Kefa encounters the Old Ritual Master, who informs the former that Hongguang has already fled Nanjing. His last hope shattered, Shi Kefa throws himself into the river. But before he does so, he takes off his cap and official attire, exclaiming: “I, Shi Kefa, am a minister guilty of having lost the state. How can I allow myself to depart in official cap and attire?” 俺史可法亡國罪臣，那容得冠裳而去？¹⁰⁸

Not only does this remark evoke the reader/audience’s sympathy for the Grand Secretary’s plight, the cap and robe also serve to compel those still alive to remember Shi Kefa’s identity, and, by extension, the legitimacy of his act of suicide as a loyal minister that was to secure him a place as a most devoted subject of

105 Act 38, *THS*, B.107b.

106 Act 38, *THS*, B.107b.

107 Kong wrote another marginal comment to reinforce his conviction: “Regarding the death of the Grand Secretary, there were different versions. [The fact that he] threw himself into the river indeed had eye witnesses,” 閣部之死，傳云不一。投江，確有見者。 Act 38, *THS*, B.108b.

108 Act 38, *THS*, B.108b.

honor in history.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the moment of verification is much elaborated on in the following scene to illustrate how a particular event registers in the witness' cognition to settle into historical memory:

(CLOWN *plays Liu Jingting and enters in a hurry with STUDENT*)... ([CLOWN and STUDENT] *act out seeing SECONDARY MO*:) What are you doing, weeping here, old man? (SECONDARY MO:.) I am a refugee like you, and I have just seen the Grand Secretary of the Board of War Shi Kefa take his life here. It's more than I can do to restrain my tears. (STUDENT:.) How did Grand Secretary Shi chance to be here? (SECONDARY MO:.) This night Yangzhou fell. [Grand Secretary Shi] made his way this far before he learned that the Emperor had fled. He stamped his feet in dismay and threw himself into the river. (STUDENT:.) How could such a thing come to pass? (SECONDARY MO:.) See, here are the boots, cap, and robe he stripped from his person. (CLOWN *acts out inspecting*. [Speaks:]) Look, inside the robe, there are vermilion stamps [of the seal] everywhere. (STUDENT:.) Let me see. ([STUDENT] *acts out reading aloud*. [Speaks:]) "Seal of the Grand Secretary of the Board of War and Minister of War Entrusted with the Defense of the Region North of the River. (STUDENT *acts out weeping in shock*. [Speaks:]) It was indeed old master Shi! ([SECONDARY] MO:.) "Let us set up the robe and hat and make our obeisances to his spirit."

(丑扮柳敬亭，攜生忙上)……(見副末介)你這位老兄，為何在此慟哭？(副末)俺也是走路的，適才撞見史閣部老爺投江而死，由不的傷心哭他幾聲。(生)史閣部怎得到此？(副末)今夜揚州城陷，逃到此間，

109 Kong Shangren provides yet another marginal note to authenticate this detail by evoking a reference not listed in "Kaoju:" "Song Sheling [Cao] from Huainan saw the vermilion stamps inside the robe. It was probably when [Shi's clothes] were buried at Plum Peak," 衣裳硃印，淮南宋射陵曾見之，蓋葬梅花嶺時也。Act 38, *THS*, B.109b. Sheling is the courtesy name of Song Cao 宋曹 (1620-1701), a famed calligrapher of the Ming-Qing transitional period. Kong also dramatizes the need for an eye-witness to consolidate historical memory earlier in the scene through the voice of the Old Ritual Master: "Ah, Lord Shi, Lord Shi! To the end a loyal servant of the Throne. And if I had not chanced along, who would ever have known that you had cast yourself into the river?" 史老爺呀，史老爺呀！好一個盡節忠臣，若不遇著小人，誰知你投江而死呀！Act 38, *THS*, B.108b-109a. For the original English translation, see Kong, *The Peach Blossom Fan*, p. 275 (original romanization changed to *pinyin*).

聞的皇帝已走，跨了跨腳，跳下江去了。(生)那有此事？(副末指介)這不是脫下的衣服、靴、帽麼！(丑看介)你看衣裳裡面，渾身硃印。(生)待俺認來。(讀介)『欽命總督江北等處兵馬內閣大學士兼兵部尚書印』。(生驚哭介)果然是史老先生。(末)設上衣冠，大家哭拜一番。¹¹⁰

The end-of-act commentary duly notes the deliberateness with which the playwright dramatizes the moments of verification and commemoration:

[The part that] transmits the death of the Grand Secretary [makes] such a deft deployment of the brush and ink. It just so happened that the Old Ritual Master ran into him. Earlier, before the altar he wept for a ruler who had died in the political turmoil, and now, by the bank of the river, he weeps for a minister who sacrificed himself for integrity. Both were worthy crying for. . . Student Hou's weeping and making obeisance [here] is also a marvelous encounter.

傳閣部之死，筆墨如此靈活。恰好贊禮相值，前在壇前哭死難之君，今在江邊哭死節之臣，皆值得一哭也……侯生在閣部之幕，閣部盡節，侯生哭拜，亦是奇逢。¹¹¹

It is extremely important to have the right persons to carry out ritualistic weeping, especially in order to textually inscribe historical memory with the maximum affective force. Hou Fangyu must be present to fulfill the principle of reciprocity by weeping for his benefactor, and the Old Ritual Master must raise the memory of Shi Kefa to the same level as that of the Chongzhen Emperor (who committed suicide for his state) by carrying out the ritual of commemorative weeping. Clearly in his remembering of history, Kong Shangren is preoccupied with the *process* by which a happening is registered in the psyche and properly internalized by those who live to remember.

Such a process manifests itself most poignantly through the play's reenactment of Chongzhen's suicide. Instead of dramatizing the last moments of the emperor, Kong Shangren focuses on how the news shocked the emperor's subjects and how they recounted the event in settings rich with symbolic meaning. In Act 13,

110 Act 38, *THS*, B.109a-b. I have used Chen and Acton's translation with minor changes. Kong, *The Peach Blossom Fan*, pp. 275-276.

111 Act 38, *THS*, B.111b.

Liu Jingting tells a story of the legendary general Qin Qiong 秦瓊 (571-638), a signature performance¹¹² that sends Zuo Liangyu's spirits soaring as Zuo promptly assumes himself to be the equivalent of Qin Qiong. In the middle of a drinking party that ensues, he unexpectedly receives news (*tangbao* 塘報) of Chongzhen's death, at which point the stage direction says, "everyone acts out facing north to kowtow, weeping profusely," 衆望北叩頭,大哭介。¹¹³

The end-of-act commentary underscores the authorial intent to maximize the shocking effect of the news, noting: "Just at the point when his (Zuo Liangyu's) heart is full [of joy] and his mind filled with euphoria, his *hun* soul is startled and his *po* soul shocked. The writing transforms in such a wondrous way as to swirl together with the movement of *qi* [that is fate allotted by Heaven]," 正滿心快意,忽驚魂悸魄.文章變幻與氣運盤旋。¹¹⁴ The banquet setting at the Yellow Crane Tower 黃鶴樓 is also a deliberate choice that forebodes the pain of loss as the location evokes Cui Hao's 崔顥 (ca. 704-ca. 754) poem, in which the building stands as a desolate reminder of the absence of its master:

昔人已乘黃鶴去, The person from the past had already left riding a yellow crane;
此地空餘黃鶴樓. Leaving this place with nothing but the Yellow Crane Tower.
黃鶴一去不復返, The yellow crane, once left, will not return;
白雲千載空悠悠. The white clouds, for a thousand years, linger in vain.¹¹⁵

112 As is noted in Yu Huai's *Banqiao zaji* (no. 5.13), toward the very end of his life, Liu Jingting was still seen performing this story. Yu, *Banqiao zaji*, p. 62.

113 Act 13, *THS*, A.87a.

114 Act 13, *THS*, A.88b.

115 *Quan Tang shi*, *juan* 130, p. 1329. This is one of the most widely-anthologized poems from the Tang, and it remains an important work of artifact in the *shihua* tradition. For a 17th-century reading of the poem, see Jin Shengtan 金聖嘆 (1608-1661), *Guanhua tang xuanpi Tang caizi shi* 貫華堂選批唐才子詩 (A collection of poetry by geniuses from the Tang with commentary from the Guanhua Studio), in *Jin Shengtan ping Tangshi quanbian* 金聖嘆評唐詩全編, collated and annotated by Chen Defang 陳德芳 (Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 1999), pp. 61-63. For a different translation of this poem, see *Three Hundred Tang Poems*, translated by Peter Harris (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, distributed by Random House, 2009), p. 39.

Second Act 20 “Casual Talk” (*xianhua* 閒話) that concludes the first half of the play, Zhang Wei 張薇 (the historical Zhang Yi), Lan Ying 藍瑛 the painter, and Cai Yisuo 蔡益所 the bookseller chance upon one another on their way to Nanjing after Beijing has fallen to peasant rebels. While the three of them chat drinking under a bean arbor, Zhang Wei tells the other two travelers how he alone guarded the coffins of the late emperor and empress when other officials were either being killed off or committing suicide, while others served the court of peasant rebels, until the Manchu army reclaimed Beijing and sponsored the construction of the imperial tomb for the Chongzhen Emperor. The end-of-act commentary highlights the significance of this act to the transmission of memory in the following words: “The act of crying over the lord only signals the loss of the northern capital. But it supplements the whole story of how the emperor and empress sacrificed their lives for the state, and how roving bandits sacked the city. Even though these are supplementary touches, they are in fact the techniques of a small-scale finale,” 哭主一折止報北京師之失而帝后殉國，流賊破城始末皆于此折補出，雖補筆也，寔小結場法。¹¹⁶

The sense of closure that these “supplementary touches” bring about is due to the symbolic significance of the setting, just as the marginal comment notes: “Casual chats under the bean arbor are not just superfluous remarks,” 豆棚閒話，非同泛泛。¹¹⁷ This setting recalls a collection of short vernacular stories from the late 1660s titled *Doupeng xianhua* 豆棚閒話 (Idle Talk Under the Bean Arbor) compiled by Aina jushi 艾納居士 (Buddhist layman Aina),¹¹⁸ which includes stories that deliberately go against the grain of standard historical judgements. Kong Shangren seems to be also aiming for the same kind of subtle historical judgments by employing the same physical setting for the conversation. The detail of the Manchu court’s role in commemorating the Chongzhen Emperor comes from Chen Yan’s *Kuangyuan zazhi*

116 Act 13, *THS*, A.131b.

117 Second Act 20, *THS*, A.126b.

118 Patrick Hanan identifies Aina jushi to be Wang Mengji 王夢吉, “an obscure Hangzhou writer known to us only as the reviser of a novel about Ji Dian (Ji the Crazy), the eccentric Buddhist saint.” Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 191.

(no. 4.1),¹¹⁹ in which Chen celebrates the Manchu court's sponsorship of works that pay proper tribute to the memory of the Chongzhen Emperor.¹²⁰ In the play, by contrast, the Qing court's ostensible gesture of largesse and good will is immediately followed by the disquieting news that betray the Manchu regent's intent to supersede the rule of the Ming: the disappearance of the heir-apparent and princes Ding and Yong 定、永二王, as well as Zuo Maodi being summoned to Beijing, where he was to be kept hostage:

(LITTLE SHENG *acts out asking*): I heard that a message was sent from Beijing to Grand Secretary Shi Kefa, blaming the ministers and generals of the fallen state for having made no effort to weep over the loss of their lord or to raise an army for vengeance. Master Shi wrote a reply and sent Zuo Maodi to Beijing, dressed in hemp and carrying a club, to pay homage to the late Emperor. Do you know of this?

聞得北京發書一封與閣部史可法，責備亡國將相，不去奔喪哭主，又不請兵報仇。史公答了回書，特著左懋第披麻扶杖，前去哭臨，老先生可曉得麼？¹²¹

The commentary promptly notes the importance of this additional detail: “To append this part is most significant” 補此一段，最有關係。¹²² The significance lies in Kong

119 Chen Yan is also part of the reading community of *THS*. In his commemorative poem included in “Tici,” he mentions the “Kaoju” citation of his writing: “I have recorded in my *Miscellaneous Accounts of Kuangyuan* the complete account of moving the burial site of Siling, which Master [Kong] has incorporated into his play,” 予有曠園雜誌載思陵改葬始末，先生采入樂府中。“Tici,” *THS*, 7a.

120 “After our Dynasty consolidated power, the Ministry of Labor was specifically ordered to oversee the construction of three incense halls and one skirting wall for the deceased Chongzhen Emperor... The Shizu Zhang Emperor [Shunzhi] composed an essay to mourn in his honor, and also had a stele erected inscribed with imperially [composed] epitaph on his stone grave. This was indeed a grand ceremony of our flourishing Dynasty.” 本朝定鼎，特遣工部復將崇禎先帝陵寢修建香殿三間，幫牆一週...世祖章皇帝為文祭之，又御製碑文立石墓上，誠興朝盛典也。Chen Yan, *Kuangyuan zazhi*, in *Shuoling* 說鈴 (Speaking of Bells), Photographic reproduction of the 1799 woodblock edition (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1968), B.18b.

121 Second Act 20, *THS*, A.128b-129a.

122 Second Act 20, *THS*, A. 128b.

Shangren's evocation of sources not included in "Kaoju" that nevertheless disclose the Manchu regime's plan to enthrone their own emperor: the letter assumes the moral high ground by recounting ten abominable crimes of the Ming (*shidazui* 十大罪) in order to proclaim the Manchus to be the legitimate authority.¹²³ The bean arbor as the setting for Zhang Wei's report therefore implies subtle criticism of both the Manchu conquerors and the inept Southern Ming government.

Equally deliberate is the next setting of the conversation as the three travelers, deeply grieved by the news, continue their discussions lying in bed. As the marginal note points out: "Night talks beside the traveler's window are not just superfluous remarks," 客窗夜話,非同泛泛,¹²⁴ the conversation dwells more on moral judgment, as the book seller seeks names to make into drama scripts for readers/audiences everywhere to admire (*jingyang* 景仰) and to despise (*tuoma* 唾罵). In both settings, the act of remembrance takes place in a symbolic space where memories are reinvented and invigorated exactly because of the distance from the historical events. This is indeed the space where Kong Shangren re-members history in order to be remembered.

4. The Peach Blossom Fan and the Peach Blossom Spring: Locating Sites of Remembrance

Situated at the center of the symbolic, commemorative space of *THS* is the peach blossom fan. By fully exploring the evocative power of the fan as a most appealing and yet heart-breaking object of remembrance, Kong Shangren invites contemplation on the act of remembrance itself much in the same way as Qian Qianyi and Gong Dingzi ponder about Jinling in their matching poems. The commentary at the end of Act 23 notes: "That which is named the peach blossom

123 For 17th- and 18th century sources on Zuo Maodi's story, see Zhang Dai's 張岱 (1597-1679) *Shikui shu houji* 石匱書後集 (Second Collection of Stone Chest Writings) and Li Tiangen's 李天根 (fl. 1750) *Juehuo lu* 燭火錄 (Burning the Torches).

124 Second Act 20, *THS*, A.129b.

fan, one finds it admirable for being most dazzling and exquisite. Yet one does not know that it is also most heart-breaking and eye-shocking.” 桃花扇之名者，羨其最艷最韻，而不知其最傷心最慘目也。¹²⁵ What is heart-breaking and eye-shocking is certainly the fact that the fan registers the pain and courage of Li Xiangjun in her defiant rebuff to a proposed marital transaction arranged by Ruan Dacheng, the same heroic resolution that charges the tragic ending of the three worthy men in the play: Zuo Liangyu, Huang Degong, and Shi Kefa, as the commentary at the end of Act 37 points out:

The peach blossom fan was stained by blood from Li Xiangjun's face. The blood from Xiangjun's face is the blood from her heart. The blood from Xiangjun's heart, carries [memories of] Zuo Ningnan's chest blood,¹²⁶ Grand Secretary Shi's tears of blood,¹²⁷ and Huang Jingnan's neck blood.¹²⁸ They can be called men of integrity who served the Ming with their sweat and blood.

桃花扇乃李香君面血所染，香君之面血，香君之心血也。因香君之心血而傳左寧南之胸血，史閣部之眼血，黃靖南之頸血，可謂血性男子為明朝出血汗之力者。¹²⁹

The peach blossom fan is therefore a site of remembrance that gathers historical memories of how men of honor served the bygone dynasty. But it is not just the beautiful woman's devotion and suffering that render the fan most “dazzling and exquisite.” Kong Shangren's note in “Xiaozhi” 小識 (minor notes) makes it clear that it is ultimately the painter, who turned blood stains into blossoms, that imputes the fan with the utmost moral and aesthetic appeal:

What is marvelous about the peach blossom fan? The peach blossoms on the fan are marvelous by not being marvelous. The peach blossoms are the blood

125 Act 23, *THS*, B. 19a.

126 In Act 34, Zuo Liangyu dies vomiting blood after learning that his son has revolted against the Southern Ming court.

127 In Act 35, Shi Kefa weeps tears of blood after his army fails to respond to his call to arms.

128 In Act 37, Huang Degong's underling Tian Xiong 田雄 surrenders the Hongguang Emperor to the Manchu army. Huang commits suicide by decapitating himself.

129 Act 37, *THS*, B.106b.

stains of the beauty who guards her chastity while awaiting betrothal. She would rather smash her face, sending her blood splattering, than lose her dignity to that treacherous man in power.

The treacherous man in power is the evil residue of the eunuch Wei [Zhongxian]'s pernicious influences. This evil residue presents enchanting songs and beguiling beauties [to sway the emperor], amasses wealth for its own profit, and initiates factional strife for personal revenge. In so doing, this evil residue of power dismantled the basis on which rested three hundred years of imperial heritage.

Now the basis for imperial heritage is gone, and where is the treacherous man in power? Only the blood stains of the beauty, the peach blossoms on the fan remain to draw words of admiration from our mouths and to retain their clarity before our eyes. This is the story that inspires marvels without being out of the ordinary, the story that is worthy of transmission without claiming the necessity to do so.

Is it the face of the fair one, or peach blossoms?—though they have endured hundreds of springs, the dazzling petals and the red cheeks still mirror each other. Yet as for the Daoist master who planted the peach trees, there is no knowing to whence he has returned.

桃花扇何奇乎？其不奇而奇者，扇面之桃花也。桃花者，美人之血痕也。血痕者，守貞待字，碎首淋漓，不肯辱于權奸者也。權奸者，魏闖之餘孽也。餘孽者，進聲色，羅貨利，結黨復仇，隳三百年之帝基者也。帝基不存，權奸安在？惟美人之血痕，扇面之桃花，嘖嘖在口，歷歷在目，此則事之不奇而奇，不必傳而可傳者也。人面耶？桃花耶？雖歷千百春，艷紅相映，問種桃之道士，且不知歸何處矣。¹³⁰

What makes the peach blossom fan, an object from quotidian life, so compelling is the fact that it registers the pain of Li Xiangjun in her defiant rebuff to Ruan Dacheng, and hence the imperative to remember that act of resistance long after the specific historical situation has passed. Here Kong Shangren goes beyond the aforementioned symbolic reading of blood to stress the blood stain's evocative power by alluding to Cui Hu's 崔護 (fl. 796-829) poem "Ti ducheng nan zhuang"

130 *THS*, B.150a-b.

題都城南莊 (Inscribed in Nanzhuang, Outside the Capital).

去年今日此門中, Last year, this day, inside this door,
 人面桃花相映紅. The face [of the fair one] and the peach blossoms
 reflected against one another, rosy in color.
 人面不知何處去, [Now] the face is nowhere to be seen,
 桃花依舊笑春風. [Only] the peach blossoms still smile in the spring
 breeze.¹³¹

Whereas in Cui's poem, the peach blossoms evoke the memory of the beautiful maiden and flowers side by side, the blood stains, being neither the face of the beauty nor peach blossoms, can nevertheless evoke the eternal presence of both.

How can blood stains possess such an evocative power? Kong Shangren then turns to Yang Wencong, the painter, by alluding to Liu Yuxi's 劉禹錫 (772-842) lines in "Zaiyou Xuandu guan" 再遊玄都觀 (A Second Visit to the Xuandu Temple): "The Daoist master who planted the peaches, where has he gone?—/ young master Liu of previous times today comes once again," 種桃道士歸何處, 前度劉郎今獨來.¹³² In Liu's poem, the Daoist master who had planted the peach trees disappears, leaving behind trees that have gone through the cycle of life and death, making the poet ponder about the vicissitudes of human affairs. In the case of the fan, by contrast, Yang Wencong turned blood stains into peach blossoms with ingenious touches of his painting brush. Even though he has disappeared just like the peach-planting Daoist master, the object of art that is the fan remains, and the artistic patterns blossom even more brilliantly with the passage of time.

The way Kong Shangren ends his note on the meaning of the peach blossom fan recalls Qian Qianyi's poem about Yang Wencong's album titled "Ti Yang Longyou huace" 題楊龍友畫冊 (On Yang Longyou's Art Album, no. 12.4). In

131 *Quan Tang shi*, juan 368, p. 4148. For a different English translation, see John Gill and Susan Tidwell, eds., *After Many Autumns: A Collection of Chinese Buddhist Literature* (Los Angeles, CA: Buddha's Light Pub., 2011), p. 114.

132 *Quan Tang shi*, juan 365, p. 4116. For the English translation, see Stephen Owen, *The Late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-Ninth Century (827-860)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), p. 76.

Qian's poem, the remainder of Yang's paintings are no less than the portrait of the man, as they embody the spirit of he who died for the state:

趙郎藏棄緗帙新, Gentleman Zhao [Youyi] has in his collection silk covers that
are fresh;
摩挲看畫如寫真. [As] my hands move affectionately [across them, I] look at
the paintings that are akin to portraits [of Yang Wencong].
每于剩粉殘縑裏, Each time from within the residual [painting] powder on the
remaining of the silk;
想見剗肝化碧人. I envision the person who had gouged out his liver, [his
blood] to turn into sapphire.¹³³

Kong Shangren's question, "Where is the Daoist master who planted the peach trees," evokes the man of spirit from his painting—only in *THS*'s case it is the peach blossom fan as aestheticization of pain that evokes the memory of its painter. The blood stains become all the more memorable when they come to resemble peach blossoms, and the fan as an art object further reinforces the memory of the painter who sacrificed himself for the same cause the fan commemorates.

We have seen how, during the course of the play, Kong Shangren brings different strands of memories onto the fan as the most poignant site of remembrance. But he also took care to note, at the outset of the play, that the Peach Blossom Spring is "the main gist of the *Peach Blossom Fan*. [The reader must] carefully contemplate [the meaning behind this], so that they do not turn their back on the fisherman's guidance," 此《桃花扇》大旨也, 細心領畧, 莫負漁郎指引之意.¹³⁴ The comment that concludes the entire play further makes the connection between the peach blossom fan and the Peach Blossom Spring: "The brush that renders [the story of] the *Peach Blossom Fan* into song is the brush that records the Peach Blossom Spring," 譜桃花扇之筆即記桃花源之筆也.¹³⁵ What is the intent of the fisherman? And how is the fan related to the spring? We shall look at Act 28, where the two

133 Qian, *Muzhai youxue ji*, juan 5, p. 192.

134 Act 1, *THS*, A. 18b-19a.

135 Continuation of Act 40, *THS*, B.136b.

images are first connected.

In this act, Hou Fangyu returns to Jinling with the fan that Xiangjun has sent him as a token of her loyalty. He meant for his visit to be a pleasant surprise, but upon entering Xiangjun's chamber, he encounters instead the painter Lan Ying, who informs him that Xiangjun has been sent to the palace at the call of the Hongguang Emperor. Overcome with pain and longing, Hou Fangyu leaves a poem on Lan Ying's painting of the Peach Blossom Spring, about which the end-of-the-scene comment reads:

Now, and only now, to paint the painting of the peach blossom spring, and to compose the poem about the peach blossom spring, these are to the peach blossom fan the ring around the moon, and the dim light surrounding the lamp whisk.

偏于此時寫桃源圖，題桃源詩，此桃花扇之月痕燈暈也。¹³⁶

The ring around the moon and the light surrounding the lamp whisk are merely shadows of their respective sources of heat and energy. What is peculiar about this moment, when the act of drawing and writing about the utopian land is just an attenuated form of remembrance sapped of the intensity of emotions that characterize the peach blossom fan? Hou Fangyu's singing provides a clue:

“Baolao cui” (“Baolao” with acceleration)

This flowing creek is so admirable;

With thousands of fallen flower petals afloat.

.....

It is still the old scenery basking in the spring breeze—nothing has changed.

Without a person here whose thoughts are fondly attached to me,

This is an empty peach blossom spring.

Before the sun slants, let me turn around the boat.

【鮑老催】這流水溪堪羨，落紅英千千片……仍是春風舊境不曾變。沒個人兒將咱繫戀，是一座空桃源。趁著未斜陽將棹轉。¹³⁷

136 Act 28, *THS*, B.52b.

137 Act 28, *THS*, B.51b.

In this aria, it is noted that at this moment, Hou Fangyu is gazing at the Peach Blossom Spring as a timeless place with all the idyllic charm that never changes. To enter such a pristine world means to find peace, to be cleansed of one's traumatic memories. But how can that be possible at this moment, when Hou Fangyu is inconsolable for having lost Xiangjun to the palace? To his eyes at this moment, and only this moment (*pian yucishi*), the world of the Peach Blossom Spring is a joyless space for the lack of one person, the beautiful woman whose heroic act of devotion has inscribed the fan with blood, and whose absence takes away all the heat and energy, leaving behind only washed-out shades of light surrounding the moon and the lamp—the uninhabited utopia.

The play has thus far postulated the fan and the Peach Blossom Spring to be two opposite figures: the fan with the confluence of traumatic memories calls for empathy, while the Spring poses the danger of apathy with their erasure. But Kong Shangren presses further with his contemplation on the act of remembrance by raising another question: What if certain memories fade while others take over? In Act 39, Hou Fangyu, escaping the carnage of war after the fall of the Southern Ming, enters Qixia 棲霞 Mountain for refuge. Here he takes out the fan and recalls the good old days:

Embracing this peach blossom fan;
I, again, think of the old dreams at the blue tower.
Even when Heaven gets old and earth turns bald,
These emotions have no ends.
把他桃花扇擁，又想起青樓舊夢，天老地荒，此情無盡窮。¹³⁸

For Hou Fangyu, at this moment, the peach blossom fan is above all a token of love that recalls the happy old time. Perhaps this is indeed how memory works: when the pang of loss is diluted over time, one chooses to hold on to the halcyon days. Quite expectedly, when Hou Fangyu chances upon Xiangjun toward the end of the play, they look at the fan together as a blessed object that anticipates conjugal

138 Act 39, *THS*, B.115b.

bliss. Just at this moment, the Daoist Master Zhang tears apart the fan, exclaiming:

Fie! You two crazy little lovebugs! Look around you: where is the state? Where is the family? Where is the Emperor? Where are the fathers? And all you have is this root of passion in flowers and moonlight, and yet you can't sever it?

阿呸！兩個癡蟲，你看國在那裡，家在那裡，君在那裡，父在那裡，偏是這點花月情根，割他不斷麼？¹³⁹

Daoist Master Zhang's tirade urges one to confront the immediate, traumatic past. The destruction of the fan—the corrupted site of remembrance where memories of good old days have overtaken memories of pain—calls for a new site to remember. This is announced after the Daoist Master's ritualistic laughter, as Mountain Recluse Yunting writes: “Daoist Master Zhang laughs loudly for three times. With this, the universe falls utterly still,” 張道士大笑三聲，從此乾坤寂然矣。¹⁴⁰ The marginal commentary's citation from the “Great Commentary”¹⁴¹ introduces the coda of the play (the continuation of Act 40) set at the Qixia mountain.

There is an unequivocal connection between this “utterly still” world and the Peach Blossom Spring, because inhabiting the Qixia mountain are the woodcutter Su Kunsheng and the fisherman Liu Jingting—both are stock figures detached from the vicissitudes of the human world.¹⁴² On a peaceful day, the Old Ritual Master joins

139 Act 40, *THS*, B.125a. I have used Tina Lu's translation in *Persons, Roles, and Minds: Identity in Peony Pavilion and Peach Blossom Fan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 278. As Tina Lu has noted, by destroying the fan, Zhang prevents that old fantasy of Peach Blossom Spring, “where broken off from the rest of the human community, society can be formed again but with no sovereign, just decentralized apolitical families.”

140 Act 40, *THS*, B. 126a.

141 The “Great Commentary” reads: “The *Changes* is without consciousness and is without deliberate action. Being utterly still it does not initiate movement, but when stimulated it is commensurate with all the causes for everything that happens in the world,” 易無思也，無爲也，寂然不動，感而遂通天下之故。Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, p. 63.

142 The woodcutter is an established trope of the wise one who lives on the margins unperturbed by the flux of time and therefore holds unbiased opinions on worldly matters. The fisherman from Wuling who, having stumbled into the Peach Blossom Spring and later failing to return, illustrates the discourse on the perfected mind of peace beyond deliberation.

them in a gathering not to forget, but to remember: he first sings a song to question the God of Wealth about all the unfairness of the world. After this, the fisherman plays a tune and sings a poem (*tanci* 彈詞) that recounts the recent happenings including the Chongzhen Emperor's suicide and the fall of the Southern Ming. The doleful spirit continues, as the woodcutter proceeds with a northern song suite¹⁴³ to lament the desolation of Nanjing after the war.

Kong Shangren, through the voice of the marginal commentary, proposes a particular way of understanding this scene: "The question and answer between the fisherman and woodcutter is a most lofty and marvelous design—this is further enhanced by none other than the Old Ritual Master. Old Ritual Master is the one who starts and ends the play. Who is the Ritual Master? It is Mountain Recluse [Yunting's] self-address," 漁樵問答, 關目高絕. 偏有老贊禮來湊趣. 老贊禮者, 一部傳奇之起結也. 贊禮爲誰? 山人自謂也.¹⁴⁴ This remark in particular recalls the marginal comment at the beginning of the play: "The Old Ritual Master is an elder relative of Mountain Recluse Yunting. He used to serve office in Nanjing, and bore witness to contemporary events. Mountain Recluse listened closely to his comments and discussions, hence his composition of this play," 老贊禮者, 云亭山人之伯氏. 曾仕南京, 目擊時事. 山人聆其緒論, 故有此作.¹⁴⁵

The inconsistency of the Old Ritual Master's identity well supports the reading of the play as a journey of self-discovery: if at the beginning of *THS*, the traumatic past was still very much knowledge that Mountain Recluse Yunting had inherited from the Old Ritual Master, he had internalized this knowledge over the course of the play to the extent that, by the end, he could actually assume the identity of the Old Ritual Master himself. It is then also significant that, having re-membered history to sort out *what* and *how* to remember, Kong Shangren ends the play in the

143 The song suite, titled "Aijiangan" 哀江南 (Mourning Jiangnan), also appears in Xu Xudan's 徐旭旦 (1659-1720) *Shijing tang shici chao* 世經堂詩詞鈔 (Transcribed Poetry and Song Lyrics from the Shijing Studio), *juan* 30. See Yuan, *Kong Shangren nianpu*, pp. 265-266.

144 Continuation of Act 40, *THS*, B.128a.

145 "Xiansheng," *THS*, A.10b.

Qixia mountain to address *where* to remember. The fisherman and the woodcutter as other worldly figures join the playwright's alter ego, the Old Ritual Master, to turn an otherwise idyllic place reminiscent of the Peach Blossom Spring into a place where, through singing and chanting, they register all the pains of the past.

But the melancholy gathering is brutally interrupted by a *yamen* runner of the Qing court, who sends the three fleeing out of sight. Right here, the marginal commentary reads: "The fisherman, the wood cutter, and the Old Ritual Master all have found [an alternative cosmos with] heaven and earth all of its own," 漁樵贊禮別有天地矣。¹⁴⁶ This articulation echoes the beginning of the play, when Liu Jingting the storyteller, who is to become the fisherman, starts his performance by citing Li Bai's poem titled "Shanzhong wenda" 山中問答 (Response to a Question in the Mountains):

問余何事棲碧山, You ask me why I stay in the verdant mountains,
笑而不答心自閒. I smile without answer, my heart at ease.
桃花流水杳然去, The peach blossoms flow away with water, so casually;
別有天地非人間. There is a separate world between Heaven and Earth and it is
not the human realm.¹⁴⁷

At this a marginal comment chimes in: "The *Peach Blossom Fan* in its entirety, when read from this perspective, always presents a separate world between Heaven and Earth," 一部桃花扇,從此看去,摠是別有天地。¹⁴⁸ What is that separate world between Heaven and Earth? We must note that the coda is set in 1648, only a few years after the fall of the Ming. The flustered escape of the Old Ritual Master, the fisherman and the wood cutter suggests that, at this historical time, there was not yet any safe place to truly reminisce. The *yamen* runner's intrusion into what is only a semblance of the Peach Blossom Spring points to the separate world beyond the human realm (*bieyou tiandi*)—the dramatic space, set in 1684 (after the Qing had fully consolidated power), of which the Old Ritual Master is at once the spectator

146 Continuation of Act 40, *THS*, B.135a.

147 *Quan Tang shi*, 178.1813.

148 Act 1, *THS*, A.16a.

and the performer.

5. Conclusion

The Old Ritual Master therefore mediates the past and present by straddling two temporal spaces: 1) the end of the Chongzhen era and the Southern Ming in which he is an enactor of historical events dramatized in the play; 2) the performance of *THS* in the Garden of Grand Peace (Taipingyuan 太平園) in 1684 where he is a spectator who also introduces the play as secondary *mo* (*fumo* 副末). Sophie Volpp notes that Kong Shangren's own audience/reader in the early 18th-century occupies a realm that is both temporally and spatially segregated from the Garden of Grand Peace, where the Old Ritual Master speaks to the backstage, addressing an audience “composed of invisible characters”—the stage for *THS* in the play is therefore “hermetically sealed.”¹⁴⁹ Yet as Mountain Recluse Yunting (e.g. Kong Shangren) assumes the identity of the Old Ritual Master by the end of the play (as is noted in the marginal commentary), the playwright manages to overcome this fissure of time and space by both dramatizing history and the poetics of remembrance.

“Kaoju” very much sets up the parameters by which to contemplate the act of remembrance. Yu Huai's recollections of courtesans postulate the romantic mode of memory as a most affective medium to transmit historical knowledge. Qian Qianyi and Gong Dingzi exchange poems on the performer/entertainer as a figure of remembrance. On the one hand, Qian Qianyi lauds Liu Jingting's storytelling as an alternative mode of history that can eclipse the “history of a state” by alluding to the blind old man who sways public opinion in imparting historical judgment. But he also remains somewhat uncommitted to the performance space conjured up by Ding Jizhi—it is just a spectral simulacrum of Qianhuai's glory in the past. Gong Dingzi, on the other hand, acknowledges the entertainer's unperturbed person and treasures the dramatic illusion as bringing back, at the very least, memories of the place's

149 Sophie Volpp, *Worldly Stage: Theatricality in Seventeenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), p. 86.

erstwhile refinement and beauty.

Kong Shangren continues to explore the dramatic potential of the act of remembrance in *THS*. He reorganizes the material in the memorial archive presented in “Kaoju” to dramatize the formation of historical memory as a process of self-discovery and community-building. The performers in the play, Xiangjun and Liu Jingting, are both embodied enactors of history and its ethical values such as chastity and righteousness. They also embody aesthetics: Liu with his masterful storytelling that rectifies historical happenings and Xiangjun with her blood-stained fan that epitomizes the power of aesthetics in its capacity to kindle empathy, which is crucial for the formation of collective remembrance.

The act of mise-en-scène also foregrounds imagination as a reconstructive agent that is allowed to change the “empirical” truth for a greater “philosophical” truth. Receptions of Chongzhen’s death, for example, is staged at the Yellow Crane Tower and under the bean arbor—both are imaginary places that go beyond empirical experiences. Yet the symbolic meaning of these places helps to lodge the historical happening in memory writ large by dramatic emotional episodes. Ultimately, it is not historical happenings per se or actual experiences of traumatic events that empower the poetics of remembrance. Rather Kong Shangren re-embodies, through the actors, not only the events of history, but also ways in which aesthetics and ethics unite as a poetic act that engages the past in an affective journey of finding the self in the present as a member of the literati community.

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《桃花扇》中歷史記憶的 隔代建構與反思

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摘 要

孔尚任的名著《桃花扇》1708年刻本的獨到之處在於其〈考據〉中包含了明末四公子、江左三大家等眾多江南精英人士以不同文體對明亡以及南明小朝廷的緬憶。而之所以徵引這些非同正史的「史料」正體現出劇作旨在通過對明亡一代集體記憶的繼承、重組、內化，以使明季創傷記憶得以在清初「新生代」中延續並且更加刻骨銘心。而戲劇創作對記憶傳承的歷史重建、道德架構以及美學定位正是鼎革之際士大夫通過審視過去以求得集體性身分認同的探索之旅。《桃花扇》因此並非對歷史的忠實再現，而是天翻地覆之後，出於重新確立主體人格以及價值體系的需要對創傷記憶的建構與反思。

關鍵詞：孔尚任、桃花扇、南明、歷史記憶、弘光

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