Bamboo-branch Songs (*zhuzhici*) of Shandong Province: Lyrical Records of Local Life, Traveling and Local History

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Abstract

This dissertation takes bamboo-branch songs (*zhuzhici* 竹枝詞) as its subject. The focuses are how this genre of poetry describes local scenes and, more importantly, what unique features they have as documents of the local culture. Because the number of bamboo-branch songs is surprisingly large, this dissertation narrows its subject to the songs of Shandong province. One of the goals is to study how they describe Shandong and the difference between bamboo-branch songs and other documents in recording the local culture of Shandong.

The dissertation consists of two parts: The first is a cultural study of the genre of bamboo-branch songs. This dissertation introduces basic information based on existing studies to provide readers with general knowledge of this genre of poems. Chapter one introduces the alternative terms of bamboo-branch songs, the prosody, the attached texts, and the music and performance. Chapter two studies the authorship, the publishing, the relationship between bamboo-branch songs and local gazetteers, and the style of this genre of poems.

Part two takes bamboo-branch songs of Shandong province as a focus. Chapter three studies social life of Shandong. In my examination of bamboo-branch songs of Shandong, there is a gender bias in the description of the social life. Whether poems about normal life or festivals, women are always at the centre. Therefore, this study focuses on the life of women in view of bamboo-branch songs. Such poems describe Shandong's festivals and customs by introducing what women would do and how they would dress. Another emphasis is on love life. Still, bamboo-branch songs present the love life of commoners from the perspective of women. What's more, they are usually written with the tone of ordinary women, for example, lotus-picking maids, peasant women, or even child brides, expressing women's emotions in love.

Chapter four focuses on the traveling culture of the capital city, Ji'nan 濟南, located in the west of Shandong. Bamboo-branch songs of Ji'nan occupy the most prominent part of bamboo-branch songs of Shandong, and among them, traveling in Ji'nan is the focus. Ji'nan is rich in water resources, with a lake in the inner city and numerous springs. In bamboo-branch songs, Ji'nan is always compared with Jiangnan, southern China, famous for its rich water resources. Water also brings prosperity to Jiangnan. Apart from the same rich water resources of the two, there is also an expectation that Ji'nan would be as rich as Jiangnan. Daming Lake is the largest lake in Ji'nan, and a famous sight that attracts many travelers both in the past and present. Bamboo-branch songs of the Daming Lake record mainly the traveling

experience of authors. According to the poems, it is able to reconstruct a standard traveling route around the lake. Moreover, some poems also deliver a discrepancy of the value of lotus flowers from the view of travellers and lotus farmers. Besides Daming Lake, there are also numerous springs in and around Ji'nan. The number of springs in Ji'nan is unclear, among which seventy-two are the most famous. Yan Bi 晏璧's bamboo-branch lyrics "poems about seventy-two springs in Ji'nan" (*ji'nan qishier quan shi* 濟南七十二泉詩) is the first piece of literature to introduce the seventy-two springs as a whole. During his post in Ji'nan, Yan travelled and investigated the springs and wrote down the cycle of poems. He clarified the names of the springs according to his own investigation and recorded basic information about them in the poems. What is more important is the culture behind them. The poems adopt many allusions to introduce the origin of the springs, which makes it an excellent cultural traveling guide also.

Chapter five studies the recording of historical events in bamboo-branch songs. This genre of poems not only describes local life but is also concerned about local history. Bamboo-branch songs usually combine history with local sites. In poems about two shrines for two officials, Tie Xuan 鐵鉉 (1366–1402) and Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 ((1612–1672), authors gave their own opinions about personages and historical events behind. During the Ming and Qing, rebellions occurred with high frequency. A sectarian uprising in Wei County, a county of Shandong, in 1837 was recorded by one group of bamboo-branch songs. Witten from the perspective of a witness, the group of poems spares no detail. I compared this group of poems with other records of the same event, to investigate to what extent the poems reflect reality as literature. Migration is another motif that deserves attention. Despite strict population regulation in Shandong, migration lasted more than two hundred years, from the late Ming to the Republic of China in Shandong. A major destination was North–East China. And the migration was called "crashing into Guandong" (chuang Guandong 闖關東) or "go down to the Guandong" (xia Guandong 下關東). Before the peak of the migration in the Republic of China, literature on "crashing into Guandong" was mainly folk literature, and they focused on the experience of migrants in the destination, Guandong. Bamboo-branch songs of Shandong while put the focus on families of the migrants who stayed in Shandong. These poems record the sorrow of the life–long separation of people who stayed. Moreover, they also concern about the return of migrants.

This dissertation aims to study the genre of bamboo-branch songs and their unique value in local culture. I conclude that bamboo-branch songs are a genre of vernacular literature. Based on the authors' direct observations, they focused on daily life and local scenes. There was a clear motivation for recording the local condition with poems during the creation. They deserve more attention as a source of local culture.

Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

The Bamboo-Branch Song

by Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772–842)

Between the green willows the river flows along.

My gallant in a boat is heard to sing a song.

The west is veiled in rain, the east enjoys sunshine,

My gallant is as deep in love as the day is fine.[1]

竹枝詞

楊柳青青江水平

聞郎江上踏歌聲

東邊日出西邊雨

道是無晴卻有晴

The above short poem, recited by all elementary school students in contemporary China today, serves as a lead for the topic of this dissertation: *zhuzhici* 竹枝詞, or the bamboo-branch song. The bamboo-branch song is a genre of classical Chinese poetry which has its origins in folk ballads of Southwest China's regions of Ba 巴 and Yu 渝 (roughly corresponding to the present-day Sichuan 四川 and Chongqing 重慶 provinces, respectively), according to accepted mainstream theory.[2] Why this genre of song is named as *zhuzhi* (bamboo-branch) is unclear. According to Sun Jie's research, the term *zhuzhi* first appears in the early literature of the Sui Dynasty (581–618).[3] The bamboo-branch song experienced "three progressive steps from an oral tradition to a written school of literature: an oral tradition, a transitional phase,

[1] Xu Yuanchong 許淵衝, trans., *Tangshi sanbai shou* 唐詩三百首 [300 Tang poems] (Beijing: Zhongguo duiwai fanyi chuban gongsi, 2007), 194.

[2] Sun Jie 孫傑, *Zhuzhici fazhanshi* 竹枝詞發展史 [History of the development of bamboo-branch songs] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2014), 3.

[3] Ibid., 2.

and a written tradition".[4] Bamboo-branch folk songs are not the topic of this study, which instead focuses on the later literati-created poems by the same name, beginning in the Tang Dynasty, and which has since become the mainstream body of works for this genre of poems. It is now a much larger corpus in comparison to the earlier original *true* folk songs.

The creation of bamboo-branch songs has been continuous from the Tang Dynasty until this day. These short poems aroused great interest in the literati. To date, the most comprehensive collection of bamboo-branch songs is the seven volumes *the complete collection of Chinese bamboo-branch songs* (*Zhonghua zhuzhici quanbian* 中華竹枝詞全編, hereafter *Quanbian*), which includes 6.054 groups of poems with 69.515 poems by 4.402 authors from the Tang Dynasty to Republic of China[5]; most were created during the premodern period.

Unlike other poetry, "bamboo-branch poetry was not meant to express the poet's imagination, emotions, or abstract thinking. Rather, it was a literary form that directly and concretely described people, events, and things".[6] A distinctive characteristic of bamboo-branch songs is that they focus on local scenes. Just as Roland Altenburger puts it: "It was appreciated throughout the late imperial period for its unique capacity to describe scenes of local culture, folk customs, as well as all kinds of local peculiarities".[7] Almost every aspect of local areas is included in bamboo-branch songs. Therefore, they are seen by modern researchers as a genre of *fengtu shi* 風土詩 (poetry of geographical conditions and local customs).[8] *Fengtu shi* refers to poems that focus on customs and local conditions. The term applies specifically to Chinese classical poetry. Although the term *fengtu shi* appeared during modern time, the concept had appeared during the premodern time. Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634–1711), an

[4] Di Wang, "The Rhythm of the City: Everyday Chengdu in Nineteenth-Century Bamboo-Branch Poetry", *Late Imperial China* 24, no.1 (2003): 35.

[5] Pan Chao 潘超, Sun Zhongquan 孫忠銓, and Qiu Jin 邱進 ed., *Zhonghua zhuzhici quanbian* 中華竹枝詞全編 [Complete collection of Chinese bamboo-branch songs] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2007), 1: 2.

[6] Wang, "The Rhythm of the City", 33.

[7] Roland Altenburger, "Observations of a Changing World: Lin Sumen's Bamboo-Branch-Style Songs Three Hundred Poems of Hanjiang (Hanjiang sanbai yin, 1808)", in *Yangzhou, A Place in Literature: The Local in Chinese Cultural History*, ed. Roland Altenburger, Margaret B. Wan, and Vibeke Børdahl (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 174.

[8] Xiao Tian 小田, "Zhuzhici zhi shehui shi yiyi: Yi Jiangnan wei li" 竹枝詞之社會史意義:以江南為例 (The social history meanings of bamboo-branch poems: The case of South of the Yangtze), *Xueshi yuekan* 學術月刊 39, no. 5 (2007): 135.

influential scholar during the Qing Dynasty, summarized that a predominant feature of bamboo-branch songs was that they described geographical conditions and local customs (*fengtu*).[9] Wang Xian 王先, an official during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), stated in a preface that willow-branch songs (*liuzhici* 柳枝詞), bamboo-branch songs and peach-leaf songs (*taoyege* 桃葉歌) picked "dialect and local customs" (*xiangyu tufeng* 鄉語土風) as their subjets.[10] Bamboo-branch songs are a major part of *fengtu shi*.

Bamboo-branch songs are typically written in sequence. Even though there are many single poems, "but more frequently they come in groups or in a series, often forming entire cycles with up to one hundred texts, sometimes even more".[11] For example, the poem quoted at the opening of this dissertation is by Liu Yuxi, a poet during the Tang Dynasty (618–907) and is from a group of bamboo-branch songs which are composed of two pieces. Liu also composed another group of bamboo-branch songs of nine pieces. Liu was not a single case; during the Tang Dynasty, bamboo-branch songs had usually been written in groups. I argue that one important reason is that it was a convenient way to organize miscellaneous topics. After all, it is impossible to include so many topics about local society in a short poem. Moreover, every piece of the bamboo-branch song is a complete work with its single motif. Poets were free to compose a single verse without bothering to organize an entire group at the same time. The organizing work was usually done before publishing.

Bamboo-branch songs are scattered throughout a range of source types. Usually, one can find them in poetry collections. Some long series were even published independently. Other sources of this genre are local gazetteers, which include bamboo-branch songs as a part of local literature. Thanks to the work of modern scholars, we can find them concentrated in comprehensive collections, such as the aforementioned *Quanbian*. The *Quanbian* categorizes the poems according to places, primarily provinces, but also includes a chapter of *zhuzhici* involving foreign lands and another chapter on miscellaneous subjects. However, most collections concentrate on one single place, for example, collections of bamboo-branch songs

[9] Wang Shizhen 王士禛, *Daijingtang shihua* 帶經堂詩話 [Theory on poetry of the daijing hall], ed. Zhang Zongnan 張宗柟 and Xia Hong 夏閎 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1963), 849.

[10] *Quanbian*,1: 384.

[11] Altenburger, "Observations of a Changing World", 174.

on Chengdu, Tianjin, Shanghai, Taiwan and foreign lands, and other subjects.[12]

Literature Review

There have been many genre-historical studies on bamboo-branch songs. There are two opinions surrounding the origins of bamboo-branch songs. As mentioned above, the mainstream theory is that bamboo-branch songs were folk songs of the Ba-Yu area. Another theory holds that the cradle of bamboo-branch songs is the region of Chu 楚, namely present-day Hunan and Hubei provinces. The former was supported by Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898–1948) (who held that it was from Sichuan),[13] Hu Huaichen 胡懷琛 (1886–1938),[14] Ma Zhiqing 馬稚青,[15] and some other scholars. The latter theory is more recently expounded by Sun Jie 孫傑. Through a study both on theories by scholars in premodern China and on the

[12] Here are some of these poetry collections for reference: Lin Kongyi 林孔翼, ed., *Chengdu zhuzhici* 成都竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Chengdu] (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1986). Wang Guangfu 王廣福, ed., *Zhongguo sanxia zhuzhici* 中國三峽竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of the Three Gorges of China] (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2005). Gu Bingquan 顧炳權, ed., *Shanghai yangchang zhuzhici* 上海洋場竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of west-affected metropolis in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1996). Gu Bingquan 顧炳權, ed., *Shanghai lidai zhuzhici* 上海歷代竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Shanghai during the past dynasties] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2001). Zhao Na 趙娜 and Gao Hongjun 高鴻鈞, ed., *Tianjin zhuzhici heji* 天津竹枝詞合集 [A compilation of bamboo-branch songs of Tianjin] (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2014). Ouyang Fa 歐陽發 and Hong Gang 洪鋼, ed., *Anhui zhuzhici* 安徽竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Anhui), (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1993). Ying Kejun 應可軍, ed., *Ninghai zhuzhici* 寧海竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Ninghai] (Ningbo: Ningbo chubanshe, 2016). Wang Shenzhi 王慎之 and Wang Zijin 王子今, ed., *Qingdai haiwai zhuzhici* 清代海外竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of foreign lands during the Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1994). Li Qingnian 李慶年, ed., *Nanyang zhuzhici huibian* 南洋竹枝詞彙編 [Compendium of bamboo-branch songs of Southeast Asia] (Singapore: Jingu shuhuadian, 2012). Sun Dianqi 孫殿起, Lei Mengshui 雷夢水, and Ye Zufu 葉祖孚, ed., *Taiwan fengtu zayong* 台灣風土雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems on customs of Taiwan] (Beijing: Shishi chubanshe, 1984).

[13] Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, *Zhongguo geyao* 中國歌謠 [A commentary on Chinese folksongs] (Taibei: The Orient Cultural Service, 1976), 97.

[14] Hu Huaichen 胡懷琛, *Zhongguo min'ge yanjiu* 中國民歌研究 [Research on Chinese folksongs] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1925), 54.

[15] Ma Zhiqing 馬稚青, "Zhuzhici yanjiu" 竹枝詞研究 [Study on Bamboo-branch songs], in *Anhui zhuzhici*, 165.

cultural geography of Ba-Yu and Chu, Sun concludes that bamboo-branch songs were originally folksongs of Chu.[16]

Zhu Yi'an 朱易安 researches the creation of bamboo-branch songs in modern China. Taking the bamboo-branch songs of Shanghai as her main focus, she combines gender and urban lives. Women's lives are taken as a mirror reflecting changes emerging within Shanghai while entering the modern age.[17]

The standard form of bamboo-branch songs is similar to heptasyllabic quatrains (*qiyan jueju* 七絕 hereinafter *qijue*), a form characterized by four lines, each with seven syllables. Ma Zhiqing 馬稚青 insisted that, compared with *qijue*, *zhuzhici* are looser in rhythm and more earthy in content.[18] Sun Jie introduces several hypotheses regarding the formation of bamboo-branch songs. He concludes that these poems can take many different forms[19]; a position which is further pursued below.

The subject of bamboo-branch songs changed significantly from the Tang to the Qing Dynasties. Sun Jie has done a textual study which focuses on these changes. During the Tang Dynasty, the subject matter of these poems could be classified into three aspects: love, traveling, and the expression of feeling.[20] In the Song Dynasty (960–1279), love poems were fewer, and bamboo-branch poems focused on local subjects. What is more, they began to delve more deeply into common people's lives, into politics, and into local history.[21] During the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368), a new trend emerged wherein people wrote poems for their hometowns, and writing bamboo-branch songs during travel became more and more common.[22] The creation of bamboo-branch songs boomed during the Ming(1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) Dynasties, but placed its focus almost exclusively on local subject matter.[23]

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[16] Sun, *Zhuzhici fazhanshi*, 5–16.

[17] Zhu Yi'an 朱易安, *Zhuzhici ji qi jindai zhuanxing yanjiu* 竹枝詞及其近代轉型研究 [Study on bamboo-branch songs and the transition during Early-Modern China] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2020).

[18] Ma, "Zhuzhici yanjiu", 170.

[19] Sun Jie, *Zhuzhici fazhanshi*, 20–28.

[20] Ibid., 67.

[21] Ibid., 83–85.

[22] Ibid., 118–120.

[23] Ibid.,166–170; 188–190.

Mo Xiuying 莫秀英 introduced the authors and contents of bamboo-branch songs from Guangzhou through a period of nearly one hundred years. She noticed that foreigners and native poets held different views about Guangzhou. Foreigners saw Guangzhou as transients; they usually focused on the surface of a place. Native poets, on the other hand, were intimately involved with their hometown, and their poems often include criticism.[24]

Bamboo-branch songs are of special value for regional culture. Wang Zhenzhong 王振忠 presented the local-historical value of this form of poetry as a trove of precious information concerning migration during premodern times, as well as a source of supplementary materials for local geography in history.[25] Wang Zijin 王子今 asserted that bamboo-branch songs were also records of influential events, miscellaneous social scenes, detailed local lives reflective of class differences, geographical conditions, and lives of ethnic minorities.[26] He studied the Juyong 居庸 road in western China from the records of bamboo-branch songs written during the Yuan Dynasty. In these poems, there are records about the landscapes, troop movements along the road, wagon trains and other traffic information.[27] In two successive papers, Wang Shenzhi 王慎之 and Wang Zijin wrote of female military activities during the Qing Dynasty in their bamboo-branch songs. They described several groups of women in these poems: female border soldiers and generals, legendary swordswomen who resisted the enemy together with men, and also court ladies who dressed up like soldiers. Moreover, these poems involved

[24] Mo Xiuying 莫秀英, "Qingchu zhi Jiaqing nianjian de Guangzhou zhuzhici" 清初至嘉慶年間的廣州竹枝詞 [Guangzhou bamboo-branch songs from the Early Qing Dynasty to the Jiaqing reign], *Zhongshan daxue xuebao luncong* 中山大學學報論叢 26, no. 3 (2006): 1–3.

[25] Wang Zhenzhong 王振忠, "Shiyi de lishi: Zhuzhici yu diyu wenhua" 詩意的歷史: 竹枝詞與地域文化 [Poetic history: Bamboo-branch songs and regional culture], in Wang, *Qianshan Xiyang: Wang Zhenzhong lun Ming Qing shehui yu wenhua* 千山夕陽: 王振忠論明清社會與文化 [Sunset on thousands of mountains: Wang Zhenzhong's discoursing on the society and culture of the Ming and Qing dynasties] (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 306–329.

[26] Wang Zijin 王子今, "*Zhuzhici* de wenhua yiyi" 竹枝詞的文化意義 [The cultural significance of bamboo-branch songs poetry], *Henan keji daxue xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 河南科技大學學院學報 (社會科學版) 27, no. 2 (2009): 5–12.

[27] Wang Zijin, "Yuanren zhuzhici jishu de juyong daolu" 元人竹枝詞記述的居庸道路 [Juyong road as narrated in bamboo-branch songs of the Yuan Dynasty], *Shijiazhuang xueyuan xuebao* 石家莊學院學報 8, no. 2 (2006): 49–55.

rich details, e.g., the clothing of women, their training, and even gender discrimination,[28] all of which makes these poems a unique source of studying women's military lives in premodern China.

The emphasis on detailed descriptions allows bamboo-branch songs to be "a precious supplementary source that fills our gaps in knowledge concerning everyday life and popular culture".[29] Urban lives are one of the focuses of these poems, covering a wide range of aspects such as "religious rituals, festivals, and public entertainment, to issues of class distinction, ethnicity, and criticisms of urban commoners and popular culture".[30] Di Wang studied the daily life of Chengdu described in bamboo-branch songs of the nineteenth century. Instead of giving a cursory description, the poems present the landscape and public space of Chengdu with concrete images. The poems that center on the twelve street fairs which are held during the year in Chengdu are a treasure–trove of detail. We learn from these poems not only the locations of the fairs, but also when they began, what products were sold, how people travelled there and what they wore. We even know which shop sold the best pair of scissors at that time in Chengdu! Similarly, festivals and customs in Chengdu were also recorded in bamboo-branch songs with rich detail.

Amusement is an important part of urban lives. In bamboo-branch songs of Chengdu, there are also descriptions of everyday amusements for citizens: opera, cockfighting, cricket fighting, and prostitution. The citizenry of Chengdu is also a subject of bamboo-branch songs. Di Wang investigated the great variety of people written about in the bamboo-branch songs of Chengdu; professions, classes, ethnicities, and gender are common topics. Di Wang noticed that in these poems there are criticisms from the elites about lives of non-elites, raising concerns that tensions based on class were developing in Chengdu.[31] The perspectives from which these social-historical aspects are presented reveal a distinct feature of bamboo-branch songs: that the descriptions they contain are not necessarily fully objective narratives, but also

[28] Wang Shenzhi 王慎之 and Wang Zijin, "Qingren zhuzhici suojian nüjun shiliao yanjiu: Shang" 清人竹枝詞所見女軍史料研究: 上/下 [Research on the historical materials about female soldiers as seen in bamboo-branch songs of the Qing Dynasty: first part / second part], *Zhonghua nüzi xueyuan xuebao* 中華女子學院學報, no. 4 (1997): 33–36; no. 1 (1998): 46–48.

[29] Wang, "The Rhythm of the City", 38.

[30] Ibid., 37.

[31] Ibid., 38–47.

reflect the values of their authors, many of whom were from the elite class.

Bamboo-branch songs are also a genre of travelogues. Many of them were written on trips for a variety of purposes. Therefore, they are also a good source for information on local cultures. Roland Altenburger looked at the literary writings of Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) during his two-year exile in Xinjiang province. Among them there is a group of bamboo-branch songs with one hundred sixty poems collectively entitled "Miscellaneous poems from Urumchi" (*Wulumuqi zashi* 烏魯木齊雜詩). These poems entail local scenes, but as the title hints, the themes are miscellaneous. Ji Yun referred to himself as a "sojourner" in one of the poems[32] which indicates his self-identification. Altenburger found that Ji Yun frequently compared what he saw in Xinjiang to what he knew of more central provinces, with which he was more familiar, in order to find the similarities between the two. But beyond simply wishing to grasp something familiar in an unfamiliar place, Ji Yun had another purpose. He hoped to praise the successful governance of the Emperor, whose mandate it was to improve the living conditions and promote the progress of civilization of the frontiers, which were largely viewed as barbaric or uncivilized. Ji Yun also wrote of the strange things he witnessed, in most cases from a critical point of view. Another theme of these poems is the pervasive sense of nostalgia. Thinking that there was only a slight chance of an exiled offical being released and allowed to move back home, the homesickness of Ji Yun revealed itself as stronger than that of a simple sojourner.[33]

The bamboo-branch song as a form of travel writing was also the subject of study by Tian Xiaofei. Tian researched bamboo-branch songs which were written from the experiences of Chinese in foreign lands during the nineteenth century. One of the subjects she studied was bamboo-branch songs of London by Zhang Zuyi 張祖翼 (1849–1917). Zhang was a calligrapher, seal carver, and epigraph collector. During 1883–1884 he travelled in Britain and recorded his experiences through a collection of ninety-nine bamboo-branch songs.[34] Tian

[32] See Roland Altenburger, "Fantasizing the Homeland: Ji Yun's Recollections of Exile at the Western Frontier (1769–70)", in: *Diasporic Histories: Cultural Archives of Chinese Transnationalism*, ed. Andrea Riemenschnitter and Deborah L. Madsen (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 134.

[33] Ibid., 133–137.

[34] Zhang Zuyi 張祖翼, Wang Yixuan 王以宣, and Pan Feisheng 潘飛聲, *Lundun zhuzhici, Fajing jishi shi, Xihai jixing juan, Bolin zhuzhici, Tianwai guicha lu* 倫敦竹枝詞, 法京紀事詩, 西海紀行卷, 柏林竹枝詞, 天外歸槎錄 [Bamboo-branch songs of London, Poems on the capital of France, Records of the journey to the west ocean,

noticed that in Zhang's writings, the poems themselves and the comments attached created "an odd collocation that mirrors the author's ambivalent attitude toward the foreign land".[35] To wit, in commentaries Zhang praised many new things in Britain, but in poems he was sarcastic about those same things. For example, he admitted in the commentary that the system of tap water allowed residents get cleaner water in a more convenient way and at little expense. But in his poem, he wrote that although the new technology made the water cleaner, it could never wash "their filthy customs" clean.[36] And about a zoo, he commented that it collected thousands of creatures, and some of them were so rare that they were even not mentioned in the book of *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing* 山海經), which was viewed by Chinese as the most complete compilation of mythic and rare beasts. However, in his poem Zhang sarcastically observed that "everyone says that London's fine, but the truth is they have few human beings and many beasts".[37] Tian Xiaofei argued that "the genre of classical *shi* poetry shows an elasticity of functionality that can shed light on the nature of poetry in general"[38], and because of a violent encounter with the world, "nineteenth-century poems about overseas experience are particularly revealing in this aspect".[39]

Stephen Roddy argues that bamboo-branch songs experienced an "ethnographic turn" during the later stages of their development. These poems combining empirical knowledge with lyrical expression, offer "a potentially instructive model for how premodern intellectuals applied poetic forms to the articulation of knowledge derived from close observation of the daily lives of human communities, including their interactions with their physical environment". Roddy investigated bamboo-branch songs about "water labor". "Water labor" refers to vocational groups and communities along lakes, levies, and channels of the Yangzi River basin. He realizes that bamboo-branch songs describe "artful reality". Based on reality,

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Bamboo-branch songs of Berlin, Records of the return journey from the outside of heaven], ed. Zhong Chuhe 鐘楚河, Zeng Deming 曾德明, and Yang Yunhui 楊雲輝 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2016), 18.

[35] Xiaofei Tian, *Visionary Journeys: Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth Century China*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 219.

[36] Ibid., 220.

[37] Ibid., 220.

[38] Ibid., 218.

[39] Ibid., 218–19.

such lyrical poems artistically organize their subjects.[40]

In her doctoral dissertation, Wu Yufeng 吳玉鳳 noted the special character of the language of bamboo-branch songs. This paper discusses words and phrases about popular customs (*minsu ciyu* 民俗詞語) of southern China used in bamboo-branch songs. These terms derived from local culture, history, legends, and local daily life, which reflect the mindsets of people from the area.[41]

Some studies focus on the literary value of bamboo-branch songs. Zhu Yi'an compared bamboo-branch songs with the *Classic of songs* (*Shijing* 詩經), the earliest anthology of poetry in ancient China, and insists that this genre of poems also carries on the tradition of "poetry expressing ideals" (*shi yan zhi* 詩言志), an orthodox marker for Chinese classical poetry. By linking bamboo-branch songs with *Shijing*, she tried to trace the former back to the "orthodox literature" of China.[42]

In his doctoral dissertation, Zhang Huicong summarized the writing skills required of bamboo-branch songs. He held that the plain diction and absence of allusion of this genre of poetry maintain a style faithful to its purported "folk" origin. Bamboo-branch songs adopt the rhetorical devices of "simile" (*bi* 比) and "stimulus" (*xing* 興) to express emotion. These two devices prevail in the *Shijing* and have been the focus of major poetic discourses throughout history. Additionally, the frequent use of puns is another important stylistic feature of bamboo-branch songs.[43]

Among the many treatises of bamboo-branch songs, studies on those from Shandong province are few. Shandong province is in north China. It faces the sea to the east and stretches inland

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[40] Roddy Stephen, "A Love of Labor: The Ethnographic Turn of *Zhuzhici*", *Journal of Chinese Humanities*, no. 7 (2021): 258–285.

[41] Wu Yufeng 吳玉鳳, *Ming Qing Huanan zhuzhici minsu wenhua ciyu yu shuyu yanjiu* 明清華南竹枝詞民俗文化詞語與熟語研究 [Study on the folk, culture, and idiom terms of South China bamboo-branch songs in the Ming-Qing Dynasty] (PhD diss., Shandong University, Ji'nan, 2011).

[42] Zhu Yi'an 朱易安, "Lüelun zhuzhici de shixue chuantong" 略論竹枝詞的詩學傳統 [The poetic tradition of bamboo-branch songs], *Shanghai shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)*上海師範大學學報 (哲學社會科學版), no. 2 (2014): 45–51.

[43] Zhang Huicong, *A Critical Study of Yang Weizhen (1296-1370) and His Yuefu Poetry* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009), 226–229.

to the west. The long and narrow terrain from the east to the west, from the sea to the inland, brings significant differences to its peoples' lives and their cultural expressions. In fact, historically, it was two politically, culturally, and socio-economically separate states: Qi 齊 (inland farming) and Lu 魯 (marine fishing). Even today, contemporary Shandong continues to maintain both cultures.[44]

There is a regional bias in the number of studies of bamboo-branch songs; more studies of this genre have been based in South China in contrast to the North. As for the bamboo-branch songs of Shandong, no general study has yet been presented. By comparison, studies on this form of poetry based in other places, for instance Zhejiang province, Shanghai, or Sichuan and Chongqing, are far more common. This dissertation aims to contribute to balancing this deficit.

In one of his papers, Li Tingjin 李廷錦 introduces Zheng Xie's 鄭燮 (1693–1765) bamboo-branch lyrics of Wei County, Shandong province. In this group of poems, Zheng described urban lives in the county, both the good and the bad. On the one hand, he described the prosperous scenes of the city, on the other hand, he also noticed the huge gap between the rich and the poor. Li pointed that Zheng's poems are excellent works, both as literature, and as a record of historical realities of Wei County society. Both as a poet and as an artist, Zheng employed a variety of techniques in his poems, but the language he used was simple and vernacular in style.[45] Building on this, Sun Jiansong 孫建松 discussed the relationship between bamboo-branch poems of Wei County and the local gazetteer. Sun holds that involving a wide range of life scenes, bamboo-branch poems themselves are a micro-gazetteer of the local, and that such poems serve as a supplement of historical local gazetteers, making

[44] Zhou Lisheng 周立升 and Cai Degui, "Qilu wenhua kaobian" 齊魯文化考辨 [Textual research on the culture of Qi and Lu], *Shandong daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 山東大學學報 (哲學社會科學版), no. 1 (1997): 3–9.

[45] See Li Tingjin 李廷錦, "Yi shi minjian jikusheng—Lun Zheng Banqiao de 'Weixian zhuzhici'" 疑是民間疾苦聲——論鄭板橋的《濰縣竹枝詞》 [Imaging it to be the complaints of the people—On Zheng Banqiao's *Bamboo-branch songs of Wei County*], *Zhongshan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 中山大學學報(社會科學版), no. 3 (1986): 113–119.

them come alive with the supplemental information and figurative language found in the poems.[46]

Li Tingting's study on the rhythm and language of bamboo-branch songs inquires into the prosody of this genre of poems. Li compares the language of two groups of bamboo-branch poems of Ji'nan, the capital city of Shandong province. One is by Wang Xiangchun 王象春 (1578–1632), and the other is by Wang Chutong 王初桐 (1730–1821). Li analyses the two from the perspective of poetical meter, sentence structure and vocabulary related to local customs. What is noticeable is the poetical meter of the poems. According to her study, 77 pieces of 100 poems by Wang Xiangchun and 79 pieces of 100 poems by Wang Chutong fit the rules of heptasyllabic quatrains.[47]

Feng Jin's 馮靜 master's thesis explores bamboo-branch songs of Ji'nan with a cultural perspective. Through bamboo-branch poems she studies the city culture of Ji'nan and its impact on women's daily lives.[48]

Research Questions

From the literature review we can see that, so far, current research has focused narrowly on the bamboo-branch songs of Ji'nan from the viewpoint of linguistics and socio-culture. But there does not appear to be any comprehensive study of the historical development of bamboo-branch songs of Shandong as a body of lyric literature. Historical development in literature is an important part of local culture, and one of the characteristics of bamboo-branch songs. This dissertation takes as its subject focus a comprehensive study, based on current research, of the development of bamboo-branch songs characteristic of Shandong province.

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[46] See Sun Jiansong 孫建松, "Qing Qianlong yilai Weixian zhuzhici yu fangzhi" 清乾隆以來濰縣竹枝詞與方志 [Bamboo-branch Songs of Wei County and the Local Gazetteer Since the Reign of Qianlong Emperor], *Zhongguo difang zhi* 中國地方志, no. 9 (2014): 49–54.

[47] See Li Tingting 李婷婷, *Wang Xiangchun, Wang Chutong Ji'nan zhuzhici yuyan duibi yanjiu* 王象春王初桐濟南竹枝詞語言對比研究 [A comparative study of the language in Wang Xiangchun and Wang Chutong's bamboo-branch poems] (Master's thesis., Shandong University, Ji'nan, 2009).

[48] See Feng Jing 馮靜, *Ming Qing shiqi de Ji'nan zhuzhici yanjiu* 明清時期的濟南竹枝詞研究 [A study on the bamboo-branch poems about Ji'nan during the Ming and Qing dynasties] (Master's thesis., Shandong University, Ji'nan, 2017).

The first part of this dissertation will study bamboo-branch songs as a genre of literature as such. As this is the first dissertation about bamboo-branch songs in English, many basic textual questions must be clarified. What genre of poems are they? What nomenclature is appropriate? What is the difference between these poems and heptasyllabic quatrains, which share a similar form? Who created them, and how were they published and spread? Was there music for this genre of songs?

In the second part of this thesis, I take the bamboo-branch songs of Shandong province as a subject to study how local conditions are presented in the poems.

I want to inquire the following questions through bamboo-branch songs of Shandong: what kind of local life do they present and how? As travel literature, how do this kind of poems describe travelling culture in the capital city Ji'nan? Regarding Bamboo-branch songs about local history (*jishi shi*) of Shandong, comparing to other records, to what extent do they reflect reality as literature? Is there unique historical information or perspective in these poems?

Structure

As for the material, I have collected 157 groups of bamboo-branch songs, comprising 1.732 poems, from different sources, including 988 poems from the *Quanbian*, which is the most comprehensive collection so far. Others have been sourced from local gazetteers and poetry collections. I give detailed information about the poems, including authors, sources and main contents. I also made an index in the table of the poems quoted in the main text. It is far from a full picture, but still sufficient to guarantee the validity of this study.

The first part answers questions about the genre. Since some research questions are already partly answered in existing research, I will avoid repetition, but will add supplementation where appropriate. For example, although there are studies on the authors of bamboo-branch songs, there is a lack of in-depth investigation into their identities. The authors have a common identity as "scholars" (*wenren* 文人). However, I find that concrete details of authors' personhood reveal definitive influences on their compositions. Moreover, I find that few studies gave special attention to the texts attached to the poems, i.e., the prefaces and the comments. These texts, especially the comments, increasingly became an integral part of the poems by the period of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. The attached texts provide

"contextualizing information which also made the songs accessible to a nonlocal audience and to later generations of readers".[49]

The terminology alone of this kind of poem is quite controversial. Initially, they were called *zhuzhici* 竹枝詞 or *zhuzhige* 竹枝歌, which literary means "bamboo-branch songs". However, various terms have appeared over time. To properly study this genre of poetry, one must first clarify the terms and then decide on the scope of the subject matter. Bamboo-branch songs cover many other genres of vernacular poetry, such as boating songs and event-recording poems (*jishi shi* 紀事詩). Although they may have distinct origins, they were incorporated into bamboo-branch songs. This dissertation takes a broad concept of bamboo-branch songs, drawing on the genre definition as applied in the *Quanbian*, which is practical and reasonable. Separating pure bamboo-branch songs from other songs in the same genre during over one thousand years of development is difficult and somewhat meaningless. Appendix 2 is a table for the numerous different generic terms related to this genre of poems.

This dissertation also focuses on the relationship between local gazetteers and bamboo-branch songs, given that songs are regularly included in local gazetteers as poetic documents. I find that the phenomenon of bamboo-branch songs being published in local gazetteers also influenced the creation of the poems.

The term *zhuzhici* is also translated as "bamboo-branch poems" or "bamboo-branch lyrics". (I discuss these translations in section 1.4). I insist on adopting the translation as "bamboo-branch songs", which hints at a musical tradition. Bamboo-branch songs were divorced from actual singing in later periods; however, they had been accompanied with music at the early stage. Moreover, some records reveal performances of bamboo-branch songs even down to the Ming Dynasty.

Another discussion is dedicated to the style of this kind of poetry. I argue that bamboo-branch songs are a form of vernacular poetry in premodern China. Although they were written by elite members, they put almost all their emphasis on local common life, which includes the ordinary and the mundane. Moreover, the poems' language is not classical, but instead targeting a broader readership. Some poems are colloquial in style and interspersed with

[49] Altenburger, "Observations of a Changing World", 175.

dialect words. Mimicry of folk songs is found in the creation of bamboo-branch songs, including ubiquitous puns.

The structure of the second part was a problem that I considered for a long time. "Miscellaneous poems" (*zashi* 雜詩), a common title for bamboo-branch songs, reflects a distinguishing feature of this genre of poems. With dozens or sometimes even hundreds of poems in one group, they rarely have a clear focus but involve many different aspects of the local society. It is impossible to cover every aspect of the local culture of Shandong in this dissertation, and the topics are, by necessity, limited and exemplary. Daily life is a prime motif of bamboo-branch songs, and this certainly holds true also for the poems of Shandong. Bamboo-branch songs capture the smallest details of life, through which people can relive for themselves the small but critical details of past lives. Bamboo-branch songs have a natural fit to serve as a genre of travelogue writing, since they were frequently written on the journey as the authors were experiencing it first-hand. History is an essential part of a place and is creatively captured and catalogued in bamboo-branch songs for posterity. In bamboo-branch songs historical personages, places and events remain astonishingly accessible. The bamboo-branch songs of Shandong are a part of that heritage; short poems capable of making complex historical events and forgotten personal lives both accessible and meaningful to contemporary, historical readers.

In my examination of these poems there is a gender bias in the description of social life. Whether poems are about daily life or festivals, women are always actively present. Therefor, I take women's life as a fouce in Chapter three. In the descriptions of Shandong's festivals and customs bamboo-branch songs introduce what women did in the ceremonies and how they dressed. Love life is also an emphasis. Importantly, bamboo-branch songs present the love life of commoners from a female perspective. What's more, they are usually written in the voice of common women, often expressing their emotions, e.g., lotus-picking maids, peasant women, and even child brides.

In chapter four, I explore the traveling culture in the capital city, Ji'nan. This city is located in the west of Shandong. Bamboo-branch songs of Ji'nan occupy the most prominent part in the collection of Shandong bamboo-branch songs, and among them, traveling in Ji'nan is the primary focus. Ji'nan, as the provincial capital of Shandong, welcomed people from the whole empire. Scholars came to Ji'nan for various reasons, and they composed many poems about

their outings there. From these poems we learn the unique natural environment and local culture of Ji'nan, and the difficulties, exploits and rewards of premodern traveling.

Chapter five investigates how bamboo-branch songs of Shandong depict war, rebellions and also famines that happened there. In this chapter, I compare many different sources about one event to investigate how to treat bamboo-branch songs as source materials.

Part One: A General Study of Bamboo-branch Songs

Chapter 1: The Genre of Bamboo-branch Songs

1.1 Terminology

Zhuzhici is a general term used in reference to bamboo-branch poetry. There are a number of opinions concerning the origin of this term. Japanese sinologist Shionoya On 塩谷温 (1878–1962) held that the term derived from the earliest performances of these songs; that actual bamboo branches were used in creating an acoustic backdrop as the poetry was being sung. However, Peng Xiushu 彭秀樞 and Peng Nanjun 彭南均 dismiss this view. They hold that the term *zhuzhi* was related to *vocal* "harmonizing sounds" (*hesheng* 和聲) in accompaniment of the folksongs themselves.[50] Ma Zhiqing 馬稚青 held a similar view. He argued that *zhuzhi* were "scattered sounds" (*sansheng* 散聲); when the singer was singing, others sang the actual word *zhuzhi* as a harmonizing accompaniment to the poetry.[51]

The term *zhuzhici* is often used generically for this genre of poetry but is also employed as the term for one particular group of songs within bamboo-branch poetry. When one opens the *Quanbian* (See Introduction), or any other collection of bamboo-branch songs, one finds that not all groups of bamboo-branch songs are titled with the term *zhuzhici*. Actually, there are a variety of titles. Bamboo-branch songs, in a broad sense, as we put before, are widely recognized by scholars as *fengtushi* 風土詩 (poetry of geographical conditions and local customs), which includes a variety of ballad folk-style poems.[52] However, in early compilations, bamboo-branch songs were not equated with *fengtushi*. Aside from bamboo-branch songs, there were orange-branch songs (*juzhici* 橘枝詞), willow-branch songs (*liuzhici*

[50] On Shionoya 塩谷温, *Zhongguo wenxue gailun jianghua* 中國文學概論講話 [Introduction to Chinese literature], trans. Sun Lianggong 孫俍工 (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1929), 151; Peng Xiushu 彭秀樞 and Peng Nanjun 彭南均, "Zhuzhici de yuanliu" 竹枝詞的源流 [Origin of the bamboo-branch song], *Jianghan luntan* 江漢論壇, no. 12 (1982): 44–45.

[51] Ma, "Zhuzhici yanjiu", 168.

[52] Qiu Liangren 邱良任, "Lun fengtushi" 論風土詩 [On poetry of geographical conditions and local customs), *Jinan xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue)* 暨南學報 (哲學社會科學) 17, no. 1 (1995): 90.

柳枝詞), jujube-branch songs (*zaozhici* 棗枝詞), lichee-branch songs (*lizhici* 荔枝詞), and more. These also now belong to the category of *fengtushi*. Qiu Liangren, however, insists on separating bamboo-branch songs from them all. He argues that this is because there are different foci between *zhuzhici* and the others. In one cycle of bamboo-branch songs one could find many different motifs, while in one cycle of other "branch" songs, there is usually only a single motif.[53] Ma Zhiqing considers that orange-branch songs and willow-branch songs also follow the form of heptasyllabic quatrains. Willow-branch songs only take willows as the subject, while bamboo-branch songs cover a great variety of topics based on everyday life within a given locale. Orange-branch songs appeared during the Song Dynasty. A poet of the Song Dynasty, Ye Shuixin 葉水心, first created a group of orange-branch songs with three poems to describe local scenes in Yongjia 永嘉 (i.e. present Wenzhou, Zhejiang province).[54] As I read the three poems, the oranges of Yongjia are taken up not simply as food, but also as commodities for trade, and how that trade is conducted.[55] Qiu also distinguishes other kinds of poems which differ from bamboo-branch songs; for example, boating songs (*zhao'ge* 棹歌), series of one hundred descriptive poems (*baiyong* 百詠), poems on eight or ten viewing sites (*bajingshi* 八景詩 or *shijingshi* 十景詩), and poems on miscellaneous topics (*zashi* 雜詩).[56] However, these subgenres of poems are hard to distinguish from *zhuzhici*. Qiu himself, when editing the *Quanbian*, included all kinds of poems which he considered to be different from bamboo-branch songs in his previous research. Today, when we use the term bamboo-branch songs, we no longer use it in the narrow sense, but rather more broadly. It is a general name for poems about folkways employing a vernacular-style, usually in the form of heptasyllabic quatrains.

Sun Jie classifies the terms of bamboo-branch songs into thirty-five categories, sharing Qiu's view that not all the *fengtushi* can be included in bamboo-branch songs; otherwise, the range of poetic styles would be broad.[57] But his standard is still more generous than Qiu's, by including genres that Qiu thought should be excluded, such as boating songs. *Quanbian*

[53] Ibid., 92–93.

[54] Ma, "Zhuzhici yanjiu", 199–202.

[55] Ibid., 201.

[56] Qiu Liangren 邱良任, "Lun fengtushi": 93–98.

[57] Sun, *Zhuzhici fazhanshi*, 32–46.

includes poems which share forms similar to bamboo-branch songs that focus on local things.[58]

I have affixed a table in the appendix2 of this dissertation of the diverse genre terms that are adopted in *Quanbian*, and in combination with Sun Jie's research, as a point of reference. It is necessary to distinguish the differentiating terminology when discussing and treating *zhuzhici*.

1.2 Differences Between Bamboo-branch Songs and Heptasyllabic Quatrains

Although bamboo-branch songs are called *zhuzhici*, they are not seen as any type of "song lyric" (*ci* 詞) literature. Sun Jie explains that *ci* are written to be sung to a tune of different names of tunes (*cipai* 詞牌). Every *cipai* has its own prosody. But bamboo-branch songs do not have a specific tune.[59]

This dissertation won't go deep in the prosodic analysis linguisticly, but makes a compraration between bamboo-branch songs with heptasyllabic quatrains (*qijue*), which shares a similar form of bamboo-branch songs. It is easier and more practical to let this genre of poems be recognized.

To add to the above controversies is the question: what is the difference between bamboo-branch songs and heptasyllabic quatrains? This question is not only discussed by contemporary academics but was also raised in premodern China. Given relevant research, I hold the view that one should be careful in treating bamboo-branch songs simply as *qijue*, because there are several differences between the two.

First, they have clearly different origins. Bamboo-branch songs originally were folk songs from the area of present-day Sichuan and Chongqing, while *qijue* belongs to the lineage of "Tang-regulated poetry (including eight-line 'regulated verse,' the regulated quatrain, and longer recent-style poems)",[60] which can be traced back to the end of the fifth century. "It was first shaped by the systematic avoidance of 'faults' in the use of tones and by compositional

[58] *Quanbian*, 1: 3–4.

[59] Sun, *Zhuzhici fazhan shi*, 17.

[60] Kang-I Sun Chang and Stephen Owen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1: 301.

habits."[61] *Qijue*, as one style of recent-style poetry (*jintishi* 近體詩) appeared as a result of the refinement and creation of poetic prosody during the early Tang Dynasty. The counterpart of recent-style poetry is "ancient-style poetry" (*gutishi* 古體詩).[62] It is not possible to discuss *qijue* without involving regulated poetry (*lüshi* 律詩), more precisely, the heptasyllabic eight-line poems (*qiyan lüshi* 七言律詩), since their rules for poetic form are closely tied.

Without exception, *qijue* conform to heptasyllabic quatrains; bamboo-branch songs do not. Although in most cases, bamboo-branch songs are quatrains with seven characters per line, there are exceptions. Ren Bantang 任半塘 gave examples of two-line bamboo-branch songs,[63] while Sun Jie summarized seven forms of bamboo-branch songs; for example, quatrains with five characters in each line and seven-characters in five lines.[64] *Quanbian* does not exclude these "irregular" poetic forms, either.

Secondly, the essential difference between bamboo-branch songs and *qijue* is the prosody, which refers to the regulation of the rhythm, the rhyme and the tone distribution, etc. As previously noted, *qijue* belongs to regulated poetry, which exhibits rigidly strict meters. "The term *jueju* literally means 'cut-off lines,' and it was believed by many critics that this meant the *wuyan jueju* 五絕 (five-character quatrain) and *qijue* forms had originated as quatrain segments cut from eight-line *lüshi* forms."[65] Therefore, *jueju* obeys the regulations of the forms of *lüshi*. The tone pattern of *lüshi* is an important part of the meter. Four tones of Middle Chinese were categorized into two patterns: one was a level (*ping* 平) tone, and the other was an oblique (*ze* 仄) tone. The tone patterns of Chinese classical poems are regulated combinations of the two. For the *qiyan lüshi* there were four standard forms.[66] There could be exceptions, but they varied only slightly from the regulating rule. *Qijue* obey the same regulations as *qiyan lüshi*. Apart from the tone pattern, the rule of the rhyme is also strict.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid, 301–302.

[63] Ren Bantang 任半塘, "Zhuzhi kao" 竹枝考 [Textual study on bamboo-branch songs], in *Chengdu zhuzhici*, 1–6.

[64] Sun, *Zhuzhici fazhan shi*, 26–28.

[65] Zongqi Cai, *How to Read Chinese Poetry: A Guided Anthology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 199.

[66] Wang Li 王力, *Shici gelü; shici gelü gaiyao* 詩詞格律; 詩詞格律概要 [The meter of poetry and songs; Essentials of the meter of poetry and songs] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 28–29.

There are 106 rhyme groups in one poetic rhyme system, and both *lüshi* and *jueju* must adopt rhymes from this rhyming system.[67] Bamboo-branch songs are much freer in their meter. Ren Bantang discusses several of their differentiating characteristics, both during the premodern period of China and modern China. His overwhelming point is that the tone and rhyme of bamboo-branch songs are quite different from *qijue*[68], and are in fact "off rhyme" (*aoti* 坳體) *qijue*.[69] Since bamboo-branch songs have a long history from the Tang through the Qing Dynasties, their compositions have evolved. During the Tang Dynasty, there was a huge difference in the meter between the two, but by the Qing Dynasty, it was common that bamboo-branch songs adopted the meter of *qijue*. According to Sun Jie, the seven-character quatrain form of bamboo-branch songs adopted not only the meter of both recent-style poems and ancient-style poems, but also accommodate the "irregular forms" of *qijue*.[70]

Li Tingjin 李廷錦 explains that when *zhuzhici* were still *true* folksongs, they did not follow the *pingze* rule at all. During the Tang Dynasty, scholars adopted both the meters of ancient-style poems and recent-style poems to write bamboo-branch songs. For example, Liu Yuxi's two cycles of *zhuzhici* used both meters. Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) also used both meters in his *zhuzhici* poems. From the Tang through to the Qing Dynasties, the situation was the same; poets did not distinguish between the two meters when they wrote bamboo-branch songs.[71]

Another distinction between bamboo-branch songs and *qijue* is that bamboo-branch songs focus on local things, with a vernacular style. Using far fewer classical allusions and employing more simple words, they were easily understood, not only by elite members, but also by educated common people. On the other hand, *qijue*, as a form of classical poetry, presents a wider range of topics in a more elegant style. Those usually contain many allusions that only those with a profound knowledge of classical literature and history can understand.

When Wang Shizhen 王士禛 was asked about the difference between bamboo-branch songs and heptasyllabic quatrains, he answered:

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[67] Ibid., 22.

[68] Ren Bantang, "Zhuzhi kao", 26–29.

[69] Sun, *Zhuzhici fazhan shi*, 19.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Li Tingjin 李廷錦, "Lüelun zhuzhici" 略論竹枝詞 [A brief theory about bamboo-branch songs], *Zhongshan daxue xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 中山大學學院學報(社會科學版), no. 1 (1993): 112–113.

> Bamboo-branch songs describe geographical conditions and local customs (*fengtu*), and all kinds of trivial or interesting things could be included. They are normally in a witty style, which is totally different from regulated quatrains.
>
> 竹枝詠風土，瑣細詼諧皆可入。大抵以風趣為主，與絕句迥別。[72]

Wang did not mention the distinction of the prosody of the two, but rather referred to content and language style. He believed that bamboo-branch songs, which focused on local things, were far less serious than *jueju*.

In collecting the bamboo-branch songs of Shandong, I noticed that in many cases bamboo-branch songs were categorised under the literary genre of *qijue* in poetry collections.[73] But when the collections were categorised following other criteria, e.g. chronology, then the category of bamboo-branch songs became unclear. Moreover, some authors themselves called their *zhuzhici* poems "*jueju*". For example, Dong Weiye 董偉業, a famous scholar who lived during the period from the reign of the Kangxi Emperor to the Qianlong Emperor of the Qing Dynasty, termed his ninety-nine bamboo-branch songs of Yangzhou in the preface as *jueju*.[74] The same situation is seen in another preface of a group of bamboo-branch songs by Cheng Jianshan 程兼善 who also lived during the Qing Dynasty. In the preface he wrote that "to express the feeling of staying in a strange land, I wrote one hundred *jueju* poems".[75] Qian Liangze 錢良擇 (b. 1645) during his mission to the frontier, composed many "heptasyllabic quatrains" (*qiyan jueju*),[76] which he considered were bamboo-branch songs:

> I wrote what I saw into poems using the genre of heptasyllabic quatrains. I only write them for recording events. I composed poems whenever I had ideas, and I did not give

[72] Wang, *Daijingtang shihua*, 849.

[73] Here I give several examples based on my searching of the documents. See Qingdai shiwenji huibian bianzuan weiyuanhui 清代詩文集彙編編纂委員會, *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編 [Compendium of poems and essays from the Qing Dynasty] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 224: 419; *Huibian*, 353: 601-602; *Huibian*, 206: 417, 425; *Huibian*, 40: 593; 596; 616.

[74] *Quanbian*, 3: 153.

[75] Ibid, 2: 364.

[76] Ibid, 1: 458.

each poem a title. The language is sometimes humorous, which is also one of the features that bamboo-branch songs retain.

目之所見，觸口成吟。率作七言絕句，但取紀事而已，隨得隨書，一概不用標題。語雜詼諧，亦竹枝詞遺意也。[77]

It seems that Qian Liangze did not bother to distinguish forms. He simply wrote heptasyllabic quatrains and gave them the general title of "bamboo-branch songs". For him, it seems, their linguistic content was more important. Since the language was not as stylistically rigorous as ordinary poems, he considered his poems to be closer to bamboo-branch songs.

I conclude that until the end of the Qing Dynasty, the distinction between bamboo-branch songs and heptasyllabic quatrains was obscure. Theoretically, they were different, but practically, there were intersections.

To summarize, in terms of form, there are definite differences between bamboo-branch songs and heptasyllabic quatrains. Although most of the former look similar to heptasyllabic quatrains, they are much freer in tone and rhyme. Heptasyllabic quatrains are a genre with stable, definite, and strict forms, while there are no settled rules for bamboo-branch songs. They are freer to adopt rules of both ancient and recent-style poems. Some of them are also viewed as unusual *qijue*. The focuses of the two are also different. Bamboo-branch songs put emphasis on narrowly focused local topics and are much simpler than classical poems. Heptasyllabic quatrains treat broader topics, and their strict rules, refined language and historical allusions make them more difficult for ordinary people to understand.

However, their distinctions are sometimes unclear. In poetry collections during the Qing Dynasty, bamboo-branch songs can be classified under the category of heptasyllabic quatrains. I hold that during the long historical span of bamboo-branch songs from the Tang to the Qing Dynasty, the creation of bamboo-branch songs changed a lot. In the early stage the two forms of poetry were clearly distinguished, but later the boundaries were uaully crossed.

[77] Ibid.

1.3 The Comments to the Poems

In reading bamboo-branch songs one will find that there are many supplemental texts and comments attached to the verses. These vary in length from a single sentence to a short article. According to Sun Jie's study, though there was some early evidence of this phenomenon, they became popular only during the Ming Dynasty.[78]

An initial question might be: who wrote them? It is safe to say that they were written by the poetic authors themselves. The lyrics usually record personal experiences, and the comments serve as a supplement to those experiences. They are not independent observations. However, it is very common that prefaces and prescripts to the poems were written by others. For example, Dong Weiye's cycle of bamboo-branch songs of Yangzhou (*Yangzhou zhuzhici* 揚州竹枝詞) includes two prefaces, one by Zheng Xie, and the other one by Dong himself.[79]

A second question is: when were the comments written? Were they written simultaneously with the poems or not? I shall discuss this on the basis of several examples.

In one cycle of bamboo-branch songs of Songjiang (*Songjiang zhuzhici* 松江竹枝詞), written in the year 1775, the author Huang Ting 黃庭 included the following comments below in his introduction:

> Four days after the full-moon day (the 15th day in the lunar month) of the month of midsummer, the forty-first year of the reign of Emperor Qianlong, I composed these songs in the Yi Garden of the Shi family. One hundred pieces took me only one day and night. I wrote them randomly without a set order. Comments were gleaned from the *Prefecture's Gazetteer*, which is the main source. However, things change along with time. Whenever I had new ideas, I marked them with the word 'note' (*an*) to differentiate them from others. As for the herbs, insects, flowers and birds, only those that were recorded in the local gazetteer were written into the songs. I did not pick them out randomly. Therefore, there is no need to comment on them.
>
> 乾隆四十一年仲夏月望後四日書詞成於施氏依園中，僅畢一日夜之力，計一百首。信手拈來，不分次序。小注以府志為藍本，簡而出之，毫無背謬。但時異

[78] Sun Jie, *Zhuzhici fazhanshi*, 160.

[79] *Quanbian*, 3: 153.

勢殊，間有新意，則加一「按」字以別之。至於草蟲花鳥，必志中所載者始入於詞，並非任意點染，所以概不用注。[80]

From this comment, we know that the author created one cycle of 100 poems in the short time span of one night and one day. For the composition, he used the *Prefectural Gazetteer* as a reference. It is reasonable to deduce that he added the comments while creating the poem, since the comments were based on this book. So, in this case, it seems safe to say that the whole work, both the poems along with the comments, were created together.

However, this creative process varied. In the preface of another group of bamboo-branch songs, entitled "Event-recording poems of Jilin" (*Jilin jishishi* 吉林紀事詩), the author Shen Zhaoti 沈兆禔 mentions that there were several versions of this group of poems. In the beginning, he had written 164 poems, added comments and had them printed as a collection. Then he wrote an additional ten poems and added a commentary of more than ten-thousand words, which became the second version. The comments in the second version were not only added for the ten new poems but were also supplemented for the original cycle of poems and their comments. After one year, he came back home with the first version, and when his friends asked him to publish it, he had to add the supplementary texts from memory. However, the comments of the second version were too many and too long for him to remember them all, so some of them were missing. This then became the third version.[81] In this case, we can see that although comments were written accompanying the verses, the author still could re-edit them freely before publishing.

I conclude that normally the comments accompanying bamboo-branch poetry were written together with the verses. Before publishing, authors could re-edit them, just as they could revise their poems.

So, why did poets attach comments after the verses? What was the function of the comments?

As Roland Altenburger puts it, the comments "provide context that is indispensable for making sense of the poems".[82] They usually supply local background information that

[80] *Quanbian*, 2: 330.

[81] *Quanbian*, 1: 532–533.

[82] Altenburger, "Fantasizing the Homeland", 131.

might either be missing or not spelled out in the verses. Some of the comments refer to larger contexts, thus expanding the understanding of the poems. Bamboo-branch songs are mainly about very local things, and most of them involve the direct private experiences of the authors. However, the poetic expressions of their experiences might lack critical contexts that the prose commentaries could provide in order for the reader to fully join the author's poetic experience. Prose texts provide those critical contexts.

For example, Ji Yun's "Miscellaneous Poems from Urumchi" record many customs and products generic to the western frontier, which people from eastern China rarely experienced.

Let's take one poem about the tea of Urumchi as an example:

> Minhai is so far away, and the route is daunting.
>
> How do people in the west know *Xiaolongtuan* [Small-dragon pattern-ball tea]?
>
> They always say that the official tea renders warm,
>
> Which can neutralize the piercing chilliness of the water of mountain springs.
>
> 閩海迢迢道路難
>
> 西人誰識小龍團
>
> 向來只說官茶暖
>
> 消得山泉沁骨寒[83]

The poem tells that in the far west (present-day Xinjiang), people did not know *Xiaolongtuan* tea, which was produced in Minhai (present-day Fujian province). They drank official tea (*guancha* 官茶), which made their bodies warm.

Then what information does the comment supply?

> It is extremely hard to get high-quality tea here. Local people only drink *fu* tea. They say that water here is cold and hurts the stomach, and only *fu* tea, which has a warm nature, can neutralize it. Merchants exchange horses for this officially-produced tea, and during trade they also transport some extra tea, and that is *fu*[84] tea. When boiling it, in

[83] *Quanbian*, 7: 288.

[84] The word *fu* 附 means 'extra', or 'additional'.

the beginning, the colour of tea is amber, and later it becomes darker and as black gemstones.

佳茗頗不易致，土人惟飲附茶。云此地水寒傷胃，惟附茶性暖能解之。附茶者，商為官制，易馬之茶。因而附運者也。初煎之色如琥珀，煎稍久則黑如墅。[85]

The comment gives detailed information on several points: what 'official' tea was, why the tea was called 'extra' (*fu*) tea, and what it looked like. We also get information about the tea-horse trade on the frontier. Moreover, the obscure description of the nature of the tea in the last two lines of the poem receives a clear explanation in the comment: that in the sense of traditional medicine or neurology, the nature of *fu* tea was warm, and that the spring water was cold. The two neutralize each other well.

The information in the commentary is not spelled out in the poem, because it is not necessary for the poetic nature of the poem itself. The purpose of adding the comments was to make the context of the poem easier to be understood. Just like this example, comments of bamboo-branch songs always supply extra information, which become reservoirs of information and provide context for readers.

Some comments also contain literary knowledge by citing material, which makes it more readable. For example, in a poem about a brave woman of Ji'nan, the author Wang Chutong 王初桐 (1730–1821) cites references from two sources:

Yi'e is praised widely in her hometown.

She was just like a Ji Bu dressed in red or a female Jing Ke.

If a filial begonia tree had been planted back then,

It would definitely be full of white blossoms [by now].

鄉里紛紛說義娥

紅妝季布女荊軻

當時若種孝棠樹

[85] *Quanbian*, 7: 288.

定有白花開一窠[86]

The poem is about a girl who was given the nickname of Yi'e (Righteous Beauty). The name reflects her high level of morality. She is even compared with two historically famous righteous men, Ji Bu 季布 and Jing Ke 荊軻.[87] The last two lines are harder to be understood, because they involve an allusion which is supplied in the comment as below:

> From Zhang Minghe's *Brief Biography of Righteous Beauty*: The family name of Yi'e was Lu, and her name was Guixiang. She was the foster daughter of Wu Aizhong. Aizhong was killed by an enemy. The girl clung to the killer's clothes and did not let go, even though the killer stabbed her with a knife. Finally, a patrolman came and arrested the killer. From *The poetry collection* by an author surnamed Song: The begonia tree of Song Bi 宋璧 from Licheng unexpectedly blossomed in white. Back then, the mother of Bi had passed away, so people all called the tree "Filial Begonia".
>
> 張鳴鶴《義娥傳略》：義娥姓盧，名桂香。吳愛眾養女。愛眾為仇所殺，姑扭仇衣，仇刃之，死不放手，邏者擒焉。宋氏《詩冊》：歷城宋璧家海棠樹忽變白色，是時璧有母喪，因共呼之為「孝棠」。[88]

The comment mentions two stories. The first is a brief biography of Yi'e, who she was and what she did. The second explains the "filial begonia" appearing in the poem, an event reflecting the son standing with his mother (parent) even after death. Without the comment, it is almost impossible to understand the poem.

In most cases, comments supply crucial information for readers. Moreover, in many cases, the comments can be quite independent of the poems. But it is noticeable that the authors of bamboo-branch songs seemed not to treat the comments as important as the poems. comments

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[86] Ibid, 5: 407.

[87] Ji Bu 季布 lived between the late Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.E) and the the early Western Han Dynasty (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E). He was well known for his gallantry and spirit. He was appointed an imperial guardsman by emperor Gaozu of Han (256–195 B.C.E.). Jing Ke 荊軻 lived during the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.E.). Jing Ke was a famous knight-errant (*youxia* 遊俠) and assassin. Their biographies are included in *Shiji* 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian]. For Ji Bu's biography, see Sima Qian 司馬遷, Shiji 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 8: 3305–3309; for Jing Ke, see ibid., 3066–3077.

[88] *Quanbian*, 5: 407.

were always in second place. They seldom mentioned the comments in prefaces of their poems, rather, they hoped that their poems could be noticed by government representatives, acting as a window for the latter to know the society. Moreover, they expected that they themselves would be remembered through their poems (just like Yan Bi's case in Chapter Four). I argue that one reason is that compared to the lyrics, comments appeared late. In the early stage, comments were not so common, and they were usually very short as supplements to the poems. Since the Ming Dynasty, they have become more common. Long comments were more popular during the Qing. Another reason may be that in China, "literature's self-consciousness" (*wende zijue* 文的自覺) appeared very early. Scholars realized literature's functions, value, and power as early as the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). Literati belived that literature can pass the reputation of authors. Poetry occupied an important position in Chinese classical literature. Bamboo-branch songs were expected to act as memory or at least as chronicles for a certain place.

In sum, comments served as addenda to the bamboo-branch songs, added by the author themselves, with the express intention of supplying necessary information which was missing in the poems. In many cases, the understanding of the verse often depended on the prose comment, whereas the prose comment could also stand alone.

1.4 The Music and the Performance of Bamboo-branch Songs

Scholars have their own translations of the term *zhuzhici*. Di Wang translates it as "bamboo-branch poetry";[89] Stephen Roddy as "bamboo-branch lyrics";[90] Michael A. Fuller puts it as "to the tune 'Bamboo Branch'",[91] whereas Tian Xiaofei and Roland Altenburger translate it as "bamboo-branch songs".[92] From my point of view, every translation makes sense. This dissertation adopts the translation of Tian Xiaofei and Roland Altenburger for several reasons.

[89] Wang, "The Rhythm of the City", 33.

[90] Stephen Roddy, "A Love of Labor: The Ethnographic Turn of *Zhuzhici*", *Journal of Chinese Humanities*, no. 7 (2021): 258.

[91] Michael A. Fuller, *An Introduction to Chinese Poetry: From the Canon of Poetry to the Lyrics of the Song Dynasty* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017), 355.

[92] Tian, *Visionary Journeys*, 219; Altenburger, "Fantasizing the Homeland", 131; Altenburger, "Observations of a Changing World", 174.

First, I agree that *zhuzhici* are a genre of poetry. I adopt the translation of "bamboo-branch song" because I consider that this translation creates a connection with the folksy origin and the poems' performance in the early stage of *zhuzhici*. In classic China literature, poetry (*shi* 詩) and songs (*ge* 歌) always appear together. In most cases, *ge* also refers to poetry. Wu Huaidong 吳懷東 holds that in early times, *shi* and *ge* were one. Like *ge*, *shi* could also be matched with music and song. However, *shi* and *ge* slowly separated during the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220), when scholars started to write *pure* poems. Instead of singing them, they only read or recited them. By doing so, they consciously separated themselves from performers of shi and *ge*.[93] However, *ge* did not entirely disappear in *pure* poems. There are numerous poems with *ge* in their titles, and scholars continued to draw inspiration from songs. Through refashioning, refining and imitating, they integrated songs they discovered from the folklore into elite literature. *Zhuzhici* is one such case. When this genre of poems began evolving from real folk song to elite poems, during the Tang Dynasty, they were still matched with music. *Zhuzhici* in the later dynasties turned into pure poems, and most of them were no longer sung as songs. But on certain occasions, they still could be sung. Moreover, "singing bamboo-branch [songs]" (*chang zhuzhi* 唱竹枝) was a habitual expression of some scholars who wished to retain the subtle distinction between bamboo-branch songs and ordinary poems. For instance, the next two poems by Zhang Bi 張壁 (fl. Yuan Dynasty) and Cheng Minzheng 程敏政 (1445–1499) respectively.

Homeward wanderers boil wild rice soup,

Little boys sing bamboo-branch songs.

歸客自炊菰米飲

小娃爭唱竹枝歌[94]

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[93] See Wu Huaidong 吳懷東, "Shi yu ge de fenye: Shi lun Zhongguo gudai wenrenshi de fasheng" 詩與歌的分野: 試論古代文人詩的發生 [Separation of poems and songs: Discussion about the emergence of traditional scholar-written poems], in *Zhongguo wenhua yu gudian wenxue* 中國文化與古典文學 [Culture and classical literature of China], ed. Sun Yizhao 孫以昭 (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 1997), 245–256.

[94] Lai Liang 賴良, ed., *Daya ji* 大雅集 [Collection of greater odes], in *Yingyin wenyuange Siku quanshu* 影印文淵閣四庫全書 [Photocopy version of complete library of four branches of treasuries-Wenyuange edition] (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan), 1369: 548.

And:

The host opens bottles of mulberry-leaves-falling liquor immediately,

Village children adeptly sing bamboo-branch songs.

地主旋開桑落酒

山童能唱竹枝歌[95]

Michael A. Fuller included bamboo-branch songs as one part of the development of the canon of poetry to the song lyrics of the Song Dynasty (*Songci* 宋詞), together with willow-branch songs. He also recovered evidence of the performance of bamboo-branch songs.[96] The lyrics of the Song Dynasty are a good reference point for the study of the position that bamboo-branch songs played in that dynasty, and the extent to which they still kept the character of being songs.

The lyrics of the Song Dynasty evolved from a genre of songs to a genre of literature. At least during the Song Dynasty, *ci* was meant for singing. "*Ci* in its early stages was always set to music and sung. It was predominantly the song used in urban entertainment quarters, performed by professional female singers and dancers."[97] As the literati got involved, they "made it into one of their own forms of literary expression".[98] During the Qing Dynasty, *ci* continued to be composed, but less so for lyrical singing, and more for literary recital. Just as Joseph S. C. Lam pointed out, "from the fourteenth century until the early decades of the twentieth, a long period during which educated elites continuously practiced the genre, *ci* lyrics were more composed and read than chanted or sung."[99] However, we also cannot say that *ci* was never sung during the Qing; being literary texts and being lyrics are not mutually exclusive.

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[95] Cheng Minzheng 程敏政, *Huangdun wenji* 篁墩文集 [Literary collection of Huangdun], in *Siku quanshu*, 1253: 400.

[96] Fuller, *An Introduction to Chinese Poetry: From the Canon of Poetry to the Lyrics of the Song Dynasty*, 352–355.

[97] Sun Chang and Owen, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, 1: 435.

[98] Ibid., 436.

[99] Joseph S. C. Lam, "Ci Songs from the Song Dynasty: A Ménage à Trois of Lyrics, Music, and Performance", *New Literary History*, 46, no. 4 (2015): 623.

Bamboo-branch songs share with *ci* the same transformational history from popular song to literature. Bamboo-branch songs were originally folk songs, and during the Tang Dynasty they were recognized by literati. Literati then created literary poems. The poems by literati and true folk ballads share the same generic terms, but they are clearly different in both rhythms and wording. The literati drew material from bamboo-branch folk songs, but beginning with the Tang Dynasty, the creation of bamboo-branch songs by the literati began to be independent of folk singing. Liu Yuxi's poems, rather than the true folk songs, became the model for all later bamboo-branch songs.

In their early stages, from the Tang to the Song Dynasties, bamboo-branch songs were still performed with music.[100] Later, even this changed, as they increasingly became literary texts. But, also, I would not say that no one any longer sang them.

In the preface of a cycle of bamboo-branch songs, Liu Yuxi described the scene of local people of Kuizhou 夔州 (in present Chongqing) performing a bamboo-branch song: "Young people sang bamboo-branch songs together, accompanied by the beat of short bamboo flutes and drums. Singers danced with their sleeves up, and those who sang more songs were thought to be good singers." (裡中兒聯歌竹枝，吹短笛擊鼓以赴節。歌者揚袂睢舞，以曲多為賢)[101] This reflects bamboo-branch songs' original character as sung performance. Here, what they sung were not poems composed by literati, but *true* folk songs.

Sun Jie points out that during the Tang Dynasty, bamboo-branch songs could be sung both in chorus and solo.[102] What Liu Yuxi witnessed was a typical form of performance among folk people; that they sang and danced accompanied by instruments. Professional singers also performed bamboo-branch songs during rest times between Buddhist lectures.[103] Moreover, during the Tang Dynasty, elites also sang bamboo-branch songs in private banquets.[104] According to Michael A. Fuller's research, "at the time of performance the singer would add additional words, usually "harmonizing sounds" (*hesheng* 和聲) or "filler words" (*chenzi* 襯

[100] Sun Jie, *Zhuzhici fazhanshi*, 68, 96.

[101] Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫, *Liu Yuxi ji jianzheng* 劉禹錫集箋證 [Annotated collection of Liu Yuxi], ed. Bian Xiaoxuan 卞孝萱 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 2: 852.

[102] Sun, *Zhuzhici fazhanshi*, 69.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid., 70.

字) as needed to truly fit the tune."[105] A two-line song by Huangfu Song 皇甫鬆, who lived during the Tang Dynasty, adopted "harmonizing sounds" as below.

> On the top of the mountain are the peach flowers [bamboo-branch], in the bottom of the valley are the apricot blossoms [little maid],
>
> Graceful they are [bamboo-branch], they contrast with each other in the distance [little maid].
>
> 山頭桃花(竹枝)谷底杏(女兒)
>
> 兩花窈窕(竹枝)遙相映(女兒)[106]

The words *zhuzhi* (bamboo-branch) and *nü'er* (little maid) are just "filler words" which help harmonize the line with the melody (or prosody).[107]

Another feature of the singing of bamboo-branch songs during the Tang Dynasty was that they were mainly sung at night,[108] as corroborated by many poets in their verses. For instance: "The bamboo-branch songs are bitter and resentful, about whom do they whine? / In the quiet night, the desolate mountain, they stop and continue" (竹枝苦怨怨何人，夜靜山空歇又聞[109]), "In the night, my tears run softly accompanied by bamboo-branch songs" (夜淚潛生竹枝曲[110]); or "What makes the tears of wanderers run dry? / The ceaseless bamboo-branch songs every night" (引人鄉淚盡，夜夜竹枝歌) [111]

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[105] Fuller, *An Introduction to Chinese Poetry*, 355.

[106] Ren, "Zhuzhi kao", 2.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Bai Juyi 白居易, *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 [Collection of Bai Juyi] ed. Gu Xuejie 顧學頡 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 2: 389.

[110] Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠, *Wen Tingyun quanji jiaozhu* 溫庭筠全集校註 [Annotation of the complete works of Wen Tingyun], ed. Liu Xuekai 劉學鍇 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 286.

[111] Zheng Gu 鄭谷, *Zheng Gu shiji jianzhu* 鄭谷詩集箋注 [Annotation of poetry of Zheng Gu], ed., Yan Shoucheng 嚴壽澂, Huang Ming 黃明, and Zhao Changping 趙昌平 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 92.

In the Song Dynasty, this form of performance did not change much. The "harmonizing sounds" were kept. However, a new artistic device that was added was that some verses in a song were sung repeatedly, which was called "reduplication" (*dieju* 疊句).[112]

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, there were still records about the singing of bamboo-branch songs. A romantic story about Xie Zhen 謝榛 (1495–1575), one of the latter seven literary masters of the Ming Dynasty, occurred within the context of a performance of bamboo-branch songs. Xie Zhen didn't hold any official position, but he enjoyed a high literary reputation due to which he caught the attention of a prince. At the age of seventy-eight, he attended a banquet in the mansion of a prince. After drinking, the prince asked a beautiful courtesan surnamed Jia 賈 to play the lute and sing songs. What she sang was a bamboo-branch song poem by Xie. Afterwards, the prince let the beautiful woman come out to meet Xie, and she continued to sing ten more songs of his making. Xie told the prince that what Jia sang were just very common songs written by him, and he asked for the honour to compose more refined ones for the prince's entertainment in the boudoir. The next day he finished fourteen songs and Jia immediately composed music for them. On New Year's Day the next year, the prince sent Jia to Xie as a gift.[113] This anecdote was first recorded by Pan Zhiheng 潘之恒 (1556–1621) in his *Extension of History* (*Genshi chao* 亙史鈔).[114] Later it was included in many other sources, including *The Dynastic History of the Ming* (*Mingshi* 明史).

The story tells the interaction between the writer and the performer, as well as the composer. This time the songs were sung for entertainment by courtesans, just like song lyrics (*ci*). Also similar to *ci*, "male poets appropriated its textual composition, leaving the related musical creation and multimedia performance to female entertainers".[115]

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[112] Sun, *Zhuzhici fazhanzhi*, 96–98.

[113] See Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, *Ershisi shi quanyi: Mingshi* 二十四史全譯: 明史 [Complete translation of the twenty-four histories: The dynastic history of the Ming], ed. Zhang Peiheng 章培恆 and Yu Suisheng 喻遂生 (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2004), 9: 5875.

[114] Pan Zhiheng 潘之恆, *Genshi chao* 亙史鈔 [Extension of history]. In Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫全書存目叢書編纂委員會. ed., *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu· zibu yijiusan* 四庫全書存目叢書·子部一九三 [Collection of the catalogue-keeping books of the complete Library in four Sections· the section of masters vol. 193] (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1995), 650–651.

[115] Joseph S. C. Lam, "Ci Songs from the Song Dynasty", 625.

As for an example from the Qing Dynasty, when Chen Shenxue 陳莘學, a *jinshi* 進士 degree[116] holder during the Kangxi period, went to Huguang 湖廣 province for official business, he was entertained there by the Red Miao 紅苗[117] native people with their local songs (*tuyin* 土音). In response, he then wrote several bamboo-branch songs, and asked them to learn to sing them in praise of the benevolent and peaceful regime of the present dynasty.[118] One piece of information we derive from that episode is that bamboo-branch songs occasionally were still being sung even in the Qing Dynasty.

Another question concerns the music which accompanied bamboo-branch songs. Actually, there is no fixed melody, entitled "Zhuzhici", that would have been passed down from the Tang Dynasty to the present. Liu Yuxi only described the songs he heard as "listen to its tune, the tune fits the 'Huangzhong yu'. The last piece was as intense as the tune of Wu" (聆其音, 中黃鐘之羽, 卒章激讦如吳聲)[119]. "Huangzhong yu" was one of the twenty-eight tunes of the Tang Dynasty.[120] Liu did not claim the tune that he heard was "Huang Zhongyu", it only sounded similar to it. Moreover, in employing the tune of "Huang Zhongyu" there could be many kinds of songs. We only know from Liu's words that the last piece of the music sounded intense. In a book of Chinese classical music notations, entitled "The Zither Notation of Donggao" (*Donggao qin pu* 東皋琴譜), there is one piece of music titled "Zhuzhici" which can still be transposed into modern musical notation. The book was introduced from China to Japan in the late seventeenth century by a Chinese Buddhist priest, Donggao Xinyue 東皋心越 (1639–1695).[121] The title of the book indicates that the music was to be played on the zither.

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[116] Palace graduates of the imperial examination. See Benjamin A. Elman, *Civil Examinations and Meritocracy in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2013), 107.

[117] One branch of the Miao nationality, it was called the Red Miao because people of this branch liked to wear red clothes. See Ma Liben 馬立本, *Xiangxi wenhua da cidian* 湘西文化大辭典 [An encyclopedia of the culture of the Western Hunan] (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2000), 65.

[118] Chen Kangqi 陈康祺, *Langqian jiwen chubi, erbi, sanbi* 郎潛紀聞初筆, 二筆, 三筆 [Notes in non-promoted officialdom, the first, second and third editions], ed. Jin Shi 晋石 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 2: 630.

[119] Liu, *Liu Yuxi ji jianzheng*, 2: 852.

[120] Xu Yuanyong 徐元勇, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shi yanjiu beilan* 中國古代音樂史研究備覽 [A reference of the research of the history of Chinese traditional music] (Hefei: Anhui wenyi chubanshe, 2012), 154.

[121] Zeyuan Wu, "Remembering the Past through Music: The Transmission of Chinese Qin Songs in Seventeenth- to Nineteenth-Century Japan", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 140, no. 2 (2020): 345.

I also noted the interactions between the singers of bamboo-branch songs and those who wrote them down. The transcription of folksongs was spearheaded by Liu, a scholar as well as an elite member. Many subsequent scholars claimed that they wrote the poems for common people, for instance, Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105) and Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127–1206), both of the Song Dynasty. The former gave his bamboo-branch work to the women of the Ba area (*Ba niang* 巴娘) for them to sing the tune "Zhuzhi".[122] The latter wrote ten poems especially for dikers, to let them sing these songs while performng their labor. Yang meant to alleviate their hard work through these songs.[123]

From the above examples it is safe to say that, as a group, the literati hardly ever sang the songs themselves. Performers were still entertainers and commoners from the lower strata of society. These groups included villagers, singing girls or prostitutes, servants, fishermen, and ferrymen and ferrywomen. As Joseph S. C. Lam observed, "In the traditional literary and performing arts of China, lyrics, music, and performance have inseparable but unequal and unstable relationships".[124] Bamboo-branch songs often involved interactions between writers and singers, and between elite and popular cultures.

[122] *Quanbian*, 6: 535.

[123] *Quanbian*, 3: 124.

[124] Joseph S. C. Lam, "Ci Songs from the Song Dynasty", 623.

Chapter 2: Authorship, Editorial Process, Correlation with Local Gazetter and Style

2.1 Authorship of Bamboo-branch songs

The authors of bamboo-branch songs were scholars or literati, or more generally, people who were educated. *Zhuzhici*, especially in the late imperial period, were increasingly less literary, but tended more toward historical records, so the authors' literary talent was less important than their motivation to record local affairs. Authors could be sorted according to different criteria, such as gender or occupation, or whether they were natives to the places or simply travellers or sojourners in the places they wrote about. Some of the identifications coincide; for example, one could be both a local official and a traveller. There could be also a transformation in identity; for instance, from a native of one place to a stranger of another. In short, the identities of the authors influence their creations.

2.1.1 Authors as Local Officials

The first group to be pointed out are local officials. When examining the authors of the seven-volume *quanbian*, a considerable part of the *zhuzhici* were written by officials of various raanks, who usually held posts in places remote from their place of origin. They were, for example, serving as provincial governors (*zongdu* 總督 or *xunfu* 巡撫, depending on the extent of their jurisdiction), as prefects (*zhifu* 知府) or as county magistrates (*zhixian* 知縣). They could also be officials in charge of various duties, such as examiners (*kaoguan* 考官), or instructors (*jiaoyu* 教諭). Normally they were assigned to one place to assume an office or were exiled there.

They were both sojourners and officials, and as such their dual identities brought multiple perspectives to their writings. On the one hand, they wrote about those things that were new or unusual to them, such as landscapes, local sites or strange customs; on the other hand, they oversaw and observed the commoners' daily lives from the perspective of their responsibilities.

There was an institutional administrative rule in traditional China which sought to avoid nativism. It set several standards to be circumvented when appointing officials,[125] and one of

[125] Guan Wenfa 關文發 and Yan Guangwen 顏廣文, *Mingdai zhengzhi zhidu yanjiu* 明代政治製度研究 [A study on the political system during Ming Dynasty] (Beijing: Beijing shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), 209–211.

them was the area of nativism. This meant that an official was forbidden to assume office in his native province or neighbouring provinces, even less his native county, depending on his level of position. Anti-nativism was meant to prevent officials from developing independent power bases or sheltering their own relatives.[126] Further, they themselves should not be members of the local elite. Therefore, they were usually dispatched to places beyond their own homelands. Since the normal tenure was three years, they stayed in one place for a relatively long time, which gave them the chance to immerse themselves into local society.

County magistrates had the closest relationship with the people. While their rank was relatively low, their duties were comprehensive and far-reaching. They were in charge of virtually all the local affairs of their counties, including but not limited to judicial cases, taxes, the suppression of banditry, farming and education. Thus, they also were called "father-and-mother officials" (*fumuguan* 父母官).[127] A responsible county magistrate would pay special attention to local society and would also be keen on educating the people and improving their morals. *Zhuzhici* were considered a suitable vehicle to fulfil these demands. They served as records or documentation of the social and cultural observations of officials.

Zheng Xie 鄭燮 (better known by his artistic name Banqiao 板橋, 1693–1765) was born in Xinghua 興化 County in Yangzhou 揚州 prefecture during the Qing Dynasty, and was celebrated for his calligraphy, paintings and poetry. People focus more on his particularities for inclusion as one of the "Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou"[128] (*Yangzhou baguai* 揚州八怪), which refers to eight talented painters and calligraphers whose thoughts and modes of behavior deviated from conventional ways. Compared to this aspect of his life, his official career as a county magistrate in Shandong for about twelve years is less commonly discussed; though it is agreed that he was a dutiful administrator. Zheng was appointed magistrate of Wei County (Weixian 濰縣) in 1746,[129] a disaster-prone place. When Zheng assumed office,

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[126] See Guan Wenfa and Yan Guangwen, *Mingdai zhengzhi zhidu yanjiu*, 213–215. Wu Zhaoqing 吳兆清, "Qingdai huibi zhidu" 清代回避製度 [The avoidance regulation during Qing Dynasty], *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊, no. 1 (1997): 66–73.

[127] Bradley W. Reed, *Talons and Teeth: County Clerks and Runners in the Qing Dynasty* (Stanford, Cal: Stanford University Press, 2000), 169.

[128] Karl-Heinz Pohl, *Cheng Pan-ch'iao: Poet, Painter and Calligrapher* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1990), xvi.

[129] Ibid., 44.

Weixian was suffering from long-term natural calamities. For several years he took effective steps in disaster relief. As a magistrate he also dealt with judicial matters, which earned him a good name due to his even-handedness. He oversaw the area under his administration attentively and thoughtfully, just as a 'parental official' was expected to do.[130]

As a talented poet, Zheng recorded his observations and experiences of Wei County in *zhuzhici* form. He composed one cycle of bamboo-branch songs which included 40 songs about Wei County, entitled "Bamboo-branch songs of Wei County" (*Weixian zhuzhici* 濰縣竹枝詞). These centered on urban life in the county town. Zheng was not satisfied with the social atmosphere he found. Rich people lived luxurious lives while poor people suffered:

Rich families like to cultivate flowers,

Foreign chrysanthemums and peaches, about which they boast.

Last night new flowers arrived from Jiaozhou,

A pot of fresh red camellia.

豪家風氣好栽花

洋菊洋桃信口誇

昨夜膠州新送到

一盆紅艷寶珠茶[131]

At the same time, paupers sold their children and fled to other places:

Selling his son and daughter, he drifts in panic.

He hears not a single word from his hometown, a thousand *li* afar.

賣兒賣女路倉皇

千里音書失故鄉[132]

[130] Li Jinxin 李金新, *Zheng Banqiao zai Weixian* 鄭板橋在濰縣 [Zheng Banqiao being in Wei County] (Weifang: Weifangshi xinwen chubanju, 1993), 14–18.

[131] *Quanbian,5*: 423.

[132] Ibid, 5: 425.

Gambling was popular in Wei County, which Zheng criticized several times in his poems, feeling consternation for young men who gambled from dawn to dusk.

A pathetic man labors assiduously all his life,

While his spoiled son is not a useful timber.

Once the gambling houses were opened,

He goes there and doesn't leave until the middle of the night.

百歲辛勤貌可哀

養兒嬌縱不成材

骰盆博局開門去

待到三更徑不回[133]

As a judge, Zheng also recorded some of the cases he dealt with. As a parental official, he had a complicated attitude about criminals. On the one hand, he punished them, but on the other hand, he felt sorry for them. In one poem he wrote regretfully about his impression that culprits committed crimes over and over again out of mere poverty:

The order of being released make prisoners cry,

Soon after making obeisance for the Emperor's grace, their faces turn sorrowful.

Because from then on, they have not even prison meals,

Thus, they violate the law again by stealing.

放囚宣詔淚漣漣

拜謝君恩轉戚顏

從此更無牢獄食

又為盜竊觸機關[134]

[133] Ibid, 5: 424.

[134] Ibid.

These poems spread widely in Wei County, at least among the literati. However, Zheng himself did not include them in his self-published literary collection. He even went so far as to prohibit people from publishing his literary works after his death by saying that he would beat the heads of those who publish his works as a malicious ghost.[135] But his curse did not work. The group of bamboo-branch songs was later collected by Ding Xitian 丁錫田 (1893–1941), a native and scholar of Wei County. He wrote in a short preface that when Zheng Banqiao held his position as the magistrate of Wei County, his poems outside the self-published collection had been disseminated widely, of which the bamboo-branch songs were especially welcome. He once saw several pieces in Guo Shaocha's 郭少坨 *Miscellaneous records of Yuyuan* (*Yuyuan zalu* 榆園雜錄) and was eager to read more.[136]

Punitive exile was another common reason for officials to be assigned to unfamiliar places far away from their homes. Exile has a long history in premodern China. It "refers to a type of punishment, the temporal or lifelong deportation or banishment of convicted criminals to other parts or peripheral regions of the empire".[137] The literature produced during banishment is worthy of research. Actually, many bamboo-branch songs were written precisely during exile; for instance, Liu Yuxi' work. This phenomenon persisted also in later eras. When Huang Tingjian was exiled to a region in present-day Hubei province, he wrote several bamboo-branch songs. Three of them were written in the name of Li Bai 李白 (701–762), who, according to the preface, appeared in Huang's dream to request Huang to pass his own *zhuzhici* written on the way to exile, as well. Starting from the mid-Qing Dynasty, works composed by authors banished to Xinjiang (then a wild and uncivilized region and the Western Frontier of the Qing Empire) deserve special attention. Among them were famous scholars and ministers, such as Ji Yun, Hong Liangji 洪亮吉 (1746–1809) and Lin Zexu 林則徐

[135] Zheng Xie 鄭燮, Zheng *Banqiao quanji* 鄭板橋全集 [The complete works of Zheng Banqiao], ed. Bian Xiaoxuan 卞孝萱 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1985), 30.

[136] See Ding Xitian 丁錫田, *Weixian wenxian congkan* 濰縣文獻叢刊 [A series collcetion of documents of county Wei] (Weixian: Weixian heji yinshuaju, 1932), 1: 1.

[137] Altenburger, "Fantasizing the homeland", 127.

(1785–1850). Their works comprise a considerable number of poems which describe the conditions at the Western Frontier in great detail.[138]

One distinctive feature of these poems is "a schematic worldview of 'us' and 'them'".[139] There are frequent comparisons of interior and exterior, civilized and uncivilized, and all the opposites are united by the benevolence and moral education derivative of the Emperor. Joanna Waley-Cohen's view supplies an excellent explanation of this: "Traditionally the Chinese conceived of a universe composed of a series of concentric circles centered on their own world and their own culture. They designated the heartland of China proper – the precise boundaries of which varied over the centuries – as the 'inner territories' (*neidi*) and the periphery as the areas 'beyond the borders' (*bianwai*)."[140]

Ji Yun recorded the local things in great detail. His 160 poems are classified into six categories, which include local customs (*fengtu* 風土), decrees and regulations (*dianzhi* 典製), the customs (*minsu* 民俗), local products (*wuchan* 物產), traveling (*youlan* 遊覽) and supernatural phenomena (*shenyi* 神異). In some poems, he did not hide his natural sense of cultural superiority and his bafflement in the face of local customs and products. The following poem is an example:

Two new counties make the map be updated.

The hundreds of ceremonies follow the old rule.

One exception is when the spring bird from the east comes.

No one welcome the spring god with vertical bamboo flutes and drums.

初開兩郡版圖新

百禮都依故事陳

[138] Cf. Ji Yun's *Wulumuqi zashi* 烏魯木齊雜詩, as mentioned above; Lin Zexu's *Huijiang zhuzhici* 回疆竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Altishahr]; and Hong Liangji's *Yili jishishi* 伊犁紀事詩 [Event-recording poems of Yili].

[139] Altenburger, "Fantasizing the Homeland", 133.

[140] Joanna Waley-Cohen, *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758–1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 33.

只有東郊青鳥到

無人簫鼓賽芒神[141]

The comment is as follows:

All the ceremonies are just the same as in the inner land, except that they don't hold the ceremony of welcoming spring.

百禮略如內地，惟未舉迎春之典禮。[142]

The poem praises the civilization of the frontier area, that rites of the inner land had been adopted there, although not all. The implicit meaning is that "even the remotest periphery orientates itself toward the core of culture".[143]

Although Ji was banished, he seldom expressed his frustration in this group of poems. On the contrary, he was very passionate about recording local things. And he seemed to be surprised by the civilization of the border peoples. In the preface, we find some clues about the motivation for his creativity. He explained that because of being idle and lonely during his return to the inner land, he wrote down this group of songs as a record of Urumqi. He was so happy to see that the border had become so prosperous within only ten years under the Emperor's rule. Then he quoted the words of Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), a famous poet of the Tang Dynasty, who also experienced banishment: "How to repay the benevolence of the country? Only by creating literary writings" (思報國恩，唯有文章)[144] .He also wanted to let others know how civilized and prosperous the frontier area was under the benevolent cultivation and education of the Emperor. One thing noticeable is that Ji highlighted the meaning of literary writings (*wenzhang* 文章). He believed that literature had practical functions through which the benevolent rule of the Emperor could be known throughout the empire, and also through which Ji himself could repay the country.

[141] *Quanbian*, 7: 285.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Altenburger, "Fantasizing the Homeland", 134.

[144] *Quanbian*, 7: 282.

Lin Zexu (1785–1850), who was banished to Ili, Yarkand, and Khotan of Xinjiang, from 1842 to 1845,[145] also wrote down two cycles of bamboo-branch songs during his banishment. He did not disclose his dissatisfaction with the exile. Rather, like Ji Yun, he focused on the frontier's scenery and customs. His observations of the local environment are still marked by a superior cultural perspective. For example, he thought the local farming techniques were a waste of land,[146] and he rued that although the frontier area had been "ruled and civilized" (*guihua* 歸化) for ninety years, their marriages still did not follow the laws of etiquette.[147] He was also dissatisfied with local food. Because of religious regulations, it was hard to find pork meat on the banquet table. Only pilaf mixed with mutton suet regularly appeared.[148] But like Ji Yun, Lin also observed the Xinjiang society carefully, and he was especially interested in matters of religion.

As Stephen Roddy's research suggests, these poems "tend on the whole to accentuate the positive".[149] However, there is still a "pervasive sense of nostalgia".[150] The frequent comparisons of the inner land and the frontier region reveals the homesickness of the authors. Hong Liangji praised a chef's cooking because it had the flavor of the homeland (*xiangfeng* 鄉風).[151] Lin Zexu expressed his sense of desolation on the road to the west in one group of bamboo-branch songs. The journey to exile was lonely and hard, and he was not even allowed to bring his wife with him.[152]

Although not intentional, the bleak tone is in keeping with the original flavor of the genre. Initially, bamboo-branch songs were thought to have a depressed style both in mood and wording. Liu Yuxi described the mood of bamboo-branch songs as "pensive and indirect" (*hansi wanzhuan* 含思宛轉).[153] Bai Juyi described the songs as "desolate" with one verse as

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[145] Stephen Roddy, "Bamboo Branches out West: *Zhuzhici* in Xinjiang", *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* 15, no. 2 (Winter 2018): 18.

[146] *Quanbian*, 7: 354.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., 7: 354–355.

[149] Roddy, "Bamboo Branches out West", 19.

[150] Altenburger, "Fantasizing the Homeland", 136.

[151] *Quanbian*, 7: 362.

[152] Ibid., 7: 379.

[153] Liu Yuxi, *Liu Yuxi ji jianzheng*, 2: 852.

"whimpering the newly-made flute, desolate the old bamboo-branch songs" (幽咽新蘆管, 淒涼古竹枝).[154] In later times, as bamboo-branch songs themselves focused more on local scenes, the pensive mood of earlier poems faded, but the mood of the nostalgia of the wanderer away from home remained with the genre. This flavour of bamboo-branch songs echoes the gloomy mood of exiles, which, on the one hand, were at the nadir of their official career; while on the other hand, they lived in an "uncivilized" place far away from their hometowns. The self-perception of being removed from the power centre and sent to the very margin of the empire may have contributed to their interest in local realities.

In conclusion, serving on official duty was the most common reason for scholars to stay in unfamiliar places for a relatively long time, and their responsibilities as local administrators required them to pay close attention to local affairs, to know a society and its customs, to correct unhealthy tendencies and to educate the great number of commoners. As sojourners, they recorded and spread their travel experiences through literature. Exile was a special condition that compelled officials to go to remote places with hard living conditions. The unfamiliar environment supplied new themes for their writing. In addition, banished officials also felt that they had the responsibility to observe and record the condition of the frontier. It is unsurprising that they often observed the locals from the perspective of a cultural superior.

2.1.2 Native Authors

Another defining group of authors are those scholars who composed bamboo-branch songs for their own homelands. Natives are usually most familiar with their own place. That is one reason, but not the only one, why so many bamboo-branch songs were written by native poets. It is therefore interesting to consider native authors of bamboo-branch songs, regardless of their occupation or official rank.

The term "native" requires some clarification. It is accepted that in traditional China, the place a person was born was not necessarily also their hometown. The ancestral home (*jiguan* 籍貫) was commonly considered as the hometown. However, it is not enough for composing regional literature only rely on *jiguan*, especially bamboo-branch songs, which requires a close familiarity with a place. Thus, those who wrote bamboo-branch songs about their

[154] Bai Juyi: *Bai Juyi ji*, 4: 1509.

homelands commonly stayed there for a relatively long time, at least in their youth. Such experiences contribute to their self-identities as natives.

Poets who composed bamboo-branch songs about their hometowns often avoided explicit references to the larger region, such as the province, in which their hometown was located. Instead, they narrowed their focus to a city, a county, a river, a lake or even just a village. These places were what the authors were most familiar with and were acknowledged by them as "my hometown" (*wu xiang* 吾鄉). For instance, Wang Xiangchun and Dong Yun 董芸 each wrote large sets of *zhuzhici* about Ji'nan 濟南， but with different local identities. Wang identified himself as a native of Ji'nan, since his *jiguan* was Xincheng 新城 County, which was one administrative district of Ji'nan. Dong Yun, on the other hand, came from Pingyuan 平原 County, which belonged to Dezhou 德州 Prefecture. Dong and Wang both acknowledged each other as fellows on the provincial level, Shandong province, but in their poems, it becomes evident that Wang considered himself a native of Ji'nan, whereas Dong lived in Ji'nan as a sojourner.

Authors, whether consciously or unconsciously, reveal their native identities in their works. Wang Xiangchun frequently used first person pronouns (*wu* 吾 or *wo* 我), to identify himself clearly as a native of Ji'nan; for instance, when calling Ji'nan "my soil" (*wu tu* 吾土).[155] The Hua peak, located in the suburb of Ji'nan, he called "my Hua" or "our Hua" (*wu Hua* 吾華).[156] In one comment he also wrote of "my/our springs and rocks" (*wo quan shi* 我泉石).[157] Wang also used the word "home" (*jia* 家) to refer to Ji'nan. For instance, in a poem about Baotu 趵突 (Spouting) spring, the most famous spring in Ji'nan, he lamented that when he was very far from "home", the spring was the only link between him and his hometown.[158] In a different poem, he referred to another spring as the "water next to my home" (*jia bian shui* 家邊水).[159]

Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709), an influential scholar during the early Qing Dynasty, composed a group of bamboo-branch songs about his hometown Jiaxing 嘉興, a city in

[155] *Quanbian*, 5: 386.

[156] Ibid., 5: 387.

[157] Ibid., 5: 397.

[158] Ibid., 5: 387.

[159] Ibid., 5: 391.

Zhejiang province. It is entitled "Boating Songs of the Mandarin Duck Lake" (*Yuanyanghu zhaoge* 鴛鴦湖棹歌). The Mandarin Duck Lake is one of the landmarks of Jiaxing. By mentioning in the preface[160] that he expected that gentlemen from the same street, when reading his *zhuzhici*, would respond with their own poems, he pointed to the local people of Jiaxing as the target readership of his poetry. He even expected a response from them. Due to Zhu Yizun's huge influence, the "singing and replying" (*changhe* 唱和)[161] activity of boating songs (a kind of bamboo-branch songs which is normally about places near the water) about Yuanyang Lake were disseminated widely, attracting the attention of numerous scholars, the majority of whom came from Jiaxing. Zhu's poems are full of personal remarks grounded in his childhood, such as a garden he visited in spring,[162] or the tree under which he studied with his brothers.[163] In one poem he mentioned his ruined homestead.[164] He referred to people of Jiaxing by the intimate term "elders and fellow countrymen" (*fulao* 父老).[165]

A common motivation for scholars to compose bamboo-branch songs on their own hometowns was to enhance its reputation. A sense of pride of being a native is ubiquitous in these works. As Di Wang noted, "bamboo-branch poets always maintained a favourable – and even admiring – attitude toward their hometown".[166] He thought that it was "an important driving force" for writing the poems.[167] Wang Xiangchun's *Tone of Qi* (*Qiyin* 齊音) is a representation of this. In the preface, Wang Xiangchun did his utmost to describe how glorious Ji'nan was.

> Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (d. 527) once said: "The seventy-two springs of Ji'nan have no peer within the realm." It is only a superficial view. In fact, the beauty of the springs is far

[160] *Quanbian*, 4: 659.

[161] *Changhe* refers to a creative poetic interchange in which one poet writes one or more poems, and subsequently other poets write poems, usually with the same rhyme, in response. In Xiaoquan Raphael Zhang, "Collective Identity and Poetry Exchange Among Ming-Loyalists: Ye Shaoyuan's (1589–1648) Case", *Studies on Asia* 3, no. 4 (2007): 103–104.

[162] *Quanbian*, 4: 665.

[163] Ibid., 4: 666.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Wang, "The Rhythm of the City", 65.

[167] Ibid.

more than that. In the past, this place was administered by Duke Jiang[168] and King Huan[169] and was once usurped by the regimes of the Southern Yan (398–410) and the Qi Pretenders (1130–1137). What's more, there are also the inspiring mountains and clear rivers, the souls of loyalty and chastity, the inscriptions on broken rocks and cliffs, the affections of wandering men and weaving women, the birthday of the mythic beast, and the seasons that are fit for travel. Then at any time, no matter the past or the present, the dawn or the dusk, one can stay here. Why would anyone yearn for a short life, just like King Jing did on the Ox Mountain?[170] This place is truly magnificent, and it is also the land of mine!

酈道元谓："濟南名泉七十二，域內所無。"此入目可見者耳。懸青澄碧, 實不盡此。又若太公，桓公之所經營，南燕，偽齊之所竊據，與夫山靈川淑之孕，忠臣節士之魂，斷碣摩崖之字，冶子女紅之感，九首獨足之誕生，歲時遊賞之節，千古旦暮一往而消沉於此中，何必牛山泣哉？此邦信美而又吾土也。[171]

The above quotation reveals feelings common to authors about their hometowns. From its natural landscape to its history and culture, they were eager to present their places of origin. The generally long series of bamboo-branch songs typically include poems about natural landscapes, historical landmarks, local personages, dutiful sons and chaste women, local customs, and more. These poems were usually written as homages. Criticism, if at all, would

[168] Taigong Wang 太公望, a commander during the Western Zhou (1045–771 B.C.E.). He colonized Qi 齊, at present-day Zibo 淄博, Shandong province. See Edward L. Shaughnessy, and Michael Loewe et al., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 312.

[169] Qi Huan Gong 齊桓公 (685–643 B.C.E.), one of the leaders of Qi during the Spring and Autumn period (770–481 B.C.E.). See Shaughnessy and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 553.

[170] A story from *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋 (Annals of Master Yan). Yanzi was a famous official from the State of Qi who served Duke Jing of Qi (r. 547–489 B.C.E.). It was said that one day Duke Jing and Yanzi had a trip on the Ox Mountain. Standing on the Mountain and looking at his capital city, duke Jing cried and lamented why he must finally leave here [his state] and die. All the other officals cried too. While Yanzi laughed and said, if people do not die, then the state would still be governed by Kings before duke Jing, and duke Jing would never have a chance to get the throne. In Li Wanshou 李萬壽, ed., *Yanzi chunqiu quanyi* 晏子春秋全譯 [Complete translation of *The Annals of Master Yan*] (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1993), 43.

[171] *Quanbian*, 5: 386.

usually be found in euphemisms and remained obscure. This was because the authors obviously did not wish to say something bad about their hometown. But if they felt compelled to, they followed an established principle of moderate sarcasm, which avoided comments that would have been too harsh or direct. This tradition can be traced back to *Shijing*. In the context of Confucianism, there was a "didactic intention" in *Shijing*.[172] When there is critique, it will not normally be harsh and straightforward, but rather, quite moderate. James J. Y. Liu pointed that when making political or social criticisms, the poet "should bring the people's sufferings to the notice of the ruler in the hope that the latter may be moved to mend his ways, but not incite rebellion. To achieve this aim, the poet should make use of allegory and satire, rather than openly attack the government".[173] Such an attitude is widely seen in Chinese didactic poems, or poems as moral instruction and social commentary. They should be "moderate, gentle, sincere, and deep".[174]

In the preface to one group of bamboo-branch songs about Chengdu, a native author named Feng Jiaji 馮家吉 specifically pointed out the satiric poems within the whole group. He cautiously explained why he wrote these satiric poems, arguing that these poems "are only moderately satiric […]. Although it still seems to be unnecessary for me to write them, what I expect is to supply information to the envoy of the Emperor and make a humble contribution to the correction of my hometown".[175] From his words, we can see how cautious he was with criticisms regarding his hometown.

2.1.3 Female Authors

Female authors occupy only a small percentage of authors of bamboo-branch songs. According to my statistics, among the more than four thousand poets in *Quanbian*, only 73 were women. They wrote a total of 460 poems, which is also not a large number among the more than 70.000 works. This is not the complete picture of female-authored bamboo-branch songs but it is telling.

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[172] Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, 1992), 40.

[173] James J. Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 67.

[174] Ibid.

[175] *Quanbian*, 6: 733.

Most of these female authors lived during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. They were of various identities, including noblewomen, courtesans, Buddhist nuns, Taoist priestesses, and others. Gender to some extent served as a distinguishing feature. One commonality is that their works generally are relatively short in length. Among the seventy-two groups of songs, there is only one major series of bamboo-branch songs written by a female author, Shen Shimin 沈時敏 (b. 1914), a corpus of 100 poems, but its date of creation is quite late (1932).[176] The majority of bamboo-branch song sets by female authors contain around ten poems, but items with fewer than four poems are also found.

This paucity is, in part, due to the limited scope of movement, activities and social contacts of women. While spending most of the time in the boudoir, women participated in far fewer social activities than men, which critically influenced their creation.[177] Another, even more critical reason may have been the intended outcomes of their literary creation as compared to that of men. Male authors, who wrote bamboo-branch songs, could hardly distance themselves from their mission of teaching morality or providing information to administrators. Women were free from such responsibilities, thus their creations tended to be more casual. Zhu Yi'an wrote: "In general, women, unlike male literati who usually create huge groups of bamboo-branch songs, only compose such kinds of poetry occasionally."[178]

Another feature is that the range of subject matter of their creations was quite narrow. Female authors were prone to write about their hometowns. Their shifting of place, which was generally due to marriage and the changes of their husbands' posts, brought new subjects to their literature.[179]

Yang Weizhen 楊維楨 (1296–1370), an authoritative scholar during the Yuan Dynasty, composed one cycle of bamboo-branch songs about Hangzhou's West Lake, which started the

[176] *Quanbian*, 1: 50.

[177] Yanning Wang, *Beyond the Boudoir: Women's Poetry on Travel in Late Imperial China* (PhD diss., Washington University, St. Louis, 2009), 7–8.

[178] Zhu Yi'an 朱易安, "Ming Qing zhuzhici zhong de nüxing shenghuoshi jishu ji qi yiyi" 明清竹枝詞中的女性生活史記述及其意義 [Record of women' lives in the bamboo-branch songs of Ming and Qing dynasties and their significance], *Suzhou daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 蘇州大學學報(哲學社會科學版) 36, no. 5 (2015): 142.

[179] Grace S. Fong, *Herself an Author: Gender, Agency, and Writing in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 85–86.

changhe 唱和 trend of bamboo-branch songs in this place. Two young sisters from Suzhou, Xue Lanying 薛蘭英 and Xue Huiying 薛蕙英, instead of responding to Yang's poems, wrote a cycle of ten *zhuzhici* about East Lake of Suzhou 蘇州 with the challenging comment: "since there are bamboo-branch songs about West Lake, how could there be no bamboo-branch songs about East Lake?"[180] In this cycle, there is one line saying: "We have our own songs of Sutai (i.e. Suzhou), and don't sing lotus-gathering songs about West Lake." Such overtly discordant voices were rarely heard from male scholars, in consideration of Yang's high prestige. Yet, when Yang read the girls' creation, he spoke highly of their poems, which brought the two girls an even higher reputation. Being largely excluded from male social conventions, women gained more freedom in their literary creations.

As females, women poets naturally paid special attention to women's lives and emotions, as is also reflected in their bamboo-branch songs. In the more than four hundred poems, there are several foci. Some poems are a combination of female lyrical and landscape poetry, some poems focus on women's lives, and some are self-referential poems of the authors themselves.

Taking the aforementioned Xue sisters' writings as an example, there is a clear feminine thematic bias in the ten poems about Gusu (i.e. Suzhou), six of which take women as the subject. For example, the second one:

Elks wandered in the Guanwa Palace,

Xishi sailed on the lakes.

Where is her fragrant soul and jade bone,

She did not match Zhenniang, who was buried at Huqiu.

館娃宮中麋鹿遊

西施去泛五湖舟

香魂玉骨歸何處

[180] Chen Yan 陳衍, *Yuanshi jishi* 元詩紀事 [Events recorded by poetry of the Yuan Dynasty], ed. Li Mengsheng 李夢生 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 2: 831.

不及真娘葬虎丘[181]

This poem intends to elegize a well-known site in Suzhou: the grave of Zhenniang. Zhenniang was a famous ninth century (Tang) courtesan who was said to be buried on Huqiu, a hill near Suzhou. Her grave has been a favourite poetic topic.[182] Instead of describing the grave directly, the poem focuses on the fate of two beautiful women in history, Zhenniang and Xishi. Xishi was one of the classic beauties of ancient China, who was sent by her king to seduce an enemy monarch, King Fuchai 夫差 of Wu (r. 495–473 B.C.E.).[183] There are many versions of her story. A widely accepted one was that she successfully cultivated the favor of King Fuchai, and the king built her a palace named Guanwa. Subsequently, after finishing her mission of ruining the Wu kingdom, she disappeared with Fan Li 范蠡 (536–448 B.C.E), an advisor of the Yue kingdom.[184] The poem's point is that Xishi and Zhenniang were both beauties of Suzhou, one disappeared without a trace, whereas the other remains entombed in a famous place. The grave of Zhenniang is taken as a medium for discussing historical personages. It is also typical of the writing techniques characteristic of bamboo-branch songs.

Many female-authored songs focus on women's lives, which can be seen from the titles. For example, one group of *zhuzhici* with ten poems is titled as "songs of enjoyment in the boudoir" (*Guifang xingle ci* 閨房行樂詞).[185] They depict women's daily lives in the boudoirs. Two other groups, one titled "Miscellaneous poems of the boudoir" (*Guizhong zashi* 閨中雜詩) with 15 poems, and the other, "Bamboo-branch songs of the wedding" (*Xinhun zhuzhici* 新婚竹枝詞) with 24 poems are by the same author. They focus heavily on elements of women's lives as their subject.[186] I claim that male authors did not compose any such poems. Actually, in the Chinese poetic tradition, it is not uncommon "for a male poet to adopt a female persona or use feminine diction".[187] However, compared to the wide range of subjects male authors

[181] *Quanbian*, 3: 285.

[182] Wai-yee Li, *Women and National Trauma in Late Imperial Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014), 16.

[183] Olivia Milburn, "The Silent Beauty: Changing Portrayals from *Zhiguai* and Poetry to Ming", *Asia Major* 26, no. 1 (2003): 23.

[184] Ibid., 35–44.

[185] *Quanbian*, 6: 287.

[186] *Quanbian*, 3: 828–830.

[187] Li, *Women and National Trauma in Late Imperial Chinese Literature*, 12.

wrote about, poems by female authors are more limited in their motifs and are more highly concentrated on the world of females.

Quite a large part of bamboo-branch songs was written from the direct experience of authors themselves, either when traveling or in their daily lives. Female-authored songs were not an exception to this, either. One group of songs, titled "The song of an unfortunate life" ("Boming ci" 薄命詞), by Shao Meiyi 邵梅宜, is a lament about the author's own life. Shao lived during the early Qing Dynasty. She was from a poor family. She was taken by an official who bribed her mother and uncle, and after five years, when she was brought to the home of her husband, she found herself to be only a concubine and was treated harshly by the jealous wife. Finally, she was sent as a wife to a servant. The ten poems of "The song of an unfortunate life" she wrote after she was married a servant. She sent these poems to her mother and died soon after.[188] The ten poems narrate her whole story with both a melancholic and defiant tone. In the first two poems she complained about her mother's greed for money, which led to her tragic fate.[189] Then she lamented her stone-hearted husband who gave her to a servant. [190] She was so angry that she questioned her parents in one poem:

> I ask you, my blood father and mother, how much is left of the money you selling your own daughter?
>
> 為問生身親父母 賣兒還剩幾多錢[191]

Unlike ordinary bamboo-branch songs, which generally take on local observations, this group of poems is entirely the self-referential narrative of the author. The term *boming* in the title specifically refers to the unfortunate fate of women. There is a Chinese saying referring to this: "a beautiful girl often has a sad (premature) ending of life" (*hongyan boming* 紅顏薄命).[192]

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[188] Luo Xinquan 駱新泉, *Zhongguo gudai fuqi wenxue yanjiu* 中國古代夫妻文學研究 [Study on the literature of married couples of traditional China] (Beijing: Jiuzhu chubanshe, 2014), 139–140.

[189] *Quanbian*, 5: 258.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Yang Shu, "Language, Women and Cultural Problems in China", *Women and Language* 24, no. 1 (2001): 25.

To conclude, female-authored bamboo-branch songs occupy only a tiny part of the entire genre. Their writings are primarily found in small groups of around ten poems. The limitations inherent in the life experiences of women bring a narrowness to their topics. However, their poems go deeply in women's lives and emotion from the perspective of women themselves.

2.2 Publishing of Bamboo-branch songs

The collection of bamboo-branch songs *Quanbian* includes a lot of extra-poetic material, such as authors' short biographies, along with information on sources and editions. It provides a generic picture about the publishing of bamboo-branch songs. Most cycles of bamboo-branch songs are included in the authors' poetic collections. Some extensive cycles of more than one hundred pieces have been published separately. Editions vary according to time. *Quanbian* included illustrations of different editions of bamboo-branch songs as references.[193] According to the illustrations and textual information in *Quanbian*, it is safe to conclude that in premodern China hand-copying and woodblock printing were the primary means of reproduction for the genre. During the Republican era, new technologies such as lithography, letterpress printing and mimeography were adopted. The publication of bamboo-branch songs is rather complex. I narrowed my research to the publishing of separate editions.

One may easily notice that there is rarely just a single version of a group of bamboo-branch songs. Besides the original version, many different copies would appear during an opus' dissemination. In understanding the publishing of these poetic works, prefaces and postscripts are helpful sources. Generally, a separate edition of bamboo-branch songs contains at least one preface by others. In fact, there is hardly one without any prefaces, whereas postscripts are fewer. Some of the texts were written by the authors' contemporaries or those well acquainted with the poems. I find that in many cases, authors themselves sent an original version to their fellows, and asked them to write an introduction for them.

Wang Xiangchun's *Qiyin* is an example. He showed the original version to several people. In the preface by Zhang Yandeng 張延登 (1566–1641), a scholar from Shandong, there is a record that Zhang received one hundred *jueju* from Wang.[194] Similarly, Wang's younger

[193] *Quanbian*, 1: 1–8.

[194] See Wang Xiangchun 王象春, Zhang Kunhe 張昆河, Zhang Jianzhi 張健之, *Qi yin* 齊音 [The tune of Qi] (Ji'nan: Ji'nan chubanshe, 1993), 4.

brother Wang Xiangxu 王象需 wrote a postscript for the collection, in which he says that his brother (Wang Xiangchun) showed him the poems.[195] The postscript was an addendum to a hand-copied edition.[196] Then the collection was published again with the attached texts. According to the research, there are several extant manuscripts of *Qiyin*. However, the original was lost.[197] The most complete edition is a woodblock print which is a reprint of an earlier edition during the reign of Emperor Wanli (1563–1620),[198] when Wang was still alive.

Another edition which deserves notice is a selected collection by Wang Shizhen, the grandnephew of Wang Xiangchun. Wang Shizhen deleted twenty-eight poems and some comments to meet the standard of being "elegant and moderate" (*yaxun* 雅馴).[199] Poignant ones, such as poems about natural disasters and suffering people, were removed from them.[200] This edition is a hand-copied version by another clansman of the Wang family, Wang Zuchang 王祖昌.

It seems to have been common that authors showed unpublished texts to their fellows and asked at least some of them to write prefaces. These were the earliest readers. For instance, there are six prefaces in Lin Sumen's 林蘇門 (1748–1809) *Three hundred poems of Hanjiang* (*Hanjiang sanbai yin* 邗江三百吟). One was by Lin himself, and the rest were by others. In one of the prefaces, the writer said that Lin sent the collection to him before publishing. Therefore, he wrote a preface for Lin. Two others also explained that Lin showed them the poems and asked them to write prefaces.[201] Wang Hang's 汪沆 (1696–1777) *Miscellaneous poems of Jinmen* (*Jinmen zashi shi* 津門雜事詩) reflect the same interactive processes.[202]

From the late Qing Dynasty and into the Republican era, new print technology was adopted. Shen Zhaoti 沈兆禔 narrated in detail how his collection of poems was published. Shen lived

[195] Ibid., 161.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Ibid., 1–2.

[198] Ibid., 2.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid., 162.

[201] *Huibian*, 799: 485–488.

[202] See Hua Dingyuan 華鼎元, *Zili lianzhu ji* 梓裡聯珠集 [A string of pearls of the hometown], ed. Zhang Zhong 張仲 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1986), 7.

during the late Qing Dynasty. In the year 1910, he came to Jilin province, and lived there for one year. During his stay in Jilin, he wrote a number of *zhuzhici* titled *Jilin jishishi* 吉林紀事詩 (Event-recording poems about Jilin).[203] The preface is quoted here as follows:

> In the spring of the *gengxu* year, I arrived in Jilin. During spare time after work, I composed a group of bamboo-branch poems with 164 items, which was titled "Event-recording poems about Jilin". They are sorted and commented on. They are in total more than 70.000 words. I asked copyists (*shushou* 書手) to mimeograph forty copies, and in the autumn, I sent them to the provincial governor and other lords and received their commendations. Then I added ten more poems and more than 10.000 words in comments. After being illustrated and tabulated, the draft was finished. Luckily, Mr. Shen Nanya 沈南雅 and Mr. Wu Menglan 吳夢蘭 travelled to Jilin at the time, and they asked me for that version. The poems were greatly appreciated by them. They thought they were worth being passed down and encouraged me to have them printed. Therefore, I gave the collection to Wu and asked him to put it to print in the capital city. I asked copyists who were good at calligraphy to copy the preface and postscript and print them with lithography. Before it was finished, I received a telegram on the third day of the fourth month of the lunar calendar, which said my wife was terminally ill. I then asked for a leave and returned to Ning 寧 [i.e. Nanjing] through Wan 皖 [i.e. Anhui province]. Actually, by the time I received the telegram, my wife had already died. Relatives who came to express condolences knew that I had a collection of poems. They could not wait to read it. However, I only brought one mimeographed version and did not have enough to send to each of them. Then my two sons hoped to print it with woodblock at a nearby press. Thereupon, I took the mimeographed version as a master copy and added the supplied poems, illustrations, tables and comments according to my memory. Since I was unable to remember all the supplied parts, some details were missing. This is the typographical edition of Jinling, which was printed for relatives. The one which is being printed in the capital city would be the edition of Beijing. I value it just like one who

[203] Li Yachao 李亞超, "Shen Zhaoti he tade *Jilin jishi shi*" 沈兆提和他的《吉林紀事詩》 [Shen Zhaoti and his "Event-recording poems of Jilin"], *Jilin shifan xueyuan xuebao (zhexue shehui kexueban)* 吉林師範學院學報（哲學社會科學版), no. 2 (1986): 77.

values his own broken broom, which is ridiculous. But I still hope that learned and talented scholars will forgive the deficiencies and write a preface or postscript for it. (…)

庚戌季春赴吉，戎暮之暇，偶得《吉林紀事詩》百六十四首。以古今依類箋註，約七萬餘言，倩書手油印四十部，秋間呈政於新會中丞及諸名公，頗蒙許可。就繪圖列表，補詠數十首，加注數萬言，訂成草本。適沈南雅， 吳夢蘭兩先生遊吉，索觀是編，極欣賞之，許為可傳之作，慫恿付梓。因舉全稿託吳君在京排印。提跋內之善書者，並付諸石印。尚未告竣，今夏四月三日餘，得家電，驚悉內子病危，請假暫旋，下浣抵寧，則知得電之時，即屬斷弦之日，多年貧賤夫妻，一旦分飛，未能偕老，不覺悲從中來。

親友赴吊者，慰問之餘，知余有是集也，均以先睹為快，行篋內只寸油印一部，不敷分贈，兩兒請就近排刷。因此以此部為底本，將圖表暨補詠各詩添入，其註內所增，僅記其大概。至於詳細之處，憶不能全，姑從闕如。 作為金陵排印本，以公同好。將來都中書成，應名為北京本。敝帚自珍，亦何可笑，尚望碩學鴻才匡其不逮，並賜以題跋「…」[204]

The preface records the complete process of publishing one particular collection of *zhuzhici* at the opening of the modern period. There were three editions in total. The first one was the mimeographed edition, which was based on the copyist's version. It had only forty fascicles (*ce* 冊). The second is the unfinished lithographed one, which was called the Beijing edition. The last one was the most complete one, the version of Jinling, which was a typographical edition. At the time, printing technology already was relatively well developed. The first two versions utilized new technologies, but there was a fundamental link between them, the hand-coping. In earlier times, handwriting was a widely practiced way to reproduce texts if the number of copies was small.[205] A supplementary examples of handwriting is seen in a preface to another group of bamboo-branch songs about Tianjin, the author Hua Dingyuan 華鼎元, who also lived during the late Qing Dynasty like Shen, wrote: "I collected the works of Wang, Jiang and my own, copied them together into one fascicle and gave it to the copyist. When

[204] *Quanbian*, 1: 532–533.

[205] Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 36.

there are people who inquire about Tianjin, I will send them this collection."[206] This indicates that apart from the hand-copied versions by the copyists, there were also original hand-written versions by the authors.

The first forty copies by Shen Zhaoti were mimeographs, which were paid by the author himself. After review by other scholars, he was encouraged to publish an official version. That was the lithographed version, with additional poems, illustrations, tables and also more detailed comments. This one was printed by the friend of the author, Wu Menglan. Although it was not finished then, it was the most complete edition. In Jinling, the author published a typographical version, based on the mimeograph with additional contents as recalled by him for his relatives.

From the preface to Shen's collection, it is clear that all three editions were published by commercial publishers. There were also private printings by wealthy families. Wang Chutong 王初桐 (1730–1821), who came from a rich literary family in Jiading 嘉定, wrote one cycle of bamboo-branch songs about Ji'nan. His uncle wrote the preface,[207] and it was printed by his own family. It was called "The block-printed edition of the Wang Family of Jiading".[208]

What we know about target readers and the dissemination methods of bamboo-branch songs also needs to be discussed. From the examples above, it is clear that original editions were sent to elite scholars or local officials and then transmitted through literary circles.

What is noteworthy is that Shen's texts were first sent to local officials. This was not a single case. Another scholar, Yan Bi 晏璧, who was a judicial official in Shandong during the reign of Emperor Yongle 永樂 (r. 1403–1424) of the Ming Dynasty, composed one cycle of *zhuzhici* about the seventy-two springs of Ji'nan. In the preface he also mentioned that it was read by the prefect of Ji'nan, Yang Yourong 楊有溶, who encouraged him to publish it.[209]

Presenting bamboo-branch songs to local officials was one possible way to get them included in local gazetteers. Just as Yan Bi said in his preface, such poems were increasingly being

[206] *Quanbian*, 1: 366.

[207] *Quanbian*, 5: 401.

[208] Ibid., 5: 410.

[209] Xu Beiwen 徐北文, *Ji'nan zhuzhici* 濟南竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Ji'nan] (Hong Kong: Tianma tushu, 1999), 4.

written to become supplements in gazetteers.[210] In the subsequent section the relationship between bamboo-branch songs and local gazetteers will be discussed in greater depth. There was motivation to make the poems supplementary material, and approval by local officials was a shortcut to that goal.

In conclusion, it is hard to summarize a general model of the publishing of bamboo-branch songs. Small cycles of songs were usually collected into individual poetry collections. Some large cycles were published separately. There are sometimes several editions of one cycle of bamboo-branch songs, including manuscripts, hand-written copies by copyists, block-printed editions, and, during the late Qing Dynasty and the Republican Period, through the newly popular techniques of lithography and mimeography. As elite literature, bamboo-branch songs were usually transmitted among scholars. For the purposes of gaining a wider audience through inclusion in local gazetteers, bamboo-branch songs would also be presented to local officials.

2.3 Bamboo-branch Songs and Local Gazetteers

A local gazetteer (*difang zhi* 地方志) is a "cumulative record of a territorial unit".[211] As a comprehensive record of all things local, local gazetteers covered many topics such as "topography, institutions, population, taxes, biographies, and literature".[212] There is a close relationship between bamboo-branch songs and local gazetteers. As a genre of literature that focuses on local things, such poems are widely found under the category of "Literature" (*Yiwen* 藝文) in local gazetteers.

According to my study, bamboo-branch songs are quite commonly found in local gazetteers. The poet-authors of these poems often sought their publication in these gazetteers. And it was not unusual for editors of local gazetteers to themselves be poets. Their publication in gazetteers also supported the particularity of bamboo-branch songs as a genre of poetry.

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[210] Ibid.

[211] Joseph Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100–1700* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 1.

[212] Ibid.

2.3.1 A Supplement for Local Gazetteers

Literature which appeared in local gazetteers spanned several genres: poetry being one of them. Among the poetry that was published were bamboo-branch songs. Local gazetteers did not normally include an entire opus of poems, but rather, selected a small number of pieces by a given author at any one time. This was true of bamboo-branch songs, which were listed as stand-alone, individual pieces.

Prefaces to bamboo-branch song collections and cycles commonly introduced the background of the creation, including motivations for it being composed. A motivation that is often mentioned in prefaces is the representation of local scenes, both from the past and the present. A hopeful expectation by authors was that the poems would be included in local gazetteers or otherwise taken as a reference about local realities.

In many prefaces of bamboo-branch songs, the poems are compared to local gazetteers. Ji Yun wrote a preface for one cycle of bamboo-branch songs, entitled *Guhe zashi* 沽河雜詩 (Miscellaneous poems of the Gu River) by his colleague, Jiang Shi 蔣詩 (1720–1796). In the preface Ji praised the poems, holding that other scholars only wrote poems casually during their visits to Tianjin (the Gu River serves as a metonymic reference to Tianjin). But Jiang, as a local resident, was able to write a large cycle of bamboo-branch songs comprising one hundred poems, which presented local scenes situationally and in greater detail. His cycle of bamboo-branch songs contained many references: “He did such accurate research that it is enough to fill the gaps in local gazetteers.”[213] Xu Chengzu 許承祖, a contemporary of Ji Yun’s, wrote a cycle of bamboo-branch songs about West Lake, comprising 365 poems. In his own preface there is a description that is similar to Ji Yun’s wording: “I extensively researched old references and anecdotes for the comments of the poems, so they could fill the gaps in local gazetteers.”[214] Yan Bi, as mentioned previously, expected that his poems would be appended to the local gazetteer.[215] Li Dingyuan 李鼎元 (1750–1814), did not mention local gazetteers, but hoped his poems about Ryukyu (Liuqiu 琉球)[216] would be consulted by officials who

[213] *Quanbian*, 1: 348.

[214] Ibid., 4: 241.

[215] Xu, *Ji’nan zhuzhici*, 4.

[216] Refering to the Ryukyu Kingdom, of which the territory once stretched from Kikai Island in the north to Yonaguni in the south, encompassing three groups of islands: the Amami group, the Okinawa group, and the

collected materials on local customs.[217] Like Li, another author, Zhu Peng 朱彭, also hoped that his poems could be read by officials collecting customs.[218] There are other similar descriptions. It was clearly a common expectation of authors to have their bamboo-branch songs at least referenced in local gazetteers. To prove that their works were qualified to be included in local gazetteers, the authors always emphasised that their poems were based on accurate textual research or facts. Li Dingyuan claimed that, to compose poems about Ryukyu, he consulted native people and inspected the area personally.[219] Yan Bi also said that his seventy-two poems about the springs in Ji'nan were a result of his own travels and field-work investigations.[220]

2.3.2 Poets as Editors of Local Gazetteers

Another phenomenon is that some authors of bamboo-branch songs themselves served as editors of local gazetteers. Sun Jie points out that this became more common in the reign of Emperor Qianlong Emperor (1735–1796) of the Qing Dynasty.[221] In turn, editors of local gazetteers also composed their own bamboo-branch songs, and their role as editors also influenced their writings.

Wang Hang 汪沆 (1696–1777), one of the editors of the *Gazetteer of Tianjin Prefecture* and the *Gazetteer of Tianjin County*, composed a group of bamboo-branch songs about Tianjin. The 100 hundred-poem cycle is entitled *Miscellaneous poems of Jinmen*. As an editor of a local gazetteer, he was able to get access to a large quantity of material. Therefore, in his preface to the poems, he corrected many errors in unofficial historical records:

> There are many events recorded by historians of questionable history. For instance, the old river Ni; some thought it was located on the present Mountain Yan, others held that it was located in the Zhongtang bottomlands of Tianjin. They did not know that the river on the Mountain Yan flowed to the east during the Song Dynasty, and by the riverbed

Sakishima group. Lina Terrell and Robert Huey, *The Ryukyu Kingdom: Cornerstone of East Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017), 2.

[217] *Quanbian*, 5: 153.

[218] Ibid., 5: 257.

[219] Ibid., 5: 153.

[220] Xu, *Ji'nan zhuzhici*, 4.

[221] Sun, *Zhuzhici fazhanshi*, 210.

of the bottomland Zhongtang flowed the River Wei after the Song Dynasty. Neither of them was the old river Ni.

外史家臆說乃多，即如古逆河，或謂在今鹽山，或以為在津之中堂窪。不知鹽山之河，為宋時東流之道。中堂窪河形，則宋後洩衛河水之地，非古逆河。[222]

The identity of editors of local gazetteers is also reflected in the poems. After the poems, there are often references in the form of comments, normally taken from local gazetteers, as well as other official history. For example, to describe one old stronghold in Tianjin, Wang listed seven references from five historical records after the poem in question.

The old stronghold of Three River was named Three Maids,

During the Liao and Song it was separated by water.

No one imagined that the territory would turn to desert,

The only natural barrier was the Waqiao pass.

三河古寨名三女

遼宋中分帶水間

誰道版輿淪朔漠

只憑天塹瓦喬閔[223]

The poem includes two parts. The first two lines introduce an old stronghold, and the last two lines refer to a war between the Song (960–1279) and the Liao (907–1125). However, the four-line poem is then followed by a long comment, in which he not only listed the resources he referred to but also corrected mistaken information by comparing records from different resources.

[…] According to the *History of the five dynasties*, in the third month of the sixth year of Xiande, Emperor Shizong of Zhou marched to the north. In the fourth month he defeated the army of Qianning, and in the year of Xinchou occupied the Yijin pass and named the place inside the pass the prefecture of Ba. In the year of Guimo he captured

[222] Hua, *Zili lianzhu ji*, 3.

[223] Ibid., 45.

the Waqiao pass, which was the prefecture of Xiongzhou. In the beginning of May of the year of Yisi he took the prefecture of Ying. Therefore, he had reoccupied one prefecture and three passes. How could one say that the sixteen prefectures were not included into the territory? That is a mistake in the *History of the Song* […].

「…」然據《五代史》，周世宗顯德六年三月甲戌北征，四月壬辰取乾寧軍，辛丑取益津關，以為霸州。癸卯取瓦橋關，以為雄州。五月乙巳朔取瀛洲。則已復一軍，一州，三關。烏得謂十六州俱未入職方？此《宋史》之誤也「…」[224]

Such a long comment serves mainly to argue whether Tianjin was the boundary between the Liao and the Song empires. The author quotes several historical records, which seem too detailed and serious for a comment on a poem. The comment to some extent reduces the literariness of the poem, but it does provide a deep dive into local history. It to some extent reflects that the author cared more about the creditability of his poems rather than the literariness.

Wang was not alone as a poet and gazetteer editor. The following section introduces a cycle of bamboo-branch songs, whose author also had experience editing local gazetteers. In his work, he classified poems strictly according to the thematic structure of local gazetteers.

2.3.3 Similarities in the Contents of Bamboo-branch Songs and Local Gazetteers

Normally, the content of bamboo-branch songs complemented material appropriate to local gazetteers, since gazetteers regularly engaged local society and history. I would not claim that poets intentionally arranged the content of their poems according to local gazetteers. On the contrary, in most cases, a single group of bamboo-branch songs could not cover local material as well as the gazetteers did. But bamboo-branch songs as a whole, do often share commonalities with the latter in terms of content. For example, they both involve local culture, products, customs, buildings, the landscape, personages and local history.

However, in my study I found that there are also large groups of bamboo-branch songs that are very closely paired with the interests of local gazetteers. Ni Shengzhong 倪繩中 (1842–1919) was a native of Nanhui 南匯, which corresponds to present-day Nanhui County, under

[224] Ibid., 45–46.

the governance of Shanghai. He was only a grace student (*engong* 恩貢) but edited many books. He participated in the compilation of the *Local gazetteer of Nanhui County*. Another local historical record edited by him is *Puxiang xiaozhi* 浦鄉小志 (A small record of Pu village).[225] One of his literary works is a large cycle of bamboo-branch songs about Nanhui, compromised of more than 300 poems. A distinctive feature of this work is that it classifies the content of poems according to the entries in local gazetteers.

The subjects of local gazetteers were often fluid. There are innumerable variants, but a basic structure of common subjects can still be identified. Pierre-Etienne Will listed a table of subjects regularly treated in local gazetteers.[226] The following table presents the overlaps of the catalogue of bamboo-branch songs by Ni with Will's list:

Bamboo-branch Songs of Nanhui County	**Local Gazetteers**
Boundaries (*Jiangyu* 疆域)	Boundaries (*Jiangyu*)
Sea ports (*Gangkou* 港口)	Passes and fords, bridges (*Guanjin Qiaoliang* 關進橋樑)
Population (*Hukou* 戶口)	Population (*Hukou*)
Land and taxes (*Tianfu* 田賦), in the subcategory there are different kinds of taxes and also data about granary reserves (*Jigu* 積谷)	Land and taxes (*Tianfu*), also including various taxes and data on granary reserves.
State schools (*Xuexiao* 學校)	Examinations (*Xuanju* 選舉), including a section on "state schools"
Temples (*Miaoyu* 廟宇)	Old monuments (*Guji* 古跡) including "ancestral shrines" (*cimiao* 祠廟" and "Buddhist and Taoist temples" (*simiao* 寺廟)
Military and defence (*Bingfang* 兵防)	Military systems (*Bingzhi* 兵制)

[225] *Quanbian*, 2: 481.

[226] Pierre-Etienne Will, *Chinese Local Gazetteers: An Historical and Practical Introduction* (Paris: Centre de recherches et de documentation sur la Chine contemporaine, 1992), 18–22.

Rebellions	Military events (*Bingshi* 兵事), A subcategory of Military systems (*Bingzhi*)
Personalities (*Renwu* 人物)	Personalities (*Renwu*)
Miscellaneous events (*Zashi* 雜事)	Miscellaneous events (*Zashi*)
Local customs (*Fengsu* 風俗)	Local customs (*Fengsu*)
Local products (*Wuchan* 物產)	Local products (*Wuchan*)
Famous ministers (*Minghuan* 名宦)	Offcials (Huanguan 宦官), a subcategory of Personalities

Table: Similarities between the contents of Ni's bamboo-branch songs and local gazetteers

Only two entries of this group of bamboo-branch songs are not included in Will's list, "seasons" (*Suishi* 歲時) and "beyond the secular world" (*Fangwai* 方外). With seven poems, the latter writes famous Taoists, monks and other mysterious people who knew spells. In fact, the subject of seasons (*Suishi*) is always included among local customs in the gazetteers. "Beyond the secular world" is also a subject in local gazetteers, such as folk-belief and the derived legends, rites, etc.

With detailed comments, the group of poems about Nanhui is just like a poetic small version of a local gazetteer. The author had a clear intention to imitate the latter. The majority of bamboo-branch songs are not normally classified into distinct categories like those above. But there is a rough correspondence of themes, which exist mainly in large groupings of *zhuzhici*. For example, Wang Xiangchun, in his *Qiyin*, wrote about mountains and waters, personalities, customs, famine, official buildings, temples and graves, and historical events. This also reflects the categories found in local gazetteers.

2.4 Bamboo-branch Songs as a Vernacular Genre

So far, there is not yet a clearly settled position on the genre of bamboo branch songs. There is a long-standing argument in the Chinese context of whether or not *zhuzhici* belongs to elegant (*ya* 雅) literature or to vulgar (*su* 俗) literature.[227] On the one hand, Chinese often

[227] Zhu Yi'an, *Zhuzhici ji qi jindai zhuanxing yanjiu* 竹枝詞及其近代轉型研究 [Study on the transition of the bamboo-branch song during modern China] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2020), 4–5.

divide their literature into two genres: the classically elegant (*ya*) and the vulgar or common (*su*).[228] On the other hand, bamboo-branch songs are truly a perfect reflection of this dichotomy. I hold that bamboo-branch songs are a type of vernacular poetry of premodern China. Such a view is new and may be controversial in the Chinese world. If controversial, it is largely because the meaning of "vernacular" is narrower in Chinese translation than in English.

Di Wang, in his research on bamboo-branch songs of Chengdu, was the first to describe this poetry as "the real pioneers of vernacular poetry".[229] Roland Altenburger goes even further to argue that bamboo-branch songs "were commonly written in the vernacular, occasionally even in a colloquial style".[230] He argues for understanding bamboo-branch songs as a vernacular literary form mainly based on style. The topics of this poetry are primarily based in popular culture and social life, and its readership is likely to have included commoners.[231]

To continue along this line of discussion, we first need to clarify the concept of "vernacular". George Yule defines the term in the domain of linguistics as "a general expression for a kind of social dialect, typically spoken by a lower-status group, which is treated as 'non-standard' because of marked differences from the 'standard' language".[232] Outside the linguistic field, there is also vernacular architecture, which refers to domestic and functional buildings. Vernacular paintings, which James Cahill describes as paintings that are "created [...] by studio artists working in the cities [...] as required for diverse everyday domestic and other uses".[233] Here Cahill emphasizes the painters' identities, and the paintings' content and function. Ultimately, the word 'vernacular', with connotations of "native, domestic, indigenous, common, natural"[234] reflects the ideas of "nativity, simplicity, and domesticity"[235] in diverse fields.

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[228] Sun Chang and Owen, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, 1: 635.

[229] Wang, "The Rhythm of the City", 65.

[230] Altenburger, "Observations of a Changing World", 175.

[231] Ibid.

[232] George Yule, *The Study of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 729.

[233] James Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 3.

[234] Jessica Dvorak Moyer, *Woman Rules Within: Domestic Space and Genre in Qing Vernacular Literature* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), 4.

[235] Ibid.

In Chinese, the word "vernacular" is usually translated as *baihua* 白話 in the fieids of linguistics and literature. *Baihua* literary means "plain speech".[236] *Baihua* applys both to the oral language and written language, which implies that there are both *baihua* speech and *baihua* text. However, as Shang Wei points out, modern scholars often confuse writing with speech in their definition and employment of *baihua*. In most cases, they use the word *baihua* to refer to written vernacular.[237] The term *baihua* arose from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, when scholars found that the overwhelming dominance of classical literary writing in premodern China had greatly prevented less educated people from reading and writing, and scholars started to pay attention to vernacular literature and texts as one of many mediums to popularise literacy and political education.[238]

Baihua text involves colloquial language, which is used in daily life by ordinary people. In several southern Chinese dialects, *baihua* also refers to the local speech (*tuhua* 土話), in contrast to a spoken language of higher prestige called *guanhua* 官話.[239] *Baihua* as written language is contrasted with *wenyan* 文言, the "written speech", i.e. Classical Chinese.[240] Despite the dominance of Classical Chinese for thousands of years, *baihua* writings were not absent at all. Instances of *baihua* are found in Buddhist tales during the Tang Dynasty, and the vernacular writing of fiction literature during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. However, the term of *baihuashi* 白話詩 (vernacular poem) was more temporal in nature; a "chronological designation". The birth of *baihuashi* was related to "the language reform in China's New Culture Movement in the early twentieth century".[241] Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898–1958)

[236] Ibid.

[237] Shang Wei, "Writing and Speech: Rethinking the Issue of Vernaculars in Early Modern China", in *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000–1919*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 257.

[238] Lijun Bi, "Chinese Language Reform and Vernacular Poetry in the Early Twentieth Century", *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 3, no. 24 (2012): 57.

[239] See Elisabeth Kaske, "Báihuà 白話 [Vernacular Written Chinese]", in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics*, ed., Rint Sybesma et al. http://dx-1doi-1org-1009785k10501.erf.sbb.spk-berlin.de/10.1163/2210-7363_ecll_COM_00000031.

[240] Shang, "Writing and Speech", 257.

[241] Bi, "Chinese Language Reform and Vernacular Poetry in the Early Twentieth Century", 56.

argues that vernacular poems written in premodern time were not called *baihuashi*, but were included in *suwenxue* (popular literature).[242]

This study combines the meaning of vernacular in both English and Chinese linguistic contexts, arguing that bamboo-branch songs are a genre of vernacular poems. These poems were written in simple, colloquial language, and deeply involved in the full panoply of daily life. They derived from folk songs. After they entered the world of scholars, the latter consciously maintained the popular style of these poems; some were successful, and some took a turn.

2.4.1 Vernacular Language

Compared with classical poems, which are high literary, the language of bamboo-branch songs is more straightforward and colloquial. It was true that many bamboo-branch songs followed the form of the heptasyllaptic quatrain, but there were conscious endeavours to distinguish bamboo-branch songs from normal classical poems, both in terms of creative ideas and practices.

A term that was widely adopted by authors and critics of bamboo-branch songs was "rustic" (*li* 俚). They employed the term with two interrelated meanings: on the one hand, the poems' language references the vernacular; and on the other, it references the lyrics' overall style as being popular or even vulgar. Some authors themselves described their poems as vulgar (*li*). This reflects both a modest way of speaking of one's own work, but also reflects the common aesthetics. This genre of poetry was viewed as an imitation of folk songs, and therefore, they were expected to keep the flavour of the latter, which is simple, vernacular, and less literary. For example, a poet of the Qing Dynasty, Liu Kaizhao 劉開兆, introduced his creative motivation as "to make a supplement in slang, just for fun" (補綴俚語, 聊當俳諧)[243] . He was not alone. Another poet, Cheng Boluan 程伯鑾, also described his poems as rustic songs of the markets and villages, which he hoped could be a creative support of local dialects.[244] Other literary critics in premodern China held similar positions. Lu Shiyong 陸時雍 (1585–1640),

[242] Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zhongguo su wenxue shi* 中國俗文學史 [History of Chinese popular literature] (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 2006), 1: 1–5.

[243] *Quanbian*, 5: 53.

[244] *Quanbian*, 6: 551.

an influential literary theorist of the Ming Dynasty, held that bamboo-branch songs were not detrimentally vernacular but were composed with refinement(竹枝詞俚而雅).[245] Their authors held that the wording in bamboo-branch songs could never simply be vernacular, but that their tone should capture a nuanced sense of the unsophisticated.[246]

Given the above, it is not surprising that the language of bamboo-branch songs is appreciably more vernacular than ordinary poems. First, some poems were unabashedly based on original verses of folk songs. For example, inspired by the songs sung by boat trackers, Yang Wanli composed a group of bamboo-branch songs with seven poems. Among them, two contain adaptations of boat trackers' work songs he heard; also known to us in the original because he listed the two songs by the boat trackers in the preface.[247] Below I will list those two songs by boat trackers and Yang's poetic adaptations in side-by-side comparison, to investigate how scholars composed bamboo-branch songs through refining folk songs, and to what extent the songs maintain their folk style.

The first song by boat trackers goes like this:

Brother Zhang, brother Li,
Everyone, let's pull hard together.[248]
張哥哥，李哥哥
大家著力一起拖 [249]

The poem by Yang reads as follows:

A group of good young men from Wu,
Move the boat unhurriedly.
If everyone pulls hard,

[245] Lu Shiyong 陸時雍, *Tangshi jing* 唐詩鏡 [Mirror of Tang poetry], in *Yingyin wenyuange siku quanshu: Zongji lei jibu sanlingwu* 影印文淵閣四庫全書 [Photocopy version of complete library of four branches of treasuries: Wenyuange edition] (Xinbei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1982–1986), 1411: 681.

[246] Chen Bohai 陳伯海, Zhang Yinpeng 張寅彭 and Huang Gang 黃剛, ed., *Tangshi lunping leibian zengdingben* 唐詩論評類編增訂本 [Revised and enlarged edition of the collection of theories on Tang poetry] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), 1: 583.

[247] *Quanbian*, 3: 227.

[248] The translation is from Roddy, "A Love of Labor", 264.

[249] Ibid.

The boat will surely arrive at Danyang.

吳儂一隊好兒郎

只要船行不要忙

著力大家一起拽

前頭管取到丹陽 [250]

It is clear that the third line of Yang's poem was adapted from the second line of the song sung by the boat trackers, but with two slight differences. First, Yang adjusted the word order; secondly, the verb *tuo* was replaced by *zhuai*; both mean 'to pull'. The adjustment does not harm the flavour. The order may only have to do with the rhythm, and both *tuo* and *zhuai* are distinctly colloquial words. The most significant difference is that Yang expanded the oral song into a short scene. The original song speaks of no destination. Moreover, Brother Zhang and Brother Li are general pseudonyms for boat trackers, since Zhang and Li are ordinary family names in China. Yang's poem indicates that the boat trackers were from Wu, and the destination of the boat was Danyang. In his preface, Yang mentions that he heard oral songs on his way to Danyang County.[251] Although Yang claimed that he had "refashioned"[252] the oral songs of the boatmen, his poem remains faithful to the vernacular and colloquial style of the workers' own language.

The second poem by the boat trackers goes like this:

One rest-rest, two rest-rest

Over how many prefectures does the crescent moon shine[253]

一休休，二休休

月子彎彎照几州[254]

The corresponding poem by Yang reads like this:

Over how many prefectures does the crescent moon shine?

How many homes are joyous, and how many sorrowful?

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[250] *Quanbian*, 3: 227.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Roddy, "A Love of Labor", 265.

[253] The translation is from Roddy, "A Love of Labor", 264.

[254] *Quanbian*, 3: 227.

The moon's phases have nothing to do with people's sorrows,

Where there's a place to let up, we'll let up.[255]

月子彎彎照几州

幾家歡樂幾家愁

愁殺人來閔月事

得休休處且休休[256]

The second poem perfectly combines folk song and literary writing. The first line is borrowed entirely from the song of the boat trackers. The sentence, "how many homes are joyous, and how many sorrowful?", was also borrowed from a folk song of Wu. The earliest record of the verses "How many prefectures does the crescent moon illuminate? / How many homes are joyous, and how many sorrowful?" was a story-tellers script of the Song Dynasty titled "Feng Yumei's family reunion" (*Feng Yumei tuanyuan* 馮玉梅團圓).[257] The phrase "letting up" (*xiuxiu* 休休) in the original song was possibly "a local colloquialism", but it also appeared in classical and literary sources.[258] Such overlaps are welcome among scholars. They do not worry that including colloquial phrases in their poems denigrates the poetry itself. As Roddy observes, "by employing locally inflected speech that simultaneously evokes associations with literary and historical sources, the poem fulfills Huang Tingjian's desideratum, echoed by many later critics, that *zhuzhici* not be merely 'rustic'".[259] Yang's last two sentences expanded the meaning of the original song. In the original song, the phrase *xiuxiu* means purely "resting". But Yang's verses tell us that however we feel, happy or sad, it is not permanent. Changes are also found in the moon, which serenely passes through its phases. In imitation, we too should return to serenity whenever possible.

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[255] The translation is from Roddy, "A Love of Labor", 264. But the last second sentence seems to be wrongly translated. Roddy translated it as "The moon's phases have something to do with people's sorrows", but the meaning of the original text is the other way around: "The moon's phases have nothing to do with people's sorrows".

[256] *Quanbian*, 3: 227.

[257] Che Xilun 車錫輪, "Wu ge 'Yuezi wanwan zhao ji/jiu zhou' de yuanliu kaoxi" 吳歌"月子彎彎照几/九州"源流考析 [Textual study on the song of Wu "The crescent moon over several/nine prefectures shines"], *Minzu yishu* 民族藝術, no. 4 (1997): 125.

[258] Roddy, "A Love of Labor", 264.

[259] Ibid., 265.

A coincidence is that a later poet, Chen Zun 陳樽, who passed the imperial examination to become a metropolitan graduate (*jinshi*) in 1766, had an experience similar to that of Yang Wanli. On his way to Dantu 丹徒 (in present-day Jiangsu, near Yang's destination, Danyang 丹陽), he also heard boatmen and boatwomen's songs, most of which he felt were quite vulgar. However, he adapted some of the less vulgar of their songs into poems. The first line of the poem is exactly the verse "the crescent moon shines over the land".[260]

Dialect words are widely used in bamboo-branch songs. Ni Lu 倪辂, a provincial graduate (*juren* 舉人) during the Ming Dynasty, wrote a group of bamboo-branch songs in the dialect of Diannan 滇南, in the south of Yunnan province. The title is "Bamboo-branch songs in the transliterated barbarian dialect of Diannan" (*Diannan zhu yi yiyu zhuzhici* 滇南諸夷譯語竹枝詞). The verses are replete with dialect words, and the comments interpret the dialect through cultural information. It would not have been possible even for educated people to understand the verses without the commentary. Here is the seventh one of the fifty-nine poems:

The chieftain is sweepy, and the system is strict,

The curved clothes facing decoration looks same as the facing of the flag.

At night, no matter women or men,

They sleep together by the stoves.

土舍威儀體制嚴

兵邊灣曲似裝邊

抗酣不管寧和宰

齊擁鋼牙對斐眠[261]

Comment:

Tushe: the chieftain. *Bing*: the clothes. *Zhuang*: the flag. *Han*: the night. *Ning*: women. *Zai*: men. *Gangya*: the stove. *Fei*: the fire. Men of the *Guoluoluo* wrap the hair with a strip of green cloth, more than one *zhang* long, which makes their heads look big. So,

[260] Ibid., 264.

[261] *Quanbian*, 7: 153.

they are also called big-head *luoluo*. Women wear colourful headbands. In weddings, both the bride and bridegroom walk to the wedding. The bride does not hide from her bigger brother-in-law and father-in-law. There are also people who live on robbery. They ride horses, wearing armor and broadswords. But they keep a moderate life at home. The old and young are both courteous. Knee-sitting is considered well-mannered when dining together.

土舍：土官。 兵：衣。裝：旗。酣：夜。寧：女。宰：男。鋼牙：火爐。 斐：火。葛倮僂，男以青布一丈許裹髮，為大頭，故又名大頭倮僂。女戴花布線箍。婚嫁步行， 婦不避伯不避翁。亦有頂盔披甲乘馬配刀搶劫為生者。然居家有節，長幼有禮，會食以跪為敬。[262]

The poem is about the ethnic group of the Geluoluo. Every verse of the poem includes several dialect words which are transliterated into Chinese. The Chinese characters' original meaning is far from the local language; therefore, it is necessary to provide explanations. What is more, the comments supply extra cultural information of that local society to make the verses easier to be understood.

Although most bamboo-branch songs do not involve as many dialect words as the above, some dialect words are inevitably necessary. The terms related to local customs and ceremonies are a good example. Wu Yufeng 吳玉鳳 investigated the custom-related terms (*minsu ciyu* 民俗詞語) in the bamboo-branch songs of South China. Although *minsu ciyu* and dialect terms are not equivalents, there are overlaps between the two. Some common festivals have unique names in different regions. For instance, the Hungry-ghost festival (*Yulanjie* 盂蘭節) was called “Fateful relationship of ten thousand people” (*Wanrenyuan* 萬人緣) in Guangdong.[263] Moreover, there are many particular customs. For example, the “raw fish slice” (*yusheng* 魚生) is a traditional food by the sea, where it was a custom to eat raw fish slices for the Winter Solstice festival (*Dongzhi* 冬至) in Guangdong.[264] Besides Wu’s study, there are compilations

[262] Ibid.

[263] Wu, *Ming-Qing Huanan zhuzhici minsu wenhua ciyu yu shuyu yanjiu*, 52.

[264] Ibid., 51.

of research on custom-related terms of other regions, such as Shandong and Anhui provinces.[265]

2.4.2 Imitating Folk Songs

It is widely accepted that the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing*) is the foundational opus of Chinese poetry. The 305-poem collection contains "folk songs, songs of the nobility, ritual hymns, and ballads on significant events in the history of the Zhou people".[266] The Music Bureau (*yuefu* 樂府) songs, which had been popular among elites in the Han (206 B.C.E–220 C.E.) and Tang Dynasties, and a large number of which had their roots in popular culture.[267] One should be very careful not to treat them as original folk songs created by commoners, because they were recorded and re-edited by elite authors; and in some cases, created by elite persons.[268] However, it is also reasonable to say that they were derived from original folk songs and to a great extent have preserved the flavor of their folk origins. Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) *Mountain Songs* (*Shan'ge* 山歌) is a collection of the folk songs of Southern China, with Suzhou 蘇州 as its regional focus.[269] They also include "folk songs" created by literati.[270] The above three cases have many things in common: their literary focus is the world of commoners; love, courtship, and longing are common themes; in terms of writing technique, there are plenty of metaphors and puns; the language is relatively vernacular; and in the case of *Shan'ge,* the language is even close to oral expression.

Bamboo-branch songs as a genre are faithful to the above folk-song traditions in many aspects. Love is enduring as a common theme also of bamboo-branch songs; and just as in folk songs, the love songs among them are often expressed in a woman's voice. Zhu Yi'an includes this

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[265] Wang Cuicui 王翠翠, *Shandong zhuzhici minsu ciyu yanjiu* 山東竹枝詞民俗詞語研究 [Study on the folk words and phrases of Shandong bamboo-branch songs] (Master's thesis, Shandong University, Ji'nan, 2011); Ran Yi 冉懿, *Qingdai Anhui zhuzhici de minsu ciyu yanjiu* 清代安徽竹枝詞的民俗詞語研究[Study on the folk terms of Anhui bamboo-branch songs in the Qing Dynasty] (Master's thesis, Shandong University, Ji'nan, 2010).

[266] Arthur Waley and Joseph R. Allen, *The Book of Songs* (New York: Grove Press, 1996), xv.

[267] Sun Chang and Owen, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, 1: 218.

[268] Ōki Yasushi and Paolo Santangelo, *Shan'ge, the Mountain Songs: Love songs in Ming China* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 1.

[269] Ibid., 9.

[270] Ibid., 10.

to be one of the traditional motifs of *zhuzhici*, and terms this constitutive element as the "girls (*nü'er* 女儿) tradition", in reference to the perspective of the one singing about the affection between women and men.[271] Bamboo-branch songs of later epochs expanded this motif to include other multiple aspects of women's daily lives.

Lotus-gathering is also a familiar motif in both Southern *yuefu* songs and bamboo-branch songs, as the lotus connected several aspects of people's everyday life of that region. Even beyond South China, bamboo-branch songs focussing on lakes often take lotus-gathering as one of their themes. In the next chapter, I will give examples of the songs of Daming Lake, located in Ji'nan, the capital city of Shandong, where lotus-growing is also a long-standing commercial activity. In these songs, lotus-gathering girls are almost always heroines of love. A very common pun employed in *yuefu*, the play on the words "lotus" (*lian* 蓮) and "love" (*lian* 憐),[272] is also adopted in bamboo-branch songs.

Shan'ge are rich in "allusions and double entendres"[273]. A double entendre is a play on words as a constituent element to the story being told, which, as in the example below, creates an artful effect:[274]

> If you have a secret affair, do not be like an umbrella.
>
> He only wants to have clouds and rain [i.e., to make love], and never cares about fine weather [feelings].[275]
>
> 結識私情沒要像箇雨傘能
>
> 只圖雲雨弗圖晴

"*yunyu* 雲雨" (clouds and rain) is a euphemism for sexual intercourse, and "*qing* 晴" (fine weather) is a pun on "*qing* 情" (affection).[276] Together with the simile in the first line, that the

[271] Zhu, "Ming Qing zhuzhici zhong de nüxing shenghuoshi jishu ji qi qiyi", 138.

[272] Sun Chang and Owen, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, 1: 218.

[273] Ōki and Santangelo, *Shan'ge*, 35.

[274] Ibid.

[275] Ibid., 253.

[276] Ibid.

secret affair is like an umbrella, the two verses describe the affair in an ingenious and witty way.

Liu Yuxi's most famous bamboo-branch song uses exactly the same pun:

Between the green willows the river flows along;

My gallant in a boat is heard to sing a song.

The west is veiled in rain, while the east enjoys sunshine,

The day seems rainy and also seems fine(*qing* 晴).

楊柳青青江水平

聞郎江上踏歌聲

東邊日出西邊雨

道是無晴卻有晴

The poem uses the same pun of double entendre, with "*qing* 晴" alluding to "*qing* 情", as in the previous song. Ostensibly the last two lines describe normal weather on the river; but what they really intend to convey is the vague passion between the young man who sings songs on the river and the girl who listens, that is, the two youths alluded to in the first line of this poem.

It is a common phenomenon across cultures that elite literatures borrow from folk literatures. As a matter of fact, folk songs played a critical role in the history of Chinese poetry. Literati drew inspiration from them and intentionally created literary imitations.[277] Bamboo-branch songs also followed this path, and their scholar-authors consciously adopted a folksy style in their poetry.

A distinctive feature of bamboo-branch songs is that they reveal a strong interest in social life, though from a top-down perspective. As discussed previously, such poetry describes rural and urban lives, local landscapes, local products, customs, popular culture, etc. Importantly, they also delve into the feelings of commoners. This is one reason why I view them as a form of

[277] Chang-tai Hung, *Going to the People: Chinese Intellectuals and Folk Literature, 1918–1937* (Cambridge, Mass, and London: Harvard University Press, 1985), 8.

vernacular literature. Bamboo-branch songs are so close to local realities that they often include detailed information which would otherwise have been forgotten or even lost.

2.4.3 Interaction Between Elites and Commoners

Bamboo-branch songs usually were circulated among the literati. However, that does not mean that commoners were totally excluded from them. For most authors, the poems were the fruit of their observation of society, often implying the hope that their lyrics would contribute to improving social morality. This does not imply that they meant to directly educate the commoners with their verses, insdead, they expected that their poems be noticed by people in power, to let the letter know the situation of society. Through this way, people in power may modify policies and thus improve society. Such expectations are often found in the prefaces of bamboo-branch songs, some of which I discuss in the following.

Ye Fang'ai 葉方靄 (1629–1682), in the preface of one of his cycles of bamboo-branch songs of Suzhou, made the following statement:

> I created twelve pieces of new bamboo-branch songs of Sutai [i.e. Suzhou] in my leisure time, out of my sentiments about recent events in Wu. The language is not elaborated, but the meanings are mostly true. Folksong collectors may want to select them in the future.
>
> 屏居多暇，感吳中近事，為蘇台新竹枝詞十二章，語雖不工，意多摭實，他日采風者或有取焉。[278]

In a description of his poems, another poet, Zhu Peng 朱彭 (1731–1803), writes: "[the lyrics are] vernacular and elegant, not so pedantic, or free. I hope some of them could be selected by folksong collectors"(不迂不流, 亦嗲亦雅, 望采風者裁擇焉).[279] Fan Jingwen 範景文 (1587–1644), who passed the imperial examination in 1613 and later the Minister of Military, also writes: "[I write the poems] and wait for folksong collectors to pick them up (以俟視風者采焉)".[280] The above passages include expressions like "folksong collectors" (*caifeng zhe*

[278] *Quanbian*, 3: 294.

[279] Ibid., 3: 846.

[280] Ibid., 1: 386.

采風者). It refers to men who first collected and then "presented songs to the ruling class as evidence of social mores".[281] According to legend, there were officials who collected folksongs in the Zhou Kingdom (1046–256 B.C.E), to "observe the manners and morals of the area".[282] By citing the *caifeng zhe*, literati tracked bamboo-branch songs to the *Shijing*, of which the 160 songs of "Airs of the states" (*Guofeng* 國風) were acknowledged as folk songs from the realm of the Kingdom.[283]

One important thing to note is that traditional poetry in China was not only a genre of literature, but also had a practical function of "literary education" (*wenjiao* 文教), or "literary administration" (*wenzhi* 文治)". Poetry was viewed as a didactic medium of interaction between administrators and the common people. In the "Great Preface" ("Shi daxu" 詩大序) to *Shijing*, the role of the *Guofeng* songs was interpreted as follows: "By *feng*, those above transform those below; also, by *feng*, those below criticize those above."[284] In the context of Confucianism, there was a "didactic intention".[285] As Stephen Owen put it: "the purpose (of the education of poetry) here is not to make people understand the Good, but rather to internalize the Good involuntarily so that it becomes 'natural' for them."[286]

This ideal directly influenced the poetic writing. First, scholars listened to the voice of commoners. For instance, a scholar Jiang Shi 蔣詩 (1720–1796) wrote that one old woman surnamed Chen told him many anecdotes about Tianjin, based on which he wrote a group of one hundred poems.[287] Another poet, Xu Yuan 徐源, during his journey, talked with boat trackers and got familiar with them. He subsequently wrote ten poems based on what they had told him.[288]

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[281] Lam Lap, "Poetic Record of Local Customs: Bamboo Branch Verses of Singapore (1888–1941)", *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 15 (2019): 11.

[282] Ōki and Santangelo, *Shan'ge*, 1.

[283] Ibid.

[284] Owen, *Readings in Chinese literary thought*, 46.

[285] Ibid., 40.

[286] Ibid.

[287] *Quanbian*, 1: 348.

[288] Ibid., 3: 833.

Secondly, scholars emphasized their allegiance to the material of their poems, pointing out its authenticity rather than boasting of their own creativity. Many authors stressed that what they wrote was truthful. One poet, Ding Licheng 丁立誠, claimed that his poems described verified things of the past thirty years, although the language may at times be unrefined.[289] In the preface of one group of bamboo-branch songs, Wan Qingfu 萬清涪 explained that customs changed along with the times, therefore, he wished to record what currently was happening.[290]

Because of its role in educating the masses, literati also tried to make the songs easier to be understood. Wu Xiuzu 吳修祖 (1638–1694), a teacher from Jiangsu, wrote a cycle of bamboo-branch songs of Gusu (i.e., Suzhou). He explained the motivation of his creation as follows:

> Six years after the death of Master Juzhou, the people of Wu still remember him. Their words are colloquial and easy to be understood, so I re-edited them into verses. I will let people who are good at singing compose melodies so that the poems could be used as songs for inviting and sending off the gods.
>
> 睢州先生薨已六年，而吳氏猶謳思之不忘。余采其語韻之，取其俚而易曉，當令善歌者葉之管弦，以當迎神送神之曲。[291]

Wu wrote a group of bamboo-branch songs to commemorate Tang Bin 湯斌 (1627–1687), who once served as governor of Jiangsu, and whose hometown was Juzhou 睢州 (in the present Henan province), with the ambition that ordinary people could sing his poems when there were religious ceremonies or festivels, which means that ordinary people accepted his poems. For this aim, he wrote these poems in simple language. Another author Wu Zhizhen 吳之振 put it more directly, that to allow his poetry to be widely read, he wrote in a rather colloquial style.[292]

The title of a bamboo-branch song written for children by Zhao Wen 趙文 during either the late Song or early Yuan Dynasties states its motivation as follows: “Listening to children

[289] Ibid., 4: 36.

[290] Ibid., 6: 692.

[291] Ibid., 3: 450.

[292] Ibid., 3: 707.

singing boating songs, / Writing bamboo-branch songs to support them" (聽兒童歌船, 作竹枝助之).[293] The poem describes lively scenes of the countryside and boisterous children:

Rural children run like roe deer,

Singing with the drum, they compete with each other in behaving crazily.

During the Lantern Festival I beg you to rest for a few days.

After the Lantern Festival, there will be a busy time of farming.

田舍兒童走似麞

踏歌椎鼓鬬顛狂

元宵乞汝閑幾日

元宵過後種田忙[294]

The result may not have been as effective as the authors hoped. The overwhelming majority of the readership were still literati, though commoners were not completely excluded.

One Ming Dynasty scholar, Shen Mingchen 沈明臣 (1518–1596), wrote more than ten bamboo-branch songs for Yin 鄞 County (in present Zhejiang province) when visiting his friend there, composed music for them and let boys (*tongzi* 童子) sing them. Rather unexpectedly, these poems were widely disseminated for some time.[295] These poems were mostly spread among scholars, though commoner boys were involved in their oral dissemination.

If the above examples show more of the poets' wishful desire to let their poems be spread among ordinary people, or at least, to some extent, influence the common population, then Liu Yuxi may have achieved this goal to the greatest extent. Hu Zi 胡仔, a scholar during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279), offered the following story about the dissemination of Liu Yuxi's poems:

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[293] Zhao Wen 趙文, *Qingshan ji* 青山集 [Corpus of Green Mountain], in *Siku quanshu*, 1195: 106.

[294] Ibid.

[295] See Hu Wenxue 胡文學, *Yongshang qi jiushi* 甬上耆舊詩 [Old poems of an old man of Yongshang], in *Siku quanshu*, 1474: 478.

When I passed the Tiao stream by boat at night, I heard fishermen sing Wu songs, which included the last two lines,[296] and in which there remained vulgar words. Isn't this due to Mengde's poems being disseminated from Ba and Yu to this place?

予嘗舟行苕溪，夜聞舟人唱吳歌，歌中有此後兩句，餘皆雜以俚語，豈非夢得之歌，自巴渝流傳至此乎？[297]

It was well possible that Liu Yuxi's eleven bamboo-branch songs were not received by the common people exactly as they were written, but perhaps they were merged with local songs. Compared to the effect of most writings, this was a tremendous success, that at least two verses of this poem spread among the common people. Moreover, Hu Zi lived during the Southern Song Dynasty, almost three hundred years after Liu's death. Tiaoxi, where Hu heard the songs, was in present-day Zhejiang province, quite a distance from Kuizhou 夔州, where Liu had written his poems. From this we might conclude that Liu's poems did indeed spread widely.

To summarize, I hold that bamboo-branch songs were a type of vernacular poetry of premodern time. This involves the aesthetic idea of authors. There was a common pursue among Authors to maintain a folk style for their poems. They usually escape too refined expressions, and sometimes they adopted dialect words, as well as folk sayings. Bamboo-branch songs also borrowed techniques from original folk songs, such as puns. In terms of content, the poetry included all aspects of the local, focusing mainly on ordinary life. Eventually, ordinary people were also included among the target readership and some of the songs' lyrics had their roots in the folk and spread among them.

[296] I.e., "The west is veiled in rain, the east enjoys sunshine, my gallant is as deep in love as the day is fine" 東邊日出西邊雨，道是無晴卻有晴.

[297] Hu Zi 胡仔, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua houji* 苕溪漁隱叢話後集 [Continuation of the Tiaoxi fishing and seclusion talks] ed. Liao Deming 廖德明 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1962), 91.

Part Two: Bamboo-Branch Songs of Shandong Province

Chapter 3: Social Life as Viewed from Bamboo-Branch Songs: With a Focus on Women's Lives

Located in North China, Shandong province is bordered by the sea to the east and extends inland to the west. Throughout Chinese history, this province has played a significant role in literature. However, there are limited studies on the Bamboo-branch songs of Shandong. Upon reviewing these poems, it is evident that they provide valuable insights into local life, making them worthy of further investigation.

As for the research material, I have collected 1.732 poems from different sources, including 988 poems from the *Quanbian*, the most comprehensive compilation so far. Others were found in local gazetteers and poetry collections. It is far from a complete picture, but still enough for this study, which doesn't claim any comprehensive coverage of regional research, but focuses on selected aspects.

Women are a rather frequent topic in bamboo-branch songs. The treatment of women in bamboo-branch songs changed over time. In earlier times, women were only included in love songs. Along with the expansion of the content of such poems, women were more regularly included in the representation of social life. On the one hand, bamboo-branch songs payed much attention to women – their lives, emotions, and dressing styles – as subjects; on the other hand, women were taken as symbols of social life, considering their participation in it as displaying local life, such as in poems about festivals.

This also applies to bamboo-branch songs from Shandong. The present chapter studies how women's lives are described in bamboo-branch songs from Shandong. The motif of love, in particular, is closely linked with women. In this chapter, I discuss how bamboo-branch songs from Shandong deal with the motif of love, and, further, how these love songs reflect local life. Female fashion is frequently mentioned in poems that mainly express observations and opinions of their authors. The last part, in which women emerge as the main participants, focuses on festivals. It will also be discussed how bamboo-branch songs record the changes in festivals over time.

3.1 Groups of Women

When examining women's lives through bamboo-branch songs from Shandong, it must be made clear, what social groups they focus on. While reading more than one thousand poems, I noticed that the women described in the poems were mostly of commoner status, such as urban women doing different kinds of work, village women, singing girls and courtesans, female beggars, and street performers. What is notable is the lack of elite women, even though their lives were also a part of local affairs. Lives of elit women were hardly visible in public, which may partly explain why their lives were absent in bamboo-branch songs.

The working lives of women are particularly frequently described. Most working women lived in cities, for example, the lotus farmers around Daming Lake, located in the inner city of Ji'nan. Most people around the lake lived off lotus farming or fishing during the Ming and Qing dynasties. In the bamboo-branch songs of Daming Lake, lotus-gathering girls are a repeated subject. One poem from a group of bamboo-branch songs on Daming Lake by Yu Changsui 于昌遂 (b. 1829) provides a good example:

> Growing no yellow mulberry or hemp,
>
> The sharply pointed boat is my house.
>
> I live off of selling lotus seed roots，
>
> So, when you, young man, come, do not pluck the flowers!
>
> 不種黃桑不種麻
>
> 橛頭船子是儂家
>
> 賣蓮賣藕儂生活
>
> 郎若來時莫折花[298]

There is a short comment after this poem, in which the author explains that most of the residents around Daming Lake lived on boats. Instead of farming and weaving, they grew

[298] *Quanbian*, 5: 355.

lotus for their livelihood. The lotus farmlands were demarcated by reeds to prevent the flowers from being plucked by travelers.[299]

The poem is written from the first-person perspective of a young woman. The word *nong* 儂 is a common first-person pronoun employed for women in Chinese poetry, while *lang* 郎 is a second-person term of address used for a young man. We learn from the comment that lotus farming was common around Daming Lake. The author chose a young woman as the subject to depict such a life. Women who lived around Daming Lake also made money by ferrying, as described in some bamboo-branch songs.[300]

Women doing other kinds of work can also be read about in such texts. In the bamboo-branch songs of Jining 濟寧, another city near Ji'nan, some women live off selling aquatic products such as fish and shrimp.[301] In a group of bamboo-branch songs of Lijin 利津 County, in northwestern Shandong, which focus on salt manufacturing, women's jobs, such as making ropes for the salt boats, are also described.[302]

Courtesans and singing girls are also included among the social groups. They could be symboles of both poverty and prosperity. One group bamboo-branch songs with two poems present a singing girl begged money through playing Pipa (a musical instrument) on the street[303]. While in one of another group of poems, their singing, in a beautiful day of spring, was a microcosm of a prosperous city.[304] Village women are also frequently made a topic. Not only their daily work, such as weaving, farming, and fishing, are recorded in the poems, but also their dress styles and social lives. For example, in one of Zheng Xie's bamboo-branch songs of Wei County, he noticed a new dress style among women imitating the styles popular in Suzhou 蘇州 and Hangzhou 杭州, though the village women, who were too poor to afford jewelry, wore fakes.[305]

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[299] Ibid.

[300] Ibid., 5: 358.

[301] Ibid., 5: 384.

[302] Ibid., 5: 365.

[303] Ibid., 5: 371.

[304] Ibid., 5: 359.

[305] Ibid., 5: 423.

Women's social hardship and misery are also frequently made a topic, such as when female beggars due to famines,[306] blind storytellers,[307] and street performers[308] are also mentioned; or in descriptions of child brides who were left at home for decades while their husbands fled to northeastern China because of privation.[309]

Chaste women are also made a prominent topic in the bamboo-branch songs of Shandong. In the poems of Ji'nan, Wang Xiangchun mentions a chaste village woman named Wang, who committed suicide to escape being raped by prince Zhu Gaoxu 朱高煦 (1380–1429), during his rebellion in struggling for the throne.[310] In his comment, Wang Xiangchun spoke highly about the woman's brave resistance.[311] Chaste women, as well as filial women, were always seen as a proof for a society which have a high morality in premordern China. Therefore, it is not surprise that they were specially paid attention in bamboo-branch songs.

3.2 Love Songs

Love is a particularly familiar theme in bamboo-branch songs. The vast majority of bamboo-branch songs about love are conventionally written in the voice of a woman. Even those which are not written in a female voice always put their focus on the women's emotions. Unlike treatments of the love theme in other poetic genres, in bamboo-branch songs the theme of love is usually connected with local lives. In some cases, love is even a lesser concern than the local conditions. The third feature is that common women were given special attention, for instance, lotus-gathering girls or village women, which indicates that bamboo-branch songs somehow still meant to preserve the style of folk songs.

Ji'nan, the capital of Shandong, has numerous springs as well as a lake, named Daming. Not only a scenic spot of Ji'nan, Daming Lake was also an important site for the production of water plants. According to the local gazetteer of Ji'nan edited during the reign of Emperor Daoguang 道光 (r. 1821–1850), Daming Lake abounds with fish, lotus seeds, and water

[306] Ibid., 5:371.

[307] Ibid., 5:370.

[308] Ibid., 5:371.

[309] Ibid., 5:416.

[310] Ibid., 5:400.

[311] Ibid.

chestnuts.[312] Residents living around Daming Lake often depended on lotus farming. Therefore, lotus-gathering girls are a common subject of bamboo-branch songs on Daming Lake, and love is a recurrent motif in them. The following peom by Sun Qingyu 孫卿裕 (fl. Qing) is one example.

By the Daming Lake is my home,

When I boat to the lake's center, the sun has not yet set.

You, my love, are just like the lotus flower, and I like the seed,

I will sing for you loudly a song of sand of silk-washing streams.

大明湖畔是儂家

蕩槳湖心日未斜

郎似蓮花妾蓮子

為郎高唱浣溪沙[313]

The poem depicts a girl boating on Daming Lake and simultaneously singing a song for her lover. It is clearly written in the voice of a woman, which is revealed by the terms *nong* 儂 and *qie* 妾, both of which are first-person nouns used by women. *Lang* 郎, a male second-person term of address, is also used. The third line describes the girl's love with the metaphors of the lotus flower and seed. On the one hand, the seed is in the center of the flower, which means the girl and the young man are together. On the other hand, the word *lian* 蓮 is homophonic with *lian* 憐, 'to cherish'. What is noticeable is the silence of the male persona, which makes the poem a unilateral declaration by the girl.

[312] Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng bianji gongzuo weiyuanhui 中國地方志集成編輯工作委員會, ed., *Shandong fuxian zhi ji: Daoguang Ji'nan fu zhi* 山東府縣志輯: 道光濟南府志 [Prefectures' gazetteers of Shandong province: Gazetteer of Ji'nan prefecture edited during the reign of Emperor Daoguang] (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2004), 1: 157.

[313] *Quanbian*, 5: 380.

Local views are also merged into love poems, like in the following poem by Shi Menglan 史夢蘭 (1813–1899):

The crisscrossing water roads lead to the west or the east,

You set your boat, and I turn mine.

I blame the pampas grass and reeds dividing the lake like fences,

Even though our boats are close, they never meet.

縱橫水路各西東

郎自揚舲妾轉蓬

卻怪蒲蘆圍似柵

船雖相近不相逢[314]

The poem describes a woman's feelings. When she meets the man she desires, she cannot approach him, because their boats are separated by grass and reeds, which, however, can also symbolize other barriers between them. This poem takes the theme of love and gives it a distinct local flavor. As explained here, lotus farmers demarcated the lotus fields in Daming Lake with fence-like vegetation. By comparing the grass to the barriers of love, the information that Daming Lake was divided up into small sectors is also included. Another way to interpret this poem is that the love was imagined, while the lotus fields were real. The poem records the farming conditions around Daming Lake through the theme of love.

Bamboo-branch songs also depict the life of people at the bottom of society through the love theme. Shandong borders the sea of Bo 渤海 in the north and the sea of Huang 黃海 in the east. Most people living by the ocean lived off the salt trade. A group of *zhuzhici* about Lijin 利津 County reveals their lives during the early 19th century. One of them by Zhang Quan 張銓 (1790? –1872) is quoted here as follows:

I advise you, my love, do not leave our salt-producing household (*zaohu*),

[314] Ibid, 5: 356.

To be a long-term *zaohu* is to gain a proper livelihood.

With the money earned by ditching, I may change into a new coat,

With the money earned from manufacturing salt, I may wear flowers.

勸郎莫離竈戶家

長依竈戶即生涯

挑溝得錢儂換襖

曬鹽得錢儂戴花[315]

Zaohu 竈戶 (salt master) were people who were enrolled in the census register as salt producers.[316] Although as the salt master, a *zaohu* was normally "the owner of the saltern and the salt fields and marshes, if any, attached to it",[317] in reality, *zaohu* lived a hard life. On the one hand, salt production was quite hard and dangerous, and the work easily caused a disability;[318] on the other hand, *zaohu* were charged with heavy taxes.[319] However, in the above poem, the life of a *zaohu* is described as stable and happy. The poem describes the ideal life of a *zaohu* couple in the woman's voice. She tries to persuade the man that salt production provides a stable income and that he does not need to leave home to look for a livelihood. More importantly, they can live together. The light tone of this poem keeps quiet about the actual bitterness of *zaohu* lives.

There were also more pitiful women, who were separated from their husbands because of poverty. Their lives and emotions were also described, such as in the following example:

The double twined headrope is red by the four ends;

Their hearts have been connected at the age of carefreeness and innocence.

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315 Ibid., 5: 364.

316 Ji Lizhen 纪丽真, *Ming-Qing Shandong yanye yanjiu* 明清山東鹽業研究 [Study of Shandong's salt industry in the Ming and Qing dynasties] (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 2009), 67.

317 Pingti Ho, "The Salt Merchants of Yang-Chou: A Study of Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17, no. 1/2 (1954): 132.

318 Ji, *Ming-Qing Shandong yanye yanjiu*, 90.

319 Ibid., 90–91.

Twenty years raised as a child bride, for her, the mother-in-law is like her birth mother;

But when she is asked where her husband is, she answers that he is still east of the pass.

雙纏頭綆四端紅

兩小無猜信已通

童養廿年姑作母

問郎猶說客關東[320]

This poem was selected from a group of *zhuzhici* about Xuxiang 徐鄉, by Feng Gengyang馮賡揚 (fl. Qing). Xuxiang 徐鄉 is located in the east of Shandong, which in the Qing was officially called Huang County (Huangxian 黃縣). Because of the limitations of land resources, most people from Huangxian migrated to other places throughout the Qing Dynasty. Manchuria, in the northeast of present-day China, which was also called the place east of the pass (Guandong 關東), was a popular choice of destination.[321] This poem doesn't describe people who left home; it describes those who stayed home, the wife, and a little foster daughter-in-law (*tongyangxi* 童養媳). In traditional China, *tongyangxi* were quite common in poor regions. "For a marriage between minors, the girl was transferred to her future husband's family at a very young age, sometimes in infancy. She was then raised by her in-laws and, after physical maturity, became the wife of her 'foster brother'."[322] "The ill-treatment of these girls was notorious. They were sometimes viewed as little more than family slaves and frequently denied the affectionate relationships a daughter could expect from her parents."[323] However, the poem narrates another story. Not only were the little foster daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law as close as a mother and a daughter, but also the wife and the husband would seem to share a deep affection from childhood on. What the present poem centers on is the practice of migration to Northeast China, which brought pain to both the ones left behind

[320] *Quanbian*, 5: 416.

[321] Qingshi luncong bianweihui, ed., *Qingshi luncong* 清史論叢 [A symposium of the history of the Qing Dynasty] (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1994), 129–131.

[322] Kay A. Johnson, *Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 13.

[323] Ibid.

and the ones leaving. The poem deals with this topic by adopting a familiar poetic image, the yearning wife (*sifu* 思婦), that is, a woman who longs for her husband. Ordinarily, the husband left home for various reasons, typically to join the army.[324] However, different from the traditional image of the yearning wife in poetry, which is normally abstract and not individualized,[325] the present poem adopts quite a concrete character, that of a foster daughter-in-law. Therefore, the poem at least partly touches on a realistic living arrangement in Huang County, where *tongyangxi* were not unusual back then. It is doubtful, though, if this girl was truly married to the man who had left home twenty years ago. The transformation of the mother-in-law's identity, from mother-in-law (*gu*) to mother (*mu*), seems to indicate that the girl didn't become a daughter-in-law; and there is no sign of the husband's return, as the last line insinuates. The disrupture of family ties caused by migration is thus revealed.

Although writing about the feelings of local women in Shandong, bamboo-branch songs about love in Shandong commonly adopt the expressions of southern folk songs, which creates a distance between the poem and the human feelings (*renqing* 人情) of the locals. For instance, *nong* 儂, a regional (southern) term, is frequently used in these poems. Shao Huijun points out that as a personal pronoun, *nong* is used mostly in the dialects of the Wu 吳 and Min 閩 regions,[326] which are both located in southeastern China. People from Shandong never use the word *nong* for the first person, but *an* 俺 or *wo* 我.

The image of the lotus-gathering girl was also popular in the south. Lotus farming was far more widespread in southern China, where water was omnipresent. Lotus-gathering, as a familiar motif of classic poems, was indeed first developed in southern ballads. It appeared first in the *yuefu* songs of the Han Dynasty, in the region south of the Yangtze River (Jiangnan 江南).[327] Even a distinct subgenre called lotus-gathering songs (*cailian qu* 採蓮曲) formed,

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[324] Matsūra Tomohisa 松浦友久, *Zhongguo shige yuanli* 中國詩歌原理 [The principle of Chinese poetry], trans. Sun Changwu 孫昌武, Zheng Tiangang 鄭天剛 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), 44–46.

[325] Ibid., 46.

[326] Shao Huijun 邵慧君, "*Nong* zi chengdai yanhua guiji tanlunc" "儂" 字稱代演化軌跡探論 [On the character *nong* and its development], *Zhongguo yuwen* 中國語文, no. 1 (2004): 46.

[327] Yu Xiangshun 俞香順, "Zhongguo wenxue zhong de cailian zhuti yanjiu" 中國文學中的采蓮主題研究 [Study on the motif of lotus-gathering in Chinese literature], *Nanjing shifan daxue wenxueyuan xuebao* 南京師範大學文學院學報, no. 4 (2002): 8.

which featured love and the culture of the south.[328] Yu Xiangshun argues that lotus-gathering songs represent the customs of Jiangnan, and lotus-gathering girls actually epitomize the girls of Jiangnan.[329]

Considering how much people from the north admired the Jiangnan area and its highly developed culture, the proliferation of such southern-style love songs was not surprising. This was especially the case in Ji'nan, a city with a somewhat Jiangnan-like atmosphere due to the beauty of the landscape and an abundance of water, which was quite an unusual feature in Shandong. In the bamboo-branch poems, Ji'nan was frequently compared with cities of Jiangnan, such as Suzhou and Yangzhou.[330] Descriptions of lotus-gathering girls on Daming Lake hint at another far more famous lake, which also abounds in lotus flowers: West Lake. Love poems of Shandong, *zhuzhici*, had local women as their subjects but followed the style of southern-style songs.

The identities of local women were also displaced in another way, from the lower class to the upper class. Another term of address used simultaneously with *nong* in the above *zhuzhici* is *qie*妾, which refers to concubines. The word often appears in elite literature; however, it is far less seen in folk songs.

Just as *Shan'ge* by Feng Menglong was a collection of folk songs of southern China, *White Snow Song Book* (*Baixue yiyin* 白雪遺音, 1828) is a collection of northern popular folk songs during the reign of Qianlong Emperor 乾隆 (r. 1736–1795) and Jiaqing 嘉庆 Emperor (r. 1796–1820). Songs of Ji'nan occupy an important place in it since the editor Hua Guangsheng 華廣生 was a native of the city and lived there while he edited the book.[331] According to the preface, Hua started to collect the poems in the year 1797 or 1798, and finished the main part in one year.[332] The majority of the authors of these songs, according to Zhao Jingshen's 趙景

[328] Ibid., 9.

[329] Ibid., 14–15.

[330] *Quanbian*, 5: 356–357.

[331] Zheng Zhenduo, *Zhongguo su wenxueshi*, 628. Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, Wang Tingshao 王廷紹, and Hua Guangsheng 華廣生, *Ming Qing min'ge shidiao ji* 明清民歌時調集 [Collection of ballads and popular songs during the Ming and Qing dynasties] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 2: 456.

[332] Ibid., 471.

深 (1902–1985) introduction, were ordinary people who lived in urban areas (*xiaoshimin* 小市民).[333] In folk song collections as *Shan'ge* and *Banxue yiyin*, the female personas rarely call themselves *qie* (lit. 'concubine'), but instead they use the term *nu* 奴 (lit. 'slave') as a term of self-reference. Compared with *nu, qie* is a more elegant saying. Bamboo-branch songs, just like in the ordinary poetry genre, avoid expressions thought to be erotic when touching on the motif of love. They were prone to describe love in an elegant way. Thus, one can hardly find love poems among bamboo-branch songs that directly describe sexual matters. In true folk songs, by contrast, the emotions and also sexual issues are expressed in far more straightforward and bolder ways.

A cycle of poems, titled "Bamboo-branch Songs of Shandong", by Jiangyou Tianshengzi 江右天剩子, shall serve as an example. This cycle of poems describes entertainment at the brothel. The female figures are common prostitutes whose singing and dancing performances are not expensive. One poem indicates that the price of singing, and dancing is only five hundred copper coins.[334] The poems, moreover, describe the relationships between a female entertainer and her guests in an elegant way. Below is one of item, which desribes the moment of separation:

> What hour is this time of night, the moon is down in the woods,
>
> With deep passion, you leave, and I stay behind.
>
> We separate with the precious word "adieu",
>
> The heart of wood and stone of the man from Wu is overwhelmed.
>
> 夜如其何月在林
>
> 郎行妾歸兩情深
>
> 一聲珍重回頭見
>
> 消盡吳兒木石心[335]

[333] Ibid., 455.

[334] *Quanbian*, 5: 357.

[335] Ibid.

The poem puts the focus on the moment they say goodbye. The emotion is quite restrained. The affection is delivered only with the word “adieu”. It describes the separating moment of a courtesan and a guest from Southern China. However, the poem itself is just like a normal love song, moreover, the expression is so restrainded, affectionate and elegant that it is hard to associate the hero with courtesans and guests.

The moment of separation between couples is also a common motif in folk songs. Different from poems by literati, folk songs are far more straightforward in their emotional expression. Below is a song from *Baixue yiyin*, which also depicts a scene of separation. The title is “My lover is about to leave” (“Qingren yao qu” 情人要去):

> My love is going to leave, and I cannot make him stay. / Tears fill my eyes, but I do not dare to let them drop./ I want to weep, but I am afraid that he cannot help but cry too; / I wish not to weep, but my tears cannot be stopped. / Hand in hand, we come to a quiet place. / Cheek against cheek, mouth to mouth. / I urge you, I urge you, do not forget, by no means, the road to my home. /
>
> 情人要去留不住，眼含痛淚不敢啼哭。欲待哭，又怕情人忍不住；待不哭，淚珠點點止不住。手拉手兒，拉到無人之處。腮靠腮，口對口兒親囑咐。囑咐你，千萬莫忘這條路。[336]

Compared to bamboo-branch songs, this song describes the moment of separation in more detail, and the language is far more colloquial. This song is not as bold in its description of erotic matters as the songs in *Shan’ge*, however, the description of intimacy in the wording “cheek against cheek, mouth to mouth” is still bolder than anything we find in bamboo-branch songs.

Another difference is more essential. The bamboo-branch poem above also contains some contextual information. The last line indicates that the guest of the prostitute came from the Wu region, in Jiangnan, which identifies him as a traveler to Ji’nan. This might be the real information the poet wanted to address, just like many other poets did. In the same vein, another bamboo-branch song also touches on the topic of how people from Zhejiang and

[336] Feng Menglong, Wang Tingshao, and Hua Guangsheng, *Ming Qing min'ge shidiao ji*, 2: 641.

Jiangsu provinces typically gathered by Daming Lake.[337] The song in *Baixue yiyin* is a pure love song that emphasizes emotions.

In summary, the emotions of local women are often displayed in bamboo-branch songs. On the one hand, the use of southern dialects in poems creates a strange atmosphere for a song about women of the north; especially their expressions of feelings could hardly be discerned from southern descriptions. On the other hand, the refined language of the poems also brings a distance between the personae in the poems and the people they actually describe. The latter, who were mainly lower-class women, were conventionally endowed with noble feelings. In this sense, love songs among the bamboo-branch songs from Shandong are not a good resource for investigating the emotions of local women.

In a sense, they do not focus on love at all. What the poems truly describe is local life. In the aforementioned songs, what the poems truly display is lotus farming on Daming Lake. Describing the salt master was meant to represent the commercial life of the region by the ocean. The missing foster daughter-in-law reflects the depressing local circumstances and the fleeing from famine. The separation between the courtesan and her lover shows that there were sojourners from the south in Shandong province. Although *fengtu* (local things) and *renqing* (human emotions) often appear together, in this case, the latter is clearly subordinate to the former.

3.3 Women's Fashion

A notable feature is that the bamboo-branch songs of Shandong cast special attention on women's fashion. It was noted that during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, as a trend sweeping the whole province, women were inclined to follow the fashions of the southern metropolises, such as Suzhou and Hangzhou, or of the capital city Beijing. These poems not only record fashion trends, but they also reveal the differing views of their authors.

[337] *Quanbian*, 5: 412.

Two poems from Zheng Xie's group of bamboo-branch songs about Weixian reflect such trends. Zheng served as the magistrate of Wei County from 1746 to 1753.[338] One poem in this cycle goes like this:

> The little hall is covered by the tung's shadow turning with the westward sun,
>
> Jasmine is blooming in the evening breeze.
>
> Everyone says that the best clothing is from the south,
>
> Finely woven and scented is the *ge* silk, with a swastika pattern,[339] in the gauze-like cloth.
>
> 小閣桐蔭日影斜,
>
> 晚風吹放茉莉花
>
> 衣裳儘道南中好
>
> 細香葛羅卍字紗[340]

This poem is about the clothes worn by women in Wei County. From the last two lines of this poem, it is obvious how coveted the styles from the south were in Weixian. Both the materials and patterns were highly praised. Another poem from the same cycle describes how women of different groups pursued the southern fashion:

> Wearing green sleeves and Xiang skirts[341], and being supported by a maid;
>
> To dress fashionably is learned from Gusu [i.e. Suzhou].
>
> Village women also compete with each other;
>
> Casually they wear silver coronets and fake pearl earrings.

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[338] Zheng Xie 鄭燮, *Zheng Banqiao quanji* 鄭板橋全集 [The complete works of Zheng Banqiao], ed. Bian Xiaoxuan 卞孝萱 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1985), 1.

[339] The swastika has different meanings in different cultures. In China, it is considered an auspicious pattern and is widely adopted in decorations.

[340] *Quanbian*, 5: 423.

[341] Skirts made from silk cloth from Hunan province. Xiang 湘 is the abbreviation of Hunan province.

翠袖湘裙小婢扶

時興打扮學姑蘇

村中婦女來相耀

亂帶銀冠釘假珠[342]

There are two groups of women referred to in this poem: rich women living in the city, as opposed to village women. From the poem, it is obvious, though, that both groups of women were keen on imitating the fashion of Jiangnan 江南 (the regions south of the Yangtze River). Even village women tried to keep pace with the trends, although they were poor. Upon further examination of the social background and the whole group of Zheng Xie's *zhuzhici* on Wei County, the the author's critical attitude toward this trend becomes obvious. When Zheng assumed office in Wei County, the people were suffering from famine due to a series of natural disasters.[343] As the local magistrate, Zheng very much empathized with the victims. The first poem he wrote after his arrival was about the trafficking of children and women.[344] During his term in office, he took many measures to mitigate the impact of the disasters. However, in contrast to the scenes of human trafficking, several of his *zhuzhici* poems also reveal what he perceived as the negative aspects of local society in Wei County: gambling was popular, men spent money in the brothels, rich people followed luxury trends, they planted precious flower trees and ate expensive food, and women pursued the latest fashion. Even poor village women could not avoid competing with each other. Although Zheng did not criticize them directly, the author linked the dressing styles of women to the competitive social tendencies in the area.

However, following trends of southern China could also symbolize the affluence of a place, such as Jining, a city not far from Ji'nan. In one group of bamboo-branch songs of Jining, the author Wang Xiejia 王謝家 (ca. 1866–1942) also described how women dressed up, but in a way that rather betrays local pride:

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[342] *Quanbian*, 5: 423.

[343] Wang Tongshu 王同書, *Zheng Xie pingzhuan* 鄭燮評傳 [Critical biography of Zheng Xie] (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2002), 64.

[344] Ibid., 63–64.

Grain freighters shuttle between the southern and northern sides of the river,

Meanwhile, the whole day, boatwomen lean against the bulkhead.

Intending to compete with the girls in the region of Wu,

They comb their scented cloudy hair in the "Back at Suzhou" style.

江南江北運糧舟

鎮日船娘倚舵樓

要與吳娃鬥標格

香雲梳作背蘇州[345]

Bei Suzhou 背蘇州 was a popular hairstyle from Suzhou during the Late Qing Dynasty. The hairstyle refers to a kind of chignon that was long and low. Because this chignon looked more distinctive from the backside, and because it was popular first in Suzhou, it was called "Back at Suzhou".[346] In fact, it was not only widespread in Suzhou, but in the whole Jiangnan region.[347] The poem describes how it was also disseminated to northern China via merchant ships, and that the people who spread such fashions were boatwomen. The author, a native of Jining, did not oppose this trend. On the contrary, by pointing out that the boatwomen intended to compete with the women of the Wu region, it is implied that Jining was also comparable to Jiangnan.

New fashions brought along by the flow of trade were not limited to hairstyles. New adornments and new shoe samples for women were also imported in this way. In one poem

[345] *Quanbian*, 5: 385.

[346] Chen Dongsheng 陳東生, Gan Yingjin 甘應進, *Xinbian zhongwai fuzhuang shi* 新編中外服裝史 [New edition of the chinese and foreign clothing history] (Beijing: Zhongguo Qinggongye chubanshe, 2002), 98.

[347] The hair style called *bei Suzhou* was popular in Suzhou and Hangzhou in the early nineteenth century. Around 1837, Liang Shaoren recorded the changes in hairstyles in Hangzhou from high buns to lower pinned hair, called *bei Suzhou*. In Liang Shaoren 梁紹壬, *Liangban qiuyu'an suibi* 兩般秋雨庵隨筆 [Casual notes of two sides of an autumn-rain vessel], ed. Zhuang Wei 莊葳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 100. Later, another jotting book, *Liuhu* 柳弧 [The arc of the willow], claimed that the hairstyle of *bei Suzhou* was prevalent across the region south of the Yangtze River. Ding Rouke 丁柔克, *Liuhu* 柳弧 [The arc of the willow] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 156.

by Sun Zhaogui 孫兆溎 (fl. Qing), the flowers worn by courtesans in Ji'nan are mentioned as follows:

Green halls and red chambers, the yard is so spacious

They spend the long day playing domino.

The florist knows my taste very well,

She sends me the jasmines, and I wear them as hairpins myself.

翠館紅樓院宇深

牙牌消遣晝沉沉

賣花奴子知奴意

茉莉送來親手簪[348]

A short comment after the poem explains that chloranthus flowers and jasmines were brought by grain boats in large quantities and at low prices. These two kinds of flowers are southern plants. A poem on Penglai 蓬萊, a county located in the east of Shandong, also describes how when the guests saw the new style of host's shoes, they asked the boatmen going south to bring new shoes for them as well.[349]

The fashion of Jiangnan influenced even the style of wedding dresses. The poem below was selected from a group of bamboo-branch songs by Zhang Yunjin 張雲錦 (fl. Qing) about wedding:

She imitates the palace make-up by wearing a colorful scarf,

Around her fair neck there is an especially sweet scent.

It is truly the latest cry from Jiangnan,

Her Fiancé does business in Suzhou and Hangzhou.

[348] *Quanbian*, 5: 412.

[349] Ibid., 5: 421.

愛披霞帔學宮妝

穩護蝤蠐分外香

的是江南新樣子

阿郎行賈在蘇杭[350]

New fashions of Jiangnan were transmitted to Shandong in different ways. Boatwomen learned directly of the latest styles on their travels to Jiangnan. In contrast, other women who didn't get the chance to travel south, also acquired southern-style clothes and adornments from merchant ships and through acquaintances who did business in the south. The women of Ji'nan, imitating the women of the south, speak of their admiration. This attitude is quite typical for bamboo-branch songs from Shandong. Shandong was frequently compared with Jiangnan in various aspects. Wei County was called "little Suzhou" (*xiao Suzhou* 小蘇州)[351], and Daming Lake was always associated with Hangzhou's West Lake.[352] Ji'nan was compared to either Nanjing[353] or Suzhou.[354] The fashions of women fully reflected this collective self-image. Women's fashions, though, can also be viewed as indices of political trends. Wang Xiangchun expressed his worry about female fashions in one of his bamboo-branch songs on Ji'nan as follows:

Joyously watching children who put lanterns on the river;

Men and women lean on handrails carved with stone-lions.

Broad bobs and high-waisted skirts are both fashions of the Capital;

This night women again dress in white satin from Songjiang.

喜看稚子放河燈

獅石圍欄士女憑

[350] Ibid., 5: 368.

[351] Ibid., 5: 385; 423.

[352] Ibid., 5: 378.

[353] Ibid., 5: 355.

[354] Ibid., 5: 357.

闊髻高裙京樣盡

此宵又著白松綾[355]

This is a poem about the Lantern Festival. What the author noticed was that women's dress in Ji'nan followed the fashion of the imperial capital. In the comment, he reveals how he noticed this detail:

> Previously the customs of this city were simple and clothes were homespun. As of late, the customs have become more extravagant. Fashion is now attuned to the trends of the Capital, abandoning the ways of old. At the Lantern Festival, women are bound to wear satin clothes. It is the fashion of the capital Yanjing and regretfully it is fanatically imitated by the people of Ji'nan. The clothes of the Capital are not propitious at all: white is an omen of war; and the term 'satin' (*ling* 綾) is a homophone for 'severe' (*ling* 凌).[356] Women wearing such clothes, further reinforces the dark (*yin* 陰) attribute. What is more, the lantern festival is in the early spring, when the energies of the season are on full display in the forest. Thus, clothes should be green as the forest, but instead they are white, corresponding to the phase of metal.[357] Therefore, the sense of killing here suppresses the benevolence of life-nourishing. Why do gentlemen who have an insight into subtleties not give prudent attention to this?
>
> 郡城舊俗朴，衣裝草野。近乃漸靡，趨步京師，惟恐不肖。元宵，婦女必著松綾，則燕京時尚也，惜濟民苦為效顰。京師此服最為不吉：白，兵象也；綾，

[355] Ibid., 5: 393.

[356] The character *ling* 凌 can mean 'cold, severe, and aggressive'. Gudai hanyu cidian bianxie zu, ed., *Gudai hanyu cidian* 古代漢語詞典 [Dictionary of ancient Chinese] (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2002), 992.

[357] *Wuxing* 五行 (Five Elements or Five Phases) is a Chinese cosmological concept. The five elements refer to five kinds of material, i.e., *jin* 金, *mu* 木, *shui* 水, *huo* 火, *tu* 土 (metal, wood, water, fire, and wood). The five kinds of material are matched with five colors, which are respectively white, blue-green, black, red and yellow. Each color carries a special meaning. Green means growth and white withering. See the sample of the corresponding categories of the five phases in Justin Tiwald and Bryan W. Van Norden, ed., *Readings in Later Chinese Philosophy: Han to the 20th Century* (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2014), 34.

凌也。婦人著之，又陰屬也。況上元初春，盛德在木，正宜隨木色尚青，顧乃從金尚白，以殺伐之義，傷養生之仁。識微君子，胡不致謹於斯！[358]

Obviously, the author did not approve of the trend among people in Ji'nan to follow the fashion of the capital city. Besides his dislike of old customs dying out, an essential reason was that white clothes were an omen of war and death. In traditional Chinese thought, white was associated with mourning and death.[359] The solemn meaning was further aggravated by women wearing white since women, as well as the color white, are considered "expressions of the pure cosmic force of *yin*".[360]

Such an interpretation, though, is quite subjective. There are other explanations, such as that of the predictive riddles in the aprocrypha (*chenwei* 讖緯). Kōzan Yasui 安居香山 explains *chenwei* like this: "Such a saying treats unusual phenomena as omens predicting things that are likely to happen […] the predicting of catastrophes and unusual phenomena is the concept of *chenwei*".[361] According to Kōzan Yasui, *chenwei* is the idea that the future can be foreseen by interpreting riddles based on unusual phenomena. The phenomena are quite miscellaneous: "all the natural and social phenomena are the subject of prediction".[362] For example, a strange ox with four horns and two legs appearing would mean that the Emperor will lose his rule.[363] Although numerous books of apocrypha (*weishu* 緯書) center on *chenwei* during the Han Dynasty, and it would seem that *chenwei* was a unique feature of the culture of that time, Kōzan Yasui argues that actually, it has remained a common concept among Chinese people throughout the ages.[364]

In the above poem, women's fashion is interpreted as an ominous omen, based on the theory of Yin, Yang, and the Five Phases (*yinyang wuxing* 陰陽五行),[365] which is "the backbone of

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[358] *Quanbian*, 5: 393.

[359] Guimei He, "English and Chinese Cultural Connotation of Color Words in Comparison", *Asia Social Science* 5, no. 7 (2009): 161.

[360] Catherine Despeux and Livia Kohn, *Women in Daoism* (Dunedin, Florida: Three Pines Press, 2003), 1.

[361] Kōzan Yasui 安居香山, Tian Renlong 田人隆, trans., *Weishu yu Zhongguo shenmi sixiang* 緯書與中國神秘思想 [Apocryphal Texts and Chinese Mysterious Thought] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991), 22.

[362] Ibid., 80.

[363] Ibid., 81.

[364] Ibid., 18.

[365] A term of Chinese philosophy that emerged in the early Han Dynasty. "This 'yinyang five phases' cosmology would track the correlations that constitute things as they make their way through their narratives in the world

the thought of the books of *wei*".[366] Wang Xiangchun had sufficient reason for his conclusion. The group of bamboo-branch songs on Ji'nan was written around 1616,[367] when the reign of the Wanli 萬曆 Emperor (r. 1572–1620) was near its end.[368] However, an additional reason why the author associated the color white with misfortune might be the repeated uprisings of the White Lotus-Maitreya sect (*Bailianjiao* 白蓮教) in Shandong, "which flared up in 1587 and again in 1616".[369] It is considered "traditional China's most influential popular religion".[370]

Women here are treated as a sign of *yin*. What the author saw through women in white clothes was the imbalance of *yin* and *yang*, which, according to traditional Chinese cosmological thinking, spells chaos.[371] As to the fashion of wearing white clothes at the Lantern Festival, there is evidence that it appeared long before the Ming Dynasty. Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298) recorded that, in Lin'an 臨安 during the Southern Song, women in Hangzhou liked to wear white clothes on the night of the Lantern Festival, only because it was thought that white fit the moonlight best.[372] A bamboo-branch poem about the Lantern Festival in the Capital Beijing during the Qing Dynasty by Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645–1704) also records this fact. Its comment points out that women on the night of the 16th day of the first lunar month would wear scallion-white or cream-colored satin gowns, which were called "luminous night clothes" (*yeguangyi* 夜光衣).[373] By wearing white gowns, women appeared more charming, as the

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as a way of maximizing the harmony that can be achieved by taking best advantage of these interdependent relationships." Antonio s. Cua, ed, *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 846.

366 Kōzan Yasui, *Weishu yu Zhongguo shenmi sixiang*, 85.

367 Wang, *Qiyi*n, 3.

368 "Traditional Chinese historians have usually regarded the middle years of the Wan-li reign as a turning point in the history of the Ming empire; thereafter the Dynasty's position became untenable and its collapse inevitable." In Ray Huang, "The Lung-ch'ing and Wan-li reigns, 1567–1620", in *The Cambridge History of China: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part I*, ed., Denis Twitchett et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 550.

369 Ibid., 557.

370 Wensheng Wang, *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates: Crisis and Reform in the Qing Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014), 2.

371 Robin R. Wang, *Yinyang: The Way of Heaven and Earth in Chinese Thought and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 16.

372 Sishui Qianfu 四水潛夫, *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 [Memoir of Wulin] (Hangzhou: Xihu shushe, 1981), 32. Sishui Qianfu is one of the pen names of Zhou Mi.

373 *Quanbian*, 1: 76.

poem states: “The scallion-white gowns stealthily compete with the moonlight.”[374] The fashion did not seem to give rise to any cosmological fears by anyone except for Wang Xiangchun. Rather, by describing women wearing glossy white clothes on the night of the Lantern Festival, the records intended to show the prosperity of the capital cities of Lin’an and Beijing. The color white was seen as the reflection of moonlight, which enhanced the atmosphere of the night of the Lantern Festival. Thus, the same scene had two totally different interpretations.

To summarize, the bamboo-branch songs of Shandong paid special attention to the fashions of women, especially the imitations of clothing trends from Jiangnan. Southern Chinese fashion was well-regarded throughout the entirety of Shandong province. Social emulation gave rise to two different attitudes. Zheng Xie, the magistrate of Wei County, meant to expose the extravagant customs in the county under his jurisdiction. However, the opposite opinion viewed it as a sign of prosperity. The fashion of wearing white clothes at the Lantern Festival gave rise to controversial views, too. To the elite, women’s dress was a sign of the local customs. Some commentators, however, turned it into an exercise of finding cosmological significance in it.

3.4 Women and Festivals

Festivals are an important part of daily life. In traditional China, women played a prominent role in domestic rites and in a variety of festivals. In my reading of bamboo-branch songs, I hold that there is a gender bias in their description of local festivals and rites. On the one hand, such poems usually describe in detail what women did as part of the domestic rites. On the other hand, such poems also include descriptions of many women’s festivals, for example, the Double Seventh Festival and the Flower Festival. Conversely, men are generally depicted as staying in the background at these occasions. This section studies two particular festivals as represented in the bamboo-branch songs of Shandong. The first one, *shantian* 扇天 (Fanning Heaven), is a bygone custom of Ji’nan. A mysterious rite in the boudoir is especially focused on in one poem. The second example, “Removing a Hundred Ailments” (*zoubaibing* 走百病) is a common festival in all of northern China, though the rites performed in this festival vary

[374] Ibid.

from place to place. Bamboo-branch songs provide excellent source material to study the regional differences.

3.4.1 Fanning Heaven (*Shantian*) – a Bygone Custom

In one of his bamboo-branch songs about Ji'nan, Wang Chutong 王初桐 describes a mysterious activity in the boudoir in the first lunar month, termed as "Fanning Heaven". The poem is translated here as follows:

> Five maidens with different surnames sleep in one bed,
>
> Covered with one quilt, each of them behaves differently when sleepwalking.
>
> Through this practice of sleepwalking, the maidens acquire various skillful techniques,
>
> This time-honored custom is called 'Fanning Heaven'.
>
> 五姓雛姬一榻眠
>
> 同衾各自夢遊仙
>
> 何因乞得般般巧
>
> 風俗相沿號扇天[375]

The poem's meaning was so obscure that the author had to add a prose comment. He quoted one paragraph from *Sequel to Records of Diverse Matters* (*Xu bowu zhi* 續博物志) by Li Shi 李石 (b. 1108) which he considered the earliest source on this custom:

> The *Sequel to Records of Diverse Matters* says: "A custom of Ji'nan: On the first lunar month, let five maidens of ten or more years of age with different surnames sleep in one bed, and cover them with one quilt. Then others fan them with winnowing pans at the same time. After a while, the girls begin to sleepwalk, they seem to engage in various actions, [imitating various activities], such as embroidering, writing with the brush, or playing musical instruments. After a short while, they wake up. This is called 'Fanning Heaven'. It is a kind of divination to invoke Heaven to acquire skills."

[375] *Quanbian*, 5: 404.

《續博物志》：濟南風俗：正月，取五姓女年十餘歲者共臥一榻，覆之以衾，以箕扇之，良久如夢寐，或欲刺文繡，事筆硯，理管弦，俄頃乃寤, 謂之“扇天”，卜以乞巧。[376]

The *Xu Bowuzhi* belongs to the genre of random jottings (*biji* 筆記). It was written by Li Shi 李石 (d. 1181) during the Southern Song Dynasty. It includes records on a variety of fields such as geography, animals and birds, personage biographies, and legends of gods. This record was quoted in various books afterward, including one local gazetteer of Licheng 歷城, a district of Ji'nan. However, it is not the only source on this custom. Another work from around the same period, *Collected records of the strange* (*Kuo yi zhi* 括異誌), also included an account about the same custom.[377] In this version, the story takes place in Gaomi 高密, a county of Central Shandong. The five girls are required to be virgins. They are fanned from four directions, and only one of them can begin sleepwalking and doing a variety of things, which also means that she is chosen by Heaven.

The custom seems to have disappeared after the Song Dynasty. No new record indicates that the people of Shandong after the Song Dynasty still followed any such custom. However, further information about this custom is found in historical records of the Qing Dynasty. Kong Shangren 孔尚任 (1648–1718), a famous scholar from Qufu 曲阜, Shandong, associated this custom with the tenth day of the first lunar month without an explanation.[378]

Was there any other ceremony that had replaced the former one? Another bamboo-branch poem by Cheng Xianzhen 程先貞 (1607–1673) on a similar theme, about the celebration of the first lunar month by unmarried women, may give some hints:

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[376] Ibid.

[377] Zhang Shizheng 張師正, *Kuo yi zhi*, *Juanyou zalu* 括異誌, 倦遊雜錄 [Records of strange stories. A miscellany during weary travels], ed. Fu Cheng 傅成, Li Yumin 李裕民 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 60.

[378] Kong Shangren 孔尚任, *Jiexu tongfeng lu* 節序同風錄 [Records of solar terms and common customs], in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., Siku quanshu cunmu congshu· zibu yijiusan 四庫全書存目叢書·史部一六五 [Collection of the catalogue-keeping books of the complete library in four sections: Section of history, vol. 165] (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1996), 812.

Beautiful girls sing the songs of scented horse dung in unison,

Circling the well and hearth, they welcome the Maiden Deity.

Late at night, talking and laughing echoes on empty stairs,

The shadow of moonlight moves slowly to another painted corridor.

嬌女群歌馬糞薤

周行井灶請姑娘

深夜笑語空階下

月影依依轉畫廊[379]

The poem describes a ceremony, which was called "Inviting the girl" (Qing guniang" 請姑娘). More popular names are "Inviting the Purple Girl" (Ying Zigu 迎紫姑) or "Inviting the Goddess of the Privy" (Ying Ceshen 迎廁神). It was celebrated widely throughout China in premodern times.

The legend of this deity is rendered here in the translation by Robert F. Campany:

> In the world, there is a goddess known as the Purple Maiden. From antiquity, the story has been passed down that she had been a concubine in a certain family, and that the head wife had been jealous of her and had always given her vile tasks to perform. On the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, she died of anger. That is why people now make images of her on that day. At night they welcome her at the privy or by the pigsty railing, invoking her with the words "Zixu's not here. (This was the husband's name.) Old lady Cao's gone home. (This was the head wife's name.) The little maiden can come out and play!" When the person holding the image feels it grow heavy, the goddess has arrived. Wine and fruits are set out for her, and then one perceives that her face has brightened and flushed, and she starts jumping about. She can divine all sorts of affairs

[379] *Quanbian*, 5: 366.

and predicts the year's silk harvest, and her prognostications often hit the mark. If the prediction is favorable, she dances about, and if unfavorable, she rolls her eyes.[380]

Although she is called the Goddess of the Privy, her duties were quite miscellaneous. She was believed to influence the harvest, sericulture, marriages, and people's destinies. She was also revered as a literary goddess by members of the elite, who invited her to compose poems or predict the questions in the upcoming session of civil service examinations. She influenced divination in China so much that her shadow can be seen in almost all forms of divination that involved planchette writing (*fuji* 扶乩).[381] She moved from popular culture to elite culture and back again. As Richard J. Smith points out: "Her use as the primary focus for a pre-literate divination cult can be traced to the Tang Dynasty, and by Song times, she had come to be considered a talented writer and artist. During the Qing, however, she seems to have reverted to her Tang role as a pre-literate oracle."[382] This is only partly true, since the custom began even earlier than the Tang Dynasty, as records of this goddess in pre-Tang books indicate.[383] The theory of two traditions in civilization by Robert Redfield fits her case well. The theory states that "in a civilization, there is a great tradition […] and […] a little tradition",[384] that he also refers to as "popular and learned traditions".[385] "The great tradition is cultivated in schools or temples; the little tradition works itself out and keeps itself going in the lives of the unlettered in their village communities."[386] The Goddess of the Privy was celebrated among both the higher classes and the lower ones. In the great tradition, she could be summoned at

[380] Robert F. Campany, ed., *A Garden of Marvels: Tales of Wonder from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 85. The original story is from *Yiyuan* 異苑 [Miraculous Garden] by Liu Jingshu 劉敬叔 (?390–?470). See Liu Jingshu 劉敬叔, Yang Songjie 陽松玠, *Yiyuan, Tansou* 異苑, 談藪 [Miraculous Garden, Random talking place] (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1996), 44.

[381] See Chao Wei-pang, "The Origin and Growth of the Fu Chi", *Folklore Studies* 1 (1942), 9.

[382] Richard J. Smith, "Women and Divination in China: Some Reflections", unpublished paper for the conference "Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State", Harvard University and Wellesley College, Massachusetts, US, February 7–9, 1992, 4.

[383] See Gong Weiying 恭維英, "Ceshen yuanliu yanbian tansuo"廁神源流衍變探索 [Origin and Change of the Legend of the Privy Goddess], *Guizhou wenshi congkan* 貴州文史叢刊, no. 3 (1997): 85–86.

[384] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 70.

[385] Ibid.

[386] Ibid.

any time, whereas in the little tradition she was invited only at one seasonal time, around the Lantern Festival.

The scope of this study only covers the little tradition, that is, the "annual custom" (*suishi jiesu* 歲時節俗) as celebrated among the common people. The path of diffusion of this custom went from the south to the north. It was celebrated "primarily on the fifteenth day of the first month, usually at night"[387] by women, especially unmarried girls. It seems that in Shandong, the custom began to be prevalent rather late, only during the Ming and Qing dynasties, since records about this custom in Shandong are mostly of the late imperial period.

Both customs, Fanning Heaven and Inviting the Goddess of the Privy, were celebrated during the first lunar month by unmarried girls, and they were similar in many regards. For instance, both rituals involved spirit possession, and both included "invoking the skills" (*qiqiao* 乞巧), whereby girls hoped to gain a high level of dexterity in needlework or other domestic skills. In *Kuoyi zhi*, after the rite of Fanning Heaven, a fairy was believed to descend to the home of the chosen girl who trained her in many kinds of skills and disappeared only before she got married.[388] A similar narrative is found in *Brush Talks from Dream Brook* (*Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談) by Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031–1095). During the ceremony of Inviting the Goddess of the Privy into the house of the erudite Wang, his daughter was possessed by a female spirit and wrote in several different styles of calligraphy. After that, the spirit appeared frequently and trained the girl in skills until she got married.[389] The two stories appeared around the same period. Zhang Shizheng 張師正 (b. 1016), the author of *Kuoyi zhi* was not more than twenty years older than Shen Kuo, the author of *Mengxi bitan*. But in later ages, the legend of Fanning Heaven gradually disappeared, or rather, it was merged with the legend of the Goddess of the Privy, which had a greater influence.

There must have been many reasons for such a cultural permeation. The present analysis is only base on the two bamboo-branch poems that present two different concepts. "Fanning Heaven" is quiet and mysterious, and, if we assume that no one sleepwalks during the whole

[387] Smith, "Women and Divination in China", 4.

[388] Zhang, *Kuo yi zhi, Jua you zalu*, 60.

[389] Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 [Brush Talks from Dream Brook], ed. Hu Daojing 胡道靜 and Wang Hong 王宏 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2008), 650–652.

time, it is actually quite boring. Only five girls truly participate in the ceremony, while all the others, except the ones who fanned them, were mere bystanders. The poem on "Inviting the Goddess of the Privy", by contrast, has a joyous atmosphere. The girls are holding a figure of the goddess and singing. Their talking and laughter are still heard at midnight. Compared to the former, though, the latter is less religiously colored and appears more like a game in which everyone can participate. From my point of view, this is a meaningful difference, which can partly explain why the latter was far more popular among young women. Although women played prominent roles in religious cults in premodern China,[390] unmarried girls were not actively involved in neither the ancestral rites[391] nor any other serious domestic rite. Compared to wives, their participation in festivals was merely casual, for instance, at outings on the Tomb-sweeping Day (*Qingmingjie* 清明節), in the "matching herbs" game[392] at the Dragon Boat Festival (*Duanwujie* 端午節), or when praying for skills at the Double Seventh (*Qixi* 七夕) festival. In this sense, it was not strange that inviting the goddess was welcome in the boudoir.

From "Fanning Heaven" to "Inviting the Goddess of the Privy", there was a cultural convergence, in which unique, less known customs merged with those more popular, more influential ones. However, they did not disappear completely; they continued to exist in a transmuted form.

3.4.2 The Custom of "Removing a Hundred Ailments" (*Zoubaibing*) in Different Places of Shandong

"Removing a Hundred Ailments" (*Zoubaibing* 走百病) was another festival in which women were the main participants. It was quite popular during the Ming and Qing dynasties.[393] On

[390] Yiqun Zhou, *Festivals, Feasts, and Gender Relations in Ancient China and Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 161.

[391] Ibid., 196.

[392] A game which was originally associated with the Duanwu festival. People gathered various leaves and flowers and competed against one another for rarity, or strength. In Ann Barrott Wicks, Children in Chinese Art (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 71.

[393] See Hsi-yuan Chen 陳熙遠, "Zhongguo ye weimian: Ming Qing shiqi de yuanxiao, yejin yu kuanghuan?" 中國夜未眠: 明清時期的元宵, 夜禁與狂歡 [Sleepless in China – Celebration of the Lantern Festival during the

the night of the 15th or 16th day of the first lunar month, women "go out after nightfall and perform the ritual-prophylactic tours that would allow them not to fall ill during the coming year".[394] Bamboo-branch songs from Shandong also drew attention to the custom. Three poems on different places in Shandong depict different ways how women celebrated this custom. They offer some deep insights into local culture, and also serve to present an outline of this particular custom.

One poem describing this custom is the following bamboo-branch song on Jining by Wang Xiejia (1866–1942):

> On the eve of the festival, the lanterns are lit, people are drunk from nectarous liquor;
>
> Being not afraid of fatigue, they invite each other to climb upon the city gate.
>
> Is this because there the demons of illness are easy to get rid of?
>
> It is for the girls to glimpse the spring flowers sheltered by the walls.
>
> 試燈風裏醉瓊醪
>
> 相約登城不怯勞
>
> 豈是病魔容易走
>
> 春愁遮住女墻高[395]

The seasonal point in time of this poem is the Night of Testing the Lantern (*Shidengjie* 試燈節). From local gazetteers of different areas of Shandong, we find that the Night of Testing the Lantern was the night before the Lantern Festival, on the 13th or 14th day of the first lunar month.[396] This is an unusual piece of information, since most studies hold that the custom of

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Ming-Qing period], *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 2, (2004): 304.

[394] Vincent Goossaert, "Irrepressible Female Piety: Late Imperial Bans on Women Visiting Temples", *Nan Nü* 10, no. 2 (2008): 224.

[395] *Quanbian*, 5: 384.

[396] Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng bianji gongzuo weiyuanhui, 中國地方志集成編輯工作委員會, ed., *Shandong fuxian zhi ji: Shunzhi Zhaoyuan xian zhi* 山東府縣志輯: 順治招遠縣志 [Prefectures' gazetteers of Shandong province: Gazetteer of Zhaoyuan county edited during the reign of Emperor Shunzhi] (Nanjing: Fenghuang

Removing a Hundred Ailments was held on or after the night of the Lantern Festival. According to the poem, the women of Jining climbed upon the city wall and walked on it to celebrate the custom. On the one hand, people believed illnesses were easier removed by walking on high places; on the other hand, it was a good opportunity to appreciate the spring landscape and relieve any gloomy moods. In Jining, the custom of *zoubaibing* seems more like a relaxed walk in the name of popular belief.

In Zichuan County, the religious character of this custom was highlighted, as is described in the following item from the cycle "Bamboo-branch songs of Zichuan" (*Zichuan zhuzhici* 淄川竹枝詞) by Li Zhi 李芝, a scholar who lived during the Qing Dynasty:

> The willow twigs are spotted with face powder and the coiled hair is disheveled.
>
> Laughing and talking they come to the temple together.
>
> Year by year the hundred ailments cannot be removed completely.
>
> Come and go through the stone lotus flower in the stone temple.
>
> 曲塵著粉鬢西斜
>
> 行擁山門笑語嘩
>
> 百病年年除不盡
>
> 來穿石佛石蓮花[397]

This poem was selected from a group of four bamboo-branch songs about the custom of *zoubaibing* in Zichuan during the Qing Dynasty. This poem is unique in its depiction of how women in Zichuan celebrated the custom. There is a preface before the entire group of poems:

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chubanshe, 2004), 359; *Daoguang Ji'nan fu zhi*, 1: 282; Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng bianji gongzuo weiyuanhui, 中國地方志集成編輯工作委員會, ed., *Shandong fuxianzhi ji: Guangxu zengxiu dengzhou fu zhi* 山東府縣志輯:光緒增修登州府志 [Prefectures' gazetteers of Shandong province: Supplemented edition of the local gazetteer of Deng prefecture during the reign of Emperor Guangxu] (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2004), 1: 71.

[397] *Quanbian*, 5: 420.

A custom in the North: on the 16th day of the first lunar month, people cross bridges and visit temples, calling it Walking for long life, or Removing a Hundred Ailments, for the sake of removing diseases and for a longer life. Going through the lotus estrade of the stone temple is another old custom of Zi[chuan].

北方風土，以正月十六日走橋，拜寺，謂之走百歲，走百病，取其益壽卻疾也。至穿石佛寺蓮台，又淄之舊俗。[398]

Evidently, women were the main participants in this custom. They even created a unique tradition in Zichuan, to go through the lotus estrade in the temple. Even though Zichuan was not the only place with a temple called Stone Buddha Temple (Shifo si 石佛寺), the activity of going through the lotus estrade was not observed in other places.

Another case is Wei County, more than 100 kilometers from Zichuan. A poem is quoted here, which was selected from the "Bamboo-branch songs about Wei county" (*Weixian zhuzhici* 濰縣竹枝詞) by Guo Lin 郭麟 (1823–1893):

The festival time is just past the Lantern Festival,

People gather on the city wall and run the old cat.

For the invocation of escaping the hundred ailments throughout the entire year,

They compete in burning mugworts at the stone figures.

新正節始過元宵

結隊城頭跑老貓

為丐一年無百病

艾香争把石人燒[399]

The following comment is attached to this poem:

[398] Ibid.

[399] Ibid., 5:427.

> On the 16th day of the first lunar month, women burn incense in the temple of Zhenwu 真武. First, they touch a wooden tiger, called the old cat, in the dark; by doing so, they hope that they won't get ill during the coming year. Then they burn mugworts at the two stone figures in the yard, the Old Stone Man (Shigong 石公) and the Old Stone Woman (Shipo 石婆), for escaping the scabies during the coming year. The entire [performance] they call "Running the Old Cat".
>
> 正月十六日，婦女進香真武祠，先于暗中摩弄一木虎曰老貓，謂一年不生疾病；又于庭前以艾炙兩石人曰石老，石婆，謂一年不生瘡癤，總謂之跑老貓。[400]

From the poem and the comment, we see that in Zichuan, the custom of *zoubaibing* had a strong significance for reproductive worship. First, Zhenwu was a mighty deity in the Taoist pantheon, carrying the title of Northern Emperor (Beidi 北帝).[401] His title, *wu* (Warrior), projects an image of great power and energy. The wooden tiger touched by women in the dark is a strong sexual symbol. According to the author's supplementary explanation, the tiger was the "mount" (*zuoqi* 坐騎) of another deity, Zhao Xuantan 趙玄壇.[402] Although the two stone figures were called the Old Stone Man and Old Stone Woman, the author points out that they were both men.[403] This poem is the only source to supply detailed information about the custom of *zoubaibing*.

The poems of the three places describe three different manifestations of the same custom. Even though the three counties were in the same province and were not far from each other, their respective customs were quite different. If viewed together, the three poems draw a rather comprehensive picture of the custom of *zoubaibing*, which was mainly followed by women.

In conclusion, this chapter discusses how women were represented in bamboo-branch songs from Shandong. First, it has become evident that common women received far more attention than elite women. This may not be true for bamboo-branch songs of other places. Second, we identified several recurring motifs about women. The first one is love. When writing about

[400] Ibid.

[401] Patricia E. Karetzky, "The Transformations of Xuanwu/Zhenwu", *Journal of Daoist Studies* 8, no. 1 (2015): 69.

[402] *Quanbian*, 5: 427.

[403] Ibid.

love, the poems adopt the style of southern folksongs, which clashes with their descriptions of northern women. The similar styles adopted by different authors indicate that this was not a problem for the authors. One conclusion is that what they truly cared about were the local affairs, not women's emotions. Love songs were one way to describe the local conditions.

The dressing fashions of women are occasionally being described in bamboo-branch songs. Imitating the fashions of the South was a rend during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, in both the cities and the villages. Bamboo-branch songs not only record the fashions and how they were transmitted, but they also reveal different attitudes held by the authors. To Wang Xiangchun, for example, women's clothing was endowed with cosmological significance.

Festivals were an important part of women's social activities, and also a concentrated manifestation of local culture and customs. Bamboo-branch songs supply not only general information about customs but also the ways they were actually celebrated. Three customs were selected for discussion: the customs of Fanning Heaven and Inviting the Goddess of the Privy reflect the changes in customs over time, while Removing a Hundred Ailments provides an example for how the same custom might have varied in different localities.

This chapter was not intended as a comprehensive study of women's lives in Shandong. Selecting the above topics also meant that others were ignored. The recurrent and representative topics in the poems nevertheless proved suitable for analyzing how women were represented in bamboo-branch songs from Shandong.

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Chapter 4: Travel Culture of Ji'nan, the Capital of Shandong

In this chapter, I discuss bamboo-branch songs as a genre of travel writing. Travel is a "constant throughout the history of human activity".[404] Travel writing also appeared early together with this age-old activity. If we equate travel writing to accounts that document journeys for any reason,[405] then bamboo-branch songs are inherently a kind of travel writing. Most bamboo-branch songs record what authors saw or heard during their journeys.

Travelers in premodern times were different from modern tourists. The word "tourist" came into use in the late eighteenth century,[406] along with "tourism". For tourists, traveling itself is the purpose. But in premodern times, in most cases, people left home for many other reasons, such as wandering, adventure, exploration, or migration.

James M. Hargett divides travel in premodern China into three types with three Chinese words, which are *you* 游 ('roam'), *xing* 行 ('walk'), and *lü* 旅 ('journey'). *You* "often designates a journey undertaken for enjoyment",[407] while *xing* usually refers to "journeys undertaken out of necessity, such as travel by government officials",[408] and *lü* was "originally used to indicate a purposeful journey by more than one person that was 'marked by a sense of fear and awe'".[409]

People from the whole empire gathered in Ji'nan, the capital city of Shandong, for a variety of reasons, a fact which is similar to other cities. During staying in Ji'nan, they usually went on tour in the city. Although compared to cities in Jiangnan, such as Yangzhou, Suzhou, Nanjing or Hangzhou, which had been recognized as traditional destinations for traveling to for a long time, Ji'nan was considered less attractive, but it still has a unique culture and landscape.

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[404] James M. Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Pools: The History of Travel Literature in Imperial China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 3.

[405] Ibid.

[406] Elizabeth A. Bohls and Ian Duncan, *Travel Writing 1700-1830: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), xx.

[407] Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Pools*, 5.

[408] Ibid.

[409] Ibid.

Among the 1.732 bamboo-branch songs of Shandong, more than 700 are about Ji'nan, most of which write about traveling experiences. The authors were from different groups, such as natives, officials, and other sojourners. No matter what reason they came to Ji'nan for, they never forgot to enjoy the city's scenery.

4.1 The City of Ji'nan

Ji'nan has been the capital of Shandong since the Ming Dynasty. It is located to the west of central Shandong. The city is unusually rich in water, which is unique in the relatively dry Shandong province. There were and still are numerous springs in and around the city. In the city, there is the biggest lake of Ji'nan, the Daming Lake, in which the springs flow together. Since the city is surrounded by a chain of mountains to the south, the terrain is higher in the south than in the north. Among the mountains, there is the famous Thousand Buddha Mountain (Qianfo shan 千佛山).

Half of Ji'nan's landscape is shaped by its abundance of water, whereas the other half is dominated by mountains. One couplet hung on a shrine by Daming Lake reads: "Lotuses on four sides, willows on three, / Mountains within the city, and lakes over half the city" (四面荷花三面柳，一城山色半城湖).[410]

Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–1083), a scholar-official of the Song Dynasty, improved the landscape design a lot by dredging the riverways and building many pavilions, halls, and bridges by the Daming Lake.[411] Some of the names of the buildings have been passed down to today, although they were rebuilt many times.

As a city rich in water resources, Ji'nan's travel routes also focus on water. Like many other cities in China, there is a ranking of the scenic views of Ji'nan. Eight most beautiful sceneries are called "The eight sceneries of Ji'nan" (Ji'nan bajing 濟南八景). Such a rank was at least widely accepted during the Ming Dynasty, since in a local gazetteer of Licheng 歷城 (the oldest part of the city Ji'nan) published during the year 1640 there had already eight

[410] Liu E 劉鶚, *Laocan youji* 老殘遊記 [The travels of Lao Ts'an], trans. Yang Xianyi 楊憲益 and Dai Naidie 戴乃迭 (Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe, 2005), 15.

[411] Gao Susheng 高夙勝 and Zhou Changfeng 周長風, *Ji'nan lishi wenhua gailan* 濟南歷史文化概覽 [An apercu of the historical culture of Ji'nan] (Ji'nan: Huanghe chubanshe, 2002), 32–33.

illustrations with a whole title of "eight sceneries" (*bai jing*).[412] The eight sceneries are respectively "The morning on colorful screen" (Jinping chunxiao 錦屏春曉), "The Batou gushing up to the sky" (Batou tengkong 跁突騰空), "Admiring chrysanthemums on the Buddha mountain" (Foshan shangju 佛山賞菊), "The misty rain on the Quehua bridge" (Quehua yanyu 鵲華煙雨), "The evening glow by the Huibo chamber" (Huibo wanzhao 匯波晚照), "Boating on the Daming Lake" (Minghu fanzhou 明湖泛舟), "The Baiyun chamber after snowing" (Baiyun xueji 白云雪霁), and "The autumn wind in Lixia" (Lixia qiufeng 歷下秋風). Among the eight sceneries, only two, "The morning on colorful screen" and "Admiring chrysanthemums on the Buddha mountain" are in the hills, whereas all the other sceneries are by the water.

The water sceneries are divided into two areas – one around Daming Lake, and the other around the springs. The bamboo-branch songs about Ji'nan also mainly focus on these two routes. The first is so closely tied to cultural attractions that it can be seen as a cultural map. It is noticeable that two different functions are ascribed to Daming Lake: at times it is described as a travel destination, at times as just a big lotus farm. Scholars treated Daming Lake as a place for pleasure, and in their poems, they even often complained about the local farmers disturbing the landscape, even though for the local inhabitants around the lake, the lotus was their livelihood. The second route, the traveling around the springs, will be discussed in the following based one group of seventy-two poems that take the springs as their topic that is the earliest comprehensive piece of literature about Ji'nan's springs.

4.2 A Comparison Between Ji'nan and Jiangnan

The poet Huang Tingjian wrote the following line about the city: "Ji'nan is as unrestrained as Jiangnan" (濟南瀟灑似江南).[413] This comparison is frequently seen in bamboo-branch songs about Ji'nan and Daming Lake. Reading the poems, it becomes obvious that Ji'nan is

[412] Ye Chengzong 葉承宗 and Ye Chengtiao 葉承祧, *Chongzhen Licheng xian zhi* 崇禎歷城縣志 [Gazetteer of Licheng county during the reign of Chongzhen] (block-printed edition of the thirteenth year of the reign of Chongzhen Emperor, 1640), 1: 1–15.

[413] Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅, *Huang Tingjian quanji jijiao biannian* 黃庭堅全集輯校編年 [Chronicle of the complete works of Huang Tingjian], ed. Zheng Yongxiao 鄭永曉 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2011), 135.

compared to many cities of Jiangnan, for instance, Suzhou, Hangzhou, Nanjing, or generally the whole Jiangnan area. Ji'nan's richness with underground water resources, which is peerless among northern cities, is the most immediate association with Jiangnan. The following poem by Song Zhaotong 宋兆彤 (fl. Qing) finds the similarity between Ji'nan and Jiangnan, the wet field of both.

The shimmering light of the lake in the north of the city is like a painting;

The paddy field is as foggy as in Jiangnan.

At nightfall, the carp wind[414] blows over the bridge;

It is hard to distinguish the fragrances of the lotus and the rice.

城北湖光罨畫長

水田漠漠似江鄉

鯉魚風起橫橋晚

不辨荷香與稻香[415]

The poem links Daming Lake directly to Jiangnan by comparing the local produce of the two places. Daming Lake was extensively used for the growing of lotus flowers, while in Jiangnan, too, there are plenty of paddy farms and lotus farms. Even the fragrances of the two places, to the author, are similar.

Daming Lake reminded poets frequently of Hangzhou's West Lake and it is occasionally also referred to as "West Lake".[416] In such comparisons, Daming Lake is even implied to be

[414] The carp wind (liyu feng 鯉魚風), wind between spring and summer. During this time, carps swim in shallow water, and the wind is gentle. Another saying holds that crap wind refers to wind of the ninth month of Chinese calendar. See Hua Fu 華夫, ed., *Zhongguo gudai mingwu dadian* 中國古代名物大典 [Dictionary of things of traditional China] (Ji'nan: Ji'nan chubanshe, 1993), 1: 121.

[415] *Quanbian*, 5:413.

[416] Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng bianji gongzuo weiyuanhui 中國地方志集成編輯工作委員會, *Shandong fuxian zhi ji: Qianlong licheng xian zhi* 山東府縣志輯: 乾隆歷城縣志 [Prefectures' gazetteers of Shandong province: Gazetteer of Licheng county during the reign of Emperor Qianlong] (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2004), 159.

superior to the *real* West Lake, as in the following example by Huang Entong 黃恩彤 (1801–1883):

It is hard to draw the landscape [of the lake], no matter with heavy colors or light;

The lake is charming, both when it is raining and when it is sunny.

If I may say so, Daming Lake is just like West Lake,

With the only difference that West Lake is not within the city.

濃妝淡抹畫不成

自然宜雨又宜晴

明湖敢道西湖似

只是西湖欠入城[417]

The poem tries to depict the beauty of Daming Lake, alluding to a famous poem by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), a famous essayist, poet and politician of the Song Dynasty, in the first two lines. The poem, which is titled "Yin hu shang chu jing hou yu" 飲湖上初晴後雨 (Drinking at the lake, first in the sun and then in the rain), is about the beautiful landscape of Hangzhou's West Lake. The poem is as below:

The brimming waves delight the eye on sunny days,

The dimming hills give a rare view in the rainy haze.

West Lake looks like the fair lady at her best,

Whether she is richly adorned or plainly dressed.

水光瀲滟晴方好

山色空蒙雨亦奇

欲把西湖比西子

[417] *Quanbian*, 5: 376.

淡妝濃抹總相宜[418]

Above two poems both compare lakes to a woman, Xishi 西施, who was known as one of the most beautiful women of ancient China.[419] The poem about Daming Lake seeks to link up Daming Lake with West Lake, by alluding to the poem by Su Shi. However, boldly enough, the poem claims that the location of Daming Lake is superior to that of West Lake, since the former is located inside the city wall of Ji'nan but the latter outside the city wall of Hangzhou.

Similar comparisons are also seen in other poems, such as the following one by Huang Zhaomei 黃兆枚 (fl. Qing):

This sunny day, wind over the lake sways the willows and flowers;

Reeds are surrounded with ripples.

Boats are not resplendent but flat at the bottom;

They are not like those on West Lake which are as curved as a melon.

湖上晴風吹柳花

湖中波路繞蘆芽

船無十錦卻平底

不似西湖如缺瓜[420]

This poem, once again, compares Daming Lake to West Lake. The first two lines describe the scenery of Daming Lake, whereas the last two lines go into greater detail, describing the boats on the lake. Obviously, the boats on Daming Lake were not as ornate as those on West Lake. However, the shape won.The last line alludes to a poem on West Lake by Yang Weizhen 楊

[418] Su Shi 蘇軾, *Su Shi shici xuan* 蘇軾詩詞選 [Selected poems by Su Shi], trans. Xu Yuanchong 許淵衝 (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 2007), 46.

[419] About her, see the short introduction in Chapter 2.

[420] *Quanbian*, 5: 378.

維楨 (1296–1370), who wrote a group of bamboo-branch songs on West Lake and caused great attention, which goes, “The little ferry boat is as curved as a melon”.[421]

Yet another poem by Shi Menglan 史夢蘭 (1813–1899) compares the women of Daming Lake with those of West Lake:

> People living by West Lake are habitually compared to Xishi;
>
> I also live at a lake, and even on its western side.
>
> Sitting on the stone, my red face is mirrored in the spring water;
>
> In my hometown, we also have a Silk-washing Stream.
>
> 西湖人慣比西施
>
> 妾住湖中亦在西
>
> 坐石紅顏照春水
>
> 兒家自有浣紗溪[422]

The comment:

> Daming Lake is in the city’s northwest where there are many washerwomen.
>
> 明湖在城西北隅，旁多浣女。[423]

This poem also adapts the allusion to Xishi. It was said that Xishi was only a village girl, who used to wash clothes by a stream in her village before she was sent to the Wu kingdom. The poem sets a washerwoman as the first person. Although washerwomen maybe only ordinary women, the action of waching cloth by the wather creats a link between them and Xishi, the legendary most beautiful woman. In a convintional female voice, the poem expresses that the hometown (i.e. Ji’nan) of the washerwomen is as beautiful as Hangzhou.

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[421] Yang Weizhen 楊維楨, *Yang Weizhen shiji* 楊維楨詩集 [Poetry collection of Yang Weizhen] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1994), 133.

[422] *Quanbian*, 5: 356.

[423] Ibid.

Another reason for comparing Ji'nan to the metropolises of Jiangnan may be the entertainment by the water. Pleasure quarters were the epitome of the prosperity and splendor of the Jiangnan metropolises. For instance, Nanjing, the capital of Jiangsu, had a famous pleasure quarter at the Qinhuai river. There were many courtesan houses, as well as other entertainment businesses, by the Qinhuai river. Like Qinhuai river, Daming Lake was also a center of entertainment of Ji'nan, around which popular forms of entertainment were being performed during the Ming and Qing dynasties.[424] The following poem by Yue Mengyuan 岳夢淵 (b. 1699) overlaps the images of Jinan and Nanjing.

Taoye and Taogen ferry on the splendid river,

Seen from the screen window, the waves are clear and shallow.

Outside the carved railings by the Quehua bridge,

Emerald birds sing in harmony and swallows fly in couples.

桃葉桃根渡綉江

橫波清淺透紗窗

鵲華橋畔雕欄外

翡翠和鳴燕子雙[425]

There is a high risk to misread this poem. Since, except the name of bridge appears in the third line indicates that it is about Daming lake, it reads more like a poem about Qinhuai river. The first line cites an allusion about Qinhuai river to a historical anecdote of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317–420). Taoye (lit. Peachleaf) and Taogen (lit. Peachroot) were names of two girls. There were sisters, who were famouse in Chinese literature history because of their relathionship with Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344–388), a noble calligrapher and litterateur of East Jin. They were considered to be concubines of Wang.[426] There was a romantic story

[424] Nie Jiahua 聶家華, *Duiwai kaifang yu chengshi shehui bianqian: Yi Ji'nan weili de yanjiu (1904–1937)* 對外開放與城市社會變遷:以濟南為例的研究 (1904–1937) [Opening up and social change of cities: Taking Ji'nan as a case], (Ji'nan: Qilushushe, 2007), 79.

[425] *Quanbian*, 5: 359.

[426] Jiang Lansheng 江蓝生, Lu Zunwu 陸樽梧, ed., *Shiyong quantangshi cidian* 實用全唐詩詞典 [Practical dictionary of Tang poems] (Ji'nan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), 540.

between Taoye and Wang Xianzhi, which is greatly based on a *yuefu* song from a group of three songs which are entitled "Song of Peachleaf" (Taoye ge 桃葉歌). The author is uncertain. The third item hints at the background story:

Peachleaf, oh Peachleaf!

To feery your river I won't need oars,

Just to ferry, then no more pain,

For I'll be joined to you![427]

桃葉復桃葉

渡江不用楫

但渡无所苦

我自来迎接[428]

The poem expresses a man's favor for a girl. The latter would cross the river to meet him and will wait her by the river. Lacking evidence, we can not make sure if the poem is composed based on Taoye and Wang Xianzhi's story. However, Wang Xianzhi was widely interpreted as the hero of the poem. "Stories were added to reinforce the attachment and help circulate the songs".[429] Such an interpretation did evoke great interest among literati. They even created a younger sister for Taoye, whom they named Taogen. In the second poem, there is one line that mentions the root of the peach tree: "the peach tree connects with its root" (桃葉連桃根).[430] In later times, besides concubines, Taoye and Taogen were attached with another imagine in literature, which is the courtesan. They even became a synonym for courtesans in

[427] Translation cited from Anne Birrell, *New Songs from a Jade Terrace: An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry, Translated with Annotations and an Introduction*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 266.

[428] Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩, *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 [Collection of music bureau songs] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 2: 665.

[429] Ibid., 139.

[430] Guo, *Yuefu shiji*, 2: 665.

Tang poems.[431] Eventually, they became one epitome of the prosperity of "ten miles of Qinhuai River" (*shi li Qinhuai* 十里秦淮).

The poem about Daming Lake shifts the scene from Nanjing to Ji'nan, while the girls of Daming Lake are displaced by girls of the Qinhuai River, and the lake itself is also replaced by the term "river". The poem implies that Ji'nan is as prosperous as Nanjing.

Another poem by Shi Kui 史夔 (1662–1713) also associates Ji'nan and Jiangnan with singing girls by the lake:

> Lotus leaves brush the waves, as their roots rise from the mud;
>
> Hidden among the flowers, the wine boat looms.
>
> The thirteen-year-old black-haired girls
>
> All learn Wu songs and sing 'dadi'.[432]
>
> 荷葉貼波藕出泥
>
> 藕花深處酒船低
>
> 十三子弟鴉頭女
>
> 盡學吳歌唱大堤[433]

The poem depicts a scene of pleasure. On Daming Lake, a banquet is being held on a painted boat. Girls sing songs of the Wu area, indicating how popular such songs from Jiangnan were in Ji'nan. On the other hand, the efforts of comparing Ji'nan to Jiangnan, also imply that Ji'nan might not be as attractive as Jiangnan. Jiangnan was "the most prosperous and most highly urbanized region of the empire in the late imperial period".[434] Moreover, it was seen as an example for other areas in China, not only an example for economic but also for cultural reasons.

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[431] Jiang, Lu, ed., *Shiyong quan Tang shi cidian*, 540.

[432] "Dadi" was a Yuefu melody. See Guo, *Yuefu shij*, 2: 705.

[433] Shi Kui 史夔, *Dongsi cao* 東祀草 [Drafts of Dongsi], in *Huibian*, 207: 8.

[434] Linda C. Johnson, *Cities of Jiangnan in Late Imperial China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), ix.

4.3 Travelling Route as Viewed in Poems on Daming Lake

Daming Lake is a landmark of Ji'nan and the main attraction of the inner city (inside the city wall) during the premodern time. The traveling route around the lake is quite simple. Scholars usually chose pleasure boats for their tours, and the route connected several historical sites. In the rented painted boats, they could appreciate the beautiful landscape, but they could also get off the boats and visit the sites freely.

Sun Qingyu 孫卿裕, who lived in the Late Qing, recorded his boat travels on Daming Lake in a set of bamboo-branch songs. The poems were a recollection of his travels, with his recorded memories beginning at Quehua 鵲華 bridge, located in the lake's southeast:

> The heaven-born wonderland comforts my dejected mood caused by the drifting times;
>
> The beautiful lake and mountain, I previously had passed by.
>
> There are one hundred thousand lotus flowers and ten thousand willow twigs;
>
> At Quehua bridge, the afterglow is abundant.
>
> 天開勝境慰蹉跎
>
> 大好湖山我舊過
>
> 十萬荷花萬條柳
>
> 鵲華橋畔夕陽多[435]

In a depressed mood, the author made a boating tour around Daming Lake. His tour began at Quehua bridge since there was the wharf where travelers boarded the painted boats. Conventionally, from here the boats first went up north, and then turned west. The author got off at a symbolic site:

> To appreciate the scenery, together we mount the North-pole Estrade,
>
> The breeze sways slightly, so the wet clouds disperse.
>
> The entire lake surface is as bright as a mirror,

[435] *Quanbian*, 5: 379.

In which I perceive the reverse reflection of the southern hills.

攬勝同登北極台

清風微動濕雲開

湖光一帶明如鏡

認取南山倒影來[436]

He went to a Taoist temple named the North-pole Estrade (Beiji tai 北極台) which is located northeast of Daming Lake. It is built on a nearly seven-meter-high estrade; it offers a good view of the lake. The poem points out that standing on the North-pole Estrade, one was able to see the reflection of southern mountaions. Then the author got back onto the boat and went on a wandering tour, as the next item describes.

In the wandering tour my soul is intoxicated,

The landscape of lake and mountains is as a painting.

Recalling the poetic event passed on by Yuyang,

Every night, the sound of the *Sheng* [a musical instrument] is heard by Shuixi bridge.

漫遊無處不魂銷

山色湖光畫裡招

更憶漁洋傳韻事

吹笙夜夜水西橋[437]

From the poem, we see that his boat turned west, and passed the Shuixi 水西 bridge, which is west of the lake. This bridge itself was only one of seven bridges on the lake. However, because of Wang Shizhen's literature gathering, this normal bridge seemed to be more charming.

The next site the author arrived at was a memorial temple for a famous minister:

[436] Ibid.

[437] Ibid.

The loyalty-honoring shrine is near a corner of the city;

In front of it is the green mountain, and behind is the lake.

Where are the troops of Yan that marched south?

The lake and mountain still belong to Minister Tie.

旌忠祠宇近城隅

前對青山後枕湖

南下燕兵何處是

湖山仍屬鐵尚書[438]

Minister Tie whose name was Tie Xuan 鉄鉉 (1366–1402) was famous for his loyalty to the former Emperor and for not yielding to the army of the usurper Yongle Emperor. The Emperor staged a coup when he was still a prince of the Yan palace. Tie Xuan firmly resisted his army at Ji'nan. Therefore, people built a shrine for Tie, which became one of the landmarks of Daming Lake.

Then the boat arrived at an old pavilion named Lixia pavilion:

I have traveled to all the famous sites in west of the ocean[439],

The blue sky is reflected by the clear lake.

Both Shaoling and Beihai are remembered for all eternity;

Countless travelers still pilgrimage to the Lixia pavilion.

海右名區此遍經

天光倒印水空青

少陵北海俱千古

[438] Ibid., 5: 380.

[439] Haiyou 海右 (literary means the right side of the ocean) was one of the alternative names for Shandong province. Shandong is geographically in west of the yellow sea, facing to the south; the direction of the west is on the right side.

多少遊蹤歷下亭[440]

Lixia pavilion is a historical site by Daming Lake. The poem mentions two famous literati, who had a close relationship with this pavilion, Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) and his friend Li Yong 李邕 (678–747). Their sobriquets were respectively Shaoling 少陵 and Beihai 北海. They once arrived this pavilion and wrote poems. Because of this, this pavilion became popular and attracted many travelers.

As the boat floated along the lake, the traveler passed by the Lixia pavilion and stopped at another lakeside pavilion to appreciate the stunning mountains to the south. The landscape of water and mountains was truly breathtaking.

After a short rest in the pavilion, the traveler lets his boat float casually in the sunset. He began by the Quehua bridge, then reached the north-pole estrade, then the Shuixi bridge, then the Tiegong shrine, then the Lixia pavilion, and finally the Hushang pavilion. This seemed to be a well-traveled, conventional route. By examining traveling poems about Daming Lake, we see that most travelers follow the same route with only minor variations.

4.3.1 The Sightseeing Tour as a Cultural Map

The last section introduced a regular route around Daming Lake that included six sites, four of which had cultural-historical significance: the Quehua bridge, the Shuixi bridge, the Tiegong shrine, and the Lixia pavilion. This was one typical traveling route on Daming Lake, though other sites, like the Shuimian pavilion or the Baixue chamber could also be included in the route. One thing in common is that these sites possess a historical and literary reputation. Almost all the poems stress the cultural background of these sites. Literati follows a cultural traveling map around Daming Lake. Meyer-Fong's point on sites of Yangzhou also applies the case of Ji'nan, "Elites used historical and cultural references to describe their touring as part of a social repertoire that distinguished them from other classes. Anyone could engage in 'trave', but only someone with the requisite grasp of literature and history could truly 'tour'".[441]

[440] Ibid., 5: 380.

[441] Tobie Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 5.

The tour map always begins from the Quehua bridge. Zeng Gong wrote one *jueju* poem about his yearning to return to Daming Lake, in which the last two lines read: "From then on, the wind and moon above the seven bridges. / In my dreams, my spirit will always come back to the painted boats" (從此七橋風與月, 夢魂長到木蘭舟)[442] Here the "seven bridges" refer to the various bridges on Daming Lake, which are actually more than seven. Among these, the Quehua bridge, which is located on the south side, is the most famous one, and it is also a frequent topic in bamboo-branch songs. For instance, in a poem by Kong Shangren, there is the phrase "looking at Li Mountain from the Quehua bridge" (鵲華橋上望歷山);[443] or another verse by Sun Zhaogui 孫兆溎 (fl. Qing) goes "For the beautiful moonlight over the Quehua bridge. /I sit on the stone railing and pay the Xiao on the flute" (為愛鵲華風月好, 石欄杆上坐吹簫).[444] Quehua bridge is the best-known bridge on the Daming Lake. However, it is hard to say that how outstanting it is in the sence of natural scenery than other bridges. Cultural practies on Quehua bridge may play a more important role. As Craig Clunas's disscution on garderns, "the fame of a garden does not derive from 'enduring intrinsic features of the site', but rather from literary and artistic representations of the property, and especially the reputation of the producer of those representations".[445] From my point of view, Clunas's point applies to Quehua bridge well.

The Quehua bridge was originally built in the Song Dynasty (960–1279). In the beginning, it was called "Hundred Flowers Bridge" (Baihua qiao 百花橋), but in the Yuan Dynasty, it was renamed Quehua. The name Quehua combines the names of two mountains near Ji'nan: the mountain Que and mountain Hua, both of which are located in the north of the city, less than nine kilometers apart. There was a saying that the bridge was so tall that standing on it one can see both mountains.[446] It was a literary allusion that made this bridge widely known. During the Yuan Dynasty, the calligrapher, painter, and poet Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) served as an official in Ji'nan for four years, during which he became quite familiar

[442] Zeng Gong 曾鞏, *Zeng Gong ji* 曾鞏集 [Collection of Zeng Gong] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 117.

[443] *Quanbian*, 5: 359.

[444] Ibid., 5: 411.

[445] Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*, 25.

[446] Ji'nanshi yuanlin guanlichu bianzhi bangongshi 濟南市園林管理處編志辦公室, *Ji'nanshi yuanlinzhi ziliao huibian 2: San da mingsheng* 濟南市園林志資料彙編 2: 三大名勝 [Collection of the gardens' history of Ji'nan, second volume: The three famous sites] (Ji'nan: Ji'nanshi yuanlin guanlichu bangongshi, 1985), 30.

with the place. After leaving Ji'nan, he produced a painting titled "Autumn Color on the Que and Hua [Mountains]" (Quehua qiuse tu 鵲華秋色圖) for his friend Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298), whose ancestral home was Ji'nan but who had never visited there.[447] The painting depicts the misty autumn landscape of the mountains Que and Hua,[448] based on the painter's memory. According to the picture's perspective, it seems that the painter stood to the south of the two mountains and faced the north. Daming Lake is just south of the two mountains. It is not important if it was true that the two mountains could be seen from Daming Lake; the bridge had been given cultural and literary significance by being linked to this painting repeatedly. Just like the next case, when writing about Quehua lake, the poem mixes the painting and real landscape together.

The painting was transferred to the imperial palace during the Qing Dynasty and was prized by the Qianlong 乾隆 Emperor (r. 1736–1795). When passing by Ji'nan during an inspection trip in 1748, he let subordinates to take the painting out and compare it with the real scene.[449] He himself wrote a group of poems titled "Inscription on the Quehua bridge" (Ti Quehua qiao 題鵲華橋), one of which is quoted here as follows:

> The long dyke extends across the two lakes,
>
> The mirror-like surface is as in a painting.
>
> I gaze at the ideal autumn scenery of the Que and Hua mountains;
>
> Even the name of the stone bridge is out of the ordinary.
>
> 長堤數里亙雙湖
>
> 夾鏡波光入畫圖

[447] Shane McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu: Calligraphy and Painting for Khubilai's China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 219–220.

[448] Hou Huan 侯環, *Quehua yixiang de dangdai yiyi: Ji'nan lishi wenhua yu quanshui wenhua yanjiu lungao* 鵲華意象的當代意義: 濟南歷史文化與泉水文化研究論稿 [The contemporary meaning of the image of quehua—a collection of papers of the historical culture and spring culture of Jinan] (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2016), 2.

[449] Li Kaijian 李開建, ed, *Zhenzhuquan: Zhenzhuquan gushici wenfu* 珍珠泉: 珍珠泉古詩詞文賦 [The Pearl Spring: Classical poems, songs, essays and rhapsodies of the Pearl Spring] (Ji'nan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 2013), 177.

望見鵲華秋色好

石橋名亦與凡殊[450]

There is a clash of reality and art in this. According to the poem, the author saw the "autumn scenery" of the Que and Hua mountains from the bridge, though in actuality, the Emperor arrived in Ji'nan in April and leaved after one week.[451] That trip It would have been impossible for him to see the autumn colors.

Another important site on the virtual map is the Lixia pavilion that was built as early as in the Northern Wei (386–543). If the Quehua bridge was the starting point of the sightseeing tour route, then the Lixia pavilion was the starting point in terms of time. As the oldest building at Daming Lake it was in a sense the cultural origin of the elite culture at Daming Lake.

The pavilion became famous due to Du Fu (712–770), who in the course of his travels in Ji'nan, in 745, was entertained by the then governor of the Beihai 北海 commandery (part of present-day Shandong province), Li Yong 李邕 (678–747), in the Lixia pavilion. To commemorate the meeting, Du composed a poem titled "In the company of Li Yong of Beihai, feasting in Lixia pavilion" (陪李北海宴歷下亭), in which the second couplet refers to the pavilion:

This pavilion is the oldest in west of the ocean.

In Ji'nan there are many famous scholars.

海右此亭古

濟南名士多[452]

The term "Haiyou" 海右 (West of the ocean), as explained above, refers to Shandong province. Written on a banquet, this poem inevitably has a social meaning. *Mingshi* here refers not only famous schoalrs from Ji'nan, but also schoalrs who participate the banquet held in the pavilion. This poem established a connection between *mingshi* and Ji'nan, and the pavilion is the

[450] *Daoguang Ji'nan fu zhi*, 1:36.

[451] Mark C. Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World* (New York, Harlow: Longman, 2009), 42.

[452] Du Fu 杜甫, *The Poetry of Du Fu*, trans. Stephen Owen (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 24–25 (1.21).

material carrier. This verse was soon given a universal meaning. The scope of *mingshi* has been long beyond what Du Fu had intended. *Mingshi* mainly referres to educated scholars, who were viewed as enhancing the cultural prestige of Ji'nan. The verse was so frequently quoted that Du Fu himself became an essential *mingshi* of this pavilion. Just like the following poem by Yu Changsui 于昌遂 (1804–1883):

> The willows dance over Old Li pavilion,
>
> The water ripples under Old Li pavilion.
>
> Boatmen with long beards slowly pole the boats,
>
> They also have understood that there are many famous scholars in Ji'nan.
>
> 古歷亭上柳婆娑
>
> 古歷亭下水生波
>
> 長鬚舟子刺船去
>
> 解道濟南名士多[453]

This poem indicates how universally known Du Fu's poem was. Even boatmen knew it, as the attached comment points out:

> The Old Li pavilion refers to the Lixia pavilion; scholars call it Old Li pavilion. The lines 'This pavilion is the oldest west of the ocean, / From Ji'nan there are many famous scholars', is even recited by boatmen.
>
> 古歷亭，即歷下亭。士人呼曰古歷亭。"海右此亭古，濟南名士多"，棹者習誦之。[454]

It's difficult to imagine any other scholars who had a relationship with this small pavilion, are more famous than Du Fu. Even boatmen could say his poem. Du Fu and his poem had become a strongest cultural symbol of this pavilion, maybe also of Ji'nan.

[453] *Quanbian*, 5: 355.

[454] Ibid.

The scope of *Mingshi* is continue expanding. Every Elites who travelled Daming Lake and leave literature wrtings share this honour title. The following poem by Huang Zhaomei 黃兆枚 (fl. Qing) is a good example:

By Daming Lake, the refined pleasures last long,

The famous scholars of Ji'nan are drinking extensively.

Facing the water by the open window, the summer is especially good,

The scent of liquor is blown into the lotus flowers.

大明湖頭清趣長

濟南名士多壺觴

開軒面水夏逾好

一片藕花吹酒香[455]

In this poem, "Tour" of elites is distinguished from "traveling" of common people. The pleasure of *mingshi* is not commen pleasure, but "refined pleasures" (*qingqu* 清趣). Although he did not explicitly state in the poem, but the author himself, who was on a casual tour by Daming Lake, clearly echoed himself with numerous *mingshi* before him.

Wang Shizhen also contributed an important site on the the map. Coming from a wealthy and prominent Shandong family, Wang received a very systematic traditional education and was able to compose poems at the very young age of eight years. When he was 23 years old, he was a brilliant young scholar and became a leader of the literary establishment. He demonstrated his outstanding poetic talent also at Daming Lake. He organized a literary gathering on Daming Lake and composed four poems titled "Autumn-willow poems" (Qiuliu shi 秋柳詩). According to a preface by Wang, they gathered at a pavilion called "Water Surface pavilion" (Shuimian ting 水面亭).[456] The poems provided Wang empire-wide reputation; in turn, the gathering on the Daming Lake made this site and especially the pavilion a famous site. This literary activity inscribed itself in the cultural tradition of Daming Lake,

[455] Ibid., 378.

[456] Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*, 36–38.

so any later poems had to pay homage to this preceding event. For instance, when Sun Qingyu rode a boat by the Shuixi bridge, he remembered Wang Shizhen and his excellent poems about the lake, even though the Shuixi bridge was not the site where Wang Shizhen had composed his poems. According to the preface by Wang Shizhen, the place where Wang composed his poems was in another pavilion[457] east of Lixia pavilion, following right after it on the route.

The pavilion where Wang composed the poems was Water Surface Pavilion, built in the Yuan Dynasty.

> Swept by the west wind, in the evening light, geese fly back belatedly,
>
> The Water Surface pavilion is still as tall as it was in the past.
>
> The four poems on the autumn willow have become a masterpiece,
>
> While the poems by Ruanting [i.e. Wang Shizhen] are still being chanted across the lake.
>
> 西風殘照雁來遲
>
> 水面亭高似昔時
>
> 秋柳四章成絕調
>
> 隔湖猶唱阮亭詩[458]

The poem by Wei Naixiang 魏乃勷 (fl. Qing) recalls Wang Shizhen with a nostalgic tone. The first line sets the tone by describing a desolate environment. It simply enumerates three things, the west wind, the setting sun, and the migrating geese. The west wind implies that it was the autumn season, because, in northern China, the west wind is typical for autumn; and since the geese are late, it indicates late autumn. The Water Surface pavilion is still there, just as in Wang Shizhen's time, though Wang had long passed away. The last line refers to the present again, when people are still chanting Wang's poems.

Cultural sites, as mentioned in bamboo-branch songs, always carry cultural-historical allusions. Literati visited the sites and wrote about them in their poems, and by doing so, they

[457] Ibid., 37.

[458] *Quanbian*, 5: 377.

unintentionally also invented new sites. One of Wang Shizhen's great-uncles, Wang Xiangchun (1578–1632), composed a cycle of *zhuzhici* about Ji'nan, titled "Tone of Qi" (*Qiyin* 齊音). It comprises 107 pieces and was the first bamboo-branch song collection on Ji'nan to have of this "full" length of more than one hundred poems. It was later followed by another three one hundred-poem cycles. In the later cycles of poems, Wang Xiangchun himself serves as a symbol of Ji'nan culture. A pavilion built by him at Daming Lake, named Wenshan Pavilion 問山亭 (Asking the Mountain Pavilion) became a pilgrimage site of literati.

The other three major cycles of bamboo-branch songs, besides Wang Xiangchun's, are Wang Chuotong's "Bamboo-branch songs of Ji'nan" (*Ji'nan zhuzhici* 济南竹枝词), Dong Yun's "Expansion of Tone of Qi" (*Guang Qiyin* 廣齊音) and Mao Daying's 毛大瀛 "Sequel to Tone of Qi" (*Xu Qiyin* 續齊音).

In the following poem, Wang Chutong recalled an anecdote about Wang Xiangchun who tried to find musicians to compose music for his bamboo-branch songs:

> The one hundred poems are about the local customs.
>
> Asking Sir Wang at the Asking the Mountain Pavilion.
>
> Who could hand down the Pipa[459] *Faqu* music?[460]
>
> Only Han Hong, an old hand among the singers.
>
> 風土清音有百章
>
> 問山亭上問王郎
>
> 琵琶法曲誰傳得
>
> 只有寒鴻是舊娼[461]

[459] A musical instrument.

[460] *Faqu* 法曲 is a kind of Chinese music that was popular during the Tang Dynasty. Such kind of music was originally played on Buddhist devotion. The character *Fa* in its name refers to Buddhism dharma. More information on Faqu see Liu Zaisheng 劉再生, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shi jianshu* 中國古代音樂史簡述 [A brief introduction on the history of Chinese ancient music] (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1989), 242–243.

[461] *Quanbian*, 5: 409.

Comment:

> When Wang Jimu [i.e., the courtesy name of Wang Xiangchun] settled down in Ji'nan, he built the Wenshan pavilion on Baihua islet and wrote the one hundred poems of *The Tone of Qi*. Xu Dongchi's poem says: 'The one hundred poems are about local customs.' Jimu tried to let people compose one hundred pipa melodies according to old notations to pass down his poems. When he heard that Liu Gongyan of Ji'nan had been the most famous musician of his generation, he visited Liu's pupils. However, he found only one old singer, Han Hong.
>
> 王季木卜居濟南，築問山亭於百花洲上，著《齊音》百首。徐東癡詩：「齊音百首存風土」季木嘗欲法琵琶舊譜，作樂府數百曲以存遺響，聞濟南劉公嚴為一代律呂宗匠，及訪所傳，惟舊娼寒鴻一人而已。[462]

This poem is written in a disconsolate tone. Wang Xiangchun, after writing his poems, hoped to pass them down with music. But he could only find an old singer. It is not clear if Han Hong composed melodies for *Qiyin*, but the pity of the passing away of the famous musician and his notations is evident in the poem. An implication is that it was hard for an old singer to fulfill the work. It is reasonable to inference, Wang Chutong, who also wrote a cycle of bamboo-branch poems after Wang Xiangchun,[463] had the same question that how he could make sure that his poems would be handed down to later generations. For an elite audience, printing would have been the obvious means; however, these authors evidently were more concerned about popular reception, via singing and hearing.

For an elite audience, printing would have been the obvious means; however, these authors evidently were more concerned about popular reception, via singing and hearing.

In Dong Yun's *Guang Qiyin*, there is also a poem about Wang Xiangchun. Preceding it, there is a short preface in which we sense the cultural continuity projected onto a building, as it begins with the following words:

[462] Ibid.

[463] *Quanbian*, 5: 401–410.

> Wang Jimu [i.e. Wang Xiangchun], who was from Xincheng, migrated to Lixia from Huantai. In the beginning, he repaired the former residence of Li Yulin and lived in it, and he rebuilt the Asking the Mountain Pavilion on Daming Lake […].
>
> 新城王季木，由桓台徙歷下。初得李于麟廢宅葺而居之，復築問山亭于湖上「…」。[464]

Li Yulin was Li Panlong 李攀龍 (1514–1570), an influential scholar during the Ming dynasty. A native of Ji'nan, Li also had a building constructed by Daming Lake, the White Snow Tower (Baixue lou 白雪樓), which was dilapidated after his death. However, when Wang Xiangchun came to Ji'nan, he bought up the remains of the building and had it restored, because after all it was the former residence of a famous scholar. Wang recorded this in a poem.[465] The Asking the Mountain Pavilion was located near the building. As with the White Snow Tower, that served as a cultural sign of Li Yulin, the Wenshan ting also came to stand as a monument for the commemoration of Wang Xiangchun. After Wang had passed away, the pavilion was repaired and remembered by later-generation travelers and scholars like Wang Chutong, Dong Yun, and Mao Daying.

On the sightseeing route around Daming Lake, the famous scholars of Ji'nan, or rather the buildings associated with them, were the core attraction for literati travelers. New sites were established continuously, and scholars who contributed to the restoration of old buildings were themselves also commemorated for their literary activities by Daming Lake.

4.3.2 The Position of Daming Lake: An Attraction or a Lotus Field?

Most bamboo-branch songs about Daming Lake record traveling experiences, thus considering the lake primarily as a place for sightseeing. However, among the voices praising the landscape of the lake, we hear frequent complaints about the boundary of the fields breaking up the beautiful landscape. The lotus root was a main product of Daming Lake, as the aquacultural flipside of the lotus flower as an iconic element of the scenery at Daming Lake in summer. Since the water fields were owned by many different people, they were divided up into small pieces that were separated by reeds which negatively impacted the

[464] Xu, *Ji'nan zhuzhici*, 112.

[465] *Quanbian*, 5: 409.

appearance of the lake. The poems render the travelers' perspective on this phenomenon, such as in the following example by Sun Zhaogui 孫兆溎 (fl. Qing):

In the green water of the entire lake, lotus flowers are grown,

Boats are casually docked along the causeway by the sides there are willows.

The fragrance is overwhelming, though the flowers are invisible,

As the lovely flowers are shielded by reeds.

一湖綠水種蓮花

楊柳堤邊艇子斜

四面香來看不見

好花都被荻蘆遮[466]

This poem complains that because of the reeds, the lotus flowers can hardly be seen. The comment further explains:

On Daming Lake, there are countless lotus flowers. But they belong to different owners. Owners plant reeds as boundaries. These reeds shield the flowers, which is really regrettable.

大明湖蓮花無際， 然各有主者，均以蒲葦界隔，花時掩映其中，殊為憾事。[467]

As an elite sightseer, the author clearly cared more about the lotus scenery than its use as an aquacultural crop. Although the poem itself is euphemistic, the comment delives a fairly disappointed attitude of him.

This complaint was also echoed by others. While the comment above states its criticism directly, whereas other poets chose a more implicit way of hinting, such as in the following poem by Li Zuoxian 李佐賢 (1807–1876):

Oars in pairs are superior to painted carriages.

[466] Ibid., 5: 411

[467] Ibid.

Beautiful ladies and famous scholars frequently pass by each other.

It is only hateful that the entire route is lined by the reflections of reeds,

Blocking off the gaze at the truth from the touring boats.

蘭槳雙雙勝畫輪

美人名士往來頻

唯嫌一道菰蒲影

遮住遊船望不真[468]

To the passengers sitting on the painted boats, the reeds shield not only the landscape but also the people. The poem implies that beautiful women and famous scholars are also part of the landscape, and that they remain hidden from each other due to the reeds. A poem by Shi Menglan 史夢蘭 (1813–1899) hints at a romance, only to show how disturbing the reeds are:

The crisscrossing water roads lead either west or east.

You, Sir, set your sail, while I take in mine.

I blame the rushes and reeds that encircle the lake like palisades,

So our boats, though close to each other, never meet.

縱橫水路各西東

郎自揚舲妾轉蓬

卻怪蒲蘆圍似柵

船雖相近不相逢[469]

The poem tells a romantic story by employing a woman's voice. Boating on the lake, the woman saw a man on another boat. They hoped to go nearer to each other but were stopped by the reeds. In the story the reeds are clearly a metaphor, which refers to obstacles to love.

[468] Ibid., 5:381.

[469] Ibid., 5:356.

But reeds on the Daming lake is true. By setting up a vitural scene, the author conveyed his dislike about the reeds.

This situation still had not changed in the early 20th century. When Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962), a well-known philosopher, essayist, and diplomat, traveled to Daming Lake, in a poem entitled “Daminghu”, also complained about the reeds:

Where is Daming Lake?

I only see many small lake areas,

Countless reeds,

Cutting up a beautiful lake landscape into tiny bits.

What is missing here is a one-hundred-foot-high tower

That lets travelers broaden their horizons,

Overcoming all these dikes covered with reeds and banks lined by willows,

Breaking up all those frontiers and boundaries,

Bringing back my one and only Daming Lake.

那裡有大明湖？

我只看見無數小湖田，

無數蘆堤，

把一片好湖光劃分得七零八落。

這裡缺少一座百尺高樓，

讓遊人把眼界放寬，

超過這許多蘆堤柳岸，

打破這種種此疆彼界，

依然還我一個大明湖。[470]

Unlike a bamboo-branch song, this poem is written in a straightforward modern vernacular style. It is exactly what Chinese call *xinshi* (new poetry) or *baihuashi* (vernacular poetry). The language is modern Chinese, and the form is also very different with bamboo-branch songs. Hu's poem is more than a traveling writing. On the surface, the poem complains that the countless reeds disrupted the landscape. On a deeper layer of meaning, the reeds also symbolize boundaries. There are so many boundaries when people stand in a lower place that they maybe need to stand higher to broad their views.

Most of the poems mentioned above were written from the perspectives of travelers. The reeds as ridges of the lotus farms shielded the flowers from sight, unless one viewed them from a high place. The following poem by Yu Changsui 于昌遂 (b. 1829) asking travelers not to pick flowers and saying the reeds just separate flowers and travelers.

Planting no yellow mulberry, planting no hemp,

The sharply pointed boat is my home.

Vending lotus seeds and roots, this is what I live on;

Young man, when you come here, refrain from picking the flowers.

不種黃桑不種麻

橛頭船子是儂家

賣蓮賣藕儂生活

郎若來時莫折花[471]

The comment:

> The people living by the lake gather boats to serve as their huts. They do not farm and weave cloth, but they plant several *mu* of lotus, and around them grow reeds as enclosure, thus temporarily preventing the travelers [from picking the flowers].

[470] Hu Shi 胡適, *Hu Shi jingxuanji* 胡適精選集 [Compilation of Hu Shi] (Shenyang: Wanjuan chuban gongsi, 2014), 68.

[471] *Quanbian*, 5: 355.

湖之左右皆聚船作廬，不事耕織。種荷花數畝，旁植菰蘆為界，且防遊人。[472]

This poem tells a different story. The flowers were planted for a living by the people who lived by the lake. To them, the aquacultural production of lotus was the main source of income. Thus, they carefully grew reeds around their crops, not only as boundaries of their fields, but also to keep any sightseers out. Once a plant's flower was picked, its root was also bound to die. Thus, the reeds served the protection of their livelihood.

Most of the bamboo-branch poems about Daming Lake were poems about sighseeing, which emphasized the landscape. Lotuses were an important symbol of Daming Lake, just as it was the case for Hangzhou's West Lake. However, there were conflicting goals between sightseers and the local aquacultural producers, who clashed over the reeds that served to protect the flowers but obstructed the sightseers's view.

4.4 A Poetic Record of Water: Bamboo-Branch Songs about the Seventy-Two Springs

Ji'nan was famous for its numerous springs. Different from Daming Lake, which is large and conspicuous, these springs were scattered in numerous different places. Only some major springs attracted the travelers' interest. However, these springs epitomized the actual spirit of the city, winning it the name of "city of springs" (Quancheng 泉城).

It is unclear that how many springs there were in Ji'nan. An old saying takes seventy-two springs as a representative of those numerous springs in Ji'nan. The oldest reference is *Qisheng* 齊乘, a Yuan-Dynasty local gazetteer of the Qi 齊 cultural region, corresponding to much of Shandong province. This source lists the names of the seventy-two springs, according to the later lost "Stele of famous springs" (Mingquanbei 名泉碑).[473] After that, there are no comprehensive records about the seventy-two springs, until the publication of Yan Bi's 晏璧 (life dates unknown) cycle of bamboo-branch songs eentitled Ji'nan "Poems about the Seventy-two Springs of Ji'nan" (*Qishi'er quan shi* 濟南七十二泉詩). Yan Bi was a native of Jiangxi province. During the reign of Ming Emperor Yongle 永樂 (r. 1403–1424), he served as an Assistant in the Provincial Surveillance Commission (*anchasi* 按察司) of Shandong.

[472] Ibid.

[473] Ren Baozhen 任寶禎, *Ji'nan mingquan shuo lüe* 濟南明泉說略 [Introduction of famous Spring of Ji'nan] (Ji'nan: Huanghe chubanshe, 2002), 24.

Although he was a judicial officer, he was a person who loved literature. During his tenure, he went for sightseeing tours around Ji'nan to explore the springs resulting in this group of bamboo-branch songs. In his poems, he not only recorded information about the springs, such as their precise locations, but also quoted a large number of literary references, thus enriching the cultural connotations of the springs, especially the small and obscure ones. Meanwhile, the poems also record Yan Bi's own sightseeing experiences. Later on, this group of bamboo-branch songs was not only included in local gazetteers, as an important source on the springs of Ji'nan, but was also considered as a selfsufficient literary work about the springs.

Preceding the poems, there is a long preface by the author, in which he introduces his original motivation for composing such a work. It reveals his ambition to promote Ji'nan's landscape through his poems. Part of the preface is rendered in translation as follows:

> In the second year of the reign of Yongle, I assumed my position in Ji'nan. During a vacation, together with other scholars and gentlemen, I climbed up high places and looked far into the distance […]. Formerly, Liu Zihou 柳子厚 wrote essays about the mountains and waters of Liuzhou 柳州 and Yongzhou 永州. He blamed the creator deity for not creating the same extraordinary sights in the center of the empire. […] Ji'nan, a city smaller than thirty *li*, has seventy-two beautiful and strange springs. The creator deity set them in the center of the empire but had no chance to make his technique [of creating such a beautiful natural landscape] known for the past thousands of years. The deity also wasted his labor and spirit. Therefore, I compose poems for them. Unfortunately, I do not have the talent of Liu, whose essays are refined enough to promote the beauty of mountains and waters. After I finished the poems, the prefect of Ji'nan, Yang Yourong 楊有溶，asked me to print and publish them. […] Then I wrote them down, so they could be attached to local gazetteers as a supplement.
>
> 予永樂二年，持憲節來濟南，休沐之暇，與大夫君子升高眺遠。「…」昔柳子厚嘗記柳，永二州山水，怪造物者不為之於中州「…」今濟南環城不一舍許，而七十二泉獻秀呈奇，是造物者為之於中州，使千百年不得一售其技，亦勞而無用於神者。予故取而詠之，惜無柳子之才，足以發山水之勝。詩成，濟南太守楊有溶請鋟梓以傳「…」予遂書之，以附郡志云。[474]

[474] Xu, *Ji'nan zhuzhici*, 4.

According to his words, the poems are a record of his travels around Ji'nan, even though he may not have seen all the springs. Yan belived those beautiful landscapes needed to be known by the people; otherwise, it would have to be considered a waste of beauty. Only literature could achieve this. Liu Zihou, whose formal name was Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), was a famous scholar who lived during the Tang Dynasty. He was repeatedly relegated to the South, to Yongzhou (in present-day Hunan province) and Liuzhou (in present-day Guangxi province). In his time, the two places were quite desolate. During his exile, he wrote a large number of travel essays and poems, among which "Eight Pieces from Yong Prefecture" (*Yongzhou ba ji* 永州八記) became the most famous, which are "traditionally considered to have inaugurated the genre of the lyric travel account".[475] His literary writings exemplarily spread the knowledge about the two places. Obviously, Yan Bi had a similar goal, namely, that the springs of Ji'nan could be popularized through his cycle of bamboo-branch songs. Therefore, he agreed to have them printed and included in local gazetteers. An unspoken motivation, not hard to deduce, was that he hoped to be known through the poems, just like Liu, who was remembered for his essays. Earlier than Yan Bi, there was no comprehensive literary work about the seventy-two springs, just as Liu was the first to establish Yongzhou as a place in literature. Yan achived his goal. His work was successfully included in local gazetters. The 1640 edition local gazetter of Licheng includes 71 pieces of poems.[476] Later, the gazetteer of Ji'nan edited during the reign of Daoguang 道光 Emperor (r. 1821–1850) selected 28 pieces.[477]

With the purpose of supplying hydrological data, Yan Bi observed the springs carefully. At least, he was far more observant than a common sightseer. If compared to the record in *Qisheng*, in Yan's poems, thirteen springs were not included, six springs have different names, and for two springs different locations are described.[478] Yan Bi always tried to indicate the locations of the springs in the poems, although he did not locate all of them. What is

[475] Richard E. Strassberg, ed., *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 141.

[476] *Chongzhen Licheng xian zhi*, 14: 66–70.

[477] *Daoguang Ji'nan fu zhi*, 3: 521–523.

[478] Xu, *Ji'nan zhuzhici*, 20.

commendable is that some remote springs were also recorded. Take, for instance, the poem titled “Ash Spring” (Hui quan 灰泉):

The northwest of the Pearl Spring is covered with ash and dust,

On the confused heap of rocks the moss erodes.

When can I wash and clean my dusty clothes?

By the source of the spring, I search for the road to the Heaven Estrade.

珍泉西北帶煙埃

亂石堆中蝕翠苔

何日塵襟淨躅滌

源頭尋路覓天台[479]

The Spring is named Ash Spring and its location is described in the first two lines. It can be found in the northwest of Pearl Spring, an isolated area. The second line describes the surroundings of Ash Spring. The rocks and the moss indicate that it is a remote site that attracts few people. In this poem, “ash” refers not only real ash, but also metonymical ach, ach in people’s heart, secular troubles. The last two lines raises the question that how one can clear the dust in his heart, just like water clears dust.

As a common situation in the poems, the location of one spring is defined in relation to that of other springs, just as in the example above. The author also tried to record hydrological information in the short poems. For example, the source of the springs, the direction of flow and influx, and the connections among the springs. The poem “Southern Chaff-cooking Spring” (Nan zhukang quan 南煮糠泉) is just like that:

The spring connects with the Spouting spring, its water like jade,

In troubled times it can clean the chaff.

It is located in a pure and elevated place and avoids dust,

Only the jade-like flowers of the immortal land are fragrant in the four seasons.

[479] Ibid., 19.

泉通趵突水琳瑯

濁世還能掃秕糠

地位清高隔塵土

琪花瑤草四時芳[480]

From this poem, we learn that the Southern Chaff-boiling Spring connects with the Spouting spring, the most famous of the seventy-two springs. The third line has a double meaning, implying both material and spiritual purity. The latter likely approximated an ideal of the author.

A hot spring was also recorded in this group of poems, in the item titled “Flat-iron Spring” (Yundou quan 熨斗泉):

The spring is like a flat iron, the vapor is warm,

It is the first spring siphoning off the Dragon Cave.

If you wish to understand the meaning of ‘the integration of *kan* [danger] and *li* [attachment],

Then meditate on the five-thousand words of the *Classic of the Way and Virtue.*

泉如熨斗氣溫溫

龍洞分來第一源

欲識坎離交媾意

請參道德五千言[481]

To introduce this spring, the poem refers to two hexagrams from *The Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), where *kan* refers to danger in water, *li* to the burning moring glow attaching to the sun (fire).[482] Thus, the poem aptly describes the hot spring as a blending of water and fire.

[480] Ibid., 17.

[481] Ibid., 18.

[482] Zhang Shanwen 張善文 and Fu Huisheng 傅惠生, trans., *Zhouyi* 周易 [The Changes of the Zhou] (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 2008), 168 and 177.

Unlike in local gazetteers, in the poem's information is often expressed in abstract and obscure terms.

The bamboo-branch songs about seventy-two springs not only provide information of hydrological interest but also include a supplement to the culture of Ji'nan's springs. Unlike *Qisheng*, which lists only the names of the springs, the poems often associate the springs with events from history or legends related to them. Although that makes the poems more obscure, it also enhances its cultural-historical connotations. The poem titled "Shun quan" 舜泉 (Shun Spring) may serve here as an example:

The towering Shun temple is located south of Licheng;

Therein is a clear spring the taste of which is udderly sweet.

The water flows out of the greeting Fortun Temple;

Across thousand hectares, the river waves run high.

巍巍舜廟歷城南

中有清泉味極甘

流出迎祥仙館去

汪汪千頃泛波瀾[483]

According to Sima Qian's record, Shun 舜, the last of the five prehistorical Emperors, had farmed at the foot of Li mountain.[484] A temple was built to commemorate him, and the spring in the Daoist Yingxiang temple was named after him, from where it flowed into a river. The temple had disappeared by the early Qing Dynasty.[485] The poem is evidence of the temple.

Corresponding to the Shun Spring is the spring described in the following poem entitled "Two-girls Spring" (Shuangnü quan 雙女泉):

The two imperial concubines were married off in the city of Youyu;

[483] Xu, *Ji'nan Zhuzhici*, 6.

[484] Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 1: 29.

[485] Ji'nan shi zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui, *Ji'nan mingsheng guji cidian* 濟南名勝古跡辭典 [Gazetteer about places of historic interest and scenic beauty in Ji'nan] (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 1999), 93.

At the foot of the city wall the water flows from the spring, cold and clear.

On the fields watered [by the spring water], the wheat and millet flourish;

The landowners play games and enjoy their lives.

二妃厘降有虞城

城下流泉冽且清

麥隴黍田滋潤澤

田公擊壤樂生平[486]

The "two girls" referred to in the name of this spring were the two daughters of Emperor Yao 堯 who became concubines of his successor Shun. Yao was considered a wise leader. When he reached old age, he planned to abdicate and hand over the crown to Shun. In order to test if Shun was qualified as the future Emperor, he gave his two daughters to him.[487] The poem praises the spring for irrigating the fields, so that people may have a good harvest. What's more, quoting an old folk song in the last line connects the spring with the two concubines and the Emperors. The song is titled "Knocking the soil" (Jirang 擊壤) and one of the oldest folk songs of China. It tells of a farmer who worked regularly and earned his own living. His days, without the involvement of any administrators or managers, were so well-ordered and happy that he questioned the role the Emperor (Yao) played in his life.[488] Because Yao was known for being good at governing, the question from the farmer can be interpreted in two ways: either the farmer did not realize Yao's actual contribution to his well-being; or the common people indeed were not in need of any government. The poem above obviously holds to the first interpretation. By praising the spring, it commemorates the wise legendary Emperors.

This group of bamboo-branch songs also records the field research of their author. Some poems describe the visual appearance of the springs in detail, indicating that he indeed visited the sites. The first poem of the group is about Spouting Spring, the most famous of all.

[486] Xu, *Ji'nan zhuzhici*, 7.

[487] Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 1: 30.

[488] Shen Deqian 沈德潛, *Gushi yuan* 古詩源 [The source of old poems] (Changchun: Jilin chuban jituan gufen youxian gongsi, 2017), 9.

Generally speaking, any tour of Ji'nan's springs must start from Spouting Spring, and this author was no exception to this rule. The poem goes as follows:

In front of the Thirsty-horse Cliff, the water is rich;

Pearl-round drops gush from the heart of the spring basin.

Among the seventy springs of Ji'nan from which the milk flows,

Spouting Spring is the only one that is called 'The first source'.

渴馬涯前水滿川

池心泉迸蕊珠圓

濟南七十泉流乳

趵突獨稱第一泉[489]

The poem describes Spouting spring's rich water and its spectacular fountains. In the sunshine, the drops shine like pearls. This is why Spouting Spring was considered the finest of all of Ji'nan's springs. As early as the *Shuijing zhu* 水經註 (Commentary on the Water Classic), compiled by Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (d. 527), the Spouting Spring was described as "spring gushes up, water gushing like a wheel" (泉源上奮, 水涌若輪).[490] Like other cities, too, Ji'nan had its canonical "Eight views" (Bajing 八景), and "Spouting Spring gushing into the sky" (Baotu tengkong 趵突騰空)[491] was one of them.

Near Spouting Spring, there was another spring named "Golden Thread Spring" (Jinxian quan 金綫泉), which also had a marvelous natural scenery. It got the name because of its unique sight. Two springs gushed up separately, flowed from both sides and met in the middle. In the sunshine, there seemed to be a golden thread laying on the surface of water where the two

[489] Xu, *Ji'nan zhuzhici*, 5.

[490] Li Daoyuan 酈道元, *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng* 水經註校正 [Collated edition of the Commentary on the Water Classic], ed., Chen Qiaoyi 陳橋驛, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 209.

[491] Feng Menglong, Wang Tingshao, and Hua Guangsheng, *Ming Qing min'ge shidiao ji*, 2:481.

flows met.[492] Yan Bi described it in the following poem:

The pattern on the water is green, and the reflections [of sunshine] swing golden.

A milky way down on earth, deeper than one hundred *chi*.[493]

In the middle there are thirty-six golden kois

That ondulate in the emerald waves, whether they sink or emerge.

水紋浮綠影搖金

倒挽銀河百尺深

中有金鱗三十六

碧波蕩漾任浮沉[494]

An analysis explains that the golden thread appeared because of the balanced power of the two flows that met in the middle but did not mix. The thread was not invisible when the flows gradually lost power, from the Qing Dynasty on.[495] At the time the poem was written, the line could still be seen. The poem describes exactly the scene.

Yan Bi composed the "Bamboo-branch songs about the seventy-two springs" intending to increase the fame of the springs. Bi believed that literature played a crucial role in assisting the creator deity in completing his work. Furthermore, Yan aimed to leave a lasting legacy through his literary creations. To achieve his goal, Yan conducted extensive research on the seventy-two springs and provided detailed hydrological information using poetic language. He also incorporated cultural context by including the history and legends surrounding the springs. As the first comprehensive literary work about Ji'nan's springs, Bi's series of poems were referenced in local gazetteers and highly regarded by scholars, thus fulfilling his intentions.

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[492] Chen Congzhou 陳從周, *Zhongguo yuanlin jianshang cidian* 中國園林鑒賞辭典 [Appreciation dictionary of gardens of China] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 865.

[493] *Chi* is a unit of length: 1 *chi* equals 33.33 cm.

[494] Xu Beiwen, *Ji'nan zhuzhici*, 5–6.

[495] Ji'nanshi yuanlin guanlichu bianzhi bangongshi, *Ji'nanshi yuanlinzhi ziliao huibian 2: San da mingshen*, 4–5.

This chapter has discussed some aspects of the sightseeing culture of the provincial capital Ji'nan. Bamboo-branch songs, as a literary genre predestined for the description of all things local, may be regarded as one form of sightseeing literature. Ji'nan, a city with a unique hydrology, attracted many scholars, who wrote a great number of bamboo-branch songs. Ji'nan's richness with water, which was rare in Shandong, gave rise to frequent comparisons with Jiangnan.

Travelling in Ji'nan focused on the water, both Daming Lake and the numerous springs. As a landmark of Ji'nan, Daming Lake attracted many travelers. The sightseeing routes around the lake were tied to cultural attractions. While it was not a big lake, the routes around Daming Lake were also unsophisticated. Scholars usually choose painted boats to tour on the lake. The cultural attractions were all located along this route. Although most poems appreciated the landscape, some also delivered the poets' dissatisfactions. Daming Lake was divided into small pieces of lotus fields with high reeds, which broke up the landscape. There were differing opinions on this among travelers and locals.

Ji'nan's seventy-two Springs served as a symbol for the city. During the Ming Dynasty, Yan Bi, who had been an official in Ji'nan for several years, decided to compose a group of *zhuzhici* for them. His bamboo-branch songs were the first comprehensive literary work on the springs. The poems record information about the springs and their cultural allusions, which makes them valuable cultural-historical material.

Chapter 5: War, Uprising, and Famine – Historical Records

As records of local life, bamboo-branch songs did not ignore local history. As a matter of fact, they include plenty of unique historical memory, as shall be demonstrated in the present chapter. Like local gazetteers, bamboo-branch songs record local events, celebrities, and outstanding personages. Bamboo-branch songs even offer themselves as a good supplement to historical records, offering a personal perspective of historical experience. However, at the same time, one must be careful when dealing with such material, since they inevitably include subjective views and personalized evaluations. In this chapter, I research how bamboo-branch songs record events in local history, and I also try to discuss to what extent they approximate the historical truth. The goal is to elaborate the unique value of bamboo-branch songs as a historical source, and to come up with recommendations on how to deal with this source type.

In particular, this chapter will research bamboo-branch songs that are dedicated to historical narratives about events of war, rebellion, and famine in Shandong. The emphasis is on the perspective such poems take to make sense of the events.

5.1 A Memory of War

Memorial buildings are a carrier of history. Although most of them are rebuilt, as a sign, they still remind people of the past. In the city of Ji'nan, there are two shrines for two officials, both of whom were involved in wars of protecting the city. One of the wars happened during the early Ming Dynasty and the other by the end. As famous traveling sites, the shrines attracted many travelers, especially scholars. In bamboo-branch songs, they were usually taken as a medium to talk about the wars and the choices of the two officials. It is meaningful to observe the perspective of poets about the two officials involved in the events, and further, to see their opinion about the events themselves.

5.1.1 The Shrine of Duke Tie

By the northwest of Daming Lake, there is a famous site, the Shrine of Duke Tie (Tiegong ci 鐵公祠). It is in the area seen as the most beautiful part of Daming Lake.[496] On the door hangs the well-known couplet "lotus on four sides, willows on three, mountains within the city and

[496] Chen Congzhou, *Zhongguo yuanlin jianshang cidian*, 860.

lakes over half the city" (四面荷花三面柳，一城山色半城湖). It was built in the 57th year of the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (1792),[497] to remember Tie Xuan, an officer, who lived during the early Ming. In 1399, he was appointed as the administrative vice-commissioner of Shandong province. In August of the same year, the Jingnan campaign (*Jingnan zhi yi* 靖難之役) began, a civil war between successors of the first Ming Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398), his grandson Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆 (b. 1377), and his fifth son Zhu Di (1360–1424), the Prince of Yan. To take the throne from Zhu Yunwen, Zhu Di 朱棣 initiated the war and finally won. Zhu Di became the Emperor whose reign title is Yongle 永樂.[498] The war lasted three years. During the initial phase, from late 1399 to mid 1401, the war was confined to the immediate vicinity of the Beijing prefecture and to strong holds in the vicinity of Ji'nan.[499] Tie Xuan and another general, Sheng Yong (d. 1403), were in charge of resisting the army of Zhu Di. They defended Ji'nan strategically and fiercely, and they successfully repelled the attack of the enemy. However, Zhu Di bypassed Ji'nan and finally won the war. After the war, Tie Xuan was arrested. Unyieldingly, he rebuked Zhu Di to his face and got a particularly cruel punishment. Finally, he was executed, and his body was thrown into a pot with hot oil.[500]

Although the new Emperor punished Tie Xuan and his family, the common people saw him as the hero of Ji'nan. Because of him, Ji'nan escaped destruction during the war. Among scholars, he was mainly commended for his loyalty and braveness. But the loyalty was not to the Yongle Emperor, rather to Zhu Yuanzhang, or to the imperial power itself, because Yongle was not the legal heir of Zhu Yuanzhang, but a usurper. There are subtly different attitudes about the whole event in bamboo-branch songs about Tie's resistance,

First, I studied poems by Wang Xiangchun, an official of the Ming. His poems contain a contradictory and compromised view of the war. He had two poems, one is about Tie Xuan,

[497] Ibid.

[498] Hok-Lam Chan, "The Chien-wen, Yung-lo, Hung-hsi, and Hsiian-te reigns, 1399-1435", in *The Cambridge History of China*: *Volume 7, The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I*, 196–202.

[499] Ibid., 196.

[500] L. Carrington Goodrich and Fang Zhaoying 房兆楹, ed., *Mingdai mingren zhuan* 明代名人傳 [Dictionary of Ming biography, 1368–1644] (Beijing: Beijing shidai Huawen shuju, 2015), 5: 1758–1760.

and the other is about Ping'an 平安, a general who defended Ji'nan with Tie. The poems are rendered below:

Tie Xuan

The north wind blows the snow, shaking the high pass,

Troops stationed on the river did not return.

Defending the solitary castle through hundreds of fights,

In the eyes of the army of Yan, it is like an iron Mountain.

鐵鉉

朔風吹雪撼天関

江上屯兵久未還

苦守孤城經百戰

燕師望作鐵圍山[501]

Comment:

The army of Yan was invincible when they attacked prefectures on their way the south. Marshal Li Jinglong was so timid that he could not resist. Only Xuan was capable of defending the entirety of Qi with marvelous strategies. Unfortunately, his situation was helpless, because of the treacherous officials in the imperial court, together with the will of Heaven.

燕師南下諸郡，望風披靡，而元帥李景隆等怯懦不前，獨鉉能守全齊，出奇無窮。惜內有饞臣，且天命攸歸，是以終無救焉。[502]

Ping'an

The portrait hanging in the castle made troops from the north hesitate,

Being round-eyed with rage, he chased the falling flag.

[501] Xu, *Ji'nan zhuzhici*, 67.

[502] Ibid., 67–68.

Dragons with five colors gathered to be the cloud of the son of heaven,

Ordinary horses were confused momentarily.

平安

城頭畫布北人疑

裂眦追奔望覆旗

五色龍成天子氣

可知凡馬一時迷[503]

Comment:

An and Xuan defended Ji'nan, but the Yongle Emperor could not break through with his tactics. Once a battlement was breached, a cloth painting with the portrait of the Taizu Emperor was hung there, thus the army from the North dared not bombard it. Ping An chased the Yongle Emperor, and when he approached, his horse was suddenly weak and could not go further, An then killed his horse. […]

安與鉉守濟，成祖百計攻之不得。城有破，則以布畫太祖像懸之，北師不敢用炮。安追成祖，稍几及身，安馬一時眩瞀不能進，安遂自斬其馬「…」[504]

The two poems highlight details of the war. With no rescue, Tie Xuan insisted on defending Ji'nan. To repulse the enemy, he and General Ping An came up with a good plan. They hung the portrait of Zhu Yuanzhang, the father of the Yongle Emperor, on the tower. Fearing the reputation of being unfilial, Yongle had to stop attacking. Ping An would have almost captured the Yongle Emperor, if his horse had not suddenly troubled him.

When analyzing the reason for their final failure, and the success of the Yongle Emperor, the author attributed them to the will of heaven or destiny. Although he praised the braveness and resourcefulness of Tie Xuan and Ping An, he refused to judge the war. Only in the comment on the first poem, he criticized that apart from Tie Xuan, others, for example, Marshal Li Jinglong, did not fully resist. Treacherous ministers were also responsible for the defeat. But

[503] Ibid., 68.

[504] Ibid.

a more essential reason was clearly the will of heaven. Since the Yongle Emperor was the chosen one, Tie Xuan could not win. The trouble with Ping An's horse was interpreted as being confused by clouds over the sun. In ancient China, it was said that there were auspicious clouds around an Emperor, which was called the air of the son of heaven. The five-colored cloud is one of them.[505]

As an official of the Ming Dynasty, it was inconvenient for the author to judge if the Yongle Emperor was right or not. For the failure of Tie Xuan, and Emperor Zhu Yunwen, for whom Tie Xuan fought, Wang blamed a timid marshal and treacherous ministers. In contrast, the success of the Yongle Emperor was interpreted as the will of heaven. Also, Wang stressed only the braveness of Tie Xuan, not his loyalty.

Bamboo-branch songs in later ages had more diversified interpretations of this event. In some poems, Tie Xuan's loyalty was highly praised. For example, a poem composed during the late Qing by Shi Defen 石德芬 (1852–1920):

> The most desolate place is the small Canglang,
>
> The beauty of the lake and mountains gathers in the shrine.
>
> Experiencing nine times death, the loyal spirit never disappears,
>
> The heart is as firm as iron, with fragrance.
>
> 最清冷處小滄浪
>
> 山色湖光聚此堂
>
> 九死忠魂磨不滅
>
> 心肝一片鐵生香[506]

The poem speaks highly of the loyal sprit of Tie. It put that surrounding environment of the Tie gong shrine is desolate, but the spirit of Tie Xuan remains, the shrine is just the material carrier of his loyal spirit.

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[505] Gu Jianqing 古健青, *Zhongguo fangshu cidian* 中國方術辭典 [Dictionary of Taoist divinatory arts of China] (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1991), 228.

[506] *Quanbian*, 5: 379.

Kong Shangren (1648–1718), a Qing Dynasty dramatist and poet, expressed his pity for the fate of Tie Xuan in the following poem:

The Yongle Emperor marched to the east and broke through to the citywall of Ji'nan,

The war drum was heard in the sky and soldiers were everywhere.

The hanging iron slab failed to work, which caused eternal regret,

In the shrine for Duke Tie, I weep for him.

文皇東破濟南城

鼓角連天草木兵

懸板無靈千古恨

鐵公祠下一吞聲[507]

To understand this poem, the story quoted in the third line should be explained. To break through to Ji'nan, the Yongle Emperor decided to dig off the embankment by the yellow river and submerge the whole city. Tie Xuan then planned to kill him. He let people install a heavy sluice gate over the city gate first, then told the Yongle Emperor he would surrender. When the Emperor went through the gate to enter the city, Tie let the sluice gate down, meaning to kill him. Unfortunately, the gate hit Yongle's horse only, and he escaped.[508]

Kong Shangren seemed to sympathize with Tie Xuan. He did not stand by the Yongle Emperor, he even thought it was a pity that Yongle was not killed. Living during the Qing Dynasty, it was freer for Kong to make his own comments on the Jingnan campaign.

Sun Qingyu 孫卿裕, a scholar who also lived during the Qing Dynasty, saw this event from a broader historical perspective.

The loyalty-honoring shrine is near a corner of the city,

In front of it is the green mountain, and at the back is the lake.

[507] Ibid., 5: 359.

[508] Wang Zhimin 王志民, *Shandong zhongyao lishi renwu* 山東重要歷史人物 [Important personages in the history of Shandong] (Ji'nan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 2009), 3: 208–209.

Where are the troops of Yan which marched south,

The lake and mountain still belong to Minister Tie.

旌忠祠宇近城隅

前對青山後枕湖

南下燕兵何處是

湖山仍屬鐵尚書[509]

The powerful troops of Yan were but for a moment. In comparison, with the shrine dedicated to him, Tie Xuan was able to leave a legacy. From a longer historical perspective, Tie Xuan was the final winner. He is honored with a shrine and is remembered not only by elites but also by common people. However, the Yongle Emperor is also remembered, which seems a contradiction. Another connotation of the poem might be that the Ming was defeated by the Qing and disappeared into history. Dynasties always change, but morality would be eternal.

To conclude, Tie Xuan, as a personage of Ji'nan, was inevitably described in bamboo-branch songs. These poems recorded history and also gave subjective views about the person and the historical events themselves. There is no dispute about the loyalty of Tie Xuan, but about the event, there are different points of view. Wang Xiangchun, who lived during the Ming Dynasty, refused to judge the Jingnan campaign, but attributed the result to destiny. Scholars living during the Qing Dynasty were freer to express their own opinions. They admired the loyalty of Tie Xuan, and also criticized or even satirized the Yongle Emperor. These poems reflect changes in the evaluation of historical events.

5.1.2 The Shrine of Duke Zhou

During the late Ming, there was another city that was besieged. This time, the enemy was not internal, but external: the Qing army. In the middle of Shandong province, there was a county named Wei 潍, which belongs to the present Weifang 潍坊. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the county of Wei was small and poor. However, in the year of 1642, the fifth year of the reign of the Chongzhen Emperor 崇禎, a troop of more than ten thousand Qing soldiers

[509] *Quanbian*, 5: 380.

arrived and besieged it. The county magistrate was Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612–1672), a man who had taken office only a year ago.

Zhou Lianggong was a famous minister, poet, calligrapher, and essayist. The four years tenure of office in the county of Wei was the beginning of his official career, a short but glorious period, compared to his rough life later. When the Qing army arrived at Wei, he organized a desperate resistance. At the most dangerous moment, he even let people write "the body of the magistrate, Zhou Lianggong" on his clothes, to indicate his determination of fighting to the death. It greatly encouraged the soldiers and civilians of Wei. It was a campaign in which all people of Wei participated. His concubine, Wang, delivered food to soldiers and beat the drum to enhance their morale.[510] Three months later, the Qing army retreated. In 1643, he was promoted to imperial counselor of Zhejiang province. When he left Wei, people burned incense to send him off. They also built a living shrine (*shengci* 生祠) for him as great respect.[511] Living shrines were shrines built for people while they were still alive.[512] It was always seen as the highest honor. The shrine is the Zhougong shrine.

Guo Lin 郭麟 (1823–1893), a native scholar of Wei County, composed a group of 108 *zhuzhici* about Wei County with detailed comments after every poem. It emphasised events and personages in the history of the county. Zhou Lianggong is mentioned in four poems, which is a relatively big space.

With a long comment, the first poem describes how Zhou Lianggong and his concubine resisted the Qing army:

> Organizing the whole city, he devised great strategies,
>
> Not only Marquis Zhou deserved to be remembered.
>
> Under the red flag on the Qingyang tower,

[510] Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi weifangshi weichengqu weiyuanhui 中國人民政治協商會議濰坊市濰城區委員會, *Weicheng wenshi ziliao* 濰城文史資料 [Material of the literature and history of the city of Weifang] (no publisher, internal material, 2000), 16: 211–213.

[511] Ibid., 217.

[512] Sarah Schneewind, *Shrines to Living Men in the Ming Political Cosmos* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018), 2.

The woman beat the drum, and her fingers bled.

通盡全城立壯猷

難忘不獨一周侯

青陽樓上紅旗下

娘子援袍指血流[513]

There are two layers in this poem. One is Zhou Lianggong leading all the people in the county to resist the enemy. Up close, a woman stands on the tower and beats the battle drum. She beats it so hard that her fingers bleed. The detail of the woman beating the drum reveals how fierce the campaign was.

The woman who was called née Wang was a concubine of Zhou. In the comment, the author supplied more information.

> Zhou Lianggong, […] assumed his post as the magistrate of Wei County in the fourteenth year, and eliminated traitors and maladies […] when the county was besieged, Zhou lead soldiers and civilians to defend it to the death. In the spring of the sixteenth year, they finally succeeded to save the city. […] Zhou was promoted to imperial counselor in the winter of the same year. The people of Wei were not able to make him stay. Therefore, they built a lifetime shrine to worship him […], Wang, one of the concubines of Zhou, a native of Wanqiu, called herself the disciple of buddha Jinsu. She had come to the battlements risking her life. Back then she was nineteen years old. Five years later she died in Guangling and was buried in Baimen. […] Zhou composed poems with a general title of "On the City Gate", which was responded to by her with poems, and she told Zhou not to spread them. […]
>
> 周亮工「…」十四年知濰縣，剔奸除弊「…」濰城被圍，公協同士民誓死堅守。至十六年春，終保全城「…」公即於是年冬行取御史，濰人欲留不可，遂為建生祠祀之「…」公之側室有宛邱王氏，自號金粟如來弟子。嘗誓死登陴，時年十

[513] *Quanbian*, 5: 426.

九。後五年死廣陵， 髒白門「…」公在濰所作城上事， 謂氏皆有和而戒不外傳「…」[514]

From the comment, we see that Zhou was a qualified official. Governing the county, he was upright and incorruptible. And when there was a crisis, he was courageous and resourceful. He gained the highest honor from the people, a lifetime shrine. His concubine was also legendary. She showed bravery beyond her age and gave herself an alias like a knight-errant (*xiake* 俠客). Her ability to compose poems further enhances the romance. She was described as a legendary female knight-errant. In an anthology of tales about knights-errant, she was described as a swordswoman who knew martial arts and could foresee her own destiny.[515]

The key reason for the victory of Wei County was the cooperation of the magistrate and the civilians. Most militiamen and common people fought and died. as described by Guo Lin.

On the coast, there were years of dense smoke of battle,

People of humble birth scrambled to fight to the death.

Regrettably, the writing by Duke Zhou was lost,

Only four names were handed down.

海濱連歲郁煙塵

草野紛紛競殺身

可惜周公書已逸

僅傳名姓四編民[516]

To understand this poem, the appended comment is necessary:

Wei County was besieged in the *renwu* year during the reign of the Chongzhen Emperor. The militiaman Ding Fuyun fought to death […]. After the war, the magistrate Zhou Lianggong checked the death toll, more than two hundred people had died. Among them,

[514] Ibid.

[515] Hebei renmin chubanshe 河北人民出版社, *Jianxia tu zhuan quanji* 劍俠圖傳全集 [Complete edition of the illustrated biographies of swordsmen] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1987), 147.

[516] *Quanbian*, 5: 437.

more than ninety had recorded names. Zhou edited them into a collection known as *The Record of the Righteous Air between Earth and Heaven*. […] Regrettably, the book was not handed down, now only four copies are known.

崇禎壬午濰城被圍，民兵丁復運以力戰死「…」縣尊周亮工，於圍解後，察點陣亡士卒共二百餘人， 知姓氏者九十餘人， 輯有《天地正氣錄》「…」 惜其書不傳，今僅傳此四人而已。[517]

The siege of Wei County was not a coincidence. Just as the first line says, for years the Qing army had invaded eastern Shandong. Most common people fought and died in the war protecting their homeland. Zhou Lianggong did not forget them; he recorded the campaign's progress in a book entitled "Brief Record of Saving Wei*"* (*Quan Wei jilüe* 全濰記略). *Tiandi zhengqi lu* mentioned in the comment above was also attached to the book. Guo Lin thought it was lost, but it was not. He had not seen the whole book at the time. *Tiandi zhengqi lu* records not only the names of martyrs, but also the reasons for their deaths.[518]

The people of Wei especially esteemed him. The shrine of Zhou not only shows respect for him but also commemorates the hardest times.

There were many shrines for virtuous officials,

Only the one for Duke Zhou stays.

Where the winter school[519] is held, and where stupid Confucian scholars[520] are the teachers,

They do not need to rent a room and could sleep freely.

德祠幾處祠賢侯

[517] Ibid.

[518] See *Weixian wenxian congkan* 濰縣文獻叢刊 [A series collcetion of documents of Wei county] (Weixian: Weixian heji yinshuaju, 1932), 1: 1–20.

[519] "Winter schools": Community schools run by local people rather than officials and held only during the slack season. It was common for shrines to be turned into community schools, at least during the Ming dynasty. In: Sarah Schneewind, *Community Schools and the State in Ming China* (Stanford, California: Stanford university press, 2006), 16, 130–132.

[520] Stereotypical ref. to the teacher.

唯有周公祠尚留

贏得愚儒教冬學

不煩賃庑任藏頭[521]

According to the poem, the Shrine for Duke Zhou was used as a classroom, at least in Guo Lin's time. As a talented scholar, Zhou also paid attention to education. He established schools and promoted young scholars. Therefore, the shrine being used as the classroom seems to illustrate that after his death, he still benefited Wei County.

Guo Lin also told an interesting anecdote about Zhou in his poem, which shows another side of Zhou.

The old tile was buried by the Zhang river for a long time,

Lord Zhang secretly made an imitation.

While the servant was garrulous,

No wonder Tao'an[522] sneered.

古瓦久湮漳水濱

張公仿古秘反新

誰知偏遇多言僕

難免陶庵冷笑人[523]

The background is that when Zhou was the magistrate of Wei County, his assistant, Zhang Yixiao 張移孝, wanted to send him an inkstone as a gift. The inkstone was said to be a rare antique, named Tongque tai 銅雀台. The old tile in the first line of the poem refers to the old inkstone. When the servant brought the inkstone to Zhou, Zhou refused resolutely. The servant

[521] *Quanbian*, 5: 427.

[522] Tao'an: One of Zhou Lianggong's art names (*hao* 號).

[523] *Quanbian*, 5: 427.

was so impatient that he told Zhou, that his master supervised the production of the inkstone personally. Why did he refuse? Zhou then could not help laughing.[524]

Zhou himself originally told the story. In the original text, Zhou wanted to illustrate that the real inkstone of Tongquetai was long lost, and there were many counterfeits in the market.[525] Zhou was an expert of the inscription on ancient bronze and stone tablets, and he felt it was interesting that he also encountered a counterfeit. The poem is satiric. It shows not only the incorruptibility and wisdom of Zhou but the foolishness of the servant, as well as his master, who tried to cheat an expert in the field.

In the poems of Guo Lin, Zhou was a diligent, wise, and brave magistrate. He risked his life to defend Wei County, and he was honored by the people. However, the campaign in Wei was the last time he fought for the Ming government. Three years later, Zhou surrendered to the Qing.[526] He was criticized for being an "allegiance-changing minister" (*erchen* 貳臣). Moreover, in his later years, he was also in deep self-denial. His career during the Qing Dynasty was rough. It was contradictory and painful to be an *erchen*. Many years later, he assumed office in Shandong again, as a minister of the Qing. He asked the people of Wei to tear his shrine down.[527]

In conclusion, bamboo-branch songs by Guo Lin recorded the short period of Zhou Lianggong as a magistrate of the Ming. In the poems of a native of Wei, Zhou was a qualified official, who was diligent in governing the county. When there was an invasion, he organized the people in the county to defend it. Although the author was born during the Qing Dynasty, he discussed the choices of Zhou but focused on the experiences related to Wei County. There are multiple interpretations of the life of Zhou. He was described in *Erchen zhuan* 贰臣传 (Biographies of Allegiance-changing Ministers), which was edited by the government. He was also a scholar skilled in painting, calligraphy, and seal cutting. In Guo Lin's poem, we only see him as a magistrate.

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[524] Ibid.

[525] Zhou Lianggong 周亮工, *Shuying* 書影 [The shadow of books] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 199.

[526] Liu Li 劉麗, *Qingchu jingshi erchen shiren yanjiu* 清初京师贰臣诗人研究 [Study on the allegiance-changing poets of the capital city during the early Qing] (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2013), 220.

[527] Ibid., 232.

5.2 A Sectarian Uprising in Wei County

During the Qing Dynasty, rebellions were a big problem for the government, especially in the late Qing. Just as Daniel Little wrote: "Popular politics took center stage in late-Qing China in the form of a series of major peasant rebellions."[528] That was especially applicable to Shandong. Famous rebellions during the Qing, the White Lotus rebellions, the Nian rebellion, and the Boxer rebellion either started in Shandong (the Boxer rebellion) or took Shandong as one of their major battlefields. Apart from the above rebellions, there were smaller riots, which usually were quickly suppressed.

In the first month of the lunar calendar, 1837, Wei County had a short-lived sectarian uprising. The leader was called Ma Gang 馬剛; in some records, the character 剛 was written as 綱. Almost ten years before the uprising, a sect called Kangua jiao 坎卦教 (The Kan Trigram Teaching), a branch of the Bagua Jiao 八卦教 (The Eight Trigrams Teaching),[529] appeared in the County Wei, and Ma Gang was one of the leaders. To escape being noticed by the government, Ma Gang changed the sect's name from Kangua jiao to Tianzhu jiao 天柱教 (The Heaven Pillar Teaching). Ma and his wife Liu Jinni 劉金妮 attracted hundreds of followers. Ma and other leaders decided to start an uprising. On the eighth day, the rebels stormed the administrative office and were soon suppressed in only a few days. Ma and many other rebels were executed.

Although it caught the Emperor's attention, it was only a local event at a time when rebellious uprisings generally occurred more frequently throughout the empire.

There are a few records about this event, which are introduced in the following texts. Among the materials, a group of bamboo-branch songs by an anonymous author is one of the major sources that hold very detailed records. This group of poems is entitled "Event-recording Poems of Weiyang" (*Weiyang jishi shi* 濰陽紀事詩). Although it contains only 30 poems, it includes additional explanations for almost every line. Such comments are unusual among bamboo-branch songs. Normally, comments come after an entire poem rather than after only

[528] Daniel Little, "Local Politics and Class Conflict Theories of Peasant Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century China", Bellagio Conference on Peasant Culture and Consciousness (January 1990), Bellagio, Italy, 1.

[529] See Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 90.

a verse or a word. This way of adding comments flexibly in this group of poems allows the author to record as much information as desired.

This cycle of poems can be divided into three parts: the first part is about the background, how the sectarian movement was founded, and how it spread; the second part is about the chronology of events of the riot itself; and the third part is about the riot's violent suppression by the government. In every part, there is detailed information. For instance, the first part provides information about the backgrounds of the male and female leaders of the sectarian movement, the religious rites they performed, and even how believers dressed. In the second part, there are details about how the victims died. In the third part, there are descriptions of the punishment of the rebel leaders.

5.2.1 The Event as Recorded in Other Sources

Before analyzing the poems, I collected records about this event in other materials. The first is *Draft History of the Qing*, which, as said before, gives a very brief description with only one sentence as below:

> In the year of Dingyou, the sectarian bandit Ma Gang and some others from Wei County, Shandong, started a riot and were arrested.
>
> 丁酉，山東濰縣教匪馬剛等作亂，捕獲之。[530]

Qing tongjian 清通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror of the Qing Dynasty) published during the Republic of China also briefly describes the progress.[531]

Qingshilu 清實錄 (Factual Record of the Qing Dynasty) is an official edited history of the Qing Emperors' routine work. According to this book, Daoguang Emperor 道光 (r. 1821–1850) sent seven orders, six in the year 1837, and one in the following year. He required the then-governor of Shandong, Jing'ebu 經額布 (1775–1853) to investigate this event

[530] Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 et al., *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 [Draft history of the Qing] (Beijing: Zhongghua shuju, 1976), 4: 669.

[531] See Dai Yi 戴逸, *Qing tongjian* 清通鉴 [Comprehensive Mirror of the Qing Dynasty] (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2000), 13: 5789–5790.

thoroughly and punished many officials for their malpractice.[532] To the Emperor, the most important thing seemed to be how many people participated in this rebellion and whether they colluded with other bigger groups, and whether they produced weapons privately. He sent an order to Jing'ebu specifically to let him investigate the background of the sect.[533]

Wang Peixun 王培荀 (1783–1859) recalled this event in his random jottings (*biji*) style record. He emphasized the preparation before the uprising and added some details. One detail he mentioned was that before the departure, the rebels drank medicinal alcohol. It was a mysterious kind of liquor that apparently could stir up people's murderousness. Even children who drank it would wanted to kill people.[534] *Biji* is a genre of miscellaneous records, including "personal reminiscences, historical information, and scholarly notes".[535] Such a genre of records always involves some strange narrative.

In the local gazetteer of Wei County published during the Republic of China, I've found three detailed records. One is a report by Jing'ebu to the Emperor, the other by anonymous authors. The three records contain different details which can be mutual verifications of each other; more important, they could be taken as references to investigate to what extent bamboo-branch songs reflect the truth.

Jing'ebu narrated the progress of the event, and he presented several confessions from leaders of the rebels. In the report, Jing'ebu described how conscientious he and his colleagues were during the investigation, to answer the Emperor's question of why officials hadn't detected the uprising before it happened. Jing'ebu even changed a critical plot. He reported that the leader Ma Gang had already been arrested by the local officials outside the city before the uprising started,[536] but according to the other two records, the bamboo-branch songs and

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[532] *Qingshilu* 清實錄 [Factual record of the Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 37: 540–542, 546, 551, 775, 711.

[533] Ibid., 37: 541–542.

[534] Wang Peixun 王培荀, *Xiangyuan yijiu lu* 鄉園憶舊錄 [A nostalgic record of the hometown] (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1993), 368.

[535] Rania Huntington, *Alien Kind: Foxes and Late Imperial Chinese Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 19.

[536] See Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng bianzuan weiyuanhui 中國地方志集成編纂委員會, *Shandong fuxian zhi ji· Qianlong Wei xian zhi; Minguo Wei xian zhi gao (yi)* 山東府縣志輯· 乾隆濰縣志; 民國濰縣志稿 (一)

Wang Peixun's record, Ma entered the city and was arrested there.[537] What's more, one of them records that the day before the uprising, a man named Li Can 李燦 went to the *yamen* 衙門 (government office) to inform against the rebels, but was not taken seriously by the guards; then he went to the landed gentry's families, where he also wasn't believed.[538] But Jing'ebu's report also supplies important information. For example, how the sect was founded, how they gained new believers, the attire of the rebels, the admission fee, and the progress of the uprising. Some of the information is verified in the bamboo-branch songs.

As for the other two anonymous records, the first one is more detailed, and the second one has extremely similar descriptions with the comments of the bamboo-branch songs with little new information. By comparing it with the comments of the poems, I would say that it is possible that the second record and the group of bamboo-branch songs were by the same person.

5.2.2 The Record in Bamboo-Branch Songs

5.2.2.1 Foundation of the Sectarian Movement

The first three poems introduce the origin of the sectarian movement and its leaders. According to the local gazetteer, a Taoist priest named Liu San preached in Shandong, and one of his disciples, Ma Jun 馬俊, after Liu San 劉三 was arrested in the seventh year of Emperor Daoguang's reign (1827), passed the teaching to Liu Jie 劉傑, the father-in-law of Ma Gang. Liu Jie then passed the teaching to Ma Gang.[539] The first poem introduces the background in detail.

> The root of heretical artemisia had long been planted, (Senior teachers' collecting money from the heretic was called 'roots planting')

[Prefectures' gazetteers of Shandong province: The local gazetteer of Wei County of the Qianlong reign; Draft local gazetteer of Wei County of the Republic China, one] (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2004), 234.

[537] Ibid., 236; Wang, *Xiangyuan yijiu lu*, 368.

[538] Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng bianzuan weiyuanhui, *Shandong fuxian zhi ji· Qianlong Wei xian zhi; Minguo Wei xian zhi gao (yi)*, 236.

[539] Ibid., 235.

The sprout of bane[540] never went extinct.

The old Wang and Taoist Liu, (They were both heads of the sect)

Spread the noxious thought in the Eastern Lai.

邪蒿自昔有根栽（邪教邦師斂錢名為栽根）

萌蘖終難絕禍胎

王氏老人劉道士（皆老教首）

又將餘毒播東萊[541]

According to the poem, before the religion spread to Wei, it had existed for a long time. Heretical artemisia in the poem is a metaphor for "heretical religion", which is a pun on "planting roots" (*zaigen* 栽根) which, just as the explanation, refers to the defrauding of the money of the believers by the leaders through admission fees and daily expenses. Jing'ebu's report also mentioned the fee, with the same word *zaigen*. According to his report, men were charged seventy-two *wen*[542] each and women forty-eight *wen* as the admission fee, and as a daily charge, they were charged less than one hundred and twenty *wens* for the daily expenses of the sect.[543]

Two earlier leaders, who spread the religion to Shandong, were a person whose surname was Wang and a Taoist priest named Liu. According to other records, he was most likely Liu San. Wang was probably a woman, the naming as née Wang (Wang shi 王氏), is in line with the habit of referring to women by their maiden name. According to the text, women did play an important role in both missionary work and the uprising.

The second poem introduces the ceremonies and the clothing of believers, as well as the local origins of the leaders.

The golden crown was similar to the crown of the ghost *nuo*;

[540] This sect was seen as a heresy, so the poem describes it as a curse or bane. This line means the evil heresy never disappears with a metaphor as "the sprout or germination of the curse or bane" never disappears.

[541] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 1.

[542] One of the currency units of China in imperial times.

[543] *Qianlong Weixian zhi; Minguo Weixian zhi gao (yi)*, 234.

Puppets came on stage and ghosts held weapons. (The rebels wore golden crowns and ornamented themselves with copper rings.)

Three hundred households of men and women were as if going insane,

The village Ma Liang Zhongzi was located by the Shangyu River. (The name of the village in which rebel leaders lived.)

黃金宛似鬼人儺

傀儡登場鬼執戈（逆犯戴黃冠以銅扎圈為飾）

男女若狂三百戶

馬良塚子上魚河（首逆等所居莊名）[544]

The first two lines describe a religious performance. Believers wore yellow crowns and copper rings and plaid puppetry. It was like a rite of *nuo*, an exorcism practice.[545] The performance, which was meant to attract more believers, succeeded; all people in the village behaved as if they were insane. The village was called Ma Liang Zhongzi, which literally means the tomb of Ma Liang. Ma Gang lived in the village. The information is also verified in Jing'ebu's report and the *biji*.

The next poem describes the appearance of Ma Gang.

Red eyebrows and hair, longer than other leaders,

Skinny like a monkey.

Insect-like eyes were pale and askance,

Only because he often schemed with women. (The left eye of the prime culprit, Ma Gang was slightly bigger, and to deceive people, he dyed his eyebrows and hair red, claiming that he had an unusual face.)

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[544] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 1.

[545] *Nuo* is a kind of primitive religion with a strong flavor of witchcraft with a long history of more than three thousand six hundred years. It is a sacrificial rite that includes performance—singing, dancing, and acting. In Southern China, especially in Guizhou province, *nuo* is divided into *Nuoyi* (Nuo rite), *Nuowu* (Nuo dance) and *Nuoxi* (Nuo drama or Nuo opera). Wizards perform wearing masks symbolizing various gods and ghosts so as to drive out devils and pestilences. See Deng Guanghua, "Nuo-Culture and Music: Traces of Chinese Primitive Music in *Nuoyi* and *Nuoxi*", in Tsao Penyeh, *Tradition and Change in the Performance of Chinese Music: Part I* (London: Routledge, 1998), 57.

赤眉朱髮長群酋

瘦骨如柴貌似猴

邋目無光偏睨視

只因常與婦人謀（首逆馬剛左眼稍大，朱染眉髮，自稱異相以惑眾）[546]

Ma Gang was the leader of both the religion and the rebellion. The poem portrays him in detail. He dyed his hair red to make himself look distinctive. In the eyes of the author, he was thin and ugly. He seemed to often squint at people; a reason given by the author is that he always made plans with women. The discriminatory words tell a story. Another leader, also Ma's wife, Liu Jinni, participated in the whole event.

The following poem introduced what Liu Jinni and her mother were responsible for in the sect.

In the hexagram and line, six are divided, and three are straight,

The educated woman fabricated them freely. (Zhou, the wife of the leader Liu Jie, fabricated songs based on the eight trigrams and adages from the ten-volume Buddhist sutra).

There were several lines of invented characters on yellow silk,

Even I myself was confused when reading them. (A piece of yellow silk was found. Jinni the daughter of Liu, drew figures of humans and animals and talismanic characters on it randomly.)

卦爻六斷與三連

女子知書信口編（首教劉傑妻周氏編造八卦歌詞及十封書等語）

黃娟數行新造字

教儂自讀亦茫然（起獲黃綾一副，劉逆女金妮描畫人獸書寫符篆皆以意為之）[547]

[546] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 1.

[547] Ibid.

Obviously, the task of Liu Jinni, and her mother, who could read, was writing missionary lyrics. Zhou mixed Taoist and Buddhist classics together and compiled songs and adages, which were easy to learn. Her daughter undertook the work to draw talismans. The poem satirizes that the pictures and characters on the talismans were drawn so crudely that even Liu Jinni herself could not read them.

According to Jing'ebu's report, the official seized four yellow hats, five yellow pieces of clothing, one yellow belt, and one red hat. Besides, they also seized ten head-rings, a wood stick for preaching, three *juan* scriptures, a Daoist incantation, and one piece of satin on which were painted birds and fish.[548] According to Ma Gang's confession, the painting was drawn by Liu Jinni.[549]

Liu Jinni claimed she was an incarnation of the weaving fairy.[550] Apart from drawing talismans, another important task was attracting believers, especially women. Two poems reveal how she deceived young women into following her. The women were often raped by their husband Ma Gang, and then they lived together.

> The young girl traveled in spring but never came back,
>
> She hoped to go to the fairyland.
>
> Under the expiring red candle, she waited with exquisite makeup,
>
> While the divine army of one million soldiers did not come. (When the daughter of the criminal Xu Xin, whose name was Wani, was 18 years old, she visited Jinni to learn how to become immortal and did not return home. She was incorporated into the sect and raped by Ma. When the rebellion failed, and the government officials arrested them, Jinni was asked why she killed the official. She said it was unexpected that the divine army did not arrive on schedule.)
>
> 少女遊春去不回
>
> 願同攜手上瑤臺

[548] *Qianlong Wei xian zhi; Minguo Wei xian zhi gao (yi)*, 233.

[549] Ibid., 234.

[550] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 1.

燒殘紅燭凝妝待

百萬神兵竟未來（逆犯徐忻姪女淦妮年十八歲，訪金妮學仙，不歸，被馬逆脅姦。事敗縛至階下，問金妮如何輕害縣官，, 伊云熟料符招神兵不果來也。）[551]

The poem talks about two different things. The first two lines depict a young girl, Liu Wani, visiting Jinni to learn magic arts from her. According to the comment, she was raped by Ma Gang and stayed with him. The last two lines shift the time to the failure of the uprising when Jinni was arrested. She was asked why she killed officials of the County Wei, and she answered that it was because the divine army she called with her magic arts did not come. One of the two anonymous records includes a more detailed description. Before participating in the uprising some rebels hesitated, to reassure them, Ma Gang told them that he had invited the divine army to assist.[552]

The poem makes the story complete. It satirizes Jinni and her claim that she could call an army from heaven. The magic arts only helped deceive believers, including young girls. She herself claimed in defense that the army had received her message but did not arrive.

Liu Wani was not the only woman who was attracted to the sect and became a sexual partner of Ma Gang. There was a house where Ma Gang had sex with women, which was called Fomen 佛門 (Gate of Buddha), as viewed in another poem.[553] During the rebellion, women also fought the government just as men did.

The first part of this group of bamboo-branch songs introduces the preparations before the rebellion. The main leader was Ma Gang. His wife Jinni and her mother were responsible for incantations and talismans to spread the teachings. They had recruited hundreds of followers before the rebellion.

5.2.2.2 The Course of the Uprising

After some preparation, which included recruiting believers and making weapons, on the 8th day of the first month of the lunar calendar in 1837, the rebellion began. Thirty to forty believers broke into the town of Wei, then reached their actual destination, the administrative

[551] Ibid.

[552] *Qianlong Weixian zhi; Minguo Weixian zhi gao (yi)*, 235.

[553] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 1.

office. They killed many people, including officials, soldiers, and commoners. They were quickly besieged; some were killed during the scuffle, while others were arrested.[554] The lyrics describe the progress of the uprising in quite a close-up view.

The poem below shows us that children also participated in the rebellion.

A group of boy scouts runs amuck,

Little clowns also gathered in crowds.

The troop was like a child's play.

Burning the nest in which there were both the embryo and ovum was too cruel to do. (Some of the accessorial criminals, such as Liu Guang *et al*. were only seventeen years old. There was a nineteen-year-old child, who entered the city following behind female criminals. They were exempted from the death penalty and exiled.)

一隊橫行孩子軍

幺麼小醜亦成群

弄兵果爾為兒戲

胎卵同巢未忍焚（從犯劉廣等僅十七歲，尚有九歲者隨女犯人入城，免其死，令隨行外遣）[555]

The poem is easy to understand. Young boys and even children were involved in the event. The embryo and ovum in the last line are a metaphor for underage persons. Because of their age, they were not executed. However, that does not mean they did not get cruel punishments; the next part describes the punishments of the rebels in detail. The government suppressed the rebellion quickly and mercilessly. All rebels were sentenced to cruel punishments based on the severity of their crimes; children were no exception.

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[554] Zheng Minde 鄭民德, "Zaihuang yu minbian: Lüelun Daoguang shiqi nian Shandong Weixian Ma Gang tianzhujiao panluan" 災荒與民變: 略倫道光十七年山東濰縣馬剛天主教叛亂 [Famine and rebellion, a brief discussion about the rebellion by the tianzhu religion in county Wei, Shandong]. *Ji'nan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 濟南大學學報 (社會科學版) 22, no. 5 (2012): 54.

[555] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 2.

Female rebels fought bravely and died horrifyingly:

> Men looked dark and woman rouge. (The bandits applied coal on their faces.)
>
> Red skirts unfolded in the wind and looked like flags.
>
> The two butterflies could never fly,
>
> In front of a horse, the two beautiful women were killed. (Young women, Tanxu and Xudu, who dressed up with heavy makeup, fought with the criminals Ma Kai et al. Wang Yingkui, a chiliarch, eliminated them with several soldiers).
>
> 丈夫黧黑女胭脂（賊以黑煤塗面）
>
> 風捲紅裙作大旗
>
> 蝴蝶一雙飛不起
>
> 馬前宛轉兩娥眉 （少婦譚徐氏，徐杜氏皆艷妝同逆犯馬開等執戈拒敵，千戎王英魁帥兵勇並殲斃之）[556]

There are contrastive descriptions in the poem, the black-faced men and dressed-up women, the unfolded red skirts, and their tragic deaths. There is a rare positive description of the group. In the last line, with an allusion to the poem "Changhen ge" 長恨歌 (Song of Everlasting Regret).[557] The poem compares the two young women to the beautiful imperial concubine Yang Yuhuan 楊玉環 (719–756), who was the most favored woman of the Xuanzong 玄宗 Emperor (685–762), and who was strangled to death under the order of the Emperor while fleeing from the capital after the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757).[558] Her story has been a favorite literary theme since the early Tang Dynasty. Her death is usually described as a poignant and beautiful moment. Special attention is given to the female rebels in the group of bamboo-branch songs. It not only records the role of women in the event but also uses positive words when writing about them, which never happens in the descriptions of male rebels.

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[556] Ibid.

[557] In the poem, there is a verse that goes as follows: "Fair Lady Yang be killed before the stee" (宛轉蛾眉馬前死). In Xu Yuanchong, trans., *Tangshi sanbaishou*, 198.

[558] See Bret Hinsch, *Women in Tang China* (Lanham, etc.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 52–54.

The losses of the government were also huge. Many commoners and a county official were killed, and more were injured.

The rebels attacked the government office and planned to kill the magistrate Lin Shijun 林士駿. However, they mistook Lin's son for him at the beginning and cut off his fingers.[559] Protecting her husband, the pregnant daughter-in-law of Lin was severely hurt.

> The virtuous lady who had several children swore to love her husband for life,
>
> When the silver knife was aimed at him, she shielded him, receiving the cut to one of her arms.
>
> Her breath and her voice were weak,
>
> She did not take pity on her children but only asked about the city. (When rebels entered the room, Liang, the daughter-in-law of Lin Qiuya, shielded her husband with her own body and was injured severely. Her bracelet broke, and she almost had a miscarriage.)
>
> 賢媛多子矢齊眉
>
> 白刃飛來一臂支
>
> 弱息重甦聲細細
>
> 不憐兒女問城池 （林秋厓子媳梁氏見賊入室，起以身蔽其夫，並受重傷。手釧斷折，懷孕幾墮）[560]

Liang was described as a model of a virtuous woman. As a pregnant woman, she shielded her husband without thinking. When she almost died, what she was concerned about was not her children, but the city. The quality of "setting public service and duty as a greater good than private, familial interest" was always a quality of an exemplary woman in traditional China.[561]

Another female victim was an old servant of Lin, she was killed protecting Lin's grandson.

> The back of the old woman was hunched.

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[559] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 2.

[560] Ibid.

[561] See Norman H. Rothschild, "Beyond Filial Piety: Biographies of Exemplary Women and Wu Zhao's New Paradigm of Political Authority", *Tang Studies* 23–24 (2005): 151–152.

She, a woman like any other of the boudoir, was also combative.

She risked her life to protect the offspring of her master.

Even as half of her body was hacked to pieces, she did not look back (the only grandson of Qiu Ya was only one year old. The servant, Wangfang, protected him with her own body. Rebels hacked into her back and then left, coming back again when hearing the cries of the baby. The woman covered his mouth with her hand regardless of the pain she was going through. When the rebels retreated, the grandson lived, but the woman died. Qiuya buried her with an elaborate funeral to honor her deed.)

最憐老媪背疴瘿

阃内干城亦好仇

拼為主人留一脈

半身菹醢不回頭

（秋厓止一幼孫方周歲，僕婦王方氏以身護，匿賊疊砍其背而去。聞幼孫啼復回，婦負痛以手掩其口，賊退，孫生而婦死矣，秋厓厚殮哭之應旌獎。）[562]

Qiuya was the courtesy name of Lin Shijun. As was his son, his grandson was also a target of the rebels. The woman sheltered the baby under her body so that he survived. The poem praises her, not only because she saved a baby's life, but because he was a boy, who was seen as the future of Lin's family. The woman was a model of loyalty in the feudal age. Such cases are not included in Jing'ebu's report but appear in the anonymous records with similar descriptions.

In this event, the highest-level victim was an official who came to Weixian on official business and was killed by the bandits.

He came here on his mission, but entered the gates of hell,

From where to call back his spirit with bamboo slips?

Both the officials and the people confronted the rebellion,

[562] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 2.

He was worshiped and comforted under the earth, with the royal graciousness (the official Lü Wenshan arrived in Wei for official business and lived in the west garden. Both he and one of his servants, Yu Lu, were killed in the disaster. The surveillance officer and other colleagues held a memorial ceremony for him and transmitted the royal decree of citation.)

奉使無端入鬼門

簡書何處更招魂

官卑同此勤王事

齊拜恩輪慰九原 （委官呂文山因公至濰，居西苑同家丁于祿並死於難，觀察率諸寅寮設奠致祭欽奉恩旨賜體恤卹。）[563]

Besides Lü Wenshan, more people were hurt or killed in the rebellion, including relatives of officials, civilians, domestic servants, and runners in the yamen. But the death of Lü Wenshan enraged the government. The rebels' leader claimed that whoever killed an official would get the highest praise. After the short setback, the government fought back quickly. The magistrate Lin Shijun was the vanguard.

The most villainous ones would get unorthodox rewards. (The rebels claimed that those who killed officials got the highest rewards.)

The courageous scholar charged forward alone.

What a man, both a wise official and a famous general,

His hair stood on end with anger, and his roar shocked people.

(Rebels killed the appointed official who was mistaken as the magistrate, which shocked the civilians. Qiuya shot with a firelock. The rebels fled in the beginning and then went forward with weapons. They were arrested. Qiuya was tall and strong, his voice was like a great bell. Although it was a sudden crisis, he did not seem tired.)

大憨兇殘奪偽封 （賊稱戕官者得頭封）

[563] Ibid.

書生有膽獨爭鋒

壯哉能吏兼名將

吶喊驚人發上衝（賊殺委官誤認縣官，已死，居民震恐。. 秋厓親放火鎗，賊始驚竄。復挺身挾戈而前，罪人斯得。秋厓壯貌魁偉，聲如洪鐘。猝遭急難，肆應無倦色。）[564]

The death of Lü Wenshan must have stimulated the magistrate, who should have been killed. Lü Wenshan was only an unlucky substitute. Lin Shijun finally ended the rebellion, shooting his firelock. In the poem, he is described as both a scholar and a warrior. As a scholar and magistrate, he should have been weak and elegant. He looked strong and was brave enough to fight with the enemy, however. The contrast made him distinctive.

There is a timeline in the poems. First was the sudden attack of the rebels. Poems depicted the troops in detail, including children and women. Even their clothes were described. Then followed the victims on the government's side. Still, the experience of individuals was focused on. Lastly, the counterattack of the government. It was so quick that the rebels could hardly resist. The last poems describe the punishments of the criminals.

5.2.2.3 Suppression and Punishment

Some of the rebels were killed during the fighting, others were arrested. They faced cruel punishments.

The leader Ma Gang got an extreme penalty:

In the morning, there was a scene of jubilation on the street,

The leader of the rebels was captured and executed according to orders.

He was so thin that his meat was not enough to be separated,

His heart was dug out, and everyone got a cup of soup.

[564] Ibid.

(The rebel Ma was wounded and captured, and he refused to eat. He was executed on the 24th day of the first month according to the order. Lower-class soldiers dug out his heart, which was as big as a bowl, boiled it, and ate it together.)

诘朝街市起歡聲

俘斬渠魁聽令行

肉瘦不堪人盡食

剖心分酌一杯羹（馬逆被擒受傷，忍餓不食，稟撫軍於正月二十四日請令正法。弁兵摘其心大如盌，爭烹食之。）[565]

The poem tells a horrible story. After being arrested, Ma Gang tried to kill himself by refusing to eat. However, the officials thought dying from hunger was too light a punishment for such a criminal and not much of a deterrent effect on the public. According to the law of the Qing, people who rose in rebellion should be killed by *lingchi* 凌遲, a harsh death penalty in China during the premodern time. It is normally translated as "death by a thousand cuts" or "death by slicing". Perpetrators were cut slice by slice until they died.[566] Ma Gang was exactly executed in public by *lingchi*.[567] After the execution, his heart was eaten by soldiers. However, the horrible scene was recorded in the poem with a lively tone. In the morning when Ma was executed, the atmosphere on the streets was happy. It seemed a pity that he was too thin, so he could not be eaten by more people. Only his heart was eaten. There is a strange contrast between the cruel deed and the calm narrative.

About the death of Ma Gang, there is a similar description in Jing'ebu's report without the last part, that Ma's heart was eaten by soldiers. He said that after Ma Gang was arrested, the latter refused to eat. Fearing that Ma would starve to death before his execution, Jing'ebu sent the order to execute Ma on the busy street by *lingchi* in advance. Ma's head was cut and exposed to public view.[568] Ma's heart being eaten is mentioned in the group of bamboo-branch songs and in the second record in the local gazetteer. The two could be seen as the same source

[565] Ibid.

[566] Timothy Brook, Jérôme Bourgon, and Gregory Blue, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 2.

[567] Ding, *Weicheng wenshi ziliao*, 23: 209.

[568] *Qianlong Weixian zhi; Minguo Weixian zhi gao (yi)*, 235.

since the descriptions are exactly the same, "He was executed on the 24th day of the first month according to the order. Lower-class soldiers dug out his heart, which was as big as a bowl, boiled it, and ate it together" (稟撫軍於正月二十四日請令正法。弁兵摘其心大如盌，爭烹食之).[569]

Fearing arrest, some believers who participated in the rebellion committed suicide with their whole families.

The incantation of no birth worked.

The "true emptiness" nests were thoroughly searched.

Knowing that death was unavoidable,

The spirits of the whole family drifted in a flash.

(Criminals of the sect often recited incantations of the "original home in the world of true emptiness", "no birth venerable father and mother", and "Maitreya Buddha, my master". The village of the prime criminal was totally burnt. The rebel Li Zhou cut his own throat. His wife killed her two sons, and the whole family hung themselves. Other families of rebels who committed suicide included the Shi, a family of three persons, and the Han, a family of six persons.)

始信無生咒不差

真空巢窟盡搜拏

自知作孽終難活

頃刻遊魂散一家

（教犯習念真空家鄉，無生父母，彌勒我主等咒。首逆村捨焚毀一空，逆李周自刎，妻譚氏先將二子殺死，全家自縊。犯屬婦女自盡者時姓一家三人，韓姓一家六人。）[570]

[569] Ibid., 236.

[570] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 2.

It is pointed out in the poem that the rebellion finally implicated families of rebels. The incantations, commonly used to "protect the rebel troops",[571] became a prediction of their destiny. The "Original home in the world of true emptiness" corresponded to the burnt village, and the "no birth venerable father and mother" predicted them losing their lives.

The female leader, Liu Jinni, who was only nineteen years old, was also publicly executed.

> Crowds of people, old and young, all were obsessed,
>
> The execution must be done immediately without a longer detainment.
>
> Moving her lotus-like feet lightly, she was willing to be torn into pieces,
>
> Happily, people saw the Maitreya Buddha go to Western Paradise.
>
> (Seven principal rebels, Liu and Wang Deliang et al., were requested to be put to death on the 8th of the third month of the lunar calendar. According to law, it was possible to break the detainment period of felons who had incited the rebellion. Jinni was nineteen years old then, and she went to her death unflinchingly. Some witnesses who saw the scene were scared and sick; some even went mad and killed people. That was because they were affected by the heretical air.)
>
> 骈肩老幼盡癡迷
>
> 顯戮難容片刻稽
>
> 蓮步輕移甘寸磔
>
> 笑看彌勒上西天
>
> （劉逆同要犯王德亮七名於三月初八日請命正法，律載叛逆重犯不拘停刑日期。金妮年十九歲, 從容就縛，絕無懼色。觀者或驚壓成病，甚至瘋狂殺人，皆逆氣之所中。）[572]

Different from Ma Gang, the death of Jinni was depicted as a heroic and tragic scene. Faced with extreme punishment, she was not afraid at all. On the contrary, people who saw her death

[571] Louise Edwards, Nigel Penn, Jay Winter, *The Cambridge World History of Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 4: 43.

[572] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 3.

went mad. That was maybe because Jinni was the one who practically spread the sect. She pretended to be the incarnation of the weaving fairy and drew talismans. As we said before, women played an important role in this sect. The central deity of the sect is the "Venerable Mother Without Birth " (Wusheng Laomu 無生老母), "a powerful mother goddess".[573] Jinni was the spiritual core of the sect, it is unsurprising that her death seemed more mysterious and horrible to the audience.

Children did not escape from severe punishment. Although the author claimed that some of them got mercy from the government.

> Being exiled to the extreme, remote areas,
>
> Far away from the hometown, even birds from the Yue would build their nest on branches facing south. (According to the judgment, people who were attracted to the sect for a short time, as well as believers that were more than sixty years old and without disciples would be exiled having to follow the military to the frontier).
>
> Crowds of jackals, wolves, and tigers were exiled to the cold northern places,
>
> Cross woods on calfs' horns were prepared for castrated boars.
>
> (Two sons of Ma were put in jail for being related to the criminal. They would be castrated when they reached manhood.)
>
> 放流絕域各天涯
>
> 越鳥南枝萬裡遐 （初被引誘入教及年逾六十未傳徒者擬軍流。）
>
> 豺虎成群投有北
>
> 尚留童牯待猾牙 （緣坐犯內馬逆二子監禁，俟成丁閹割。）[574]

In this poem, young men are compared to animals. A potential connotation might be that evil young men were no longer seen as human beings but as beasts. Most young criminals and people older than sixty were exiled, except for the two sons of Ma Gang. Because of their father, they would be castrated when they grew up, to stop the blood of Ma Gang from being

[573] Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China*, 9.

[574] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 3.

carried on. According to the first anonymous record in the local gazetteer, besides the two young men, three others also got such a penalty.[575]

Being without descendants was always a harsh punishment in traditional China. According to law, for the crime of rebellion, all male family members of the criminal, even if they knew nothing about the deed of their criminal relatives, would be punished with castration. No matter if they had reached manhood or not. But if they were under ten years old, they had to be imprisoned.[576] The age of "reaching manhood" (*chengding*) varied in the imperial period. In the Qing Dynasty, it was at 16 years of age.[577]

The punishment for inciting rebellion was severe during the Qing Dynasty. According to one poem, apart from the above criminals, twenty men and women killed during the fighting were posthumously denounced with their corpses being damaged.[578]

The last poem of the group is a praise of the government for suppressing the rebellion successfully. It describes a peaceful and happy scene.

> Flowers and trees of the famous garden detained guests for a long time (being on business, he lived for one month in the garden of the Ding family)
>
> The coast of the sea of Bo was rich and flourishing.
>
> If only the righteous official made up for his error,
>
> Officials and civilians could enjoy a peaceful spring together
>
> […] Qiuya had a reputation of being a good official, who was appreciated by people, […] he fought with bandits disregarding his own safety […]. His only fault was not being able to prevent the rebellion in time […] and losing his position for malpractice. […] I feel pity for him but can do nothing. […] There were many religious rebellions in Shandong. The reason why some of them disappeared quietly, and others were

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[575] *Qianlong Weixian zhi; Minguo Weixian zhi gao (yi)*, 236.

[576] Yu Huaqing 余華青, *Zhongguo huanguan zhidu shi* 中國宦官製度史 [History of the eunuch systerm of China] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1993), 32.

[577] Li Pengnian 李鵬年, Liu Ziyang 劉子揚, and Chen Qiangyi 陳鏘儀, ed., *Qingdai liubu chengyu cidian* 清代六部成語詞典 [Dictionary of idioms of the six ministries of the Qing Dynasty] (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1990), 155.

[578] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 2.

suppressed silently before the uprising, was that the government and the people stood together. Let harmony dispel hostility, honesty antagonize evil, then probably the classics would follow an orthodox way, and people would be content with their lives and no longer harbor evil thoughts.)

名園花木久留人 （于役匝月僑寓丁氏花園）

富庶繁華渤海濱

安得循良功折罪

官民同樂太平春

（「…」秋厓素循聲，士民感戴「…」奮不顧身「…」惟不能及早防杜「…」 以失察失去官焉「…」愛惜之而莫能助也。「…」東省教匪滋事有數存焉， 然默化于未然，潛消於將然，惟在官民一家，以和氣弭乖戾，以至誠格奸頑，庶幾經正民興而無邪匿欤。）[579]

In the last poem, the author highlighted the cooperation between the government and the common people. The latter may mainly refer to rich families, such as squires who lived in the city. The first line says that someone lived for one month in the garden of the Ding family for official business. Although it is unclear who he was, according to the text, he must have been an official sent to suppress the bandits. The Ding family was a rich and powerful family in Wei County. There are descriptions of how rich gentlemen headed groups to resist the rebels in another poem.[580]

The author attributed the rebellions in Shandong to the disunity between the government and the people. And he, at least in the poems, held that if they showed solidarity, all would enjoy peace. That was not true. The rebellion led by Ma Gang was only one of many uprisings in Shandong. Behind them were severe social problems, natural disasters, heavy taxes, and famine.[581] Also, Wei County was not as rich as the poem depicts. There were frequent floods and droughts. Only two years before the rebellion, Wei County suffered a locust plague, which

[579] Ding, *Weixian wenxian congkan*, 1: 3.

[580] Ibid.

[581] Zheng, “Zaihuang yu minbian", 52.

produced many refugees.[582] The event was only a footnote of the time, on the eve of a bigger religious rebellion, the Taiping rebellion.

By comparison with other sources, we see that the majority of information in this group of poems is verifiable, including the names of the people involved. A question is why the author wrote these poems. Reading the texts, one sentence in the second anonymous record of the local gazetteer caught my eye, it says that the local old people's description of the event was different from the report of Jing'ebu.[583] Although this sentence does not appear in this group of bamboo-branch songs, the majority of the content of the two is exactly the same, which indicates that the same person possibly wrote them. Therefore, I would say that this was also one of the motivations for creating the lyrics. The author wanted to make a different record from Jing'ebu's. A critical difference between the two is when and where Ma Gang was arrested. Jing'ebu said that Ma was detained before the uprising started outside the city, while the poet pointed out that Ma was arrested in the city after the uprising. Moreover, the poet highlighted the contribution of the magistrate Lin Shijun. He described Lin's bravery during the fighting and attributed the victory mainly to Lin's leadership. In his poems, the poet always called Lin by his courtesy name, which at least shows his respect for Lin. Jing'ebu's report, which focuses on the trial, does not highlight Lin's work. On the contrary, Lin was marginalized. The reason may be that the case was transferred to higher-level officials under the Emperor's order. And Lin could not escape punishment as the magistrate, the primary responsible official of the county. The author of the bamboo-branch songs clearly held an opposite opinion about Lin's punishment. Just as the last poem goes, the author thought that Lin's only fault was not being able to prevent the rebellion in time, but he was still a good official.

This group of bamboo-branch songs is an example of the ability of such a genre of poetry to describe a complex event. The lyrics and comments cooperate well, with the former serving concrete scenes and the latter providing explanations and adding details. There is a relatively free space in the poems for the author to express his feelings. For example, although he was against the rebels, he still showed limited compassion for female rebels, as well as old and young believers.

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[582] Ibid., 53.

[583] *Qianlong Weixian zhi; Minguo Weixian zhi gao (yi)*, 236.

In conclusion, the group of event-recording poems of Weiyang by an anonymous author recorded a religious rebellion in Wei County, Shandong province, in the year 1837. Writing from the perspective of a witness, it is far more detailed than official records. Apart from the general event, it includes many details. For example, concrete missionary work, the clothes of believers, victims, and punishments.

Apart from this group of poems, I also searched other records about the same event. As mentioned above, there is only one sentence about Ma Gang's rebellion in the *Draft History of the Qing*. In the *Comprehensive Mirror of the Qing Dynasty*, the entry is longer, but it still is a rough and general narrative. There are not many details in the official histories. As a genre of *biji*, the *Nostalgic Record of the Hometown* records it in more detail. There are conversations between the rebels in the book, which is a good supplement to the official history. But it is still too brief compared to the *Event-recording Poems of Weiyang*, and the author did not judge the event himself. A report by the then governor of Shandong, Jing'ebu, and two anonymous records supply more information, which is valuable to investigate to what extent the poems reflect the truth.

It was more convenient and comfortable for the author to choose bamboo-branch songs to record the historical event. Such a genre of poetry includes two parts, the poem, and the comment. It was able to both narrate and judge the events. The author could add comments anywhere to supply more detail. There is no limit to the length of such a genre of poetry. Therefore, any fine detail could be described in the poems.

As a private form of writing, it was easier for the author to express his opinions in bamboo-branch songs. For example, although he was totally against the rebellion, he still showed his appreciation for the female rebels. The poems themselves often include both facts and judgments.

5.3 Famine and Migration: "Crashing into Guandong"

In the history of Shandong, natural disasters were always a big challenge. Common disasters in Shandong include floods, droughts, and insect attacks such as locust plagues.[584] Natural disasters, along with a poor economy, caused severe famines and were followed by refugees

[584] Wei Guangxing 魏光興 and Sun Zhaomin 孫昭民, *Shandong sheng ziran zaihai shi* 山東省自然災害史 [History of natural disasters in Shandong province] (Beijing: Dizhen chubanshe, 2000), 1.

and rebellions. To survive disasters, most people fled from their hometowns to other places. During the Qing Dynasty, northeastern China was one of the main destinations of refugees, which caused a special phenomenon in the history of Shandong. It is called "crashing into Guandong" (*chuang Guandong* 闖關東) or "going down to Guandong" (*xia Guandong*下關東).[585] Guandong was a general name for Manchuria, present north-eastern China, including the three provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning. Early in the Ming Dynasty, the "crashing into Guandong" had already begun. In the early Qing, the Shunzhi Emperor 順治 (r. 1644–1661), the second emperor of the Qing, opened limited immigration to northeastern China for reclamation.[586]

To control migration and mobility, to prevent anything unpredictable, the Qing government adopted a strict household registration system.[587] During the reign of the Qianlong Emperor, the Han people were restricted from moving to Guandong.[588] But in certain cases, they were permitted to change their residence, register there and become legal migrants,[589] for example in times of natural disasters. But the refugees still needed to be examined by the government.[590] There was no large-scale migration until 1907 when the limitations on migration were abolished.[591]

Literature about "crashing into Guandong" before the Republican period was mainly from the lower class, for example, folk songs and oral stories.[592] Most of them concentrated on the

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[585] Minguo Shandong tongzhi bianji weiyuanhui 民國山東通志編輯委員會, *Minguo Shandong tongzhi* 民國山東通志 [Comprehensive gazetteer of Shandong during the Republic of China] (Taibei: Shandong wenxian zazhishe, 2002), 4: 2505.

[586] Liu Dezeng 劉德增, *Chuang Guandong: 2500 wan Shandong yimin de lishi yu chuanshuo* 闖關東：2500 萬山東移民的歷史與傳說 [Crashing into Guandong: Legend and history of 25 million immigrants of Shandong] (Ji'nan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 2008), 155.

[587] Wai-po Huen, "Household Registration System in the Qing Dynasty: Precursor to the PRC's Hukou System", *China Report* 32, no. 4 (1996): 411.

[588] *Minguo Shandong tongzhi,* 4:2507.

[589] Huen, "Household Registration System in the Qing Dynasty", 412.

[590] *Minguo Shandong tongzhi,* 4: 2507.

[591] Liu, *Chuang Guandong*, 173.

[592] Wang Xinrui 王欣睿, "'Chuang Guandong wenxue' de lishi mailuo jiqi jiazhi" 「闖關東文學」的歷史脈絡及其價值 [The history and value of "literature of crashing into Guandong"], *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* 中國現代文學研究叢刊, no. 9 (2017): 51.

circumstances in Guandong. Bamboo-branch songs however put attention on the departure place, how people fled from Shandong to Guandong, how their families stayed in Shandong were, and how some of them finally returned to Shandong.

Here we take *zhuzhici* by two scholars as an example. One is Zheng Xie, and the other is Feng Gengyang. They used to be magistrates in Shandong. Zheng Xie, as previously introduced, had been the magistrate of Wei County during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor. Feng Gengyang 馮賡揚, assumed office in Huang County of Shandong in the 24th year of the reign of Jiaqing Emperor (1796–1820).[593] During their posts, they both wrote *zhuzhici* about local affairs. Migration was one of the motifs.

One poem reveals the way people went to Guandong.

> One night, the ship from Guandong arrived,
>
> There was no message from my husband for ten years.
>
> Grain from the north and silkworms from the south,
>
> Who was sorrowful was the one from village Xigao gazing out for her husband.
>
> 一夕關東船已到
>
> 郎君十載音訊虛
>
> 北家糧食南家繭
>
> 愁煞西羔望海夫[594]

The poem describes a wife waiting for her husband, who had left home ten years ago. Ships from Guandong arrive in Huang County, there are goods from many places, but not her husband. The husband likely also left by ship.

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[593] Qin Guojing 秦國經, *Zhongguo diyi lishi dangan guancang: Qingdai guanyuan lüli dangan quanbian* 中國第一歷史檔案館藏: 清代官員履歷檔案全編 [Collection of the first historical archives of China: A comprehensive collection of the officals' biographies during the Qing Dynasty] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997), 25: 405.

[594] *Quanbian*, 5: 416.

Huang County is located on the north coast of Shandong, it faces Liaodong Peninsula. There was frequent marine trade between the two places. The primary way of "crashing into Guandong" was by ship, which was easier than a land journey.[595] The terms "xia Guandong" and "chuang Guandong" correspond to the ways of going to Guandong, by water or by land.[596] Since it was a far and difficult journey, immigrants always went alone. There was even a rule that one who moved with his family to Guandong would be not allowed to pass.[597] Poems commonly described how families never united again.

Another poem by Feng narrates a sad story:

> The double twined headrope is red by the four ends,
>
> Their hearts have been connected at the age of carefreeness and innocence.
>
> Twenty years being a child bride, for her, the mother-in-law is like her birth mother,
>
> While, when she is asked where her husband is, she answers that he is still east of the pass.
>
> 雙纏頭綆四端紅
>
> 兩小無猜信已通
>
> 童養廿年姑作母
>
> 問郎猶說客關東[598]

The man left home twenty years ago; his foster wife lives with her mother-in-law. She has grown up, but he has not returned. Normally, there was a strict limitation on the duration of migration. After ten years, immigrants who did not register into the eight Banners must return to their native homes.[599] But this was hard to enforce. Most people stayed for a longer time or never came back. Their wives and families, just like the foster wife, were abandoned.

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[595] Liu, *Chuang Guandong*, 169.

[596] Zhao Yinglan 趙英蘭, *Minguo shenghuo shihua* 民國生活史話 [Life history of the Republic] (Shenyang: Dongbei daxue chubanshe, 2017), 129.

[597] Liu, *Chuang Guandong*, 164.

[598] *Quanbian*, 5: 416.

[599] Liu, *Chuang Guandong*, 164.

What happened with the ones who returned? Zheng Xie's poems portray such scenes.

Selling his son and daughter, he drifts in panic.

He hears not a single word from his hometown, a thousand *li* afar.

Thanks to the generous mercy of the lord Emperor, they were allowed to reunite,

They discussed the crops in a harvest year.

賣兒賣女路倉皇

千里音書失故鄉

帝主深恩許重聚

豐年稼熟好商量[600]

The poem compares two scenes, leaving and returning. The migration was difficult. To survive, parents had to sell their children. Far away from home, they could receive no messages from their hometowns. But when they came home, they hoped for a harvest, working together with their families.

How many families returned from Guandong,

Together with their wives and children, they found former residences.

Renovated the thatched cottages, rebuilt the walls,

Spring chives grew up in the rain.

關東逃戶幾人歸

攜得妻兒認舊扉

茅屋再新墻再葺

園中春韭雨中肥[601]

[600] *Quanbian*, 5: 425.

[601] Ibid.

Because of the strict rules, illegal migration was common. Just as the above poem goes, some people fled together with their families. After the disaster, they chose to return, rebuild the house, and farm again. As a magistrate, Zheng Xie hoped to see them returning home. During his post in Wei County, there were constant natural disasters. A poem by Pu Songling 蒲松龄 (1640–1715), a scholar and a writer of the Qing, reveals another side of the hard times. The title is "Refugees were sent back to the east because of the grace of the Emperor" (Liumin meng jun en, zai song dong gui 流民蒙君恩, 載送東歸):

People who wanted to flee had just left home,

The ones who had fled for years came back to the village.

Returned people were at least able to die in their hometown,

They all gained the grace of the Emperor.

家中逃者方出門

舊年逃者返鄉村

歸家尚得首邱死

盡荷君王負載恩[602]

As a native of the County of Zichuan 淄川, which was not far from Wei, Pu Songling saw refugees leaving and returning constantly, while disasters continued. Just as the title says, some of the refugees were forced to come back by the government. A good thing was that they could still die in their hometowns; this was a display of mercy by the Emperor. An implied meaning is that the ones who left might die in a foreign land. Pu's poem is more satiric than Zheng's.

It was true that immigrants who sent no messages home for decades had often died and never came back. The last news or maybe the only news that reached their families was of their deaths, just like another poem by Zheng goes.

Tears would never stop for the rest of their lives,

[602] Pu Songling 蒲松齡, *Pu Songling ji* 蒲松齡集 [Collection of Pu Songling] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 591.

On tomb-sweeping day, the wheat wind was still cold.

Old relatives died in Liaoyang,

Their bones could be brought back home.

淚眼今生永不幹

清明節候麥風寒

老親死在遼陽地

白骨何曾負得還[603]

"Crashing into Guandong" was never a happy story. When the refugees risked their lives far away, their families stayed at home and suffered. In traditional China, dying in a foreign land was seen as a tragic thing. Even when they could not come back when they lived, they still hoped to be buried in their hometown. In the poem, the one who could not stop weeping was not only distraught, because of the relative's death, but also because the body would never be brought back.

In conclusion, in the history of Shandong, natural disasters occurred frequently. "Disaster literature" (*zainan wenxue* 災難文學) was frequent.[604] Famines caused more than two hundred years of migrations from Shandong, the "crashing into Guandong". There are many literary works written about this event, but the majority reflected the situation during the Republic of China. Literature about the earlier period is rare and focuses mainly on the destination. *Zhuzhici* about Shandong, however, record the event from the perspective of people who remained.

Two magistrates of Shandong, Zheng Xie, and Feng Genyang recorded the migrations to Guandong in their jurisdictions. Feng Gengyang's poems focused on the women left behind. It was possible that their husbands would never return, and they lived alone for the rest of their lives. People who fled to Guandong were majorly men; women were left at home. They were also a direct victim of the migration. Zheng Xie's poem reflected the situation of

603 *Quanbian*, 5:425.

604 Roland Altenburger, "Flood Disaster in Eighteenth-Century Shandong: Interpretations of Fate in a Drum-Song Ballad", in *Fate and Prognostication in the Chinese Literary Imagination*, ed. Michael Lackner et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), 65.

returning refugees. Because of strict regulations on residence, some people were sent back by the government.

Conclusion

Bamboo-branch songs, which were initially a type of folk song, gained the interest of literati during the Tang Dynasty. The original folk songs are no longer seen. Bamboo-branch songs mainly refers to this genre of poems written by literati which are similar to heptasyllabic quatrains. These songs typically focus on local affairs and are characterized by both literary merit and the use of local materials. While both aspects are important, the latter is often given more attention in academic studies.

Chapter one of this dissertation answered the research questions regarding the terminology, prosody, form, and music of bamboo-branch songs. Based on my investigation, I found that bamboo-branch songs have both a broad and narrow definitions, which leads to the question of the terminology. In a broad sense, bamboo-branch songs include many different genres of vernacular poetry taking local culture as their subject. Many of them have their own origins. I adopted the term *fengtushi* (poetry of geographical conditions and local customs) that is widey accept by Chinese scholars to describe bamboo-branch songs in a broad sense. Meanwhile, I discussed a large variey of terms that appear in bamboo-branch songs collections to highlight the internal differences.

The prosody of bamboo-branch songs is inconclusive. There is no standard prosody for bamboo-branch songs. Although bamboo-branch songs were originally distinct from *qijue* (heptasyllabic quatrains), the boundary between the two became increasingly obscure during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Many authors did not bother to differentiate between the two forms during composition. While this dissertation does not provide a deeper linguistic analysis , it nevertheless presents a clear comparison between bamboo-branch songs and *qijue*, allowing the genre of bamboo-branch songs to be accurately defined.

Poets usually added comments after the lyrics to make sure that their poems were properly understood. In the late imperial period, comments could be long and structurally complex, and could even become independent of the poetry. In my research, I found different preferences among the writers and the readers, especially the readers of different periods. From this I concluded that scholars in premodern times commonly treated comments as mere supplements to the poems; moreover, their target readers, who were scholars themselves, usually shared the same understanding. However, for modern scholars, the poetry as such is less attractive, and the information recorded in the comments often seems to be more valuable. In this sense,

the comments contain more straightforward information since they usually provide explanations for the poetic lines.

Most of the bamboo-branch songs are to be considered poems for reading. However, they were still accompanied by music and sung during the Tang and Song Dynasties.The term *zhuzhici* has several translations in the English world. I prefer to use the word “song” instead of “poem” to establish a connection between bamboo-branch songs as pure poems and its musical tradition, as well as between them as elegant literature and their folk ballad origins. According to my research, although *shige* 詩歌 is a general term regarding poems in China, *shi* and *ge* do not fully overlap. In the very beginning, they were both songs with music. However, since writer and performer were separated hierarchically, texts which are called songs, either *ge* or *ci*, usually have a musical tradition while *shi* do not.

Another question is to what extent bamboo-branch songs reflect the factual truth. To answer this question, I studied the relationship of bamboo-branch songs and local gazetteers. Many bamboo-branch songs are included in local gazetteers, which indicates that they were treated as historical material. However, such a genre of poems describes subjective experiences. On the one hand, they usually supply unique information; but on the other hand, one should be more careful about using them as historical material. This dissertation has sought to discuss this question by comparing different source materials about one particular event.

I also care about the publication and transmission of this genre of poem. Through my examination, I find there are different condition of the publication of bamboo-branch songs. Small cycles of songs were usually collected into individual poetry collections. Some large cycles were published separately. Moreover, Bamboo-branch songs were usually transmitted among scholars.

This dissertation holds the point that bamboo-branch songs are vernacular poems. If we put bamboo-branch songs into the English context, the conclusion is not as unacceptable as in the Chinese context. The word “vernacular” has a richer connotation in English than in Chinese. “Vernacular” in English refers to a “native, domestic, indigenous, common or natural style. However, in Chinese, “vernacular” has a specified translation as *baihua*. Moreover, vernacular poetry in Chinese is more a “chronological designation”, which refers to poems written in modern Chinese other than classical Chinese, appeared in the early twentieth

century. Analyzing the language and the content, I conclude that bamboo-branch songs are vernacular poems in premodern China. But this view is open to criticism.

To avoid too general a study, I have narrowed my study to bamboo-branch songs of Shandong province. During my study, I found unique information about the local culture of Shandong in this genre of poems. A main objective is to research how bamboo-branch songs describe the local culture in Shandong. Based on this question, I raised additional research questions and sought to find answers from the poems. For instance, what kind of local life do they present and how? As travel literature, how do this kind of poems describe travelling culture in the capital city Ji'nan? Regarding Bamboo-branch songs about local history (*jishi shi*) of Shandong, comparing to other records, to what extent do they reflect reality as literature? Is there unique historical information or perspective in these poems?

To answer these questions, I chose three aspects on which to conduct exemplary studies: social life, traveling in cities, and historical events.

Social life is an essential part of bamboo-branch songs. This dissertation studies local social lives with a focus on women's lives. In the bamboo-branch songs of Shandong, women occupy a major part in poems about social lives. Women dominated the ceremonies of festivals. Their described behavior received particular attention. One familiar motif of bamboo-branch songs is love, in which women are the protagonists. Some love songs are even written in the voices of women. Moreover, love songs also include useful information about the local society, for example, local businesses and traveling activities. Fashion among women was also noticed by poets. Their dress was seen as a sign of social change, or the trade situation. I chose poems about women's lives as a focus also because such a motif is an extension of the themes of original bamboo-branch songs. In the beginning, when bamboo-branch songs still tried to imitate folk songs, love was the main theme, and women were the protagonists. Down to the Qing Dynasty, when bamboo-branch songs described social lives, they continued the original tradition of bamboo-branch songs to make women the protagonists. This feature of bamboo-branch songs is also present in describing social life.

Bamboo-branch songs are also good research material for the study of traveling culture. This genre of poetry was often written during travels. Bamboo-branch songs of Ji'nan present the unique water condition there. Ji'nan is famous for its rich water resources. In bamboo-branch songs, Ji'nan is always compared to southern China. In the inner city is Daming Lake, a traditional scenic spot. The traveling routes around Daming Lake consisted of several sights.

Compared to the natural landscape, traveling around Daming Lake emphasizes cultural sights. What is worth noticing is that the poems present different views about the landscape of Daming Lake between scholars as travelers and local farmers. This is hardly seen in other materials.

A group of bamboo-branch songs about the seventy-two springs of Ji'nan show the ambition of the poet to pass his literary reputation through the poems. To achieve such a great goal, the author Yan Bi conducted a detailed investigation of the springs. He clarified the names and locations of the springs and also corrected some records about the springs before. With plenty of allusions, the group of poems is also a cultural-historical introduction to the springs. Yan had a strong creative motivation to write a lyrical record of the springs and, furthermore, to make himself remembered through his poems. His goals were successfully fulfilled, with his 71 lyrics being included in local gazetteers.

Another familiar motif of bamboo-branch songs is history. Some nostalgic poems take local historic sites, historical events, and legends, as well as personalities as their subjects. These poems usually see history from individual perspectives. I selected this topic for the dissertation for the following reasons. Firstly, history is one important part of the local culture. Secondly, bamboo-branch songs do not ignore the past; on the contrary, history is a common topic. Some poems directly write about historical events or personalities, while others involve history when describing historical sites.

A large group of bamboo-branch songs has a variety of topics, which conveys the impression that this genre of poems only contains fragmented information. However, there is also a group of bamboo-branch songs that show a different picture. With 33 poems and flexibly added comments, it successfully narrates the whole progress of a local rebellion that happened in Wei County. I compared this group of poems with records in official historiography, local gazetteers and a notebook account by one scholar about the same event, to inquire to what extent the bamboo-branch songs reflect the factual truth and whether we can gather helpful information from them. I concluded that, except for artistic expressions, many details are indeed verifiable. Moreover, the poems supply unique information which is different from the official narrative.

The long-lasting migration termed as "crashing into Guandong", caused by famines, began during the Ming Dynasty. Literature about "crashing into Guandong" before the Republican period was mainly from the lower classes, for example, folk songs and oral stories. Most of

them concentrated on the circumstances in Guandong. However, Zheng Xie and Feng Gengyang's bamboo-branch songs put the focus on the departure place, Shandong. They witnessed how hard the migrants had it on their way, and how painful it was for their families who stayed at home; they also saw the return of migrants.

This dissertation is a thorough study on bamboo-branch songs from Shandong. However, there inevitably have remained some limitations. First, the collecting of texts, I have searched more than 1.700 poems, but it is still not the entire picture. My study is based on the texts I collected, which can only partially reflect the culture of Shandong. Second, in the course of my studies, I encountered a problem with the limitation of topics. I chose to focus on social life, traveling culture, and local history in my analysis of the poems. However, there were many other interesting topics in bamboo-branch songs that I was unable to include in my dissertation. I ultimately decided to focus on distinguishing scenes that were reflected in this particular genre of poetry. I hope that my work will serve as a starting point for further studies of this fascinating genre of poetry.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Survey of Bamboo-branch songs of Shandong

Here is a comprehensive survey of bamboo-branch songs from Shandong province. I collected these poems from different sources. They are the subject of this dissertation. I add detailed information of these poems for reference.

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Anling huaigu bajing shi 安陵懷古八景詩 [Poems of eight sites of An'ling for cherishing the past]	8	Shi Yangting 史颺庭 (fl. Qing)	*Daoguang Ji'nan fu* 道光濟南府志 vol.3:567–568	Historical sites, historical events	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Banshui zhuzhici 般水竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Banshui]	12	Wu Chenyan 吳陳琰 (fl. Qing)	*Zichuan Xianzhi: juan shiqi* 淄川縣志: 卷十七	Personages, historical sites	*Quanbian*, 5:417	
Banshui *zhuzhici* shi'er shou 般水竹枝詞十二首 [Twelve bamboo-branch songs of Banshui]	12	Anonymity	*Qianlong Zihuan Xianzhi; Xuantong san xu zichuan xianzhi* 乾隆淄川縣志; 宣統三續淄川縣志, 380–381	Landscape, historical sites, personages	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Beidao zhuzhici 北道竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs along the northward road]	19	Chen Bao 陳寶 (1834–1878)	*Chen Bosheng yiji* 陳伯生遺集	Landscape, local products, local lives, travelling	*Quanbian*, 5:361	
Beihe zayong 北河雜詠	16	Ye Weigan 葉維幹 (fl. Qing)	*Liangzhe youxuan xulu* 兩	Landscape, rural life, local	*Quanbian*, 5:360	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
[Miscellaneous poems of Beihe]			浙轺軒續錄	products, historical events, sites		
Bu zhuzhici 補竹枝詞 [A supplement of bamboo-branch songs]	2	Dong Jinzhang 董錦章 (fl. Qing)	*Xiyunxuan shicha: Xiajuan* 惜雲軒詩鈔: 下卷	Wheat straw weaving, salt manufacturing	*Quanbian*, 5:371	
Changbai zhuzhici 長白竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Changbai] [605]	4	Zhang Shiju 張實居 (1634? – 1713?)	*Daoguang Zhangqiu xian zhi* 道光章丘縣志	Landscape, customs	*Quanbian*, 5:359	
	20		*Xiaoting Shixuan* 蕭亭詩選	Landscape, customs, personage,	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian,* 123:25–27	
Chengwu tianjia zayong 城武田家雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of farmers of Chengwu]	6	Zhang Baozhong 張葆中 (fl. Qing)	*Xuantong liaocheng xian zhi; Daoguang chengwu xian zhi* 宣統聊城縣志, 道光城武縣志, 565	Rural lives, farming	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	

[605] This cycle has twenty poems in total. *Quanbian* only selects four. There are another 16 poems, in *Xiaoting Shixuan* 蕭亭詩選 [Poetry collection of Xiaoting], In *Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, vol. 123:25–27.

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Chengwu *zhuzhici* 成武竹枝詞 [bamboo-branch songs of Chengwu]	4	Zhang Baozhong	*Caozhou lidai shici xuanzhu* 曹州歷代詩詞選註	Landscape	*Quanbian*, 5:365	
Chundeng ci 春燈詞 [Songs of spring lanterns]	2	Tian Xu 田需 (fl. Qing)	*Qianlong dedzhou Xianzhi; qiaqing yucheng xianzhi* 乾隆德州縣志; 嘉慶禹城縣志, 334	customs	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Chunci bashou 春詞八首 [Eight poems of spring]	8	Xu Ye 徐夜 (1611–1683)	*Xu Shi: juan er* 徐詩: 卷二	Landscape	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 37:169	
Daminghu zhaoge 大明湖棹歌 [Boating songs of the Daming Lake]	4	Jiang Shiquan 蔣士銓 (1725–1785)	*Zhongyatang shiji* 忠雅堂詩集	Traveling, landscape, urban lives	*Quanbian*, 5:355	
Daminghu zhaoge	12	Shi Menglan 史夢蘭 (1813–1899)	*Erer shuwu shicao* 爾爾書屋詩草	Traveling, historical sites, urban lives, landscape	*Quanbian*, 5:356	94 128 146
Daminghu zhuzhici 大明湖竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch	5	Yu Changsui 于昌遂 (1804–1883)	*Chanti jingshen shigao* 羼提精舍詩稿	Landscape, travelling	*Quanbian*, 5:355	90 139 148

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
songs of the Daming Lake]						
Daminghu zhuzhici	3	Yan Dunyuan 言敦源 (1869–1932)	*Yuyuguan shicao* 喁于館詩草	Traveling, local people	*Quanbian*, 5:355	
Dengzhou zashi 登州雜詩 [Miscellaneous poems of Dengzhou]	12	Zhao Huaiyu 趙懷玉 (1747–1823)	*Yiyousheng zhai ji: shijuan ershi* 亦有生齋集：詩卷二十	Landscape, plants, historical sites, local products	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 419:307–308	
Dengzhou zashi shishou 登州雜詩十首 [Ten miscellaneous poems of Dengzhou]	10	Zhao Zhixin 趙執信 (1662–1744)	*Yishan shiji: guanhaiji xia* 飴山詩集: 觀海集下	Scenic spots	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 210:231–232	
Dengzhou zhuzhici 登州竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Dengzhou]	2	Mu Changgui 慕昌湝, (fl. Qing)	*Guyuxiangge shiji* 古余薤閣詩集	Urban life, fishing	*Quanbian*, 5:421	
Dezhou zhuzhici 德州竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Dezhou]	6	Tian Tongzhi 田同之 (fl. Qing)	*Siyan ji: juan liu* 思硯集: 卷六	Historical sites	*Quanbian*, 5:439	
Dongchangzage	4	Huangfu Xiao 皇甫	*Huangfu Shaoxuan ji:*	Landscape	A photocopy collected in library of	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
sishou 東昌雜歌四首 [Four miscellaneous poems of Dongchang]		涬 (1497–1556)	*juan:ershi* 皇甫少玄集: 卷二十		Zhejiang University. *Siku quanshu jibu liu biejilei wu* 四庫全書 集部六 別集類 五 [Complete Library in Four sections, the section of collections six, individual collections five] *https://ctext.org/ens*	
Dongchang zhuzhici 東昌竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Dongchang]	8	Yuan Hong 袁鴻 (fl. Qing)	*Tieruyuan shigao* 鐵如意庵詩稿	Silkworm breeding, saltpetre business, urban life	*Quanbian*, 5:360	
Dong'e zashi 東阿雜詩 [Miscellaneous poems of Dong'e]	4	Xu Rong 徐榮 (1792–1855)	*Huaiguti anshe shi jiechao: juan san* 懷古田舍詩節鈔: 卷三	Personages	A photocopy collected in the library of Harvard–Yenching Library, printed in 1864 in Chengdu https://books.google.de/	
Dongshan zayong 東山雜詠 [Miscellaneous of Dongshan]	3	He Haiyan 何海晏 (fl. Qing)	*Kangxi Tai'an zhou zhi; Qianlong Tai'an fu zhi yi* 康熙泰安州志; 乾隆泰	Landscape	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
			安府志 [一], 627–628			
Duanwu zhuzhici 端午竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of the dragon boat festival]	10	Du Shuang 杜漵 (1622–1685)	*Meihu yin: juan wu* 湄湖吟: 卷五 [Poems of Mei Lake: *juan* 5]	Customs	*Quanbian*, 5:422–423	
Gaomi zhuzhici 高密竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Gaomi]	2	Yan Xunguan 閻循觀 (fl. Qing)	*Xijian caotang shiji: juan san* 西澗草堂詩集: 卷三	Love	*Quanbian*, 5:418	
Gaotangzhou zhuzhici 高唐州竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Gaotang state]	2	Liu Cheng 劉城 (1598–1650)	*Guichi ermiao ji: Juan sishiqi* 貴州二妙集: 卷四十七	Suffering people	*Quanbian*, 5:418	
Gejin zhuzhici 鬲津竹枝詞	9	Cui Xu 崔旭 (fl. Qing)	*Guangxu Ningjin xianzhi, Xianfeng Hebei QIngyun xianzhi, Minguo Qingyun xianzhi* 光緒寧津縣志, 咸豐河	Customs, rural life	*Quanbian*, 5:414–415	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
			北慶雲縣志, 民國慶雲縣志			
Guang *Qiyin* 廣齊音 [An extension of *Qiyin*]	100	Dong Yun 董芸 (fl. Qing)	*Guang Qiyin* 廣齊音	Landscape, legends, businesses, historical sites, local personages,	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 433:800–822	144
Guji zayong 古跡雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of historical sites]	14	Wang Texuan 王特選 (fl. Qing)	*Daoguang tengxian zhi, xuantong xu tengxian zhi; Minguo xu tengxian zhi* 道光滕縣志; 宣統續滕縣志; 民國續滕縣志, 398–399	Historical sites	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Guo Dezhou zayong 過德州雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of Dezhou]	4	Qin Ying 秦瀛 (1743–1821)	*Xiaoxian shanren shiwenji: juan qi* 小峴山人詩文集: 卷七	Landscape, personages	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 407:201	
Haixian zayong 海鮮雜詠 [Miscellaneous	12	Zhao Jianbang	*Qingren zhuzhici Zhong de yongping fengeu*	Marine products	*Quanbian*, 5:419–420	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
poems of marine products]						
Haiyang zhuzhici 海陽竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Haiyang]	1	Zhao Jianbang 趙建邦 (fl. Qing)	*Qingren zhuzhici Zhong de yongping fengeu* 清人竹枝詞中的永平風物	Customs	*Quanbian*, 5:419	
Haiyang zhuzhici	8	Zuo Qiaolin 左喬林 (fl. Qing)	*Qingren zhuzhici Zhong de yongping fengeu* 清人竹枝詞中的永平風物 [Scenery of Yongping in bamboo-branch songs of the Qing]	Festivals, customs	*Quanbian*, 5:418–419	
Handao zhuzhici 旱道竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs on overland roads]	2	Xia Xianyun 夏獻雲 (fl. Qing)	*Qingxiao ge shicao* 清嘯閣詩草	Singing girls, begging	*Quanbian*, 5:371	
Hanzhuang kouhao 韓莊口號 [Oral songs of	1	Xu Zhiding 徐志鼎 (fl. Qing)	*Jianglen gge shiji: juan er* 江冷閣詩集: 卷二	Rural life	*Quanbian*, 5:420	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Hanzhuang]						
Jiahe zhuzhici 泇河竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs Jiahe]	10	Li Hualong 李化龍 (1554–1611)	*Heshang gao* 河上稿 [Draft of Heshang]	Landscape , traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:381–382	
Jianü ci 嫁女詞 [Wedding songs]	4	Zhang Qiu 張求	*Minguo Wudi xian zhi; Guangxu lijin xian zhi; Minguo lijin xian xuzhi* 民國無棣縣志; 光緒利津縣志; 民國利津縣續志,264	Customs	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Ji’nan baiyong 濟南百詠 [A hundred poems of Ji’nan]	107	Wang Xiangchun 王象春 (1578–1632)	*Ji’nan baiyong* 濟南百詠	Landscape , customs, local products, legends, businesses , historical sites, local personage s, Festivals	*Quanbian*, 5:386–401	106
Ji’nan qishi’er quan shi 濟南七十二泉詩 [Poems	72	Yan Bi 晏璧 (fl. Ming)		Springs, allusions, water	Xu Beiwen 徐北文, *Ji’nan zhuzhici* 濟南竹枝詞, 3–20	152–157

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
about the seventy-two poems of Ji'nan]						
Ji'nan Shangyuan zhuzhici 濟南上元竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of the lantern festival of Ji'nan]	4	Tang Menglai 唐孟賚 (fl. Qing)	*Zhihetang shi: juan shisi* 志壑堂詩: 卷十四	Landscape, traveling, customs, personages	*Quanbian*, 5:386	
Ji'nan tadengci shi shou 濟南踏燈詞十首柬書巢 [Ten lantern-enjoying songs of Ji'nan for Shuchao]	10	Yang Shining 楊士凝 (1691–1740)	*Fuhang shixie* 芙航诗襭	Customs, festivals	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 268:385	
Ji'nan xianzheng yong shi shou 濟南先正詠十首 [Ten poems of prominent personages of the past of Ji'nan]	10	Wang Ping 王苹 (1661–1720)	*Ershisi quan caotang ji: juan si* 二十四泉草堂集: 卷四	Personages	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 207: 35–36	
Ji'nan yingchunci 濟南迎春詞 [Songs of celebrating	2	Wang Jiaxiang 王家相 (fl. Qing)	*Mingxiangtang ji: juan si* 茗香堂集: 卷四	Customs	*Quanbian*, 5:413	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
spring of Ji’nan]						
Ji’nan zaishi jiushou 濟南雜詩九首 [Nine miscellaneous poems of Ji’nan]	9	Song Luo 宋犖 (1634–1713)	*Xibei shi leigao wushijuan buyi yijuan: juan jiu* 西陂類稿五十卷 補遺一卷: 卷九	Landscape	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 135:124	
Ji’nan zashi ge shi shou 濟南雜詩歌十首 [Ten miscellaneous poems of Ji’nan]	10	Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257)		History, landscape	He Xinhui 賀新輝, *Yuan Haowen shiciji* 元好問詩詞集, 518–519	
Ji’nan zayong 濟南雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of Ji’nan]	5	Bai Jun 柏葰 (d. 1859)	*Pilinyin guan shichao: juan wu* 薜荔吟館詩鈔: 卷五	Landscape	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 622:97	
Ji’nan zayong shi shou 濟南雜詠十首 [Ten miscellaneous poems of Ji’nan]	10	Shi Kui 史夔 (1662–1713)	*Dongsi cao* 東祀草	Landscape	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 207:8	131
Ji’nan zhuzhici	2	Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1825)	*Shaishutang shichao* 曬書堂詩鈔	Traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:411	
Ji’nan zhuzhici	2	Song Zhaotong	*Qingchao*	Landscape, traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:413	125

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
		宋兆彤 (fl. Qing)	*shanzuo shi xuchao* 清朝山左詩續鈔			
Ji'nan zhuzhici	28	Sun Zhaogui 孫兆溎 (fl. Qing)	*Huajian ji: juan shisi* 花箋集: 卷十四	Traveling, Women, customs, festivals, shops, urban life, local products	*Quanbian*, 5:411–413	105 136 145
Ji'nan zhuzhici 濟南竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Ji'nan]	100	Wang Chutong 王初桐 (1730–1821)	*Ji'nan zhuzhici* 濟南竹枝詞	Landscape, legends, customs, festivals, personages	*Quanbian*, 5:401–410	34 111 142
Ji'nan zhuzhici	2	Wang Suoli 王所禮 (fl. Qing)	*Qingchao shanzuo shi xuchao* 清朝山左詩續鈔	Landscape, urban lives	*Quanbian*, 5:411	
Ji'nan zhuzhici	2	Zhang Xiangpeng 張象鵬 (fl. Qing)	*Dongwu shicun: juan jiu xia* 東武詩存: 卷 九下	Urban life, fishing	*Quanbian*, 5:410–411	
Jining zhou zhuzhici 濟寧州竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of	10	Lin Zhiyuan 林之鶤 (fl. Qing)	*Jiningzhouli zhou xuzhu: juan ershisan* 濟寧直隸州續	Landscape, traveling, Historical sites, personages	*Quanbian*, 5:385–386	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Ji'ning circuit]			志: 卷二十三			
Jining zhuzhici 濟寧竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Jining]	5	Hang Shijun 杭世駿 (1695–1773)	*Daogutang shiji* 道古堂詩集	Landscape, local products, the fair	*Quanbian*, 5:384	
Jining zhuzhici	21	Wang Xiejia 王謝家 (fl. Qing)	*Qiao'an yiji* 橋庵遺集	Landscape, traveling, customs, worshiping, women, local products	*Quanbian*, 5:384–385	104
Jining zhuzhici	2	Wu Xilin 吳錫麟 (1746–1818)	*Youzheng weizhai ji* 有正味齋集	Love, women	*Quanbian*, 5:384	
Jining zhuzhici	2	Zhong Jiaqian 仲家淺 (fl. Qing)	*Daoguang Jining zhili zhouzhi: er; Xianfeng jining zhili zhou xu zhi;Mingguo jining zhili zhou xu zhi* 道光濟寧直隸州志: 二; 咸豐濟寧直隸州續志; 民國濟寧直	Love, women	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
			隸州續志, 77			
Jinqiu hu yufu ci 錦秋湖漁父詞 [Songs of fishermen of Jinqiu Lake]	1	Xu Ye	*Xu Shi: juan er* 徐詩: 卷二	Fishing	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 37:166	
Jinqiu hu zhuzhi 錦秋湖竹枝 [Bamboo-branch songs of Jinqiu Lake]	3	Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634–1771)	*Yuyang shanren jinghua lu* 漁洋山人精華錄	Landscape	*Quanbian*, 5:422	
Jinqiu hu zhuzhici 錦秋湖竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Jinqiu Lake]	4	Wang Shilu 王世祿 (fl. Qing)	*Jifeng qijue: juan shi'er* 紀風七絕: 卷十二	Fishing, landscape	*Quanbian*, 5:422	
Jinqiu hu zhuzhici	4	Wang Yunzhen 王允榛 (fl. Qing)	*Daoguang Ji'nan fu zhi* 道光府志, vol.3:548	Landscape, Fishermen's life	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Jinqiu hu zhuzhici	4	Zhang Duqing 張篤慶 (1642–1715)	*Yonglu shixuan* 詠魯詩選	Landscape, fishing	*Quanbian*, 5:422	
Ke you tan haicuo zhe xi wei zhuzhici 客有談海錯者戲為竹	12	Han Mengzhou 韓夢周 (1729–1798)	*Litang wenji: juan si* 理塘文集: 卷四	Fishing, marine products	*Quanbian*, 5:413–414	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
枝詞 [There are guests who talk about the world of sea, about which I compose bamboo-branch songs for fun]						
Laiyang zhuzhici 萊陽竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Laiyang]	100	Jia Shanpu 嘉善浦 (fl. Qing)		History, landsape, villages, customs	*Shandong wenxian jicheng di'er ji di shijiu ce* 山東文獻集成: 第二輯第十九冊，373–83	
Laizhou Zashi 萊州雜詩 [Miscellaneous poems of Laizhou]	12	Li Zhongjian 李中簡 (1721–1781)	*Jiashu shanfang shiji: juan shisi* 嘉樹山房詩集: 卷十四	Scenic spots, personages, legends	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 348:599–600	
Laizhou zhuzhici 萊州竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Laizhou]	4	Li Ying 李瑩 (fl. Qing)	*Jinyun Shanren shiji: juan er* 縉雲山人詩集: 卷二	Fishing, marine products	*Quanbian*, 5:415	
Lianzihu zhaoge 蓮子湖棹歌 [Boating songs of Lianzi Lake]	2	Cheng Zhizhen 程之楨 (fl. Qing)	*Weizhou shichao: juan shi'er* 維周詩抄: 卷十二	Women	*Quanbian*, 5:415	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Licheng zayong 歷城雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of Licheng]	3	Song Shu 宋恕 (1862–1910)	*Song Shu ji* 宋恕集	Urban life, scenic spots	*Quanbian*, 5:359	
Liluan bayong 離亂八詠 [Eight poems of the troubled time]	8	Zhang Yilan 張依泮 (fl. the Republic of China)	*Minguo Jiyang xianzhi* 民國濟陽縣志, 385–386	Chaos, bandits, troops, refugees	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Limen ganjiu ci 裡門感舊詞 [Nostalgic songs of the hometown]	4	Lu Jianzeng 盧見曾 (1690–1768)	*Minguo Dexian zhi* 民國德縣志,499	Historical sites	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Lingzhouci shi shou 陵州詞十首 [Ten songs of Lingzhou]	10	Feng Tingkui 馮廷櫆 (1649–1708)	*Fengsheren yishi: juan liu* 馮舍人遺詩: 卷六	Customs, urban lives	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 175: 641	
Lingzhou sishi ci 陵州四時詞 [Songs of four seasons of Lingzhou]	4	Tian Zhi 田致 (fl. Qing)	*Minguo Dexian zhi* 民國德縣志, 513–514	Landscape	*Zhongguo Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Lingzhou zayong 陵州雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of Lingzhou]	4	Ma Zhu 馬翥 (fl. Qing)	*Minguo Dexian zhi* 民國德縣志, 513	Historical sites	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Linqing zayong 臨清雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of Linqing]	4	Li Jun 李鈞 (1792–1859)	*Zhuancao riji: juan er* 轉漕日記: 卷二	Water transport of grain, personages, historical evets	A photocopy https://archive.org/	
Linqing zhuzhici 臨清竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Linqing]	3	Tong Shisi 佟世思 (1651–1692)	*Yumeitang yiji: juan shi* 與梅堂遺集: 卷十	Shipping, merchants, gathering	*Quanbian*, 5:382–383	
Liu quan zoumin lige sizhang 留勸鄒民俚歌四章 [Four poems of advice for people of Zou]	4	Li Wengeng 李文耕 (1763–1838)	*Daoguang Ji'nan fu zhi:* 道光府志, vol.3:540	Moral education	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji* 中國方志集成: 山東府縣志辑	
Lixia zashi sishou 歷下雜詩四首 [Four miscellaneous poems of Lixia]	4	Yang Shining	*Fuhang shixie*	Emotion of the author	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 268:396	
Lixia zayong 歷下雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of Lixia]	7	Kong Shangren 孔尚任 (1648–1718)	*Kong Shangren Shiji* 孔尚任詩集	History, the business, lotus-farming, landsape	*Quanbian*, 5:359	164
Lixia zhuzhici 歷下竹枝詞	8	Yue Mengyuan	*Haitong shuwu shicha* 海	Traveling and travellers,	*Quanbian*, 5:358–359	129

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
[Bamboo-branch songs of Lixia]		岳夢淵 (b, 1699)	桐書屋詩鈔	landscape, women,		
Minghu zashi 明湖雜詩 [Miscellaneous poems of Daming Lake]	24	Sun Qingyu 孫卿裕 (fl. Qing)	*Tuiyuan xuji* 退園續集	Historical sites, historical events, landscape, lotus-picking women	*Quanbian*, 5: 379–380	93 94 133 134 165
Minghu zayong 明湖雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of Daming Lake]	12	Shi Defen 石德芬 (1852–1920)	*Xingan yigao: juan qi* 惺庵遺詩: 卷七	Historical sites, traveling, historical events	*Quanbian*, 5:379	163
Minghu zhaoge 明湖棹歌 [Boating songs of Daming Lake]	1	Hou Shizan 侯世瓚 (fl. Qing)	*Xu liangxi shichao: juan shiqi* 續梁溪詩鈔: 卷十七	Landscape	*Quanbian*, 5: 380	
Minghu zhaoge 明湖棹歌 [Boating songs of Daming Lake]	12	Li Zuoxian 李佐賢 (1807–1876)	*Shiquan shuwu shichao: juan wu* 石泉書屋詩鈔: 卷五	Traveling, personages, landscape, lotus-farming	*Quanbian*, 5:380–381	146
Minghu zhuzhici 明湖竹枝詞 [Banboo-branch songs of Daming Lake]	3	Bai Yongxiu 白永修 (fl. Qing)	*Kuanglu shiji: juan di liu* 曠廬詩集: 卷第六	Landscape, traveling	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 750:292–293	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Minghu zhuzhici	2	Fang Qiying 方起英 (fl. Qing)	*Shishan shichao* 獅山詩鈔	Landscape	*Quanbian*, 5:377	
Minghu zhuzhici	8	Huang Entong 黃恩彤 (1801–1883)	*Zhizhitang ji: juan qi* 知止堂集: 卷七	Landscape, local aquatic products	*Quanbian*, 5:375–376	
Minghu zhuzhici	7	Huang Zhaomei 黃兆枚 (fl. Qing)	*Jiecanggguan shiji: juansan* 芥滄館詩集: 卷三	Landscape, traveling, personages	*Quanbian*, 5:378	127 140
Minghu zhuzhici	1	Wang Chensi 王宸嗣 (fl. Qing)	*Dongwu shicun: juan sis hang* 東武詩存: 卷四 上	Landscape, traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:378	
Minghu zhuzhici	2	Wang Lanxin 王蘭馨 (fl. the Republic of China)	*Jiangli ji: juan yi* 將離集: 卷一	Landscape, traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:378	
Minghu zhuzhici	10	Wang Peixun 王培荀 (1783–1859)	*Yusu cao: juan san* 寓宿草: 卷三	Landscape, travelling	*Quanbian*, 5:375	
Minghu zhuzhici	10	Wei Naixiang 魏乃勳 (fl. Qing)	*Yanshou kezhai yigao: juan yi* 延壽客齋遺稿: 卷一	Landscape, traveling, local aquatic products, women, customs	*Quanbian*, 5:376–377	141
Minghu zhuzhici	4	Wu Minyuan 吳岷源 (fl. Qing)	*Wuding shi xuchao: juan yijiu*	Landscape, traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:377	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
			武定詩續鈔: 卷一九			
Minghu zhuzhici	1	Zhang Guan 張纶 (fl. Qing)	*Guochao shanzuo shihui chaohou ji: juan shiyi* 國朝山左詩匯鈔後集: 卷十一	Rural life	*Quanbian*, 5:377	
Minghu zhuzhici	12	Zhao Guohua 趙國華 (fl. Qing)	*Qingcaotang ji: juan shi* 青草堂集: 卷十	Landscape, traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:376	
Minghu zhuzhici	2	Zhang Shiju	*Xiaoting shixuan* 蕭亭詩選	Landscape, local aquatic products	*Quanbian*, 5:375	
Minghu zhuzhici	4	Zhu Chongdao 朱崇道 (fl. Qing)	*Hushang caotang ji* 湖上草堂集	Landscape, traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:378	
Penglai shijing 蓬萊十景 [Ten sites of Penglai]	10	Liu Menglan 劉夢蘭 (fl. Qing)	*Siming qing shilue: juan nianyi* 四明清詩略: 卷廿一	Scenic spots	*Quanbian*, 5:421	
Penglai zhuzhici 蓬萊竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Penglai]	3	Wang Xinqing 王心清 (fl. Qing)	*Youzhutang shicao: haibin cao* 有竹堂詩草: 海濱草	Customs	*Quanbian*, 5:421–422	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Qiuri tianjia zhuzhi 秋日田家竹枝 [Bamboo-branch song of farmers during the autumn]	5	Tian Xu	*Shuidong caotang shiji* 水東草堂詩集	Rural life, farming	*Quanbian*, 5:383–84	
Rencheng zhuzhuci 任城竹枝詞	7	Han Shisheng 韓是升 (1735–1816)	*Tingzhonglou shigao: juan san* 聽鐘樓詩稿 卷三	Urban lives, pleasure, blind singing women, landscape	*Quanbian*, 5:370	
Rizhao daozhong 日照道中 [On the way of Rizhao]	1	Dang Huaiyingn 黨懷英 (1134–1211)	*Minguo linyi xian zhi; Minguo xu xiu linyi xian zhi; Guangxu Rizhao xian zhi* 民國臨沂縣志; 民國續修臨沂縣志, 光緒日照縣志, 491	Landscape	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Shancan ci 山蠶詞 [Songs of silkworms from the mountain]	4	Wang Shizhen	*Yuyang shanren jinghualu* 漁洋山人精華錄	Silkworm breeding	*Quanbian*, 5:357	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Shancan ci 山蠶詞	5	Zhuang Xizhen 莊錫縝	*Minguo chongxiu ju zhi* 民國重修莒志, 501	Silkworm breeding	*Zhongguo Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Shancan ci sishou 山蠶詞四首 [Four songs of silkworms from the mountain]	4	Wang Shizheng 王士正 (fl. Qing)	*Qianlong yizhou fu zhi ; Jiaqing juzhou zhi* 乾隆沂州府志; 嘉慶莒州志, 413	Silkworm breeding	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Shandong zhuzhici 山東竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Shandong]	12	Xie Zongsu 謝宗素 (b, 1773)	*Quesao an cungao* 卻掃庵存稿	Traveling, business, local products, historical rites, women, urban lives	*Quanbian*, 5:356	
Shandong zhuzhici	6	Jiangyou tianshengzi 江右天剩子 (fl. the Republic of China)	*Qiaoshuo* 樵說	Courtesans	*Quanbian*, 5:357	99
Shangyuan *zhuzhici* shishou 上元竹枝詞十首 [Ten bamboo-branch songs of the Lantern festival]	10	Anonymity (fl. the Republic of China)	*Minguo Shanghe xianzhi* 民國商河縣志, 58 –82	Customs	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Shanzhong zhuzhici 山中竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs from the mountain]	1	Zhang Shiju	*Xiaoting shicao* 蕭亭詩草	Local products	*Quanbian*, 5:356	
Shishi bayong 時事八詠 [Eight poems of the current affairs]	8	Zhang Yilan	*Minguo Jiyang xianzhi* 民國濟陽縣志, 386–387	Current politics	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Tangbinghui zhuzhici: wei Huangfu waisun zuo 湯餅會竹枝詞: 為皇甫外孫作 [Bamboo-branch songs for celebrating the birth of the grandson of Huangfu]	4	Wu Liangxiu 吳良秀 (fl. Qing)	*Zhen zhongzi xianyin xucun* 真種子閒吟續存	A custom of Celebrating the birth of children	*Quanbian*, 5:371	
Ti Lingyansi bajing 題靈巖八景 [Dedication for the eight scenery sites of Lingyan temple]	8	Jin Ding 金鼎 (fl. Ming)	*Daoguang Ji'nan fu zhi* 道光濟南府志, vol.3:565	Landscape	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Ti Lingyan shi'er jing 題靈巖十二景 [Dedication for the twelve scenery sites of Lingyan temple]	3	Hu Yilong 胡一龍 (fl. Ming)	*Daoguang Ji'nan fu zhi* 道光府志, vol.3:564–565	Landscape	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Tianjia zhuzhici 田家竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs about farmers]	8	Wang Peixun	*Yu shu cao* 寓蜀草	Taxation, the imperial examination, policy, foot-binding	*Quanbian*, 5:362	
Tiemen guan *zhuzhici* 鐵門關竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Tiemen pass]	8	Hao Zhigong 郝植恭 (1832–1885)	*Shuliush anfang shiji: juan shi'er* 漱六山房詩集: 卷十二	Fishing, marine products business, salt manufacturing	*Quanbian*, 5:415–416	
Weicheng bajing 威城八景 [Eight scenery sites of the city Wei]	8	Lü Ziyue 呂自嶽 (fl. Qing)	*Qianlong laizhou fu zhi; Kangxi jinghaiwei zhi; Qianlong weihaiwei zhi* 乾隆萊州府志; 康熙靖海衛志, 乾隆威海	Landscape	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
			衛志, 506–507			
Weixian zhuzhici 濰縣竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of county Wei]	108	Guo Ling 郭麟 (1823–1893)	*wenxian congkan: di san ji* 濰縣文獻叢刊: 第三輯	Territory, historical sites, local products, personages, festivals, customs, villages, fishing, salt manufacturing	*Quanbian*, 5:425–439	119 167–170
Weixian zhuzhici	40	Zheng Xie	*Weixian wenxian congkan: di yi ji* 濰縣文獻叢刊: 第一輯	Gambling, trading, dressing, scenic spots, customs, salt manufacturing, education, crimes, nature disaster, migrants	*Quanbian*, 5:423–425	46 103 198–200
Weiyang jishishi 濰陽紀事詩 [Event recording poems of Weiyang]	30	Anonymity (fl. Qing)		A sectarian uprising	*Weixian wenxian huibian:* 濰縣文獻彙編 [Literature collection of Wei County]: vol:1–3	175–192
Wuding Binzhou zayong 武定濱州雜詠 [Miscellaneous poems of	11	Hu Jitang 胡季堂 (1729–1800)	*Peiyinxuan shiji: juan si* 培蔭軒詩集 卷四	Deities, fairs, clothes, buildings, farming	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 365:531	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Wuding Binzhou]						
Xiangcun zhuzhici 鄉村竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of villages]	2	Chen Guangnian 陳廣年 (?–?)	*Jining zhili zhouzhi* 濟寧直隸州志	Rural life, taxation	*Quanbian*, 5:358	
Xiaowo huayin xiao zhuzhi ti 小臥花陰效竹枝體 [Imitating the genre of zhuzhi when resting under the shadow of flowers]	2	Gao Zhixi 高之騱 (1655–1719)	*Qiangshutang ji* 強恕堂集	Idyllic life of the author himself	*Quanbian*, 5:358	
Xinhai dongri Ji'nan zayong sanshou 辛亥冬日濟南雜詠三首 [Three miscellaneous poems of Ji'nan written in the winter of the year of Xinhai]	3	Xu Ye	*Xu Shi: juan er*	Landscape, personages	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 37:169	
Xinshi bayong 新世八詠 [Eight poems of	8	Zhang Yilan	*Minguo Jiyang xianzhi* 民國濟陽縣志, 387–388	Changes of the situation and lives during the	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
the new world]				Republic China		
Xu *Qiyin* 續齊音 [A continuation of *Qiyin*]	100	Feng Daying 毛大瀛 (fl. Qing)	*Xi'ouju shichao: juan jiu* 戲鷗居詩鈔: 卷九	Landscape, legends, businesses, historical sites, local personages	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 387:616–623	
Xuxiang zhuzhici 徐鄉竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Xuxiang]	21	Feng Gengyang 馮賡揚 (fl. Qing)	*Zhuoyuan shixuan* 拙園詩選	Festivals, customs, farming, fishing, trade, migrating	*Quanbian*, 5:416–417	96 196
Yanjiu dengci sishou 燕九燈詞四首 [Four lantern songs of Yanjiu]	4	Aixin jueluo Hongli 愛新覺羅 弘曆 (1711–1799) [Emperor Qianlong]	*Minguo Dexian zhi* 民國德縣志, 520	Customs	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Yanzhou zashi shisi shou 兗州雜詩十四首 [Fourteen miscellaneous poems of Yanzhou]	14	Wu Rongguang 吳榮光 (1773–1843)	*Shiyun shanren shiji: juan si* 石雲山人詩集: 卷四	Historical sites, personages, landscape, rural lives	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 510:248–249	
Yehai zhuzhici 掖海竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Yehai]	1	Dong Jinzhang 董錦章 (fl. Qing)	*Xiyu xuan shichao: shangjuan* 惜余軒詩抄: 上卷	Marine products	*Quanbian*, 5:420	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Yizhong *zhuzhici* 邑中竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of the town]	8	Hao Yunzhe 郝允哲 (fl. Qing)	*Minguo Qihe xianzhi* 民國齊河縣志, 395–396	Customs	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Youhu zhuzhici 幽湖竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of You Lake]	1	Zheng Shiyuan 鄭世元 (fl. Qing)	*Puchuan suowen ji: juan san* 濮川所闻记: 卷三	Textile business	*Quanbian*, 5:383	
Yongmen zhuzhici 永門竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Yongmen]	41	Zhang Quan 張铨 (1790? – 1872)	*Guangxu chongxiu lijin xianzhi* 光緒重修利津縣志	Historical sites, Landscape by the sea, salt production and trade, fishery, customs	*Quanbian*, 5:363	95
You Taishan zashi 遊泰山雜詩 [Miscellaneous poems of traveling on Mountain Tai]	14	Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304)	*Qiu Jianji: juan ershisi* 秋澗集: 卷二十四	Landscape	A photocopy collected in library of Zhejiang University. *Siku quanshu jibu wu biejilei si* 四庫全書 集部五 別集類 四 *https://ctext.org/ens*	
Yuanxi *tadengci* 元夕踏燈詞 [Lantern-enjoying songs in in the night of	4	Kong Shangren	*Kong Shangren shiji*	Custom, local people	*Quanbian*, 5:358	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
the lantern festival						
Yucun zaxing 漁村雜興 [Miscellaneous poems of the fishing village]	2	Zhao Sizu 趙似祖 (fl. Qing)	*Qianlong Haiyang xian zhi; Guangxu Haiyang xian xu; zhi Daoguang Rongcheng xianzhi* 乾隆海陽縣志; 光緒海陽縣續志; 道光榮成縣志, 406	Landscape	*Zhongguo fangzhi jicheng: Shandong fuxian zhi ji*	
Zhaoyanghu zhuzhici 昭陽湖竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Zhaoyang Lake]	3	Zhang Xianpeng 張仙鵬 (fl. Qing)	*Shanzuo shi xuchao* 山左詩續鈔	Life of fishermen	*Quanbian*, 5:383	
Zhenzhuquan zhuzhici 珍珠泉竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs on Zhenzhu Spring]	10	Zhang Yinheng 張蔭恆 (fl. Qing)	*Tiehualou shiwenchao: fengmaji: juan er* 鐵畫樓詩文鈔: 風馬集: 卷二	Urban life	*Quanbian*, 5:382	
Zhongdouci 種豆詞 [Songs of	4	Wang Shanbao 王	*Weiyuyanju shiji: juan san* 煨芋巖	Bean-planting	*Quanbian*, 5:383	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
bean-planting]		善寶 (fl. Qing)	居詩集: 卷三			
Zhoucun zhuzhici 周村竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of village Zhou]	2	Wang Zuchang 王祖昌 (fl. Qing)	*Qiushuiting shichao: juan'er* 秋水亭詩鈔: 卷二	Women, incense burning	*Quanbian*, 5:381	
Zhuzhici	1	Su You 蘇祐 (1492–1571)	*Caozhou lidai shici xuanzhu* 曹州歷代詩詞選註	Women	*Quanbian*, 5:366	
Zhuzhici	1	Jin Xueyan 靳學顏 (1514–1571)		Women, love	*Quanbian*, 5:366	
Zhuzhici	9	Cheng Xianzhen 程先貞 (1607–1673)	*Haiyou chenrenji* 海右陳人集	festivals, rural life	*Quanbian*, 5:366	
Zhuzhici	2	Wang Duobiao 王奪標 (fl. Qing)	*shici xuanzhu* 曹州歷代詩詞選註	Rural landscape, women	*Quanbian*, 5:367	
Zhuzhici	8	Qiu Zhiguang 邱志廣 (fl. Qing)	*Chaicun jinti shichao: juanwu* 柴村今體詩鈔: 卷五	Emotion	*Quanbian*, 5:367	
Zhuzhici	4	Tian Mai 田霢 (1652–1729)	*Gejin caotang shiji* 鬲津草堂詩集	Landscape, local personage	*Quanbian*, 5:367–368	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Zhuzhici	1	Huang Enshu 黃恩澍 (fl. Qing)	*Guangxu Ningyang xianzhi: juan shi si* 光緒寧陽縣志: 卷十四	Rural life	*Quanbian*, 5:368	
Zhuzhici	6	Zhang Yunjin 張雲錦 (fl. Qing)	*Shunsuoran zhaiqi: juan'er* 順所然齋詩: 卷二	Famine, begging	*Quanbian*, 5:368	106
Zhuzhici	10	Zhao Fangting 趙訪亭 (fl. Qing)	*Conglüxuan shiji: juan liu* 叢綠軒詩集: 卷六	Wedding customs	*Quanbian*, 5:368–369	
Zhuzhici	1	Li Pan 李蟠 (b, 1688)	*Xuzhou shizheng: juan yi* 徐州詩徵: 卷一	Natural disaster, famine	*Quanbian*, 5:369	
Zhuzhici bashou xie zhengfu yi 竹枝詞八首寫征婦意 [Eight bamboo-branch songs on wives of soldiers]	8	Cao Shu 曹枢 (fl. Ming)	*Xinan wenxuan zhi: juan wushijiu* 新安文獻志: 卷五十九	Wives' missing of their husbands	*Quanbian*, 5:369–370	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Zhuzhici: jiyuan guan tieshsu kaihua, guanzhe rudu, yinzuo 竹枝詞: 稷園鐵樹開花，觀者如堵，因作 [Bamboo-branch songs: sago palms in the ji garden bloomed, which attracted a crowd of spectators. Hence, I write about this]	4	Tian Shufan 田樹藩 (fl. the Republic China)	*Danyuan shigao: juan shisi* 澹園詩稿: 卷十四	Garden, urban life, traveling	*Quanbian*, 5:369	
Zhuzhici: sai hui 竹枝詞: 賽會 [Banboo-branch songs: temple fair]	10	Wang Du 王度 (fl. Qing)	*Shulianwu ci* 書連屋詞	Temple fair	*Quanbian*, 5:365–366	
Zhuzhige 竹枝歌 [Songs of bamboo-branch]	1	Jia Zhongming 賈仲明 (1343–1422)	*Taige zhengyin pu* 太和正音譜	Beautiful women	*Quanbian*, 5:370	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
Zi Wenshang zhi liaocheng bei shu suojian 自汶上之聊城備書所見 [Records of scenes seen from Wenshang to Liaocheng]	4	Yuan Lüfang 袁履方 (fl. Qing)	*Yanting shigao* 硯亭詩稿	Famine, begging	*Quanbian*, 5:371	
Zichuan zhuzhici 淄川竹枝詞 [Bamboo-branch songs of Zichuan]	4	Li Zhi 李芝 (fl. Qing)	*Qiansha nyuan shiji: juan shiqi* 淺山園詩集: 卷 十七	Customs, festivals	*Quanbian*, 5:420	118
Zichuan zhuzhici	4	Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640–1715)	*Pu songling zhuzuo yicun* 蒲松齡著作佚存	Landscape	*Quanbian*, 5:420	199
Zi Jining zhi Qingjiangpu zhouzhong zashi liu jueju 自濟寧至清江浦舟中雜詩六絕句 [Six miscellaneous *jueju* poems	6	Zhao Zhixin	*Yishan shiji: juanliuji* 飴山詩集: 涓流集	Landscape	*Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 210:257	

Title	Number of poems	Author	Original source	Contents	Collection	Index
created in the boat on the way from Jining to Qingjiangpu]						

Appendix 2 Multiple Terms of Bamboo-branch Song Style Poems

Multiple Terms of Bamboo-branch Song Style Poems

This table is a supplement to the section on terminology in Chapter 1. *Zhuzhici* serves as an umbrella term for this genre of poems. In the titles of *zhuzhici* poetry collections, however, numerous other terms are found, which suggests that, in the course of the development of bamboo-branch songs, other types of vernacular poetry also came to be considered as bamboo-branch songs. The subsequent table is a collection of variant terms that appear in *Quanbian*. I have tried to select representative terms for reference. These terms could be sorted into several categories. The terms *zhuzhici* 竹枝詞/辭, *zhuzhiqu* 竹枝曲, *zhuzhi* 竹枝, *zhuzhige* 竹枝歌, *nan zhuzhige* 男竹枝歌, *nü zhuzhige* 女竹枝歌 all can be considered variants for the term *zhuzhici*. *Zhaoge* 棹歌, *chuanshi* 船詩, and *huafang ci* 畫舫詞 are variant terms for boating songs. Similarly, *yuchang* 漁唱, *dayushi* 打魚詩, and *ainaiqu* 欸乃曲 / *yunai* 漁乃 are variant terms for fishing songs. Some single terms are also involved. For example, *kouhao* 口號 (oral composition) was a genre of poetry that was generally improvised. Their language is relatively simple. They have multiple themes. [606]Those *kouhao* poems that reflect the local conditions are included in the bamboo branch songs. *Changlongyan ci* 唱龍眼詞 was a kind of folksy song from Fujian province, which was based on the real folk song "Chang longyan" 唱龍眼. *Tiaoyueci* 跳月詞, as a similar case, was an imitation of folk songs of several ethnicities. The terms *Tianshan muchang* 天山牧唱 and *muchangci* 牧場詞 refer to pastoral songs. *Zashi* 雜詩 is a common term for bamboo-branch songs, for which the variant terms zayong 雜詠, *zayi* 雜憶 or *zaju* 雜句 are also found. For *jishishi* 紀事詩,as a similar case, there were several variant terms, such as *jishishi* 即事詩 or *jishi* 紀實. Similar to referring to the bamboo in the term "bamboo-branch songs", there were subtypes of songs that were named after other plants, but which were

[606] Ren Jingze 任競澤, "Zhongguo gudai 'kouhaoshi' de wenti tezheng" 中國古代 "口號詩"的文體特徵[Stylistic features of Chinese classical oral-composition poetry], *Xiamen daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)*廈門大學學報（哲學社會科學版）, no. 6 (2013): 41–59.

also subsumed under bamboo-branch songs, such as *juzhici* 橘枝詞, *lizhici* 荔枝詞, *taozhici* 桃枝詞, *liuzhici* 柳枝詞, etc. Seasonal songs and lantern festival songs, termed as *jiewushi* 節物詩, *tadengci* 踏燈詞, and *dengchuanci* 燈船詞, were also included in the general category of bamboo-branch songs.

Terms	English translation
Ainaiqu 欸乃曲/Yunai 漁乃	Chantey
Baijue 百絕	One hundred of heptasyllabic quatrains
—— Baiyong 百詠	Hundreds of poems
Baiyueci 拜月詞	Song of worshiping the moon
Beiliyao 北里謠	Ballad of the northern town
Bianci 邊詞	Song of the frontier
Bian zhuzhi 變竹枝	Modified tone of bamboo-branch
Bomingci 薄命詞	Song of unfortunate lives
Caichaci 採茶詞	Song of tea leaves-picking
Cailingci 采菱詞/Calingge 采菱歌 /Cailingqu 采菱曲	Song of water chestnut-picking
Caimianci 采棉詞	Song of the cotton harvest
Caisangci 採桑詞	Song of mulberry leaves-picking
Caizhuzi 採珠子	Song of pearling
Chayao 茶謠	Ballad of tea
Changlongyan ci 唱龍眼詞	Song of longan-singing
Chuanshi 船詩	Song of boat
Chunci 春詞	Song of the spring
Chun tiezi ci 春帖子詞	Song of spring
Congjunyinn 從軍吟	Song of joining the army
Dayu shi 打魚詩	Fishing songs
Dengchuanci 燈船詞	Song of the lantern boat
Dengxici 燈夕詞	Song of the lantern festival
Duan zhuzhici 短竹枝辭	Short bamboo-branch song
Fengtuci 風土詞/Fengtuge 風土歌	Song of the wind and the soil
Ganjiushi 感舊詩	Nostalgic poems
Ganshige 感時歌	Song of the feeling about current events
Gu shige 罛詩歌	Poem of fishing
Guandengci 觀燈詞	Song of lantern-viewing
Guansaici 觀賽詞	Song of game-watching
Huafangci 畫舫詞	Song of painting boat
Huazhuci 花燭詞	Song of fancy candles
Jiewushi 節物詩	Song of seasons

Jingduci 競渡詞	Song of the boat race
——Jishi 紀實	Record of facts
——Jishishi 紀事詩	Event-recording poems
Jishishi 即事詩	Poem of current events
Juzhici 橘枝詞	Orange-branch songs
Kouhao 口號	Oral songs
Liju 俚句	Colloquial sentences
Liuzhici 柳枝詞	Willow-branch songs
Lizhici 荔枝詞	Lichee-branch songs
Minjiaqu 民家曲	Song of common family
Muchang ci 牧場詞	Song of the pastureland
Muchun ci 暮春詞	Song of the late spring
Nan zhuzhige 男竹枝歌	Bamboo-branch songs sung by men
Ni zhuzhici 擬竹枝詞	Imitation of bamboo-branch songs
Ni wunongci 擬吳儂詞	Imitation of the song of Wu
Nü'erge 女兒歌	Song of maidens
Nü'erzi 女兒子	The maiden
Nü zhuzhige 女竹枝歌	Bamboo-branch songs sung by women
Pinnüci 貧女詞	Song of poor women
Quannong ge 勸農歌	Song of farmer-encouraging
Quge 衢歌	Song of the street
Rongzhi ci 榕枝詞	Banyan-branch songs
Sai haishen ci 賽海神詞	Song of worshiping the sea-god
Saosici 繅絲詞	Song of silk reeling
Shancanci 山蠶詞	Song of wild silkworms
Shanmintan 山民歎	Chant of people living in Mountains
Shanshi 山詩	Mountain poems
Shanghuaci 賞花詞	Song of enjoying flowers
Shaoxiangci 燒香詞	Song of incense-burning
Shijingci 市景詞/市井詞	Song of scenes of the market
Shuideng yao 水燈謠	Ballad of water lanterns
Shuitian yao 水田謠	Ballad of the paddy field
Taohua liushui yin 桃花流水引 /xianjia zhuzhici 仙家竹枝詞	Song of peach flowers and the flowing water/ bamboo-branch songs of immortals
Tadengci 踏燈詞	Song of the lantern festival
Tage 踏歌	Song with beats of feet
Taoyege 桃葉歌	Peach-leaf songs
Taozhici 桃枝詞	Peach-branch songs
Tianshan muchang 天山牧唱	Pastoral song of the mountain Tian
Tiaoyueci 跳月詞	Song of Tiaoyue gathering
Tufeng ge 土風歌	Song of local customs
Xiao zhuzhici 小竹枝詞	Small bamboo-branch song

Xialici 下里詞	Song of the rustic poor
Xichunci 嬉春詞	Song of enjoying the spring
Xuchuanci 胥船詞	Boat song of the Xu people
Xudingci 圩丁詞	Song of men of reclaiming the paddy field
Xunüyao 胥女謠	Ballad of women with the household registration of Xu
Yaliuci 椏柳詞	Song of willow twigs
Yechang 野唱	Wild song
Yechunci 冶春詞	Song of the spring tour
Yingshenqu 迎神曲	Song of welcoming gods
yuchang 漁唱	Fishing songs
——Zaju 雜句	Miscellaneous sentences
—— Zashi 雜詩/Zayong 雜詠	Miscellaneous poems
——Zayi 咋憶	Miscellaneous memories
Zhaoge 棹歌	Boat songs
Zhengjishi 征跡詩	Poem of signs
Zhezhici 蔗枝詞	Sugarcane-branch songs
Zhongdaoci 種稻詞	Song of rice-growing
Zhuzhi 竹枝	Bamboo-branch
Zhuzhici 竹枝詞/ 辭	Bamboo-branch songs
Zhuzhige 竹枝歌	Bamboo-branch songs
Zhuzhiqu 竹枝曲	Bamboo-branch songs
Zhuzhi wanzhuanci 竹枝宛轉詞	Tangled bamboo-branch songs