Clio's Scroll

The Berkeley Undergraduate History Journal
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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVIERSTY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
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Contents

Clio's Scroll, the Berkeley Undergraduate History Journal, is published twice yearly by students of the Department of History at the University of California, Berkeley. The journal aims to provide undergraduates with the opportunity to publish historical works and to train staff members in the editorial process of an academic journal.
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Editorial Board

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SAFFRON SENER is a junior studying History, Art History, and Creative Writing. She hopes to focus her studies on Early Colonial America. When she's not in Doe reading or researching, you can find her watching "Law & Order: SVU" or rollerskating through SF.

DUNCAN WANLESS is a junior majoring in Spanish and History. He is especially passionate about the intertwined histories of religion, race, and literature in Early Modern Cuba, Mexico, and the United States. He was born and raised in Fresno, California and plans to die there as well. In his free time he enjoys baking bread and grocery shopping at Berkeley Bowl.

PETER ZHANG is a sophomore majoring in History, with minors in Data Science and Creative Writing. His research interest focuses on the modern imperial history, especially the British and Chinese empire. You can find him constantly either meeting at ASUC, or watching basketball and soccer.

LEO ZLIMEN is a junior majoring in History, Near Eastern Civilizations, and Arabic. His studies focus on modernity in the early twentieth century, Islamic civilization, and the late Ottoman Empire. For fun, Leo enjoys playing basketball and volleyball and watching the NBA.

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Note from the Editors

Dear Readers,

The anointed hour has come, and soon the gates of history, bound by many terrible sigils of arcane construction, shall be loosened, and knowledge shall come wailing forth. But before that, we would like to say a few words! We are proud to present the Fall 2019 issue of *Clio's Scroll*, a veritable smorgasbord of student achievement in the field of history, with three fantastic essays. Danielle O'Dea of CSU Channel Islands writes in "Scelera Carnis: Same-sex Acts in Medieval Monasteries" about the changing nature and ideologies around monastic life in the 11th century, particularly through a queer and constructivist lens. In order to reassert their role in a changing Christian climate, monks sought to redefine the notions of masculinity around them and counteract accusations of sodomizers against them. Next up, Meishan Liang of UC Berkeley takes a deep dive into the Chinese art of framing and remounting painted scrolls with "Transmission Down Through the Centuries: The Transforming Social Dimensions Behind the Art of Remounting Chinese Scrolls," remounting preserved and elaborated the artworks themselves, while also demonstrating the mounter's cultural cachet. Lastly we have our very own Clio's alum Richard Lim, with his article "Cracks in the Great Wall of Chinatown: Reinventing Chinese American Identity in San Francisco's Chinese New Year Celebrations." Richard writes about conflicts in the San Francisco's Chinese community over the meaning of Chinatown's annual Chinese New Year parade in the 1960s, amid a rising wave of protest and counterculture worldwide.

We hope that Danielle's, Meishan's, and Richard's work will stand as a testament to the potential of undergraduate research in history, whether of the Middle Ages, Early Modern China, or USA. It is the work of every generation to reinterpret history for the present, and with writers like them in the vanguard we shall overcome the monumental task that awaits us. The Editorial Board of Clio's Scroll would like to thank the Townsend Center for the Humanities and the Associated Students at the University of California (ASUC) for their generous funding that makes this publication and editorial process possible. As always, the Editors are indebted to Berkeley's Department of History for its endless support, guidance, and encouragement. In particular we are dedicated to Leah Flanagan, the undergraduate history adviser, for all her counsel; and our faculty adviser, Prof. Ethan Katz, for his invaluable experience. Of course, none of this would have been possible without the hard work and dedication of our editors! Take time to read their bios. I promise each one is a story and personality onto themselves.

Sincerely,

The Editors

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Contributors

DANIELLE O'DEA is a recent graduate from CSU Channel Islands, where they received bachelor's degrees in history and sociology. Danielle is broadly interested in issues of gender and sexuality, and their significance within various historical contexts. They are particularly drawn to study processes of marginalization for those with perceived "unnatural" gender and sexual expressions, especially during the Middle Ages and the Spanish colonization of the Americas. Danielle hopes that their historical research can bring awareness to the enduring existence of a multiplicity of gender expressions and sexual orientations, and help to normalize identities outside of the cishetero model.

MEISHAN LIANG recently graduated from UC Berkeley with a B.A. in History and in Chinese. Her interests lie in the social and cultural history of imperial China, particularly in the evolution of material culture over the dynasties. To fully employ this interdisciplinary approach in her research, she has also studied art history, anthropology, and archaeology. She thanks Professor Michael Nylan for suggesting that she write her thesis about Chinese collecting and conservation.

RICHARD LIM is a former editor of Clio's Scroll, who graduated from the University of California, Berkeley in Spring 2019 with a B.A in History, and a minor in Asian American and Asian Diaspora Studies. He is interested in the history of Asian Americans, with a particular emphasis on Chinese American community formation and Southeast Asian refugee narratives. Recognizing how history, as a discipline, informs public memory, Richard hopes to continue navigating the legacies of youth organizing in Asian America through scholarship, and political advocacy. He would like to thank Professor Jennifer Robin Terry for her unwavering support and mentorship, and the Asian American and Asian Diaspora Studies Program at Berkeley for demonstrating that scholarship is not bound to the "ivory tower," but informs the active needs of the community.

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Scelera Carnis

Same-sex Acts in Medieval Monasteries

Danielle O'Dea

Abstract: *This study explores anxiety surrounding same-sex desire in monasteries during and after the Investiture Controversy (1050–1250). Most research on same-sex desire in the Middle Ages has neglected the monastery, despite popular imagery of monasteries as hotbeds of sexual iniquity. Leading scholars have tended to characterize the birth of anti-sodomy hostility as a result of Christian sexual morality—as sodomitical acts transgressed two of the most important sexual boundaries of the time: chastity/sexuality and procreation/pleasure. Borrowing from queer and constructivist lenses, this paper takes a new approach by considering historical actors' understanding of the relationship between sexual acts and gender, as played out in the monastery.*

In a publication from 1189, the poet Walter Mapes sardonically recounted an anecdote about the monk St. Bernard. According to Mapes, St. Bernard miraculously cured a nobleman's son simply by laying on top of the youth, before returning to a standing position. For Mapes, this proved St. Bernard's exceptional sanctity amongst monks, not because of his divine healing power, but because Mapes had "never heard of a monk who had lain on top of a boy and who did not immediately *rise* after him."[1]

[1] Michael Goodich, *The Unmentionable Vice: Homosexuality in the Later Medieval Period* (Santa Barbara, CA: Ross-Erikson Publishers, 1979), xi. John Boswell, Christianity, *Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of*

This kind of joke was not an isolated incidence; it was a common trope, one recognized even today. The association of monasteries and same-sex desire is well-established, and it is in no way surprising. A multitude of believers were cloistered together, behind impenetrable walls, isolated from the world. The success of the cenobitic community relied on the maintenance of mutually interdependent relationships; monks lived communally, joining together in prayer, labour, and devotion. St. Basil, one of the fathers of monasticism, commanded monks to live with "but one heart and one soul."[2] As contemporaries were well aware, the monastic fathers unwittingly produced conditions that enabled not only spiritual relationships between monks, but sexual ones as well.

It is widely accepted in the historical community that "homosexual" prejudice has a medieval origin. Beginning in the eleventh century, the Latin Church lurched into an era of reform, spurred on by what is now called the Investiture Controversy (1050–1250)—a series of clashes between secular and ecclesiastical authorities concerning the church's place in regulating secular matters, and just how far their moral control could penetrate the private sphere.[3] One of the main consequences of moral and clerical reform was a revived campaign against lust (*luxuria*), leading to the construction of an entirely new category of sin—Sodomy.[4]

During this period, sodomy panicked ecclesiastics for two principal reasons: firstly, because homosexual acts ruptured with traditional gender roles at a time when masculinity was considered especially paramount to the

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the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 10.

[2] St. Basil the Great of Caesaria, "The Long Rules," in *Regular Life: Monastic, Canonical, and Mendicant Rules,* trans. M. Monica Wagner (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 2004), 40.

[3] William E. Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law in Medieval Literature*: *France and England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21-22.

[4] Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1. See also John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 37. Prior to the tenth century, acts that would be included under the umbrella of sodomy were certainly condemned. Patristic fathers established that non-procreative sex acts and acts done in "irregular" positions were against God.

church. Secondly, because early church authors discursively constructed a ranking of human sexualities that devalued and vilified same-sex acts. As scholar William E. Burgwinkle noted, it is of no surprise that the Investiture Controversy roused " an eruption of homophobic discourse . . . ."[5]

Before examining the gendered implications of sodomy, it is important to briefly discuss how authors constructed a sexual hiararchy, and synonymized the sin of Sodom with same-sex acts. In the fifth century, St. Augustine established that "the union . . . of male and female for the purpose of procreation is the natural good of marriage."[6] Sex therefore did have a place, but it was strictly within marriage and must be directed to the aim of conception, rather than pleasure. Next came procreative sex outside of marriage. At the very bottom of this sexual hierarchy were acts comitted by sodomites—an unnamed mix of non-procreative sex acts, said to stem from *luxuria (*lust) and motivated purely by pleasure-seeking.[7] These forms of intercourse, including anal and oral sex, masturbation, onanism, and bestiality were considered "venial sins" in opposition to God's will.[8] Highly authoritative theologians of the tenth and eleventh century such as Ivo of Chartres, Burchard of Worms, Peter Damian, and Gratian increased the strictures against such "unnatural" acts; these authors adopted Augustinian reasoning to argue that using genitalia for any non-procreative act constituted an act against nature. Thus, "those acts committed in Sodom . . . were transgressions of the command to love God and one's neighbor."[9] Sodomy was an act that was turned against reason and human nature, and therefore,

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[5] Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law*, 21.

[6] St. Augustine of Hippo, "On Marriage and Concupiscence, 423 A.D." in *Women's Lives In Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*, ed. Emilie Amt (New York: Routledge, 1993), 27.

[7] James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 153, accessed October 6, 2017, ACLS Humanities E-Book.

[8] Vern L. Bullough, "The Sin against Nature and Homosexuality," in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994), 61. See also St. Augustine, "Concupiscence," 27. And Ruth Mazzo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 43.

[9] Bullough, "Sin against Nature," 62.

God.[10]

Although sodomy served as an umbrella term, over the centuries, it was increasingly associated with male same-sex desire. Initially, the word did not refer specifically to same-sex acts, but rather the city of Sodom's arrogance and inhospitability. However, Augustine of Hippo (354–430), and Pope Gregory the Great (540–604) parted with previous interpretations of Sodom, attributing the city's fall to its sexual sins.[11] Augustine, in fact, mentions same-sex relations as one of the crimes of Sodom.[12] However, these so-called unnatural desires were not the preeminent sin of Sodom, rather they "[were] a symptom of the madness of their fleshy appetites," their real sin being "disordered desire itself."[13] Likewise, in the influential *Moralia on Job*, Gregory the Great states that Sodom's destruction was the result of their depraved *scelera carnis* ('crimes of the flesh' or 'carnal wickedness').[14]

Now that the term sodomy refered to sexual sin, theologians began to tease out distinctions. *Doctor universalis* Albert the Great (1200–1280) differentiated between male-female acts of sodomy and homosexual acts of sodomy, regarding the former a sin but considering the later a mortal sin.[15] Thomas of Aquinas (1225–1274) would later term same-sex acts (under the term sodomy) an "act against nature," for he argued that sodomy defied Divine "order and mode of reason," because their only aim was sexual pleasure.[16]

For these reasons, councils, treatises, rule books, and even popular culture expressed a need to suppress monks' homosexual desires, not only because sex itself was forbidden within the monastery, but also because contemporaries perceived monks to have a proclivity for indulging in same-

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[10] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 126.

[11] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 34-35.

[12] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 34. See also David Clark, *Between Medieval Men: Male Friendship and Desire in Early Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 73.

[13] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 36. See also Clark, *Between Medieval Men*, 73.

[14] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 36.

[15] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 131.

[16] Bullough,"Sin against Nature," 65. Aquinas' definition of sodomy as a sacrilegious act against nature dominated canon law and theological thought.

sex acts.[17] An analysis of literature relating to monasteries and sodomy reveals that while same-sex acts transgressed the boundary of chastity and procreative sexuality, they generated so much ire because they overturned a political and gender project of the eleventh and twelfth century, of which the monasteries played a part. Amidst the Investiture Controversy, sodomy—viewed as a gender transgression rather than simply sexual "deviancy"—threatened to topple the period's fragile notions of clerical masculinity.

My study locates the increased hostility towards monasteries within the context of the "sodomy crisis" of the late middle ages, in which ecclesiastical authors increased condemnation of sodomitical acts over the eleventh through the fourteenth century.[18] I unite a history of gender/sex and sexuality with a general study of medieval religious history, to explore the fear surrounding monks and same-sex acts, specifically interrogating the

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[17] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, 174. Some examples would be Peter Damian's *Book of Gomorrah* (c.1048-54), Paul of Hungary's *Summa of Penance* (c. 1219-21), monastic rulebooks by Pachomius and St. Basil in the fourth century, and St. Benedict in the fifth, the Third Lateran Council (1179) which called for clerics found guilty of the sin to be defrocked or confined to a monastery, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 which again called for any cleric found guilty of copulation, and especially sodomy, to be defrocked. The Councils of Paris (1212) and Rouen (1214) also discussed sodomy within the clergy and monastery.

[18] The historian's understanding of the word "sodomy" underwent many evolutions over the years. Historical work prior to Foucault's *History of Sexuality, Volume 1* often makes the assumption that "sodomy" was the medieval equivalent of male, "homosexual," anal sex. Sodomy most often referred to same-sex acts between males, because this was the most troubling form of sodomy, and some authors (Albert the Great for example) explicitly define sodomy as same-sex act. Because sodomy meant more than one thing, the scholar must take care of assuming to whom and what the word refers. Recent scholarship challenges the idea that the word refers explicitly to male acts. "Sodomy" was a category of acts associated most commonly by contemporary writers with male, same-sex acts, but quite often the word served as an umbrella term, which would refer to anal sex, fellatio, onanism, masturbation, and non-procreative sex act between male-female partners, and same-sex partners. I chose texts where the usage of the word sodomy appeared to reference same-sex acts in particular, or by authors whose main concern when discussing sodomy was same-sex acts. For more information on the shifting definition of sodomy, see Foucault, Lochrie, and Mazzo-Karras.

motivations behind anti-sodomy anxiety.

Existing research tends to focus on the relationship between reform and clerical celibacy and the increasing antipathy towards same-sex acts expressed by church authors, largely ignoring that the clergy also bared the weight of accusations. In fact, there is no monograph about monks and same-sex desire. Boswell's monumental and unavoidable text, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*, was incorrect in both its original assertions: that the rise of cities resulted in the founding of homosexual (his usage) subcultures, whose visibility lead to increased intolerance; and that same-sex acts were tolerated until the Late Middle Ages.[19]

However, Boswell's work is important not only for its opening up the modern field of the historical study of same-sex/homosexuality, but also for the quality of his work. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* included sources previously untouched upon, and while Boswell is not a biblical scholar, his work is useful to trace the birth of animosity against same-sex acts. Where Boswell does touch on sodomy in religious communities, he discusses only the existence of their desire, and perhaps wrongly defines monastic poetry as homoerotic in nature, rather than an expression of the literary conventions of friendship.[20]

Concerning monasteries, Goodrich's *The Unmentionable Vice: Homosexuality in the Later Medieval Period* focuses on the historical context of increased persecution of "the unmentionable vice" from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, but only mentions monasteries on one page.[21] In *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe,* renowned medievalist James Brundage is similarly mum on the topic, devoting a sparse number of sentences to the topic within monasteries.

Only in the last ten years have scholars begun to trace the anxieties encoded in monastic rulebooks, architecture, monastic-enacted drama, and the outright condemnation of monasteries exclaimed in councils and moral treatises. Scholar V. A. Kolve initiated the investigation of monasteries and same-sex desire in his groundbreaking work, "Ganymede/Son of Getron:

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[19] Boswell, *Christianity and Homosexuality*, introduction, xv.
[20] Boswell, *Christianity and Homosexuality*, 191-192, 250.
[21] Goodich, *Unmentionable Vice*, vii, xv, 24.

Medieval Monasticism and the Drama of Same-Sex Desire," identifying aspects of monastic theatre and architecture intended to subvert same-sex desire.[22] Most scholarly articles follow Kolve's lead—looking at the anxiety encoded in monastic rules, treatises on friendship between monks, architecture, and drama. Although it primarily discusses the *Ancrene Wisse*, a rule used for regulating female orders, Robert Mills' article "Gender, Sodomy, Friendship, and the Medieval Anchorhold," is particularly relevant to my own topic. Mills provides a framework of looking at other same-sex relationships within enclosed communities—using the friendship-sodomy dyad as the subject of his analysis. Mills notes that after the twelfth century, "fleshy" friendships between monastics became a persistent source of anxiety.[23]

Similar to Mills' work, Michelle Sauer's article " Uncovering Difference: Encoded Homoerotic Anxiety within the Christian Eremitic Tradition in Medieval England" examines fear of monastic sodomy and how this fear manifested in monastic rules. Sauer demonstrates that monastic rulebooks' very specific guidance on daily activities, diet, and medicine attempted to diminish sexual desire within the enclosure. To have a monastery filled with unprincipled men, who were tied to certain libido-stoking forms of comfort, food, and drink, could be a very dangerous thing. Therefore, while the rulebooks may appear to the modern reader as mere ascetic excess, medieval clerics understood them as meaningful ways to prevent sin amongst brothers.[24]

While extant research has discussed the many mechanisms put in place to prevent same-sex relations, it neglects to answer the following: "Why same-sex acts? What threat did same-sex acts constitute to the monastic

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[22] V. A.Kolve "Ganymede/Son of Getron: Medieval Monasticism and the Drama of Same-Sex Desire." *Speculum* 73, no. 4 (October 1998): 1014-1067, accessed October 19, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2887367.

[23] Robert Mills, "Gender, Sodomy, Friendship, and the Medieval Anchorhold," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36, no. 1 (2010), 1-2, accessed October 9, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/jmedirelicult.36.1.0001.

[24] Michelle M. Sauer, "Uncovering Difference: Encoded Homoerotic Anxiety within the Christian Eremitic Tradition in Medieval England," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19, no. 1 (January 2010), 148-149, accessed September 9, 2017, ttp://www.jstor.org/stable/40663371.

community?" Most research does not deal extensively with the question of religious communities, despite the fact that historical records show that sex-segregated religious communities elicited some of the greatest amounts of anxiety from ecclesiastical authors. The paucity of research can also be attributed to the lack of sources admitting love or sex—surely the result of the clandestine nature of these acts—or a reflection of the attempt to obfuscate, or even eliminate, information by parties with a vested interest in their concealment. The lack of sources makes it almost impossible to make a comment about the extent of same-sex behaviours. It remains uncertain whether the existence of these acts was as rampant as historical actors made it out to seem, or whether an imagined "sodomy crisis" grew out of political, religious, and social changes, and inflamed ecclesiastical authors' imaginations.[25]

While sex between monks is often alluded to, feared, or winked at, historians do not have much definitive proof of penetrative sex having happened.[26] It is likely that most historians have evaded the question because penetration is taken as the standard of proof, but penetration is not an act which has not been transcribed into many sources, aside from criminal cases.[27] As a result, the historian of medieval sexual minorities must largely rely on reactionary statements to establish the existence of same-sex acts and desires. However, there is much we can glean from the negative reactions themselves.

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[25] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, 174.

[26] The trial of Arnaud de Verniolle in the fourteenth century is one rare incidence where historians have definite proof of a cleric confessing to engaging in "homosexual" sex. See Goodich's *Unmentionable Vice* for the English translation of the trial.

[27] Penetrative acts themselves cannot be the only way historians measure the existence of sexual minorities, as penetration is not the only way to express desire. Centering penetrative sex as the standard of proof of "homosexual" desire also forms a barrier to understanding the way monks' and medieval people understood desire. New work is being done on erotic poetry and correspondences between clergy members to uncover "sexless" modes of desire. Both John Boswell and Alan Bray point out that "erotic" friendships existed between monks. A deeper study would include an analysis of "non-sexual" sexually-charged relationships, but for the sake of space, I have limited my study to an analysis of anxiety around the monastery. It is unclear whether these works display romantic feelings or are simply products of literary tradition.

Ongoing discursive processes constructed and defined sodomy as an act diametrically opposed to the monastic profession and "normative" sex as a whole. Monks who committed sodomy broke multiple sexual taboos, most explicitly their vow to chastity, but they also transgressed boundaries concerning procreative-nonprocreative sex.[28] Expressions of earthly temptation within the enclosure seemed to imply that isolation, prayer, and devotion were not enough to eliminate sin, laying bare the basic failure of the monastic system to produce a truly saintly believer.[29] And clerics were a special group who were supposed to have "made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven."[30]

For practical reasons clerics feared sex acts amongst brothers. Chastity was required to enter the priesthood, therefore monks who were expunged from the monastery for engaging each other sexually endangered the continuance of the priestly profession. Peter Damian's *Book of Gomorrah* (1049) expressed his repugnance at what he called "incestuous" relationships between monks and their oblates, youth who were in the process of taking the monastic vow, arguing that such relations polluted the church, and literally deprived the church of a new generation of priests.[31]

While these explanations demonstrate the ways in which same-sex acts constituted a perennial threat to the monastic profession, there is little explanation as to why a moral panic exploded specifically during this time

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[28] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, 8.

[29] In addition, by the tenth century, the term "sodomy" held a meaning opposed to the monastic aim. Reforming monk Peter Damian (1007–1073) cemented the associations between same-sex acts and the indulgence and excess of the biblical city of Sodom, resulting in the word "sodomy." Sodomy represented all the excess, the wordy temptation, leisure, and sin which monks were supposed to have fled by entering the enclosure. See Peter Damian's *Book of Gomorrah*. Earlier work, such as Gregory the Great's *Moralia on Job* used the word Sodom to refer to sexual sin. For more information on how the word sodom came to refer to same-sex acts, refer to Jordan's *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology*.

[30] Abbot, Elizabeth *A History of Celibacy* (New York: Scribner, 1999), 49.

[31] Megan McLaughlin, "The Bishop in the Bedroom: Witnessing Episcopal Sexuality in an Age of Reform," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 1 (January 2010), 20, accessed September 9, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40663365. See also Kolve, 1028.

period. My analysis of primary source materials indicates that the most pressing concern of the time was the way in which the construction of "sodomy" derailed the Gregorian Reform centuries' reconfigurations of masculinity.

Scholar Maureen Miller characterised the period between 1050–1250, during which the Investiture Controversy took place—as a "reordering of ecclesiastical life and relations between civil and religious powers," where temporal and spiritual powers lobbied for domination of worldly affairs.[32] Miller asserts that this "movement was about men… about what kind of men should exercise authority."[33] Historians have only just begun to uncover the effects Gregorian reform and the Investiture Controversy had on medieval conception of gender.[34] It is into this body of research that I assert that sodomy rose to the forefront as a pressing concern of both gender/sexual and political importance, as normative masculinity was reconfigured and weaponised as a part of the sparring between the temporal and religious spheres.

The Gregorian Reform movement attempted to curb clerical excess and morally differentiate the clergy from the lay population, but in the process, monks and clergy alike were barred from the traditional trappings of masculinity: women, clothes, hunting, and drinking.[35] Ecumenical councils of

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[32] Maureen C. Miller, "Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era," *Church History* 72, no. 1 (March 2003): 26-27, accessed November 1, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4146803.

[33] Miller, "Masculinity and Clerical Culture," 27. The Investiture Controversy refers to the contest between ecclesiastical authority and state authority over which "sphere" held the power to elect church officials. It was part of the Gregorian Reform movement.

[34] Katherine Allen Smith, "Saints in Shining Armor: Martial Asceticism and Masculine Models of Sanctity, ca. 1050- 1250," *Speculum* 83, no. 3 (July 2008): 575, accessed October 28, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20466282.

[35] Miller, "Masculinity and Clerical Culture," 27. See also, Smith, "Saints," 574-575. James Brundage in *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* characterises the Gregorian Reform as an attempt to "reorganize and strengthen the papal administration with a view to transforming the papacy into a center for the dissemination and implementation of reform policies. During the pontificates of Leo IX and his successors, especially Pope Gregory VII (1073-85), the reform papacy appealed to dedicated Christians to subscribe to the ideal of a Church organization free from secular interference. Independent of political ties to monarchs, the Church,

the reform period sought to "preserve the ritual purity of churchmen's bodies," by declaring that clerics who took up arms or had contact with women or blood were anathema.[36] Outwardly emasculated, clerics occupied the space of spiritual eunuchs, the ideal set out by the church fathers in the first four centuries AD. However, as kings increasingly asserted their authority over church officials, pressure to assimilate to temporal models of masculinity increased, forcing church authors to redefine and reassert themselves as the most virile members of society.[37]

The clerical masculinity project took two forms in the clergy: an outward challenge to the secular realm achieved through adopting imagery of virile lay warrior, and an internal conflict characterized by eliminating associations to the feminine. It was the latter which resulted in even greater strictures against sodomy and masturbation, both of which were associated with femininity. It is of no surprise that during the Investiture Controversy, " an eruption of homophobic discourse [occurred] . . . ."[38] Condemnation served two purposes: not only did the church officials recognise moral regulation as a means to reassert power over the temporal sphere, but sodomy itself posed a threat to clerical masculine dominance.[39] Church officials, like archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, would wield their moral authority over kings as part of this contest. In 1212, Anselm commanded King William to hold a council for "the reformation of morals and correction of abuses in the kingdom."[40] The resulting Council of London condemned simony, clerical concubinage, and sodomy.[41] Similarly, at the Council of Lyon in 1245 Innocent II challenged emperor Frederick II by accusing him of taking male lovers, while "reiterating

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according to the reformers, ought to be economically self-supporting, relying on the income from its own properties, Church taxes, and contributions from the faithful." It resulted in a reformation of clerical morals and the condemnation of simony, sodomy, and clerical concubinage.

[36] Smith, "Saints," 582.

[37] Miller, "Masculinity and Clerical Culture," 26-27.

[38] Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law*, 21.

[39] Burgwinkle, 21.

[40] Boswell, *Christianity and Homosexuality*, 215. See also, Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law*, 29.

[41] Boswell, *Christianity and Homosexuality*, 215. See also, Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law*, 29.

Gregory VII's assertion that the Church [had] the divinely sanctioned right to interfere in secular and political matters."[42]

Beginning in the eleventh century, church writers rejected the model of the eunuch and embraced an image of the manful, authoritative, and militaristic cleric in order to respond to both popular demand for a dominant, independent clergy, and the perceived threat emanating from the knightly class and encroaching kings.[43] During and after the reform movement, monks and ecclesiastical authors increasingly wrote about themselves in aggressively masculine terms. Historian Maureen Miller notes that papal communications frequently used "the adverb *viriliter* ('in a manly fashion') to an expanding range of clerical actions."[44]

Ecclesiastics emphasised their superiority over laymen through associations with martial strength. Monks, who had traditionally represented themselves as *miles Christi*, soldiers of Christ, struck back at the crusading warrior class who had usurped this masculine identity by portraying themselves as *loricati*, "holy men who stood for a new current of martial asceticism."[45] In 1119, the great monastic reformer Bernard of Clairvaux spearheaded the support of the Knights Templar who represented the union of the saintly monk with the temporal warrior.[46] In a correspondence to Abbot Suger of St. Denis (which was part of a monastic complex), St. Bernard praised his decision to return to the monastic life, likening the abbot's spiritual guidance of his monks and the laypeople to "a soldier intrepid in war, or rather a general full of bravery and devotedness [who] holds firm on the field of battle and combats bravely . . . [with] sword in hand . . . "[47]

Establishing greater proximity to martial masculinity formed an active attempt to reestablish the clergy's dominance, but clerics also had to reduce that which would diminish claims to masculinity—femininity. Redactions of saints' lives and ecclesiastical correspondences referred endlessly to "manliness" of clerics, but also their absolute aversion to feminine

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[42] Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law*, 31.
[43] Miller, "Masculinity and Clerical Culture," 40.
[44] Miller, "Masculinity and Clerical Culture," 27-28.
[45] Smith, "Saints," 575-578.
[46] Smith, "Saints," 73.
[47] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, trans. Samuel Eales, *Some Letters of Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*, 47. accessed November 17 http://www.ccel.org/ccel/bernard/letters.html.

contamination.[48] This distinction was a deliberate attack to the laity's claims of manliness, and a crucial one, for this was the area where clerics had a distinct advantage over the lay population—churchmen were superior because they avoided association with the "weaker sex." Maureen Miller uses the *Life of St. Ubaldus* to illustrate that twelfth-century church authors valued distance from femininity. In the text, Ubaldus' friends urge him to marry and "manfully (*viriliter*) claim his inheritance." However, Ubaldus—as a symbol of the period's shifts in masculinity—violently shuns marriage, saying he will not give up his virginity for this would "pollute the cleanliness of [his] integrity with female rankness!" For refusing to take a female partner, "God [gives] Ubaldus great manly courage (*virtutam multam*) and His strength *(opem suam*)."[49] Thus, the author interrupts secular conceptions of manliness by inserting a new discourse; a truly virtuous man lacks feminine associations.

Superiority through successful evasion of feminine contamination was one clear advantage which clerics could claim, and by appealing to misogynistic logic, they constructed an "alternative masculinity, one that was envisaged as more powerful and more deserving of power because it was not weakened by association with the weaker sex."[50] By defining manliness as a state free from women's diffusionary weakness, clerics asserted their dominance over temporal leaders, who maintained association with women. This anti-feminine movement holds significance for the rise of the sodomy panic. The growing revulsion against *mollities* (feminine softness) transformed the cloister into a site of gender and sexual contention where sodomitical relationships between monks inverted gender norms. Same-sex acts between brothers invited the feminine into a masculine space, ultimately jeopardizing the church's claims to superior *virtus*. Therefore, anxiety directed at monasteries was directly related to the desire to exorcise the internal, feminised pollution from the clerical ranks.

As the result of the long struggle to redefine clerical masculinity, proximity to "female softness" now marked an inferior status. This shift was reflected in prohibitions on clerical marriage and concubinage, as well as attempts to eradicate monastic sodomy. A monk could "[f]lee all women's

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[48] Miller, "Masculinity and Clerical Culture," 41.

[49] Miller, 48.

[50] Miller, 50.

company, as well as the thought of them," by removing himself from the world, but by entering the enclosure, he put himself at risk of committing sodomy with fellow brothers and engaging in masturbation, acts which were associated with femininity.[51] To understand this web of connections between femininity and same-sex desire, we must go back to the biology of gendered desire, and the linguistic connections between gender, desire, the act of sex itself.

Anal sex between men imperiled institutional aspirations towards masculinity because the passive partner willingly gave up his "natural," active role, and adopt a role that was deemed to be a woman's. Biological sex was a determinant of sexuality; both the object of desire and one's sex position was dependent on one's sex.[52] Medieval logic held that men were more rational and active, which extended to a reading of their "proper" sexual position as the active partner. The origin of their sexuality lay in their "loins [which] represented strength, musculature, power, and activity."[53] Women 'naturally' assumed the role of the receiving partner,
because the center of their sexuality lay in the naval, and was associated with "passivity, receptiveness, and nurturing."[54] A man who forfeited his position as an active partner therefore gave up his natural role and took up one rightfully belonging to a woman. Unsurprisingly, some medieval doctors held that those who engaged in sodomy were thought to suffer from "disordered reproductive drive" because of a malfunctioning liver, which resulted in "enervation," a condition associated with women.[55]

The norms of medieval gendered-sexuality were also embedded in language, reinforcing their naturalness for medieval people. Take for example, the medieval French verb *foutre*, meaning "to penetrate," and the Middle English word *swiven.* The subject of the verb was a man, and the object almost always a woman. As evidenced by these transitive verbs, gender was predictive of what sexual role a person was supposed to assume. Regardless

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[51] Sauer, "Homoerotic Anxiety," 140.

[52] Joyce E. Salisbury, "Gendered Sexuality," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 81-83.

[53] Salisbury, "Gendered Sexuality," 85.

[54] Salisbury, 85.

[55] Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law*, 43.

of the sex of either partner, language dictated that the person who acted as the passive partner assumed the masculine role, while the passive partner assumed a feminine role.[56]

Alain of Lille, theologian and *Doctor Universalis,* made the most explicit connection between grammar, gender subversion and sodomy in his highly influential *Plaint of Nature* (1202). In the poem, de Lille condemned same-sex acts as a perversion of manhood as well as natural laws, and grammar. He criticised same-sex acts by drawing comparisons between rules of grammar and sexuality, saying, "the active sex shudders in disgrace as it sees itself degenerate into the passive sex. A man turned woman blackens the fair name of his sex . . . He is subject and predicate, one and the same term is given a double application. He pushes the laws of grammar too far. He, though made by Nature's skill, barbarously denies that he is a man."[57] de Lille made use of the fact that grammar held a "greater didactic weight as moral gravity than is now usual" to make a statement about natural sexual roles which of same-sex desire irrationally upended. Grammar had rules that speakers must follow, or else their speech became absurd, unintelligible, and pointless, and the same went for sexual partnerships. A miscoupling was ridiculous and purposeless because it did not end in conception.

Furthermore, de Lille used the authority of the goddess Natura (nature personified) to illustrate the natural order of proper grammatical and sexual roles, whose order was overthrown by the introduction of Venus (the personification of *luxuria*).[58] Employing misogynistic logic, de Lille argued that passive males defied the laws of a higher power and committed an unnatural inversion of their sex when they denied their active nature and allowed themselves to be turned degenerate, feminine form. Not even the active male partner escapes' de Lille's criticism. Although assuming the 'correct' sexual role, this "plowshare [plowing] along a sterile beach . . . strikes on an anvil which emits no sparks," an act through which "[he] deforms [his] own

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[56] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, 27. See also, Salisbury, "Gendered Sexuality," 85.
[57] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, 3-4. See also, Boswell, *Christianity and Homosexuality*, 310. Alain of Lille, *De planctu natura*, trans. Douglas M. Moffat (1908), accessed September 23, 2017, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/basis/alain-deplanctu.asp.
[58] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 69.

anvil."[59] Whatever position two male-partners assume, the act eroded their masculinity.

In other examples, medieval theological treatises targeted the effeminate male and the monk as the principal participants in same-sex acts. Conflation was invariable—perhaps the monastic profession attracted effeminate men or degenerated men to effeminacy. The most authoritative theologian of his time, Thomas Aquinas called sodomy the gravest of all sins in the *Summa Theologiae*. He solidified the association between sodomy and effeminacy, portraying these "unclean" and "effeminate acts" as "contrary to the natural order . . . whereby the very order of nature is violated, an injury is done to God, the Author of nature." [60]

Sermonising to clerics he believed to be ensnared in the clutches of sodomitical sin, Peter Damian, a monk himself and the most ardent critic of the sexual transgressions of the cenobitic community, personified the unmentionable sin as a lustful, defiling "queen" who "[made] the followers of her tyrannical laws filthy to men and hateful to God. She commands to join in evil wars against God . . . [separating] from the companionship of angels and captures the unhappy soul under the yoke of her domination away from its nobility."[61] Damian's choice of gender for sodomy personified is a critical detail—sodomy was a woman. Therefore, it was femininity which ravaged piety, and implored men to take on effeminate roles unbefitting of their station.

Speaking of those who committed the sin under the feminine defiler, Damian preached:

> Tell us, you unmanly and effeminate man, what do you seek in another male that you do not find in yourself? . . . Male virility, I say, should terrify you, and you should shudder at the sight of manly limbs. For it is the function of the natural appetite that each should seek outside himself what he cannot find within his own capacity. Therefore if the touch of the masculine flesh delights you, lay your hands upon yourself and be assured that whatever you

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[59] Alain of Lille, *De planctu natura*.

[60] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae,* trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (1998), accessed October 7, 2017, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/aquinas-sex.asp.

[61] Peter Damian, *The Book of Gomorrah*, trans. Peter Payer (Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982), 30.

do not find in yourself, you seek in vain in the body of another.[62]

Damian referenced the "natural law" of Christian sexuality—the union between two opposing forces, masculine and feminine—saying that a man seeking another man would not find that completion in another male. But at the same time, calling such a man "unmanly" and "effeminate" suggests that the sodomite indeed looked for the masculine element which he lacked; in one way or another, completing a union of positive and negative. According to Damian, that type of man could easily find himself within a cloister where he could "[fall] into wickedness with eight or even ten other equally sordid men," and remain within the enclosure because of the moral laxness of superiors.[63]

This lack of virility marked the sodomite as the "other," and made him a threat to the church's claims to *virtus*, which lead some to take on the task of eradicating the pollution. Paul of Hungary's *Summa of Penance* (1219–1221), levied charges of same-sex desire against two main groups: courtiers "who are not strong enough to have a quantity of women," which was a reference to the effeminacy of the sodomite, and "clerics and the cloistered who have little devotion in prayer and who detest discipline of the flesh."[64] As a confessional, the work seems excessively instructive for a penitential meant to merely mete out punishment. However, the *Summa*'s goal appears to be to instruct its reader (clerics) about the dangers of sodomy, especially male sodomy, is indicative of the pervasive fear that feminising sodomy was most practiced amongst priests and monks. The confessional itself reads not only as a warning to the confessor, but also as a carefully calculated guide to extract confession without exposing the cleric to poisonous knowledge of sodomy. For "the vice [was] to be spoken of with great caution," because it was feared

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[62] Peter Damian, "Letter 31," in *The Fathers of the Church: Mediaeval Continuation*, trans. Owen J. Blum (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 35.
[63] Damian, *Gomorrah*, 30.
[64] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 102, 94. The *Summa of Penance* was a highly influential penitential. While purporting to serve as a manual on how to take confessions, the *Summa* devoted no more than three lines to any other form of *luxuriaI*, yet nearly ten sections of the treatise—more than forty percent of the *Summa*—were devoted to sodomy (with an emphasis on male sodomy) and questions of its gravity, its consequences, its cause, and its punishments.

that its intoxicating allurement could be transmitted to the cleric, should the penitent speak too loosely.[65]

During the Gregorian Reform (1050–1080), the reformed clergy was barred from sexual engagement with women, two hallmarks of masculinity. It was feared by some that celibacy induced same-sex desire, joining long-standing suspicion that enclosure perverted normative masculinity.[66] But these fears surrounding sodomy were partly informed by the ongoing gender war between temporal and spiritual powers. The result was a battle to eradicate sodomy from the clergy, hence a notable increase in the number of publications which denounced the act.

In the Third Lateran Council (1179), Pope Alexander III ruled that clerics found guilty of sodomy, "that incontinence which is against nature, by reason which the anger of God came upon the children of disobedience, and consumed five cities by fire," ought to be disposed and confined to a monastery for the rest of their lives.[67] The effect was also felt in the monastery: in 1212, as a response to the increased fear of sodomy, the council of Paris reaffirmed the anti-sodomy terms of the Third Lateran Council (1179) and, in an effort to curb same-sex acts in monasteries, reconfirmed monasteries' commitment to the Rule of St. Benedict's sleeping arrangements, which were originally meant to prevent sexual encounters between the cloistered.[68]

In Vezelay monastery in France, the fear of sodomy manifested itself in the installation of the Ganymede Capital (1125–30), where all monks and young oblates could see it. The capital depicted the capture of the youthful Ganymede as "scene of terror with the boy hanging helplessly in the beak of the eagle, his arms flailing and his tunic flaring upward like a flame," serving as a warning of the consequences of giving into carnal desire.[69] Plays like

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[65] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, 111.

[66] Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law*, 31.

[67] Vern L. Bullough, "The Sin against Nature and Homosexuality," in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994), 63; Warren Johansson and William A. Percy, "Homosexuality," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 169.

[68] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society,* 64.

[69] Kolve, "Ganymede," 1021.

those discussed by V. A. Kolve, the late twelfth-century drama *Son of Getron*, were enacted in monasteries to provide monks with a model of how to safely channel and subvert their desire for one another.[70] Penitentials meted out punishment for sodomitical acts, with clerics generally receiving the harshest penalties, sometimes on par with murder.[71] From within the monastery came the voices like that of Aelred of Rievaulx who distinguished pure, spiritual friendships between monks from carnal ones, whose "real origin . . . [came] from an affection that, exposing its body to every wayfarer like a harlot, is led now here, now there, by the lust of its own ears and eyes."[72] From without came the voices of Peter Damian, Alain de Lille, Paul of Hungary, Albert the Great, and countless others.

As queer theorist David Halperin maintained, male passive partners committed an act of "gender inversion," when they assumed, against nature, a feminine role. A monk who committed sex acts with a brother invited "female rankness" into an elevated, masculine space, damaging the clergy's aspiration to establish themselves as the dominant masculine power. Rarely do scholars look at same-sex acts as anything other than a category of sexual deviancy, but my hope is that this study has illustrated that scholars can open new doors by examining how same-sex acts also inter-played with gender norms.

Sodomy was often conceived of as an invasion of the "other": foreigners, Islam, incest, and bestiality.[73] Femininity and womanhood represented the fundamental "other." Gender differences were the most salient and fundamental distinctions in the medieval world against which men defined themselves. Women deviated from the male-template: there was only was sex, male, with women as the inverse—an imperfect and inferior

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[70] Kolve, "Ganymede," 1018.

[71] "The Penitential of Columban," in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principle 'Libri Poenitentiales' And Selections From Related Documents,* trans. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 103, accessed September 28, 2017, ACLS Humanities E-Book.

[72] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Spiritual Friendship*, trans. Lawrence C. Braceland, ed. Marsha L. Dutton (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010) accessed October, 11, 2017, 62, https://www.cistercianpublications.org/Products/GetSample/CF005P/9780879079703.

[73] Boswell, *Christianity and Homosexuality*, 137-140, 171. See also Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society,* 399.

organism.[74] Association with femininity transferred a negative connotation to same-sex acts. By defining a man who engaged in same-sex acts as a feminine pollutant, normative masculine entities branded those acts with an inferior status, simultaneously privileging their own desires. Levying an accusation of sodomy against a man stripped him of his manliness, dragging him downward, closer to the space that unlucky Eve occupied. The sin of sodomy was based in misogyny.

Consequently, sodomy represented a spiritual and political danger to the monastic project. Sex between brothers introduced an unwanted foreign element into a space dedicated to God and masculinity. It challenged the premise that subjugation of the flesh was possible even under the strictest asceticism and extreme devotion, threatening the belief that saintliness was even possible. And sexual unions between monks threatened to diminish the numbers of men entering the priesthood, and undermined the bonds which kept the entire monastic community safe.

When I began my research on the monastery, I had a completely different aim in mind. Inspired by queer theorist Gayle Rubin, I sought to uncover the development of a dangerous sexual hierarchy, which privileged procreative heterosexuality by "granting virtue" (and the privileges that go with moral superiority and normality) for those who conformed to Christian sexual ethics, while "[relegating] vice," and all the oppressive, punitive notions that go with sin, "to the underprivileged."[75] As contemporaries and critics noted, in their religious zeal, monasteries produced the conditions that would enable not only spiritual, but also romantic and sexual relationships. V. A. Kolve put it best when he said, "Cenobitic monasticism . . . was founded upon emotions it both valorized and feared."[76]

Ultimately, I saw in the monastery a confluence of vice and virtue, where normative ethics were presumed to hold dominion, but the realities of space and desire produced an ineluctable eroticism between bodies. Although the literal translation of his words do not have this meaning, to the modern

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[74] Merry E. Weisner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 23.

[75] Gayle Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 153.

[76] Kolve, "Ganymede," 1041.

reader, the command St. Basil gave to all monks appears hauntingly fitting: "A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another."[77]

[77] St. Basil, "The Long Rules," 35.

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Transmission Down Through the Centuries:

The Transforming Social Dimensions Behind the Art of Remounting Chinese Scrolls

Meishan Liang

I. Introduction

As essential as mounting paintings and calligraphy onto a stable surface is in Chinese art connoisseurship, the practice has been historically undervalued in significance among the highest-level literati. Insofar as a professional relationship was concerned, mounting pioneered and necessitated an implicit social dialogue between mounters and their social superiors. Moreover, the nature of *re*mounting augmented the limited modes of transmission restricted by the initial mounting. Just like other more conspicuous literary traditions, such as those of seals and inscriptions, remounting mediated a dynamic interpretation of Chinese scrolls through successive dynasties, transmitting a rich cultural heritage to the present. Through the process of remounting, the object served as the nexus of a web of fluid social relations between the collector and the mounter, who together position the remounted object at the center of an ongoing dialogue with the past, present, and future.

The following thesis is divided into two main sections: the culture of mounting and remounting, and a discussion of different mounting modifications. I focus my analysis on the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1912) dynasties of the late imperial period. It was during this time that a heightened awareness developed among collectors of the importance of mounting, and to that end I rely on two main primary sources that illustrate this process: Ming scholar Zhou Jiazhou's 周嘉胄 (1582–c. 1660) *Zhuanghuang zhi* 裝潢志 ("The Book of Mounting") and Qing collector Zhou Erxue's 周二學 (active 1712–1733) *Shang yan su xin lu* 賞延素心錄 ("Records of Prolonged Gratification of the Simple Heart"). However, I make frequent references to earlier Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) dynasty texts, as the process and

purpose of mounting has remained relatively unchanged since its inception. Aside from the fact that connoisseurs created the first records of mounting, an analysis of connoisseurs', rather than professional mounters', essays is more conducive to this thesis's study of the social dimensions of mounting. It is the collector who chooses the mounter with which to entrust the object, and connoisseurs' writings better reflect his concerns for his possession.

Most of the English translations of primary sources cited in this thesis come from Robert Hans van Gulik's *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (1958). Van Gulik was a Dutch diplomat stationed in East Asia, mainly in Japan and China, from 1935 to 1945. Although he is mainly known for his "Judge Dee" mysteries, his well-researched *Chinese Pictorial Art* has become the basis of Western scholarship on the art of Chinese connoisseurship.[78] Van Gulik recognized the lack of reliable Western scholarship on Chinese art, unlike the more abundant dozen or so essays on Chinese ceramics, which is why he drew upon his own experiences in collecting to address this topic.[79] Although there is a copious amount of Chinese literature on Chinese painting and calligraphy, its specialized language presupposes a certain degree of cultural knowledge, which is not as consequential in the study of ceramics. Additionally, it was difficult for Western scholars to study quality Chinese art specimens and were thus limited in their ability to recognize forgery.[80]

Van Gulik realized that mounting is not just a protective measure or a tool to determine authenticity, and that the study of scroll mounting is essential in the research of Chinese art history.[81] Alarmed by the dwindling number of professional mounters Van Gulik devoted half his book to the history and technique of mounting, writing that "... knowledge of the technique of mounting acquaints the student with a special vocabulary that constitutes the link between Western and Chinese art criticism… the art of mounting is the gate to Chinese connoisseurship."[82]

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[78] A. R. P. Hulsewé, "R. H. Van Gulik (1910-1967)," *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, 54, no. 1/3 (1968): 118, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4527706, accessed May 28, 2019.
[79] Van Gulik, xiv.
[80] Van Gulik, xiv.
[81] Van Gulik, xiv.
[82] Van Gulik, xix.

While I agree with Van Gulik's conclusion that the study of mounting is key to understanding the cultural transmission of Chinese art, I also aim to situate mounting as the catalyst of a remarkable cross-class social interaction. I explore how these transforming social relationships in turn influenced a greater awareness for proper remounting in the late imperial period. I propose that the uniqueness of remounting, as well as questions of trust, redefined and elevated the mounter to a position of greater equality in the patron-artisan relationship. Finally, I focus on how the physicality and mechanics of mounting can factor into different parties' claims to cultural legitimacy, and how that translates to an unseen yet dynamic dialogue between parties of different social classes across varying historical timelines and well into the present day.

II. The Art of Mounting

Material objects typically degrade with the passage of time. This is especially the case for scroll paintings and calligraphy, which are unique Chinese cultural products. These scrolls are made of paper and silk, making them fragile and susceptible to insect damage. Historically, they have faced destruction by war or fire. Zhou Jiazhou laments in his renowned *Zhuanghuang zhi*, "... because of these evils, but one-hundredth part of them is preserved. If the scrolls … are mounted by the wrong people, they will be spoilt beyond repair. This is truly a cause for great indignation."[83] Although the particulars of this estimation cannot be taken at face value, Zhou Jiazhou demonstrates the common understanding among literati that only a small number of works has survived down through the centuries. In fact, the survival prospects of an artwork were closely linked to how well it was mounted.

Strictly speaking, an artwork is not complete before it is mounted. A newly completed work of Chinese painting or calligraphy[84] is a wrinkled piece of silk or paper, with little aesthetics to speak of. The thinness of the

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[83] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," quoted and translated in Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale, 1958), 290. 種種惡劫，百不傳一，於百一之中。裝潢非人，隨手損棄，良可痛惋。

[84] I use the term "painting" in the rest of this thesis to stand-in for both painting and calligraphy.

paper or silk causes wrinkling from the drying ink to become pronounced, distracting from an overall appreciation of the work (See **Figure 1**). In fact, mounting could be interpreted as finishing the artist's creation, since it is only after mounting that viewers see the work without wrinkles, in its full glory, as the artist wanted it to be seen.[85] The mounter decides the success or failure of the artwork, which is why it is important to employ a skilled mounter to finish that crucial last step. Zhou Jiazhou even proclaims, "I venture to say that the mounter is the arbiter of the destiny of scrolls."[86]

54.– CHI-I-CHAI 集義齋, WRITTEN BY A JAPANESE SINOLOGUE AND DEDICATED TO THE AUTHOR (芝亭先生雅屬)
Unmounted paper scroll, front and reverse. 84 by 36 cm.

Figure 1 Unmounted piece of calligraphy. From Van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, 111.

Mounting serves primarily two purposes: to strengthen the canvas of the artwork with a tough backing, and to aesthetically complement as well as draw out the beauty of the artwork.[87] If both goals are met, the value and

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[85] Zhou Jiazhou 周嘉胄, *Zhuanghuang zhi tushuo* 裝潢志圖說, annot. Tian Jun 田君 (Qinan: Shandong Huabao Press, 2003), 121.

[86] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 291. 竊謂裝潢者，書畫之司命也。

[87] Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale,

beauty of the art is magnified. This marvel is exemplified in the Chinese saying, "Thirty percent artwork, seventy percent mounting."[88] However, the ancients (before the late imperial period) later realized that a successful mounting was contingent upon a certain requirement: choosing the proper materials. This would protect the painting from further damage and make it convenient for a later remounting. A good mounting will last for centuries, although past technological limitations often made this difficult to realize in practice.

The mounting process is fraught with dangers, as the painting is saturated in several solutions before it gets mounted. First, a thin alum solution is applied to both sides of the painting to prevent ink or pigments from running. The mounter then applies a backing to the painting by pasting the entire back surface onto a thicker sheet of paper, leaving it to dry on a large flat board. More layers of backing are added as necessary to ensure the durability of the painting. After the backing has dried completely, which may take more than a week, the mounter can then finish off the painting by adding a stave and roller to make it into a scroll.[89] After the mounting is completed, the painting's surface is now smooth. The series of mounting treatments reconstitutes the surface of the painting, whereupon the painting dries evenly without any wrinkles. A perfectly mounted scroll must maintain the perfect tension and "... be smooth and supple so that one can roll and unroll it easily, without its getting askew. Yet, at the same time, it may not be so loose as to get warped when suspended on the wall nor so stiff as to develop creases when rolled up quickly ... [and] if when being partially unrolled on the table it stays that way when one lets it go, neither curling up on its own account nor rolling out further."[90]

1958), 10.

[88] Chinese Art Mounting Research Institute (Zhongguo shuhua zhuangbiao gongyi xueyuan shuhua zhuangbiao jiaoyan shi) 中國書畫裝裱工藝學院書畫裝裱教研室, *Zhongguo shuhua zhuangbiao yishu* 中國書畫裝裱藝術 (Qinan: Qilu Book Press, 2002), 408. "三分書畫，七分裝裱。"

[89] Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin. Paper and Printing, Part I of Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Vol. 5 of Science and Civilization, ed. Joseph Needham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 80.

[90] Van Gulik, 10.

It is an even greater endeavor to remount a painting. Remounting an old scroll first requires soaking the entire painting in water, before painstakingly peeling off the layers of old backing.[91] Song painter and connoisseur Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) wrote in his *Hua shi* 畫史 ("Notes on Painting"), "If its front mounting is ugly, you may change the front mounting. But everytime you change the backing, the scroll will be damaged … For the spirit and colouring of pictures of human figures, and the compact yet slender grace of flower paintings, all this rests entirely with the subtle interchange of heavy and light brush work. If the backing of a painting is changed once, these subtle nuances will mostly be lost."[92] Thus, the skill of the remounter determines how much of the painting can be preserved, as every time the backing is changed, the painting loses some of its original charm.

Mounting to Chinese scrolls cannot be equated to what framing is to oil canvases. It may be more appropriate to compare a Western frame to the front mounting (borders of the mounted painting) of a scroll, as the front mounting can be altered without compromising the integrity of the painting.[93] However, unlike how Western paintings can do without a frame, it is impossible for a Chinese painting to not have a mounting, front or otherwise. Van Gulik explains,

> "A mounting must meet artistic requirements without being so strikingly beautiful as to divert attention from the picture itself. The mounting must detach the picture from its surroundings but at the same time it must not give the impression of clamping it in a rigid frame. The mounting should harmonize in colour and design with the picture yet it on no account blend into it. The mounting should separate the picture from its surroundings yet not be so prominent a framing as to strike the eye of the observer before he has noticed the picture itself. The mounting should frame the scroll in an unobtrusive

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[91] Tsien, 80.

[92] Mi Fu, *Hua shi* ("Notes on Painting"), quoted and translated in Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale, 1958), 191. 褾若不佳。換褾。一次背。一次壞。。。蓋人物精神髮彩。花之穠豔蜂蝶。只在約畧濃淡之間。一經背。多或失之也。

[93] See Mi Fu's quote above (Footnote 15).

> way; the observer should, as it were, notice the mounting only subconsciously."[94]

As the mounting cannot be changed easily, the demanding considerations of the mounting process are enough to initiate its own discipline in painting, on equal footing with the study of seals. However, it is due to the mounters' historic accomplishment of a tradition of an understated elegance that Chinese scholars have neglected the importance of such a subject.

Although the Chinese term for mounting, *zhuangbiao* 裝裱, refers to securing paintings on all types of mounts, including albums, fans, and screens, the scope of this paper addresses only artworks mounted on scrolls. Of the three basic formats of traditional Chinese painting—handscroll, hanging scroll, and album—the scroll formats, which include handscrolls (See **Figure 2**) and both vertical and horizontal hanging scrolls (See **Figure 3**), are more permanent and difficult to remount than albums (either in book or accordion format).[95] I will not address albums because collectors primarily used albums to house stone rubbings, which typically require neither retouching nor aesthetic sensibilities. On the other hand, the scroll format facilitates a greater degree of interaction between the collector, mounter, and retoucher, as it requires a keener sense of aesthetics, such as determining the total dimensions of the scroll, the amount of extra paper to add for various inscriptions, and the complementary color scheme.

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[94] Van Gulik, 10.

[95] Christina Yu, "Interacting through and on Painting: A Case Study of the Zhou Zhi and Shen Zhou Handscroll in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," *Chicago Art Journal* 18 (2008): 47.

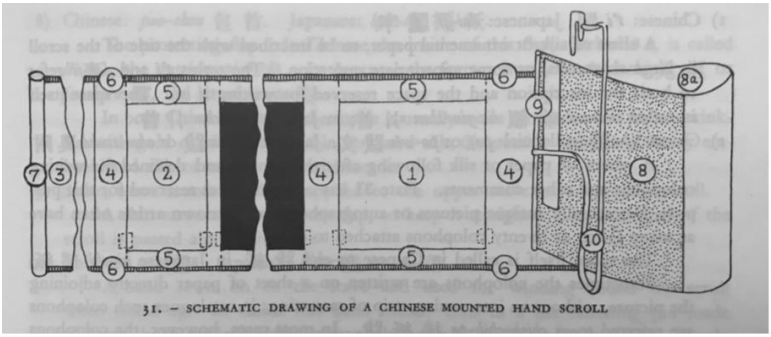
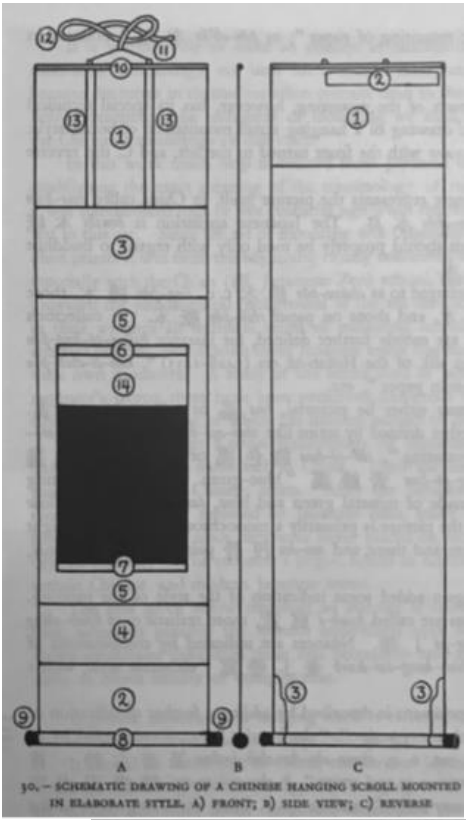


Figure 2 Basic schematic of a hand scroll. From Van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, 67, 155.



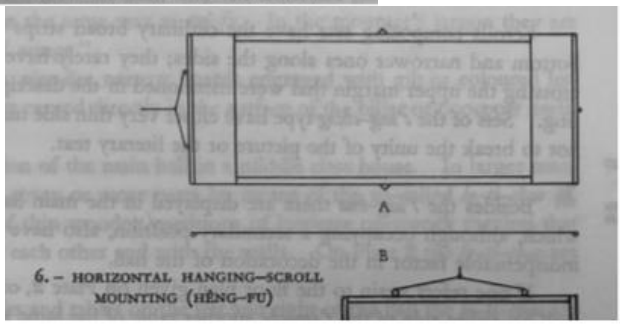


Figure 3 Schematic of vertical and horizontal hanging scrolls. From Van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, 64, 21.

III. Early Accounts

Although silk was used as a writing medium as early as the 6th–7th centuries BCE, the history of mounting did not start until after the "invention"

of paper, which is historically credited to Cai Lun 蔡倫 (d. 121 CE).[96] His innovation of adding paper mulberry to the already extant paper-making process of utilizing cloth rags produced a smooth surface that truly transformed paper into a suitable writing medium.[97] Tang connoisseur Zhang Huaiguan 張懷瓘 (active during the reign of Tang emperor Xuanzong, 713–756) records in the *Erwang deng shulu* ("Records of the 'Two Wang'), "During the Chin [Jin] dynasty (265–420) people mounted these autographs (by the Two Wang) (together on long hand scrolls) … and the paper with which these scrolls were backed developed creases. It was Fan Yeh [Fan Ye 范曄] (398–420, author of the *Houhan shu* 後漢書) who produced somewhat better mountings."[98] Scroll mounting was a gradual process of trial and error, as people experimented with and developed better materials.

The first complete description of the mounting process appears in 847, in Tang dynasty scholar-artist Zhang Yanyuan's 張彥遠 (c. 815–c. 877) chapter *Lun zhuangbei biaozhou* 論裝背標軸 ("Discussion of the backing, front mounting and rollers (of antique scrolls)") in his art treatise *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 ("Records of famous paintings of the succeeding dynasties").[99] Zhang Yanyuan praises Fan Ye's competence in mounting, but was more concerned with the urgency of repairing and remounting damaged scrolls. He writes, "Those who carelessly roll and unroll them, damage the scrolls by their rough handling. Those who do not understand the art of mounting, let scrolls lie about without repairing them in time. That thus the number of genuine scrolls is ever decreasing, is this not a reason for grief?"[100] Due to

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[96] Silk was not a suitable backing material. See Mi Fu's anecdote on p. 17-18.

[97] Tsien, 4, 40-41.

[98] The "Two Wang" refer to the Sage of Calligraphy Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321-379) and his son Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344-388). Zhang Huaiguan, *Erwang deng shulu* ("Records of the 'Two Wang') "), quoted and translated in Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale, 1958), 139. 晉代裝書，真草渾雜，背紙皺起。范曄裝治微為小勝。I use pinyin romanization in my paper, following present convention, but leave proper names in quotes in Wade-Giles romanization.

[99] Van Gulik, 148.

[100] Zhang Yanyuan, *Lun zhuangbei biaozhou* ("Discussion of the backing, front mounting and rollers (of antique scrolls)"), in *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 ("Records of

their expertise, Zhang Yanyuan and Mi Fu are known as the sages of the early mounting tradition.[101]

IV. The *Zhuanghuang zhi* and the *Shang yan su xin lu*

Much of the recorded art historical information on the practice of mounting appears only in bits and pieces of art collecting essays, but Ming scholar Zhou Jiazhou's *Zhuanghuang zhi* ("The Book of Mounting") and Qing collector Zhou Erxue's *Shang yan su xin lu* ("Records of Prolonged Gratification of the Simple Heart") are full-length treatises dedicated solely to this occupation. Other essays about mounting appeared in the Ming and Qing dynasties, but most of them only reiterated earlier writings.[102] Conversely, the *Zhuanghuang zhi* and the *Shang yan su xin lu* became the textbook works on mounting due to their comprehensive nature, as well as the addition of the authors' personal insights. The two treatises are referred to as *shuangbi* 雙壁 "twin bastions," speaking to their significance to the legacy of mounting.[103]

In reality, the *Zhuanghuang zhi* is often favored over the *Shang yan su xin lu*. Zhou Jiazhou was the first to compile into one treatise the procedure for mounting scrolls—emphasis here on *first*, as it was common practice for scholars to "borrow" from the writings of predecessors, "... the name of the game being as much elegantly modified but unattributed citation as it is independent creation *de novo*."[104] Zhou Erxue modeled his writings on the *Zhuanghuang zhi*, only making some clarifications and adding some suggestions. Even so, the *Zhuanghuang zhi* is still more exhaustive, and written in a more elegant literary style.[105]

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famous paintings of the succeeding dynasties"), quoted and translated in Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale, 1958), 149. 卷舒失所者，操揉便損。不解裝潢者，隨手棄損。遂使真跡漸少，不亦痛哉。

[101] Feng Pengsheng 馮鵬生, *Zhongguo shuhua zhuangbiao jifa* 中國書畫裝裱技法 (Beijing: Beijing Gongyi Meishu Press, 2002), 7.

[102] Feng, 6.

[103] Zhou Jiazhou, Zhuanghuang zhi tushuo, annot. Tian Jun, 4. Translation mine.

[104] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 28.

[105] Van Gulik, 315-316.

Zhou Jiazhou was a native of Jiangsu province, allowing him to learn from the very best mounters, who were in Suzhou of his home province.[106] He was deeply knowledgeable as an amateur mounter, having personally mounted rubbings in and created cardboard covers for albums.[107] Zhou Jiazhou wrote the *Zhuanghuang zhi* for "kindred spirits," entreating collectors intending to remount their scrolls "... first to make a careful study of this book of mine, to spare yourself the fear lest in course of time these treasures might perish."[108] Zhou Jiazhou was also famous for his two-decade long work on incense, *Xiangsheng* 香乘, later collected into the Qianlong Emperor's (r. 1736–1796) encyclopedia, the *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries).[109] By association, this elevated the *Zhuanghuang zhi*'s prestige.

In contrast to Zhou Jiazhou, Zhou Erxue was not a particularly well-known figure. Van Gulik notes the *Shang yan su xin lu*'s less eloquent language (than the *Zhuanghuang zhi*), and Wang Chu 王澍 (1668–1739), one of the people who wrote a preface to the *Shang yan su xin lu,* refers to Zhou Erxue as "a simple and poor scholar."[110] The people who wrote the prefaces to his books describe him only as an avid collector and connoisseur, which do not define a social position of consequence. As Van Gulik notes, "... the slightly patronizing tone gives the impression that the writers did not consider Chou Êrh-hsüeh [Zhou Erxue] as their social or scholarly equal."[111] The *Shang yan su xin lu* probably avoided obscurity because its four prefaces were written by distinguished literati. This condescending attitude illustrates a social continuum of collectors in late imperial China. By analyzing how the *Shang yan su xin lu* became so famous despite Zhou Erxue's humble background, we can observe how the treatise mediated a social dialogue among the literati.

We should first discuss the hand-copied manuscripts of Zhou Erxue's only other work, the *Yijue bian* 一角編, a catalogue of his small collection of

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[106] Van Gulik, 283.

[107] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 306.

[108] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 291. 欲加背飾，乞先於此究心，庶不虞損棄。

[109] Feng, 101.

[110] Van Gulik, 315.

[111] Van Gulik, 315-316.

scrolls.[112] Unlike in other collector's catalogues, Zhou Erxue carefully describes the mounting technique of each scroll, which helps to establish his credibility as an authority on scroll mounting.[113] However, the three literati that wrote postscripts to an 1842 manuscript copy, a century after Zhou Erxue's death, emphasized the beauty of Zhou Erxue's calligraphy, and not his eye of discernment.[114] The manuscript served a purpose similar to that of a scroll in this exchange, as one person who obtained the manuscript would pass it on to his friends, who would also respond positively to it because their friend had also praised it. In an 1833 manuscript copy, a collector emphasized in his postscript that he and Zhou Erxue shared the same hometown.[115] Other than general praise for Zhou Erxue's aesthetic judgement, these literati did not address the essence of his work. The first group treats his work as a calligraphy sample, while the second group writes a postscript as a favor to a fellow townsman. This was a mutually beneficial practice, since the *Yijue bian* (should it become celebrated) would elevate both literati's hometown as well as their own social prestige.

Based on the manuscript copies of the *Yijue bian*, if we look retrospectively at the contemporaneous prefaces of the *Shang yan su xin lu*, we can see a development of Zhou Erxue's personal social network. The four personages who wrote prefaces for the *Shang yan su xin lu* may have also been contemporaries from Hangzhou, but that was not enough for them to endorse his work.[116] First of all, Zhou Erxue's work had to be presentable so that their reputations would not be sullied. It was not a problem if Zhou Erxue's language was not eloquent; they would just say that he was "... detailed without being verbose, and concise without missing the main points, I know that fellow Chou (Chia-chou) [Zhou Jiazhou] had better make a strategic

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[112] Van Gulik, 496.

[113] Van Gulik, 496.

[114] Guo Jianping 郭建平, "Cong huaxue zhulu shouba kan qingdai jiangnan wenren de hudong quanceng" 從畫學著錄手跋看清代江南文人的互動圈層, *Journal of Xiamen University (Arts & Social Sciences)* 4 (of 2015): 152, retrieved May 1, 2019, from www.cnki.net.

[115] Guo, 152.

[116] Van Gulik, 315.

withdrawal to some distant spot."[117] By elevating the *Shang yan su xin lu* to the level of the acclaimed *Zhuanghuang zhi* in their prefaces, they promoted themselves for recognizing a diamond in the rough. In addition, those who wrote prefaces for Zhou Erxue's first work, *Yijue bian*, were probably inclined to do the same for his second. In fact, Van Gulik indicates that two people did write prefaces for both.[118] Other notable figures, seeing the prefaces by their peers, might also have been disposed to leave a preface in his book. These people would now remember his name, creating the perfect opportunity for Zhou Erxue to forge his own social connections. There are records of Zhou Erxue dedicating a poem to Ding Jing 丁敬 (1695–1765), one of the people who wrote his preface, which shows that they were more than just acquaintances.[119] Although the dissemination of Zhou Erxue's book was dependent on a high-end literati exchange, it allowed its author to take advantage of it and become recognized within this circle.

V. The Inception of a Social Role for Mounting

Remounting a scroll requires considerable resources: time, money, and the social connections needed to employ the services of an excellent remounter and retoucher. This illustrates quite an intriguing social phenomenon, as a literary exchange takes place between a learned connoisseur and a less literate mounter. Most importantly, the collector should have the know-how of remounting and of general maintenance, to ensure that he is doing his best in preserving his collection. None of these prerequisites are cheap, which is why only those who had the wealth and leisure to acquire works of art, most likely the literati social class or wealthy merchant connoisseurs, would have been willing to expend these resources.

Successfully restoring a painting added to a collector's social prestige. Zhou Jiazhou writes, "Even if you don't invite guests to drink and celebrate [after mounting the scroll], it will be necessary to drink seven bowls of tea to

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[117] Ding Jing, preface to "The Book of Mounting" by Zhou Jiazhou, trans. Van Gulik, 326. 精而不苛，簡而有要。知彼周郎自當退避三捨也己。

[118] Van Gulik, 315.

[119] Zhou Erxue, poem to Ding Jing, in *Liang zhe youxuan lu* 两浙輶軒錄, Volume 26 (Qing dynasty Jiangqing block-print edition), compiled by Ruan Yuan 阮元, p. 1075.

savor your joyous mood."[120] This quote indicates that it was not uncommon to show off a newly remounted scroll, especially to those who had seen the scroll before remounting. This was especially true during the mid-16th century, when "the 'enjoyment of antiquities' shifted from being a personal predilection (one of a number of potential types of privileged cultural activity) to being an essential form of consumption which was central to the maintenance of elite status."[121] Still, this did not preclude less affluent people from acquiring a sizeable collection of their own, as shown in the case of Zhou Erxue.

A person's social worth could also be couched in terms of innovations to the methods of the ancients. Zhou Jiazhou writes in the *Zhuanghuang zhi*, "Generally the upper stave of a scroll is rounded along one side, like the back of a carp. I myself occasionally use square and flat upper staves, slightly hollowed out on the inside, so that (when the scroll is rolled up) the curve of the scroll wound round its roller fits in the concave side of the stave. This is a special method of my own discovery."[122] His claim to this improvement convinces his readers that he has indeed mastered the art of remounting. It also distinguishes his treatise from similar compilations, cementing its place as the quintessential text on mounting. Had Zhou Erxue not made any innovations of his own, the *Shang yan su xin lu* would not have been worth a mention.

Zhou Erxue's main supplement to the *Zhuanghuang zhi* does not deal

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[120] Zhou Jiazhou, *Zhuanghuang zhi tushuo*, annot. Tian Jun, 80. Above English translation mine, from the modern Chinese translation "這時如果不邀請賓客共飲助興，也要自斟七碗香茶，以熏陶喜悅的心情。". (Original text: 若不三雅酬興，亦須七碗熏心。Literal translation: "If there are not the Three Elegant Goblets to answer your elated mood, then the Seven Cups should delight your heart with their fragrance.") Van Gulik has another reading: "If, however, you cannot afford to have such costly mountings, then simple but tasteful materials will do just as well." (See Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 300.) Here, Van Gulik is interpreting the Three Elegant Goblets (of wine) as a sign of luxury and the Seven Cups (of tea) as a sign of humility.

[121] Clunas, 108.

[122] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 300. 畫貼裱用鯽魚背式，余間用方而委角者，靠裏一面，令稍凹以適圓桿之宜。

with the remounting process, but rather focuses on the proper method for displaying a hanging scroll. Zhou Erxue explains his use of a rack with a long crossbar at the top (mostly likely of his own invention) on which the upper part of the hanging scroll would drape over.[123] Van Gulik questions the necessity of this tool, as it would have been simpler to suspend the scroll from a hook high on the wall.[124] However, this rack does allow connoisseurs to study the upper part of vertical hanging scrolls at eye level, which may provide those connoisseurs with invaluable new insights. Zhou Erxue's invention could similarly be interpreted as a boost to his social prestige.

Zhang Yanyuan, too, explicitly delineates his contribution to the ancients in his *Lun zhuangbei biaozhou* (chapter in the *Lidai minghua ji*). He writes, "When boiling paste … I always add a small quantity of powdered *kunduruka* incense (an Indian incense, made from the resin of a tree), ground very fine, as an idea of my own; this will keep insects away for ever, and moreover increase the viscosity of the paste. This is a thing the ancients had not thought of."[125] This procedure is recorded in the *Zhuanghuang zhi*, and its efficacy is demonstrated by its continued use nearly a millennium later.[126] Because Zhang Yanyuan claimed discovery of this specific procedure, his posthumous reputation is magnified in admiration of his creative genius.

VI. The Necessity of Remounting

The history of remounting is a history of increasing sophistication, from ignorance to awareness of the significance of proper mounting. In fact, one of the reasons why remounting became necessary was the assumption that everyone knew how to mount scrolls, causing people to unknowingly mount their paintings incorrectly. Zhang Yanyuan writes in the chapter *Lun jianzhi shoucang gouqiu yuewan* "論鑒識收藏購求閱玩" ("On Discerning, Collecting, Acquiring, Appreciating") of his *Lidai minghua ji*, "There are those who collect without being able to discern, discern while failing to appreciate, appreciate but lack the skill to frame and mount, frame and mount yet neglect

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[123] Van Gulik, 319.

[124] Van Gulik, 319.

[125] Zhang Yanyuan, *Lun zhuangbei biaozhou*, in *Lidai minghua ji*, trans. Van Gulik, 150. 凡煮糊。。。余徃徃入少細研薰陸香末。出自拙意。永去蠹而牢固。古人未之思也。

[126] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 308.

to select and rank—all these are faults common among collectors."[127] As early as the Tang dynasty, Zhang Yanyuan had realized the importance of mounting, viewing it as an essential skill of collectors, on par with connoisseurship. He does not write about mounting here in a purely aesthetic sense of beautifying the front mounting, but in a practical one, or else he would not have devoted an entire chapter to remounting.[128]

Due to the assumption that every knowledgeable collector knew how to mount scrolls, all historical writings on mounting, including the *Zhuanghuang zhi*, are actually about remounting. Although the procedures for remounting and mounting are essentially the same, handling a damaged painting like a freshly-made painting is a recipe for disaster. In addition to removing the old backing from the painting to be remounted, it may need to go through additional treatments, such as patching holes, repairing bursts (breaks in the painting due to abrupt climatic change), and solidifying pigments, before being remounted.[129] These treatments are better left to the professionals, but it is possible for collectors to perform the treatments themselves. Before the Ming, many collectors may not have known about the technical aspects of remounting. However, with the dissemination of the *Zhuanghuang zhi*, collectors would have performed remounting in an authoritative fashion to prolong the life of their artwork.

A conscientious mounter should clarify to the collector about the consequences of using improper materials in mounting. This would not seem to be a big issue at the time of mounting, as the basic requirement of mounting is to provide the painting with a backing, but what if the painting needs to be cleaned and remounted in the future? Using improper materials may damage the painting, as explicated by Song painter and connoisseur Mi Fu 米芾 in the *Hua shi* against the use of silk as a backing material. He

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[127] Zhang Yanyuan, *Lun jianzhi shoucang gouqiu yuewan* "論鑒識收藏購求閱玩" ("On Discerning, Collecting, Acquiring, Appreciating"), in *Lidai minghua ji*, quoted and translated by Wai-yee Li, "The Collector, the Connoisseur, and Late-Ming Sensibility," *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, 81, fasc. 4/5 (1995): 270, retrieved April 7, 2019 from www.jstor.org. (Original text quoted in Feng, 94. 則有收藏而未能鑒識，鑒識而不善閱玩者，閱玩而不能裝褫，裝褫而殊無銓次者——此皆好事者之病也。)

[128] See Zhang Yanyuan, *Lun zhuangbei biaozhou*, in *Lidai minghua ji*.

[129] Van Gulik, 116.

recounts, "Wang Hsin [Wang Shen 王詵 (c.1048– c.1104)] formerly also used to have the autographs in his collection backed with silk. At first he did not believe me. Later, however, he noticed that the characters of his Huan-wên [Huan Wen] autograph had become blurred (by rubbing against the silk backing), and that the texture of the backing had worked right through the scroll, till its pattern had become visible on the paper of the autograph. Then he was annoyed, and kept a sheet of thin paper from Shê-hsien rolled up together with the scroll (so as to protect its surface against the silk backing). And thereafter he never again used silk."[130] The details of damage made and Wang Shen's response establish the veracity of Mi Fu's anecdote and concerns about silk, an improper mounting material.

Zhou Jiazhou similarly warns about the dangers of using improper materials in mounting. He proclaims, "Clumsy mounters, however, will always use for making backings *kang-lien* or *lien-ch'i* paper. Using *kang-lien* (for remounting scrolls) is like using arsenic as a medicine: it is impossible ever to take such backings off again, the life of the painting is finished. Using *lien-ch'i* is like taking calomel: although this is also a poison, the patient may still be saved. But although mulberry paper is as cheap as *kang-lien* and *lien-ch'i* paper, clumsy mounters simply refuse to use it."[131] As much as mounting is a form of art, it is first and foremost a technology. Although collectors may think it is their form of respect for the artwork by using the most expensive and elegant mounting materials, those materials may not be the best suited for the task. Even if the mounter ends up being snubbed for warning the collector, like how Mi Fu, his social superior as well as renowned mounter, was, it is still the mounter's responsibility to the painting and the spirit of the artist to inform his employer.

Mounting, and remounting especially, were inseparable from relations of power. A remounter could not always do his best for an object, regardless

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[130] Mi Fu, *Hua shi*, trans. Van Gulik, 184. 王晉卿舊亦以絹背書。初未信。久之取栢[sic, see Van Gulik, 184]溫書。看墨色見磨在紙上。而絹紋透紙。始恨之。乃以歙薄一張。蓋而收之。其後不用絹也。

[131] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 313-314. 托畫須用綿紙。庸工必以扛連紙托，或七紙。用扛連如藥用砒霜，永世不能再揭，畫命絕矣。連七如用輕粉，雖均是毒，尚可解救。扛連雖與綿紙等價，庸工必不肯易。此可痛恨者一也。

of his own wishes, because his patron required him to do otherwise. Unless the remounter has already made a name for himself, his expertise would be questioned, and he could do nothing about it, as it was only common sense to not upset a social superior. On the other hand, to the collector, it was only natural to challenge the mounter in consideration of the object, because he supposedly knew better, being more familiar with it. His position as a connoisseur in appreciating objects "naturally" made him an expert in treating objects with the utmost care, even more so than the mounter.

VII. The Mounter

As an operation that required skillful hands, mounting systematically became an artisanal craft. The *Mencius* records, "Those who labor with their brains govern others; those who labor with their brawn are governed by others," and later scholars have interpreted this as describing the natural social order.[132] Artisans did not have to think per se, and thus created "menial crafts."[133]

However, it is not just to assume that all artisans abided to the same low (or high) standard. Ming writer Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597 – c.1684) writes in his *Tao'an meng yi* 陶庵夢憶 ("Dream Reminiscences of Tao'an"), "But the excellencies of their craftsmanship and their efforts have reached a level of competence in their arts. Their qualities and contrasts fit them for the piercing discrimination of true connoisseurs of later ages. How could an ordinary artisan achieve this? They are skills, but they approach the Way (*Dao*)."[134] "To approach the *Dao*" is the highest possible praise to the epitome of the craft. Zhang Dai distinguishes those who can achieve this competence from ordinary artisans. This acknowledgment is reflected in the convention to refer to craftspeople who mount new scrolls as *jiang* 匠 or *gong* 工, "artisan," and highly skilled experts in repairing and remounting old paintings and calligraphy as *shi* 師, "master."[135] The same *jiang*/*gong* versus *shi* distinction

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[132] *Mencius*, quoted and translated in Dorothy Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2017), 5.

[133] Clunas, 62.

[134] Zhang Dai, *Tao'an meng yi*, quoted and translated in Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2004) 61-62.

[135] Van Gulik, 58.

also follows in other crafts.

Zhang Dai elevates the social position of artisans based on the unparalleled mastery of their livelihood, erasing the attached connotation of engaging in "menial" crafts. He writes, "these men have brought renown and elevation to their families simply on the basis of bamboo, lacquer, bronze and ceramics. They themselves sit as equals and exchange greetings with members of the gentry. There is nothing under the sun which is not of itself sufficient to ennoble someone; it is simply that people will consider them as 'menial.'"[136] Even if masters (*shi*) truly acted as social equals with the gentry, it was only predicated on the literati's reverence for the master's talent, as this recognition would not have mattered to the populace. Master artisans achieved social advancement, but only in the context of a patron-artisan relationship. As social status is closely intertwined with education and cultural literacy, the ancient Chinese elite disdained association with artisans, so it is quite an admittance to write about such a radical possibility in literature. A transformation in the consumer economy, as well as the fall of the Ming dynasty, ushered in social fluidity and an increased social tolerance.[137]

However, not all craftspeople had equal opportunities for social advancement. Even though social elites prized refined workmanship, "it is not unambiguously desirable; 'although the workmanship reaches perfection, they (jade seal pads) are not worth considering.'"[138] Only crafts that were closely related to scholarly pursuits and attracted practitioners from the gentry, such as the carving of bamboo and seals, were able to "escape the stigma of the artisan's humble status altogether."[139] Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575–c.1629), a commentator of Wen Zhenheng's 文震亨(1585–1645) *Zhangwu zhi* 長物志 ("Treatise on Superfluous Things"), was well-known as a bamboo carver during his lifetime, but this did not lower his social standing among his peer group.[140] The literati would carve calligraphic inscriptions onto the bamboo guards of their folding fans, which declared their elite status and served as a

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[136] Zhang Dai, *Tao'an meng yi*, trans. Clunas, 62.

[137] Clunas, xv.

[138] Wen Zhenheng, *Zhang wu zhi jiao zhu*, quoted in Clunas, 86.

[139] Clunas, 63.

[140] Clunas, 63.

medium of social exchange.[141]

Remounting fits into this special classification of literary crafts. Song dynasty painter and calligrapher Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) personally remounted all the scrolls in his collection, even going to the extent of remounting outstanding specimens for others.[142] His serious pursuit of remounting did not dampen his reputation as a cultured literati in the slightest. Of course, his discussion and research on the proper techniques of mounting in his two essays *Shu shi* 書史 ("Notes on Calligraphy") and *Hua shi* 畫史 ("Notes on Painting") qualify him as a *shi* and not a *jiang*. Only those at the peak of their craft could command the respect and attention of the social elite. Thus, here, I discuss the social circumstances of expert remounters (*shi*), and not merely ordinary mounters (*jiang*).

The distinction between *jiang* and *shi* in mounting is not only based on the relative level of their skills, but also on their ability to preserve the scroll. One of the easiest ways to tell if a mounter is qualified as a *shi* is examining his treatment of the painting's borders. In most scrolls, the border of the mounting covers the edges of the painting. To save time, clumsy mounters will directly cut off the border, but that would also cut off the edges of the painting covered up by the border. They will then paste new borders onto the edges of the painting. This vicious cycle of remounting reduces the size of the painting.[143] Qing collector Lu Shihua 陸時化 (1714–1779), in his treatise on scrolls and connoisseurship, *Shuhua shuo ling* 書畫說鈴, is apt in saying, "For if you give a scroll to a clumsy mounter then this is tantamount to destroying the scroll. Clumsy mounters are therefore often referred to as 'Executioners of scrolls.'"[144] The correct method is to laboriously peel off the border from the

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[141] Antonia Finnane, "Folding Fans and Early Modern Mirrors," in *A Companion to Chinese Art*, ed. Martin J. Powers and Katherine R. Tsiang (Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 403, accessed April 9, 2019, through ProQuest.

[142] Ding Jing, preface to "The Book of Mounting" by Zhou Jiazhou, trans. Van Gulik, 324.

[143] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 314.

[144] Lu Shihua, *Shuhua shuo ling*, quoted and translated in Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale, 1958), 9. 不可性急而拙工。性急而付拙工，是滅其跡也。拙工謂之殺畫劊子。

picture and remount the painting so that the borders don't cover the painting.[145] (See **Restoration vs. Conservation**) To a master mounter, mounting was more than just a livelihood; they gave the artwork they treated the appropriate respect.

Zhou Jiazhou recognized the importance of an amiable patron-mounter relationship. In the *Zhuanghuang zhi*, he expounds, "you should be excessively obliging to good mounters, in order to protect the life of your scrolls, for those people consider the life of scrolls as their very own. If you serve those people, you serve your scrolls."[146] Remounting is quite different from other crafts, in that the remounter's worth increases during employment, rather than after the patron receives the goods. The collector will do his best to please the remounter so that the remounter will do his best for the painting. Zhou Jiazhou further persuades,

> "A wise patron who is a lover of art will try to find a skilful mounter, to whom he can entrust the mounting of his scrolls till the end of his days; but to find such a good mounter is of course not easy. It is still more difficult, however, for a skilful artisan to obtain such a wise patron for whom to work. If the right people meet, then rare scrolls are mysteriously brought to life again, they are, as it were, reborn in this world. … When such a fortunate union (of a discerning patron and a skilful mounter) has been effected, shall it then not be as if miracles were being performed?"[147]

Zhou Jiazhou describes the meeting of a wise patron and a skillful mounter as a fateful event, and the start of a lifelong relationship. Their mutual consideration for the object brought them together, and a reciprocal appreciation towards each other births a collaboration that best serves the object.

VIII. The "Cultured Artisan"

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[145] Van Gulik, 106.

[146] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 292. 越格趨承此輩，以保書畫性命。書畫之命，我之命也。趨承此輩，趨承書畫也。

[147] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 293. 好事賢主，欲得良工，為終世書畫之託，固自不易。而良工之得賢主，以聘技，更難其人。苟相遇合，則異跡當冥冥降靈，歸託重生也 … 機緣湊合，豈不有神助耶。

The increasing commercialization and globalization of the Chinese economy in the Ming dynasty blurred social class distinctions. Merchants used their wealth to style themselves as cultured men and to groom their descendants for the civil service examinations. Once they succeeded, the stigma of being "new money" would be erased, elevating the entire family's social status. Similarly, the increased access to books was proportional to the growing number of failed candidates. Failed candidates and those in governmental exile engaged in the literary sector, and some of them took up "scholarly crafts" for a living.

In *The Social Life of Inkstones*, Dorothy Ko offers a new way of thinking of the social fluidity between scholars and artisans in the Qing dynasty that is particularly applicable to my analysis of the fluctuating continuum between collectors and mounters. She proposes the terms "scholar-artisan" and "artisan-scholar," which describe those that either failed the exam or achieved little success in government and turned to making crafts for a living.[148] The distinction between the two terms lies in whether one made a greater reputation as an artisan (artisan-scholar) or as a scholar (scholar-artisan). Ko explains, "Social status, or the status distinction between scholar and artisan to be exact, has become largely a matter of performance, posturing, and self-claims that are subject to social perception and judgment. Those who succeed in being known as more scholar than craftsman are those who can summon enough economic and cultural capital to substantiate the claim."[149]

Instead of focusing on scholar-turned-remounters, I would like to explore the other end of the spectrum, and use the term "cultured artisan" to describe the social circumstances of those remounters who did not formally train in the Classics. I wish to explore the degree that remounters were able to improve their social status by active "self-training" in art connoisseurship, as being culturally literate commanded more respect from patrons. I limit this characterization to the late imperial period, when it became easier to access study materials, such as the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 ("Mustard Seed

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[148] See Dorothy Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2017), 198-201 for an in-depth analysis.

[149] Ko, 200.

Garden Manual of Painting").[150] I am not considering whether remounters became culturally literate through the ability to read, but through the ability to gain insight from the art they were commissioned to remount. By improving social status, I mean improving relative social standing and an initiation into the world of scholars, but not traversing class boundaries entirely, as with merchant-turned-scholar-officials. As people who had never attempted the exam, how could artisans become true scholars in the eyes of others?

By virtue of their occupation, remounters had a greater chance than other artisans to improve their social standing. Remounters had privileged access to the art collections of the elite, allowing them to train their eye of discernment. In fact, it would be strange if the constant exposure did not induce a heightened sense of aesthetics. Ming scholar Li Yu 李漁 (1611–1680) wrote for a mounter a couplet, "If you despise the cheap fame of being an artisan who dazzles people by feats of specious skill, then you will soon obtain the lasting renown of being likened to a meritorious statesman."[151] This statement speaks to ambitious remounters who had the talent to improve their craft and were not content with their current social standing. Remounters could expand their social network by associating with the social elite, who would then recommend them to their peers. The easiest way to gain the favor of the literati was not only to show competence in remounting, but to also be well-versed in connoisseurship.

Most remounters were also responsible for retouching paintings, but the collector would not have settled for someone with inferior painting skills,

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[150] The *Jieziyuan huazhuan* was an important manual compiled in the early-Qing dynasty that taught the fundamentals of brushstrokes in painting.

[151] Li Yu, quoted and translated in Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale, 1958), 257-258. 不肯讓人稱絕技。行將呼爾作功臣。The implication behind this couplet is better elaborated in Lu Shihua's *Shuhua shuo ling*, where he writes, " ... present-day Soochow [Suzhou] mounters like Chang Yü-jui, expert in repairing antique paper scrolls, and Shên Ying-wên, expert in repairing antique silk scrolls, in their art truly surpass the mounters of old, and the future will not produce their equals. They can be likened to great sages or meritorious statesmen." 今吳中張玉瑞之治破紙本。沈迎文之治破絹本。實超前絕後之技。為名賢之功臣。

as advised by Zhou Jiazhou in the *Zhuanghuang zhi*.[152] Thus, remounters had to be knowledgeable in various painting schools and styles. This does not make them "artisan-painters," in reference to the professional painter, because they had to learn the styles of both the amateur literati painter and the professional painter. Although there was disagreement about vulgar versus high art, it did not change what was at the top of the social pyramid. Occasionally, the collector would employ a master painter instead, especially as this was a prime opportunity to associate with famed literati painters of the Ming dynasty. Should a scroll catch the eye of a distinguished literati painter, the collector will be able to further his social network, and the retouched scroll will also appreciate in value. Mi Fu is one such example of a prominent figure who gave favors based on the artwork, as he remounted scrolls that he admired for others.[153] Conversely, if a remounter's painting technique is sufficiently refined to snuff out the collector's intent to visit a master painter, the remounter will have succeeded in becoming a "cultured artisan."

Once the remounter develops a cultural sensitivity for the painting tradition, he could engage in intellectual discussions with his patrons. By explaining that a certain mounting method would suit the style, content, or spirit of a particular painting, he could impress his patrons, as the choice of mounting would normally be left to them, the connoisseurs trained in the art. Of course, it is another matter whether the collectors would accept the advice, as in the case with Wang Shen and Mi Fu, but they would be flattered if they coincidentally shared the same opinion.[154] Lu Shihua writes in his *Shuhua shuo ling*: "If I look at superior scrolls together with some one who says, " 'This one is refined. This one is inspired. And this one is wonderful', everytime expressing exactly what was in my own mind and exactly reproducing my own feelings, then this indeed is a great joy."[155] After accruing cultural capital,

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[152] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 296.

[153] Refer to p. 21.

[154] For anecdote about Wang Shen and Mi Fu, see pp. 17-18.

[155] Lu Shihua, *Shuhua shuo ling*, trans. Van Gulik, 47. 與人共觀名蹟，其人云此種方是逸品，此是神品，此是妙品，與余意中一一符合，真大快事。或妄論不休，不但不著痛癢，所論朝代以前作後，以後作前，朗誦題辭，無非破句，認識字面，盡屬魯魚，則叉大煞風景。

remounters could expand their social network and gain widespread recognition through a shared concern with the collectors for displaying the artwork in the best possible fashion.

For the connoisseur, the greatest fault of an "uncultured" artisan is not in his ignorance, but in his inability to recognize true art, despite toiling to serve its interests, day and night. Art connoisseur and historian Deng Chun 鄧椿 (active Song Dynasty) who wrote in his *Huaji* 畫繼 about the development of painting from 1075 to 1167 recalls, "My late father was vice minister and served as Director of a Bureau [under Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1126)]. … One day my father went to inspect them [paintings]. He saw the mounter using an old landscape painting on silk to wipe a table. Upon examination, it was a Kuo Hsi [Guo Xi] painting. He asked from whence it came, but the mounter said he did not know."[156] Connoisseurs would be heartbroken seeing the sad fate of the paintings of one of the greatest landscape painters, even cursing at the mounter for failing to recognize that a masterpiece was not better than a cleaning rag. Although the verity of this event remains to be questioned, for Deng Chun to naturally attribute the root of the incident to a mounter, this confirms prevalent ideas about the ignorance of artisans.

A true "cultured artisan" becomes a recognizable brand in his own time. Ko brings up the example of Gu Erniang 顧二娘 (flourished 1700–1722), a famous female inkstone carver born into a commoner family, whose work was sought after by many loyal patrons.[157] She became so renowned that Ko calls her a "super-brand," a development in which collectors bought, sold, and exchanged "her" inkstones, without caring about their authenticity.[158] Forgers fed upon this mania, and the legend of Gu Erniang delved further away from the truth.[159]

It is rather difficult for remounters to become super-brands, as properly remounted scrolls look similar, but Zhou Jiazhou does extol one such name in the *Zhuanghuang zhi*. Zhou Jiazhou elevates Zhuang Xishu 莊希

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[156] Teng Ch'un [Deng Chun], *Hua-chi*, trans. Robert J. Maeda in *Two Twelfth Century Texts on Chinese Painting*, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, no. 8 (Ann Arbor: 1970), 61.

[157] Ko, 9, 88.

[158] Ko, 123.

[159] Ko, 123.

叔 (active in the Ming Dynasty) to the level of Mr. T'ang and Mr. Ch'iang, names that characterized the highest degree of excellence in mounting.[160] Craig Clunas writes in *Superfluous Things*, "The fact that they [names of artisans] were noticed at all, in fact, seems more likely to be a factor of the increased need of the elite to fix bench-marks of discrimination between different types of goods than of any more relaxed social atmosphere. … one famous personage who was of himself sufficient to stand in for the whole craft, was a necessary part of fixing any given type of craft on the hierarchy of elite esteem."[161] The "one famous personage" that Clunas refers to is an obscure formulaic name repeated in earlier sources. However, the fact that Zhou Jiazhou writes about a contemporary mounter instead of an imaginary personage has different implications entirely, as readers of his treatise would first look for Zhuang Xishu to remount their pieces. In fact, the name of the remounter could very well add to the value of the work. Zhou Jiazhou gives Zhuang Xishu the highest praise when he writes, "… they [mounters] were all profuse in their protestations of admiration and of their own inability, declaring that no one but Chuang Hsi-shu [Zhuang Xishu] could produce such work."[162] Zhou Jiazhou's willingness to write about Zhuang Xishu's skill displays the deep respect Zhou Jiazhou had for him as a master mounter.

However, Zhuang Xishu was a "cultured artisan" not only because of his skill, but because of his refined conduct. Zhou Jiazhou commends his upright character, saying that "he did not idly place his service as the disposal of the vulgar."[163] Collectors also consulted Zhuang Xishu on authenticity problems, which speaks to a recognition of his abilities and deference to his opinion.[164] However, what is notable is Zhou Jizhou's response to the question "How is it that in his [Zhuang Xishu's] art he reaches such a perfection?" Zhou Jiazhou replies, " 'You need not look for anything else: it is because of his taste that he differs from other people.' Hsü Kung-hsüan much

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[160] Van Gulik, 250. Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 312.

[161] Clunas, 62-63.

[162] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 312. 皆嘖嘖斂服，謂非希叔不能也。

[163] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 312. 不妄徇俗。

[164] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 312.

appreciated this word 'taste.'"[165] Although "taste" is a subjective term, there is no doubt that Zhou Jiazhou is using it as a criterion to separate Zhuang Xishu from the other mounters, placing him at the peak of his craft. To Zhou Jiazhou, Zhuang Xishu understood the essence of remounting, which was supposedly something that only connoisseurs comprehended.

IX. The Agency of the Court

Most artisanal practices emerged in the court before spreading to the populace. The gaudy mounting that Ming connoisseurs debunked as vulgar was actually practiced in the Tang court. The later regional mounting style *jingbiao* 京裱, which Suzhou mounters developed for the Qing court, is reminiscent of this ornateness.[166] Emperors also enacted cultural reforms to distinguish themselves as different. Deng Chun writes in his *Huaji*, "He [Deng Chun's father] also asked the Inner Bureau Envoy who said: 'This [Guo Xi's painting] was discarded from the Inner Storage. Formerly, Emperor Shen-tsung [Shenzong] (r. 1068–1086) loved Kuo Hsi paintings. He had the walls of one hall covered solely with Kuo Hsi works. But after the present emperor [Emperor Huizong] ascended the throne, he replaced them with ancient paintings.'"[167] Redefining court taste was necessary for claiming cultural legitimacy as an emperor.

In turn, when Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162) ascended the throne, he overwrote Emperor Huizong's accomplishments. He ordered that "all antique writings and paintings which bear superscriptions by the Emperor Hui-tsung during the Hsüan-Ho period, must have these cut off. Ts'ao Hsün etc. must judge these scrolls, and having selected other suitable titles, enter these on a list, to be laid before the Emperor."[168] (See **Removing and**

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[165] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 313. "Taste" is translated from 氣味. 謂何以技至於此 … 不待他求，只氣味於人有別。公宣深賞氣味二字。

[166] Chinese Art Mounting Research Institute, *Zhongguo shuhua zhuangbiao yishu*, 28-29.

[167] Teng Ch'un [Deng Chun], *Hua-chi*, trans. Maeda in *Two Twelfth Century Texts on Chinese Painting*, 61. For beginning part of this quote, see pp. 26-27.

[168] Zhou Mi (1232-1298), preface to "Record of the Scrolls in the Collection of the Emperor Kao-Tsung," quoted and translated in Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale, 1958), 211. 應書古畫，如有宣和御書題名，並行拆下不用。別令曹勛等定驗別行譔名。作畫目進呈取旨。

Rearranging Inscriptions) Not only did he annul Emperor Huizong's contributions to art, Emperor Gaozong also bestowed those same paintings with new titles. Furthermore, Emperor Gaozong created the *Shaoxing*-style mounting 紹興裝 to juxtapose Emperor Huizong's own *Xuanhe*-style mounting 宣和裝.[169]

As Ko analyzes, imperial preferences regarding cultural practices and heritage, in addition to delineating a unique imperial style, were more about a display of imperial power.[170] Emperor Huizong and Emperor Gaozong did not take the paintings' best interests to heart, only viewing them as tools with which to exert cultural influence. It did not matter to Emperor Gaozong that he was mutilating the contributions of his predecessors, and he made sure to emphasize his agency over the paintings by remounting paintings in his *Shaoxing*-style mounting, with the colophons he chose, and with his title.[171] He made later collectors cognizant of his role, however devastating, in the history of art connoisseurship.

X. Copies, Forgeries, and Questions of Authenticity

The question of trust towards remounters is especially important for collectors, more so than when dealing with other artisans. The difference lies in the nature of the remounting occupation, which requires the patron to give the remounter his possession to work with. It was an unwritten rule among mounters to not show a scroll to its owner while it is remounted, thus requiring the collector to put unconditional trust in the mounter.[172] Remounters who were master forgers could potentially create a copy of the painting and "return" the copy to the patron. In the case of other crafts, patrons could be scammed into purchasing a commissioned object made from a less valuable material, but that is only monetary loss. This pales in comparison to the emotional loss if they discover that the mounter not only profited at their expense, but replaced their treasure with a cheap imitation, one which lacks the the spirit of the original. As the threat of mounters

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[169] Chinese Art Mounting Research Institute, *Zhongguo shuhua zhuangbiao yishu*, 25.
[170] Ko, 37.
[171] "Record of the Scrolls in the Collection of the Emperor Kao-Tsung," trans. Van Gulik, 212.
[172] Van Gulik, 72.

creating copies out of the artists' original works was a possibility, connoisseurs historically relate such incidents with great relish. Of course, this does not preclude the fact that that remounter-forgers (those not schooled in the Classical tradition) may have been able to produce quality works, but I make this characterization based along the non-artisan-scholar's social lines and economic opportunity for cultural literacy, of having the training to capture not only the likeness but also the spirit of the painting.

In fact, the negative connotation towards copies in the present was nonexistent in early China. Connoisseurs believed that expert copies were just as good as the originals, and if the original was damaged, the copy was even better.[173] They believed that the faithful transmission of the ancients' works were more important than its authenticity.[174] There thus existed a tradition of imitating the old masters to study their techniques, in both painting and calligraphy. Therefore, even though none of Wang Xizhi's works survive, his copies are still viewed as the highest standard. The Southern Song court even treated copies with the same care that they treated originals.[175] Every dynasty trained professional copyists to create "official traced copies" of the imperial collection to disseminate as brushwork samples.[176] Van Gulik summarizes, "Chinese connoisseurs never object to copies as such; they most emphatically object, however, to bad copies, pretentious copies and copies on which a forger has practiced his tracks."[177]

Forgery Techniques

Here, I discuss forgery techniques that take advantage of the remounting process. These techniques, usually carried out by a dealer, compromised the original painting,

A remounter could choose to create a replica of the original through a method known as "peeled-off fakes." Artists and calligraphers were predisposed to use thick, laminated paper for their creations, and as such, it was routine for a mounter to peel off several layers from the back of the paper

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[173] Van Gulik, 398.

[174] Van Gulik, 411.

[175] Van Gulik, 398-399.

[176] Chinese Art Mounting Research Institute, *Zhongguo shuhua zhuangbiao yishu*, 10. Van Gulik, 155.

[177] Van Gulik, 399.

before pasting on a backing in order to keep the scroll thin. Ink and pigments seeped through the layers of the painting; and the second and third layers, after touching-up, it would look almost identical to the top layer, the original.[178] Even the ink from seals transferred, rendering the seals a poor indicator of authenticity.[179] Indeed, the seals and the painting were real, but it was not the work that the artist created. The only way to tell these "peeled-off fakes" apart from the original is that the fakes have a fuzzy surface while the original retains a smooth surface.[180] This method compromises the integrity of the scroll, "for if thus half of the paper is discarded, the spirit of the calligraphy will vanish, and the scrolls will appear like traced copies[181]

When a dealer obtains a heavily damaged painting, rather than restoring it to its original appearance, he may choose to split up the painting into sections so that each section comprises its own painting. This is especially easy to do so for large vertical landscape paintings. This omits the costs to repair the painting, and he can make a greater profit off several paintings than just one. Lu Shihua writes,

> "If they (i.e. curio dealers) find an old painting they have no particular use for, they cut it down so as to remove the signature, and then write on it the name of some famous Sung [Song] or Yüan [Yuan dynasty, 1271–1368] artist instead. They go even so far as to cut up a very large scroll into three or four smaller ones, writing on each of these auspicious titles. … 'The value of the name of a Sung or Yüan artist … will make us gain several times our original outlay.'"[182]

Splitting the original painting into sections may not constitute as forgery, but attributing the new sections to a celebrated artist definitely does. However, people still buy these fakes, as an effect of that artist's "super-branding." (See

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[178] Van Gulik, 107-108.

[179] Van Gulik, 108.

[180] Van Gulik, 108.

[181] "Record of the Scrolls in the Collection of the Emperor Kao-tsung," trans. Van Gulik, 212. 若紙去其半，則損字精神，一如摹本矣。

[182] Lu Shihua, *Shuahua shuo ling*, trans. Van Gulik, 383. 收無用舊畫，截小去款，另書著名宋元之人。至以巨 幅，改作三四幅，命名必祥瑞 … 宋元人名 … 一軸然計本己可得三倍矣。

The "Cultured Artisan")

A less destructive method to the painting is "combination fakes," in which either the painting or inscriptions are fakes. In the first case, the painting is authentic but due to the lack of a colophon, its value is lowered. Thus, dealers will usually attach a colophon to it to raise its value. In the second case, the painting is fake, but it is paired with colophons retrieved from another scroll as a mark of authenticity. Most colophons do not have dedications and abide to various general conventions in commenting on the theme of a painting, so dealers can use one colophon to fit to sentiment of different paintings, so long as they share a common theme.[183]

I do not want to demonize the mounter as the only person to fault when dealing with questions of authenticity. 17th century Qing scholar Zhang Chao 張潮, in his preface to the *Zhuanghuang zhi*, recounts an instance of a collector who cut off the colophon of a scroll before sending it to the mounter. Upon hearing the mounter lament that a colophon would raise the value of the scroll, "the patron brought the original colophon to the mounter, saying: 'Recently I purchased this one, which seems suitable.' In due time the mounter realized the truth, and said: 'This is the original colophon! You only took it away to deceive me. If the other day you would have brought both painting and colophon together, do you think I would have remounted this scroll for you unless you had paid me several ounces more?'"[184] Although Zhang Chao cited this anecdote to demonstrate the sharp eye of the mounter, it also shows that it was not beneath the collector to also engage in bouts of trickery for economic benefit.

The ingenuity of forgery in remounting is that the component parts of the scroll—the painting, the colophons, the signature—may be authentic, but ultimately constitute a fake when pieced together. Therefore, it is imperative for collectors to employ a conscientious remounter. Even if the collector receives his artwork back intact, there is no way of knowing whether the remounter made an inferior copy of the work, which would devalue the original artist's work. Forgeries can distort or interrupt the legacy of the

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[183] Van Gulik, 379.

[184] Zhang Chao, preface to "The Book of Mounting" by Zhou Jiazhou, trans. Van Gulik, 290. 是人携原跋語之曰，吾進購此，似可用。其人久之，乃悟，此卽原跋。君蓋之以給我耳。若當日並此偕來，非若干金，吾肯為君治之乎。

artwork. Inferior forgeries may lower the reputation of an artist, but superior forgeries may very well immortalize that artist's works.

XI. Creative License

Remounting a damaged scroll would increase a collector's social prestige among peers, and would also make his name known to the descendants who inherit the scroll. In addition, remounting a scroll meant that he could choose to format the scroll as he liked. The alterations discussed below is not a complete list; there may be others that did not come to my attention. I do not elaborate on choices of material made in consideration of aesthetics, but only on those made in consideration of suitability and protection for the scroll.

Adding Paper

A collector can determine if he would like to add paper, and how much paper to add, before and after a painting on a handscroll (or above and below a painting on a hanging scroll) in anticipation for future inscriptions. This is where the sensitivity of the connoisseur comes to play.

In the Ming dynasty, it became standard practice to add a *yinshou* 引首, a section of paper preceding the painting, to a handscroll.[185] This was a space for collectors to add a *ti* 題, or a superscription, which could be a title or some fitting quotation.[186] Previously, collectors and connoisseurs wrote notes and impressed seals directly on the silk or paper mounting anywhere before the painting.[187] However, a *yinshou* delineates a specific space, separated from the painting with a vertical strip of silk or paper, for a superscription (See **Figure 2**).[188] This transformed the area before the painting from a casual space to a formal ground reserved for one person, greatly changing the social function of the painting. The majority of early Chinese paintings lack official titles, and, by adding a title to an earlier painting, the collector (or the commissioned calligrapher) christens the painting with a renewed spirit. The title also directs viewers to the calligrapher's interpretation of the work. Of course, whether or not the title conveys the intentions of the artist is another question altogether. However, there is no doubt that through giving a title to an untitled painting,

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[185] Chinese Art Mounting Research Institute, *Zhongguo shuhua zhuangbiao yishu*, 28.
[186] Van Gulik, 68.
[187] Van Gulik, 155.
[188] Van Gulik, 68.

the collector left an indelible mark on it.

One section of the scroll that is disputed in historical debate is the *shitang* 詩堂 ("poetry hall") in the vertical hanging scroll (See number 14 of **Figure 3**). This area was reserved for inscriptions by friends and connoisseurs, not unlike the predecessor of the *yinshou*.[189] Zhou Jiazhou writes, "… you should refrain from adding a *shih-t'ang* [*shitang*]. Formerly I thoroughly discussed this question with Wang Chih-têng [Wang Zhideng 王穉登, Ming dynasty writer, 1535–1612]. He himself has mounted several hundred scrolls, but among these not a single one shows a *shih-t'ang*. Neither should a *shih-t'ang* be added to small scrolls. It is not easy, however, to discuss such questions with anyone who has not advanced very far in the knowledge of the connoisseur."[190] By mentioning a famous contemporary of his day, Zhou Jiazhou makes a stronger statement in discriminating between the highest level of connoisseurship and those untrained, which most likely maps onto the degree of cultural literacy between the social classes.

Zhou Erxue echoes Zhou Jiazhou's belief that adding a *shitang* will distract the viewer from the beauty of the scroll. Zhou Erxue writes, "The ancient people were wont to utilize the 'frame' and other parts of the front mounting, for writing there superscriptions and critical remarks. In my opinion, having judged a painting, it is not necessary to scribble (critical remarks) all over its mounting. This habit should not be followed. … And in no case should you arbitrarily add a *shih-t'ang*."[191] It is worth considering Zhou Erxue's motives in writing this segment. According to Van Gulik, "If one would have to characterize the spirit of Ming and Ch'ing [Qing] culture by one single epithet for each, one might call the former esthetic and the latter

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[189] Van Gulik, 66.

[190] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 298. 惟忌用詩堂。徃與王伯穀切論之。伯穀經裝數百軸，無一有詩堂者。小幅短，亦不用詩堂。非造極者，不易語也。

[191] Zhou Erxue, "Records of Prolonged Gratification of the Simple Heart," quoted and translated in Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Serie orientale roma, vol. 19 (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio es Estremo Orientale, 1958), 329. 邊等古人取以題識。鄙意劇蹟審定，未宜疥字。此式不必效之 … 更不得妄加？池。

scientific."[192] In contrast to the Ming *shitang* (if it had one) that had poems praising the artistry of the painting, the Qing *shitang* contained discussions about problems of authenticity. Sometimes, Qing connoisseurs wrote directly on the pale silk of the front mounting that was popular in the Qing dynasty.[193] Was Zhou Erxue protesting the trend of including a *shitang* because he truly thought that it was a bad practice, or was he merely parroting Zhou Jiazhou's advice because it was the authoritative book on mounting? In either case, it is interesting that he simply attributes this practice to "the ancient people" and does not mention his contemporaries. Was this because he was afraid of offending them, which would subsequently lower readership for his book? After all, Zhou Erxue was not part of the highest social stratum.[194] Indeed, this dialogue between Zhou Jiazhou and Zhou Erxue, scholars from different time periods, is especially worth considering.

Remounting in a Different Format

Some collectors remounted their paintings in newly invented formats. This is especially so for the *zhengwa* 正挖 "bag-style mounting," which connoisseurs in the mid-Ming developed in pursuit of "… the slightly amateurish love of an imaginary antiquity."[195] They thought that if they removed most of the ornamentation from the hanging scroll, they would "… *ipso facto* have obtained the 'antique model.'"[196] What better way to mount an antique painting than with the style of the ancients? Indeed, Zhou Jiazhou writes, "The cleverer the decoration, the more vulgar it becomes; and the disease of vulgarity is difficult to cure. I fondly hope that those who share my views will faithfully keep to the antique models, rejecting the vulgar fashion of the day. … Simple in appearance, and strong in substance—this was what the ancients strove after."[197] However, the ancients that Zhou Jiazhou praised so highly did exactly what he disdained as vulgar. In contrast to the plain,

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[192] Van Gulik, 277.

[193] Van Gulik, 277.

[194] See pp. 11-12.

[195] Van Gulik, 248.

[196] Van Gulik, 248.

[197] Zhou Jiazhou, "The Book of Mounting," trans. Van Gulik, 304-305. Zhou Jiazhou makes these comments about albums, but they are also applicable to scrolls. 逾巧逾俗，俗病難醫。願我同志，恪遵古式，而黜今陋。

light-colored thin silk preferred in the mid-Ming, earlier Chinese mountings used thick, heavy, gaudy, multicolored brocade, as can be observed in Japanese mountings, whose mounting tradition stems from the Tang Dynasty.[198] The refusal to recognize this paradox stems from a need to claim authority as the guardians of tradition, but yet, these literati were only defining tradition in their own terms. Bag-style mounting complemented monochrome literati paintings, the very heritage that positioned them in the annals of history.

Mounting horizontal pictures—especially handscrolls—as hanging scrolls, emerged as a significant development in the history of Chinese painting. The common Northern Song (960–1127) practice of remounting sections of handscrolls as hanging scrolls inspired Mi Fu and his son Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074–1151) to paint the *hengfu* 横幅, large horizontal pictures designed to be mounted as hanging scrolls (See **Figure 3**).[199] However, the horizontal pictures of the *hengfu* are not the same in essence as those of handscrolls. Handscrolls are meant to be viewed one section at a time, but a *hengfu* shows the entire scene at once. The horizontal landscape of a *hengfu* positions the viewer as a mere observer, as is the usual case with a vertical hanging scroll. It does not allow him to engage in a personal experience with the landscape, which is the characteristic of a handscroll. Displaying a handscroll as a *hengfu* is contrary to the intention of the artist, but it is an assertion of the agency of the collector in favor of his interpretation of the artwork. It is a response of the collector to the artist's work, but later collectors may very well remount the painting once again as a handscroll.

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[198] Van Gulik, 31, 71. The prevalence of color in Tang dynasty mountings can be associated with the use of bright colors in Tang paintings, which Ming literati would have disparaged. Then, compare the color scheme of monochrome literati paintings and the plain bag-style mounting.

[199] Van Gulik, 194.

Figure 4 Combined handscroll of Zhou Zhi, *Scenery of Yixing*, and Shen Zhou, *Autumn Color of Tongguan*. Dated 1356 and 1499. Ink on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Mounting Multiple Paintings Together

Near the end of the Ming period, it became popular to mount several smaller scrolls together in a hanging scroll, known as *hejin* 合錦.[200] Dismounted fans (detached from their ribs) could also be mounted one on top of the other in this fashion.[201] Sometimes, calligraphy samples would also be mounted together in a handscroll.[202] By restricting several pictures in the same frame, the collector compels viewers to comment on the pictures in relation to one another.

This form of human agency over paintings is best illustrated by a handscroll mounted with two paintings, Zhou Zhi's 周砥 (d. 1367) *Scenery of Yixing* and Shen Zhou's 沈周 (1427–1509) *Autumn Color of Tongguan* (See **Figure 4**).[203] The handscroll contains three groups of calligraphy, with the paintings placed in between each group. Except for the Qianlong Emperor's

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[200] Van Gulik, 260.

[201] Van Gulik, 23.

[202] See Zhang Huaiguan's quote on p. 9.

[203] See Christina Yu, "Interacting through and on Painting: A Case Study of the Zhou Zhi & Shen Zhou Handscroll in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston" for an in-depth analysis.

superscription on the *yinshou* (the first group of calligraphy), the other colophons are in chronological order.[204] The handscroll originally consisted only of Zhou Zhi's *Scenery of Yixing*, and it belonged to the scholar Huang Yun (ca. 15th century). Upon seeing famed literati painter Shen Zhou's enchantment with the painting, Huang Yun's son gifted it to him. Shen Zhou was so delighted that he painted the *Autumn Color of Tongguan* as a response to Zhou Zhi's painting. However, upon hearing of Huang Yun's anguish from losing the painting, Shen Zhou immediately sent both paintings back to him. Huang Yun consequently had the two short handscrolls mounted together as one.[205]

The handscroll of Zhou Zhi and Shen Zhou's paintings is unique as each painting complements the other. I distinguish this handscroll from those that have colophon paintings, such as *The Admonitions Scroll*, traditionally attributed to Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (345–406) (See **Figure 5**), as Zhou Zhi and Shen Zhou's paintings were originally intended as separate creations. Art historian Christina Yu analyzes that Shen Zhou's painting seems to be an extension of the landscape beyond the frame Zhou Zhi's work.[206] She writes,

> "Viewed individually, each painting displays the distinctive painting style of its creator and period. Juxtaposed, the paintings reveal Shen Zhou's communication with Zhou Zhi. In both image and text, Shen Zhou responds to the historical figure of Zhou Zhi, whose presence is metaphorically preserved in his painting *Scenery of Yixing*. When Shen Zhou executed *Autumn Color* and wrote the inscription, he was not only in dialogue with the painting before him, but also in communication with the past, which he experienced through the physical presence of the painting. Shen Zhou's act of painting and writing is time specific—it occurred at a particular moment in history. The interaction that took place between Shen Zhou and Zhou Zhi, however, transcended the limit of time—it brought the past and the present together. During the moment of creation, Shen Zhou corresponded with an historical object and a cultural predecessor. Simultaneously, his response extended the life of Zhou Zhi's *Scenery of*

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[204] Yu, 43-44.
[205] Yu, 44-45.
[206] Yu, 48.

Yixing and reanimated Zhou Zhi's visual and textual creation."[207]

In the context of mounting, neither Zhou Zhi nor Shen Zhou (although he was acquainted with the collector) had a say in how to present their paintings. Though Huang Yun could have kept them as separate handscrolls, there are greater motives to mount them together, Shen Zhou's painting was an homage to Zhou Zhi, thus Huan Yun chose to mount it after the earlier colophons in chronological order. Moreover, by mounting the paintings together, Huang Yun is elevating Shen Zhou's position to that of Zhou Zhi's, who was renowned for his scholarship. This was Huang Yun's response to Shen Zhou for his magnanimity in returning the scroll, in addition to gifting one of his own. It appears as if both Huang Yun and Shen Zhou benefited in a boost to their prestige at the expense of Zhou Zhi, by borrowing his work as a medium to communicate the lasting results of their actions, but Yu is apt in saying that Shen Zhou extended the life of as well as reanimated Zhou Zhi's work. If not for Shen Zhou's illustrious name, Zhou Zhi's *Scenery of Yixing* would have fallen into obscurity.

It is intriguing that later colophons on the scroll often overlook the identities of the artists in favor of the unusual format of the handscroll.[208] These connoisseurs praise the joining of these two works as a match made in heaven. Ming scholar Wang Shizhen (1525–1590) writes that "… the two paintings are consequently [joined together] like the meeting [of Longquan Sword and Tai'e Sword] at Yanjin [i.e. a match in destiny]. It is true that receiving and losing are both good fortunes."[209] Indeed, these connoisseurs are in fact applauding Huang Yun's decision to mount the paintings together. Thus, the physicality of the scroll—its unique mounting—mediates an ever-evolving discourse between scholars spanning several centuries.

Zou Yigui's 鄒一桂 (1686–1772) colophon painting

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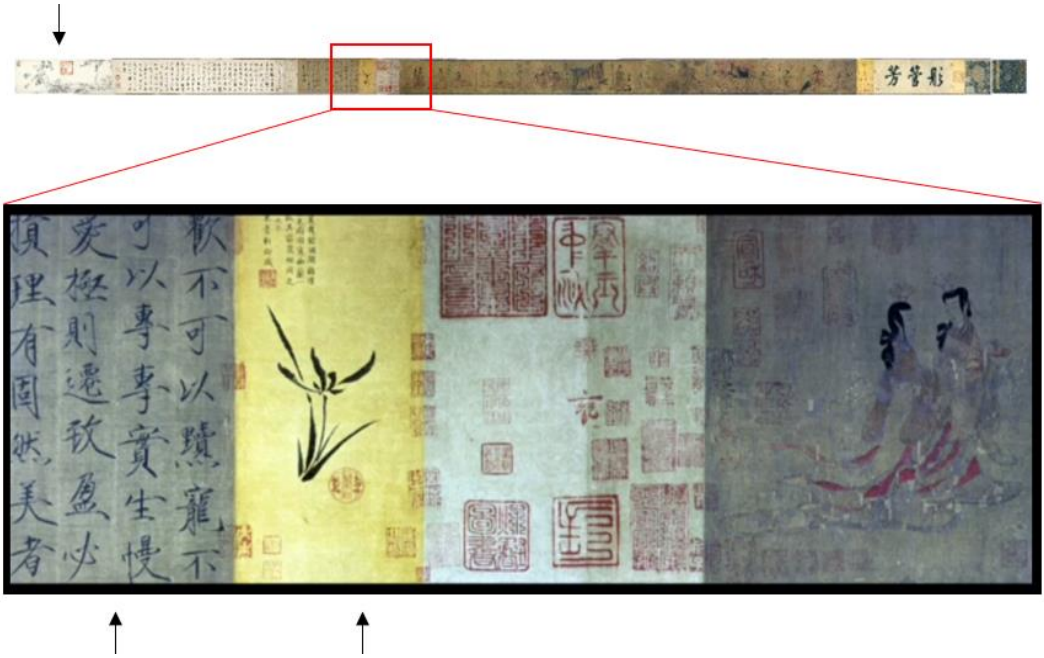
[207] Yu, 48-49.

[208] Yu, 55.

[209] Wang Shizhen, colophon in the combined handscroll of Zhou Zhi, *Scenery of Yixing*, and Shen Zhou, *Autumn Color of Tongguan*, dated 1356 and 1499, ink on paper (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), quoted and translated in Yu, 55.



Emperor Huizong's painting (r. 1100–1126) calligraphy

The Qianlong emperor's (r. 1736–1796) colophon

Figure 5 Gu Kaizhi, attributed. *Nüshi zhen tu* 女史箴图 (*Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies*) / *The Admonitions Scroll*. Dated 6th–8th century. Handscroll, ink on silk and paper, 343.75 cm x 24.37 cm. The British Museum.

Removing and Rearranging Inscriptions

It is quite easy to remove or rearrange inscriptions in the remounting process, as the painting, superscriptions, and colophons become separated from one another. (See **Forgery Techniques** for more accounts.) However, this practice was frowned upon even in antiquity. Zhang Yanyuan writes, "Originally, all scrolls are a complete unity in themselves, they have their superscriptions and colophons, all duly signed. They should, therefore, not be arbitrarily cut down, and the order of their component parts should not be

changed."[210] Most collectors followed Zhang Yanyuan's instructions, but the emperors could choose to do otherwise, as they could demonstrate imperial power by their ability to effect cultural influence. (See **Agency of the Court**) For example, Emperor Gaozong removed Emperor Huizong's inscriptions and replaced them with his own. The Qianlong Emperor altered the reading of *The Admonitions Scroll* by inserting his colophon before the rest (See **Figure 5**). It is not unusual for colophons to comment on the contents of preceding colophons, and the Qianlong emperor breaks that historical commentary.

XII. Restoration vs. Conservation

Although the mounting of scrolls did not undergo a transformative revolution from modern technological innovations, which speaks to the wisdom of the ancients, its essence has changed with the application of Western conservation theory. Commonly associated with museums, modern conservation principles (adopted in Chinese institutions starting in the 1950s) emphasize preserving the original structure of materials in order to retain existing historical evidence for further research on cultural relics.[211] This attitude is useful in preserving artifacts, but becomes complicated when applied to art due to aesthetics. The creator intended his art to be perceived a certain way, but the traditional practice of restoring a painting to its peak condition conflicts with conservation principles of minimal intervention.[212] However, no retouching at all may also obscure the creator's intent as well as the viewers' overall perception of the painting.[213] Thus, most conservators choose the middle road of "mimetic retouching, matching the restored area with a neutral color to 'dissolve' the restored area into its immediate

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[210] Zhang Yanyuan, *Lun zhuangbei biaozhou*, in *Lidai minghua ji*, trans. Van Gulik, 151. 凡圖書本是首尾完全著名之物。不在輒議害截改移之限。

[211] Lin Ming, Qiu Weiqing, and Liang Zhang, "Traditional Chinese Book and Document Preservation: Brief History and Essential Techniques and Their Contemporary Applications," *Preservation, Digital Technology & Culture* 43, no. 4 (2014), downloaded March 5, 2019, 158.

[212] Eddy Leung, et. al., "How far should we go? A controversial issue in mural conservation in Hong Kong," *Studies in Conservation* 61 (September 2016), accessed May 3, 2019 from Art & Architecture Source, DOI 10.1080/00393630.2016.1182688, 301.

[213] Leung, 300.

background at a reasonable viewing distance."[214] Viewers can appreciate the entire picture at a distance, but yet discern repairs from the original. Due to the painting's implications for scientific research of the past, it is crucial to distinguish modern retouchings from ancient remnants.

Even though it appears as if only retouching, and not mounting, is affected by modern conservation principles, there is more than meets the eye.e. The collector has transformed from the connoisseur to the museum. Under the purview of the museum and other related institutions, the Chinese painting is first and foremost treated as a cultural artifact, frozen in time from the day that it enters the archives.[215] No one can impress seals, or add additional paper in anticipation of colophons that future viewers might leave on the painting. If a prominent luminary is lucky, he or she may be able to store their paper notes in the same container that houses the scroll. The institutional archive is the mausoleum for scrolls— the scrolls will be preserved for all eternity (disregarding the elements)—but the social dialogue that historically engaged the painting's mounting as a medium has effectively died. I am not against the archiving of scrolls; rather, I greatly support the proper preservation of scrolls for the perusal of future generations. However, it is a pity that the mounting, unassuming as it was in the past, forfeits its historical role as a mediator of the social dialogue when it finally comes to attention in the present.

XIII. Conclusion

The mounting of an antique Chinese painting fulfills more than just an aesthetic purpose. Nearly all surviving paintings from the Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties were subject to remounting, but due to the unassuming nature of the mounting, its significance is overlooked. Many people do not realize that the present paintings that they see mounted on scrolls were not originally created in that format. It is difficult to discern whether a painting was cut down, and for what purpose. Thus, it is inaccurate to view a painting in terms of the intent of the original artist, because it is nearly impossible to decipher whose intent an antique remounted scroll is transmitting. Rather, a painting represents a collective transmission of ideas, mediated through the

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[214] Leung, 301.

[215] Fan Shengli 範勝利, *Bowuguan shuhua xiufu lilun yu shijian* 博物館書畫修復理論與實踐 (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan Press, 2017), 3.

remountings of predecessors who deemed them necessary, from the past to the present. This is not unlike the transmission of the Classics, in which the version we know today was compiled by those who had the authority to dictate the contents when they were first recorded.

Just as a scribe's particular diction may affect the final interpretation of the Classics, the same is true for remounters and scrolls. Not only does the remounter ensure the scroll's longevity, he also determines the exact dimensions and adds his own finishing touches. Although the mounting is secondary to the content of the scroll, the mounter's skills and sensibilities subconsciously influence viewers' overall appreciation of the scroll. Due to an increasing awareness among Ming Dynasty collectors of the role of remounting in connoisseurship, remounters successfully established a symbiotic social network with the literati, and negotiated a status unique from the typical artisan in the patron-artisan relationship. Art historians often study the colophons and seals to determine a painting's provenance, but the mounting may actually offer more information than what seals and colophons, which are the major foci of forgery, can show. After all, there is no compelling reason to fake a mounting. Ultimately, the hand of the mounter is often invisible, but not indiscernible. With more easily accessible technology in the future, just as colophons and seals can indicate their respective owners, so can the mounting.

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Cracks in the Great Wall of Chinatown

Reinventing Chinese American Identity in San Francisco's Chinese New Year Celebrations

Richard Lim

Abstract:*"Cracks in the Great Wall of Chinatown" illustrates the significance of San Francisco's Chinese New Year's celebrations in the 1950s and 1960s. Through oral histories, community newspapers, and organization records, this project explores the tension that arose between Chinatown's business community and disaffected youth over the ways that the celebration over-represented Chinatown's prosperity, thereby masking underlying problems and social unrest. Unlike other histories that approach the topic from a purely top-down political perspective, this project is a social history that links ethnic self-identity and economic advancement to the youth-led social movements of the 1960s Bay Area. Inspired by the historic narratives depicting youth-based advocacy in the Asian American Movement, this project seeks to reframe the evolution of a historic, and largely popular, celebration within a greater narrative about "internal colonialism," Cold War geopolitics, and youth-driven accountability.*

Visibly vexed by the jeering individuals, Joe Louie threatened to remove the rowdy guests. Joe, a nineteen year old Chinese American, was assigned to patrol the festival grounds of the San Francisco Chinese New Year Parade and subsequent celebrations. As a member of a recently formed youth organization tasked with containing interracial violence on the festival grounds, Joe remained vigilant in his duties. While on his rounds, a group of white, male teenagers approached Joe, eager to instigate a fist fight. In an attempt to discourage any conflict, Joe threatened to remove the boys from the festival grounds. Aggravated by his challenge, one of the individuals swung and successfully planted a fist on Joe. Within minutes, a full-fledged brawl threatened to unravel the festivities. Joe's friends quickly stepped in to dispatch the instigators.[216] Yet, this minor interracial confrontation paled in

[216] Joe Louie, interviewed by Victor Nee and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown*, (New York, Pantheon Books, 1973): 285-

comparison to what unfolded later that night.

On the night of March 1, 1969, a once boisterous crowd erupted into chaos across Grant Avenue. As the Chinese New Year parade ended and families began to depart, white and Chinese youth remained, drifting idly in the streets. The shaky peace did not last long. At approximately 10:30 PM, police caught a white youth attacking a young Chinese male. When police officers arrived to break up the melee, the Chinese male resisted the officers.[217] His friends came to his rescue when they pelted the police officers with firecrackers and shards of broken bottles. What began as an effort by a group of Chinese youth to free their friend from hostility unfolded into a mass riot. Enraged Chinese youth smashed the windows of four local businesses, vandalized a police car, and strewed Molotov cocktails across Grant Avenue. Police struggled to restrain the mass brawl until the tactical squad arrived as reinforcement. When the smoke cleared, over eighty-nine individuals suffered injuries, while police arrested fifteen whites and nine Chinese for their role in sparking the riot.[218]

For the Chinese New Year parade organizers, whose membership in the Chinese Six Companies marked their role as the political and economic elites of Chinatown, the riot blighted the image they desired to project. Instead of depicting Chinese Americans as model citizens, the riot portrayed them as agents of social unrest. A positive image of Chinatown's Chinese American community, which had taken years to market, was at risk of unraveling. For the Chinese youth involved, the riots represented a retaliation against a curated, and superficial, projection of Chinese American life that the Chinese New Year Celebrations had upheld since 1953. Furthermore, the youth's reprisal against the festivities demonstrated their response to the degrading social and economic conditions they claimed the festival disguised. As a result, the curated and exotified cultural images that the New Year festival organizers erected cracked under the pressure of youth activism. Accordingly, this study examines the advent of the Chinese New Year Parade and festivities in San Francisco Chinatown, and the ways in which the celebration became a space to utilize—and contest—the negotiation of ethnic

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[217] "Chinatown Riot After The Parade," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 2, 1969.

[218] "Tac Squad Halts Riot—Ban on Firecrackers," *East West*, March 5, 1969.

expression and political power.

I. Contextualizing the Parade: Conflicting Identities in the Cold War

The conclusion of World War II in 1945 marked the resumption of hostilities between Nationalist and Communist forces in China, and with it, the resurrection of anti-Chinese hostilities in San Francisco Chinatown. The United States attempted to prop up the Nationalist Chinese regime, fearing that the Chinese mainland would succumb to Communist revolution. Although the US government's campaign to prop the Nationalist regime initially appeared effective, the eventual collapse of the Nationalist government in 1949 marked the successful takeover of mainland China by the Chinese Communist Party. For federal policy makers, the establishment of a Communist, Chinese state raised new national security concerns, for fear that the nascent state could jeopardize American allies in post-war East Asia.[219] This fear materialized in 1950, with the Chinese-backed Communist North Korea's insurgency against the U.S-allied South Korean republic, resulting in the three year long Korean War. Overnight, the US government viewed Chinese Americans, once steadfast allies against Japanese imperialism in WWII, with suspicion.

As a result, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the chief representative body for local business affairs for Chinese San Franciscans, identified strategies to frame Chinese Americans as non-threatening, productive members of a capitalist society to prevent public suspicions from affecting business interests. Historian Ling-Chi Wang contends that the resurrection of the "New Yellow Peril," or threat of Chinese subversiveness during the 1950s, mobilized the Chinatown business establishment to prove their loyalty as staunch anti-communists.[220] For example, H.K Wong, President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, envisioned a community event to challenge past racializations of Chinese Americans as subversive elements of society. Arguing that Chinese Americans wielded "thousands of years worth of civilization," Wong sought to "invite our American friends to share this

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[219] Charlotte Brooks, *Between Mao and McCarthy: Chinese American Politics in the Cold War Years,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 30.

[220] L. Ling-Chi Wang, "The Structure of Dual Domination: Toward a Paradigm for the Study of the Chinese Diaspora in the United States," *Amerasian Journal*, 2007;13: 149.

happiness."[221] Wong's leadership attested to how the potential for an ethnic celebration would not only relieve the economic crisis afflicting Chinatown, but reaffirm their active support for American democracy.

In an op-ed published by *The Chinese World* written on behalf of the Chinese New Year's planning committee, Wong conveyed the necessity of the celebration for Chinatown's denizens. He argued that the festival empowered Chinatown's anti-communist citizens to be visible in defending their loyalties to the United States. Moreover, the festivities aimed to defuse popular anti-Chinese sentiments during the Korean War period (1950-1953) while synthesizing a sense of patriotism and the "freedom of choice" that Chinese Americans enjoyed.[222] Most importantly, the celebrations aimed to relieve Chinese businesses afflicted by an embargo against the People's Republic of China by revitalizing tourist-based industries.[223] As a form of ethnic self-expression, the New Year celebrations ignited new conversations about how its activities posed contributions and challenges to the residents of San Francisco Chinatown.

From 1953 onwards, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce oversaw every facet of the Chinese New Year celebrations to ensure the transformation of Chinatown's racialized identity. During the Cold War, demonstrating allegiance to democratic and free market principles defined the salience of one's American citizenship. Historians Sucheng Chang and Madeline Hsu both noted that the Chinese Chamber of Commerce concerned itself, on the one hand, with presenting Chinatown as a microregion of economic activity in San Francisco, and the other, with constructing racial projects to challenge notions of Chinese Americans as subversive, foreign elements.[224] Historian Chiou-Ling Yeh reinforces this point, arguing that the Chinese New Year celebrations reinforced Chinese American commitments to Cold War liberalism—a capitalist, consumerist, way of life.[225] Posing as a path towards

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[221] Victor Nee and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown*, 244.
[222] "Creating a New Year Tradition," *Chinese World*, Feb 15, 1953.
[223] "Creating a New Year Tradition," *Chinese World*, Feb 15, 1953.
[224] Sucheng Chan and Madeline Tsu, *Chinese Americans and the Politics of Race and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 20.
[225] Chiou Ling Yeh, *Making an American Festival* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005): 4.

assimilation, the Chinese New Year Parade provided opportunities for Chinese Americans to engage in self-expression, and as a result, advance their American-ness and patriotism.

Additionally, the celebrations presented lucrative opportunities to commodify and negotiate Chinese culture in ways that supplemented Cold War liberalism. As far back as the late 1800s, the Chinese political establishment went to great lengths to superimpose Orientalist inspired architecture and public art to cultivate awe among the public. In doing so, the Chinese political establishment construed a calculated attempt to appeal to American racializations regarding the "Orient." Edward Said, a cultural scholar, described Orientalism as a "body of theory and practice" informed by Western preconceptions of the exotification of Asian cultures.[226] Moreover, the festival organizers justified the orientalizing of the New Year Parades, arguing that the ability to cater to a variety of audiences remained tantamount to upholding the freedom of expression and choice that American democracy had granted citizens like themselves—the same freedoms deemed scarce in their ancestral (and Communist) country of origin.[227] With recognition from local politicians and representatives from the exiled Chinese Nationalist government, the organizers enhanced their credibility as a de-facto authority in Chinatown. This can be summed up in what historian Ellen Wu denoted as the "model minority" image, where the organizers sought to market Chinese-Americans as embodying the success driven by "Cold War liberalism."[228]Moreover, the Chamber secured a monopoly in exacting social control over the Chinatown community, allowing them to dictate the selective legitimization of cultural practices evident in the public's assumptions about Chinatown and its residents.

Despite their purpose and ubiquity through the 1950s and 1960s, the New Year Parades elicited criticism from members of the community. I argue that although the Chinese New Year Parades showcased Chinatown's prosperity as a product of the community's model minority, the celebrations elicited misconceptions about the underlying social conditions embedded in

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[226] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York, Vintage Books, 1979): 6.

[227] Ellen Yu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014): 45.

[228] Ellen Yu, *The Color of Success,* 47.

San Francisco Chinatown. While the organizers of the New Year celebrations benefited from promoting a cosmetic image of Chinatown's residents, the resulting image rendered declining conditions in Chinatown almost invisible. As a result, growing frustrations regarding the state of the Chinatown, particularly among Chinatown's youth, became apparent. In particular, disgruntled youth attempted to utilize the festivals as mediums of negotiation and exchange with the Chinatown establishment to tackle the social malaise plaguing Chinatown's residents. Through various youth-based campaigns, youth groups co-opted the celebrations' projections of ethnic self-expression to challenge the paradigms encapsulating Chinese American identity.

I contend that these youth-led critiques evolved into active challenges against the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and their associates' monopoly on projecting the images and practices conveyed throughout the Chinese New Year celebrations. The Civil Rights Movement and the militancy of specific ethnic communities influenced Chinese American youth in the late 1960s significantly. Notably, the intensity in which youth gangs and the militancy of recent college graduates in challenging control over the ethnic identities projected by the New Year Celebrations enkindled a surge of public discourse necessary to tackle Chinatown's social ills. By renegotiating facets of the New Year Parade, the youth of Chinatown contributed to reconfiguring representations of ethnic citizenship distinct from the paradigm of Chinese Americans as the "model minority" or as the "Yellow Peril."

Overall, I analyzed archival resources, community newspapers, oral histories, and organizational records at the UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library and the City and County of San Francisco Library system. Specifically, community newspapers were critical in highlighting various opinions concerning the celebration's planning and marketing. Additionally, these community papers actively depicted critiques of the festivities and discussions regarding Chinatown affairs that were not explicitly covered by regional papers. Moreover, community papers capture the experiences of organizers, participants, and Chinatown denizens that illustrate the motivations for their respective agendas. Furthermore, archival records demonstrate key links between local government officials, organizers of the Chinese New Year Parade, and a host of community critics in addressing a contestation over the identity of San Francisco Chinatown. To conclude, the use of festival publications demonstrated how parade organizers manipulated

and marketed the image of Chinese Americans.

II. The Chinatown Establishment and Cold War Anxieties

For much of the 20th century, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) represented most residents of Chinatown. Founded in 1852, the CCBA heralded itself as a mediator in economic affairs and as an ambassador to local government.[229] Comprised of family associations, merchant groups, and local business owners, the CCBA claimed to be the political and cultural face of the community. From its inception, the CCBA represented the fiduciary interests of its membership base by overseeing legal challenges to anti-Chinese legislation. Historian Iris Chang expressed that while many of these legal battles did not result in desirable outcomes, the CCBA did succeed in building its credibility as a spokesgroup and arbiter of Chinatown related affairs, ensuring its predominant position in Chinatown.[230]

The CCBA aligned itself with the homeland government of China to bolster its role in Chinatown affairs. By 1927, the Nationalist Party defeated its adversaries and assumed de facto power over the remnants of the republican, Chinese state. For the CCBA, a new political authority in overseas China drew into question the future status of its standing, economic relationships and overseas investments.[231] The Nationalist government began to assert its diplomatic influence overseas, and in the late 1930s, developed a regional headquarters in San Francisco Chinatown. As the mutual economic interests of Nationalist diplomats and CCBA board members aligned, so did the conditions to cultivate a community alliance between the two entities. In exchange for their loyalty to the Nationalist government, the CCBA enjoyed a monopoly of Nationalist support in maintaining its position as the political establishment of Chinatown.[232]

World War II, however, tested the relationship between the Nationalist Party and the Chinese political establishment. In the Second Sino-Japanese

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[229] Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 45.

[230] Iris Chang, *The Chinese in America: A Narrative History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 62.

[231] Min Zhou, C*hinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 43.

[232] Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940-1965* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002): 98-100.

War, the Nationalist state suffered military losses that left much of its population impoverished. As a result, the CCBA rallied Chinese American San Franciscans to provide humanitarian aid to the Nationalist regime. Between 1939 to 1945, the CCBA raised more than $200,000 for the Nationalist regime.[233] While the aid comprised a fraction of what the U.S allocated to the Chinese war effort during WWII, the CCBA exhibited the full force of its organizational power and community clout in organizing support for Nationalist China's defense against Imperial Japanese aggression.

Despite its relationship with the Nationalist Party, the CCBA confronted new challenges to its authority as Chinatown residents confronted accusations of subversiveness over a stereotypical association with the Communist regime. The Chinese Communist Party's success in seizing control over mainland China in 1949 posed a significant challenge in containing the expansion of Communism in East Asia. The subsequent Korean War, and specifically, the nascent Communist, Chinese state's backing of the North Korean regime against the U.S-allied South Korean republic reignited white citizens' distrust of Chinese Americans.[234] Chinese Americans remained subject to intensive, public scrutiny as exemplified by an editorial in the Chinese Press, a local Chinatown based English language newspaper: "As long as the Communists are in power. . .it is possible for eruptive public feelings against us."[235] The editorial also suggested that to reduce overall tensions, the community should engage in "being better citizens."[236]

Chinese Americans also faced harassment from both U.S and overseas based organizations. In 1951, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), in tandem with the Department of Immigration and Natural Services (INS), began a campaign to survey the trustworthiness of Chinese Americans. Initially, difficulties in obtaining evidence to prosecute left-leaning Chinese political groups led the FBI to align with the INS to remove potential subversive agents. Since the INS oversaw the removal of illegal immigrants, it

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[233] Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet : A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): 200.

[234] Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of an American People* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000): 48.

[235] "Editorial Page," *Chinese Press*, December 18, 1951.

[236] "Editorial Page," *Chinese Press*, December 18, 1951.

partnered with the FBI in cracking down on illegal immigration tied to Communist activities.[237] The Nationalist Party, utilizing its political roots in San Francisco Chinatown and its close relationship with the U.S, sought to take advantage of Communist driven angst against Chinese Americans.

While the reinvigorated allegiance to the Nationalist Party proved invaluable, it prevented the CCBA from pursuing community reforms. Proving loyalty to the Nationalist Party consumed much of the CCBA's energy and left little devotion for community concerns. In addition, the early Cold War and the nascent People's Republic of China reenergized Nationalist representatives to crack down on left-leaning dissenters in San Francisco Chinatown. Historian Xiaojian Zhao argued that left-wing community organizations critical of living conditions in Chinatown became prime targets for harassment by Nationalist agents.[238] In conjunction with arrests initiated by the FBI and INS, Nationalist agents instigated anti-communist hysteria in San Francisco Chinatown.[239] Meanwhile, the CCBA and their community associates remained largely silent, as they viewed the rise of leftist organizations as competitors to their political monopoly. Historian Ling-Chi Wang dubbed this period of surveillance a time of "dual domination," where both U.S and overseas Chinese authorities pledged to eradicate Communist infiltration by cultivating an environment of angst.[240]

Despite the CCBA's alliance with the Nationalist Party, the association's

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[237] Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940-1965*, 162.

[238] Him Mark Lai, "The Chinese-Marxist Left, Chinese Students and Scholars in America, and the New China," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 1 January 2004, 20.

[239] Hired by the San Francisco Nationalist Party organ, agents (or "community informants") were responsible for the surveillance, and at times, harassment of individuals and/or organizations that posed a threat to local Nationalist party influence. In the 1950s, their role became increasingly important to maintaining a local presence of authority, as the Nationalist Party, now sensitive to the loss of political clout after the loss of the mainland to Chinese Communists, sought to reinforce the loyalties of diaspora communities in Southeast Asia and the Americas.

[240] L. Ling-Chi Wang, "The Structure of Dual Domination: Toward a Paradigm for the Study of the Chinese Diaspora in the United States," *Amerasian Journal*, no.13, 2007: 130.

legitimacy came into question by Chinese Americans burdened with Cold War anxieties. While the CCBA's accumulation of political and social capital from previous decades cemented their position as the sole "Chinese" representative to San Francisco City Hall, residents became increasingly disgruntled with their apparent complicity in recent episodes of Cold War surveillance.[241] Moreover, the intensive surveillance grew increasingly detrimental to the economic health of Chinatown and became symptomatic of the waning effectiveness of the CCBA. After all, CCBA properties constituted the various family and clan association businesses that generated most of Chinatown's revenue. Their ownership of multiple Chinatown properties represented their stake in Chinatown's financial solvency, and the immediate risks from exposure to an economic downturn. Consequently, any loss of revenue from businesses occupying CCBA property did not only have direct implications for the CCBA's legitimacy, but on the operations of community organizations the CCBA supported.[242]

III. Fabricating a Celebration: Rebranding the Chinese American Identity

To buoy their waning popularity, the CCBA recognized the immediate need to dispel hostilities against Chinese Americans. Leaders of the CCBA and, in particular, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, highlighted examples exemplifying the role of Chinese Americans as "citizens first."[243] James Loo, one of the original planners of the 1953 Chinese New Year Parade, argued that since Chinese Americans presented themselves as deferential to authority, they ensured success in their endeavors: "with the Confucian doctrine of the dignity of man, the Chinese are a calm and pacific race."[244] By reinforcing the Orientalist expectations of Chinese Americans, Loo conveyed that Chinese Americans justified their innately, compatible traits by drawing from the vast history of Chinese civilization. Charles Leong, head of public relations at the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, went further in projecting the model minority image by depicting Chinese American entrepreneurship as

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[241] Him Mark Lai, *Chinese Transnational Politics*, ed. by Madeline Hsu (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010): 115.

[242] Him Mark Lai, *Chinese Transnational Politics*, 118.

[243] Ellen Wu, *The Color of Success: Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 114.

[244] James Loo, "Who Are the Chinese," in *San Francisco Chinatown Parade: A Report by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce*. 1954.

"something authentic, something sincere, something wrought of hard work and sacrifice."[245] Overall, the New Year Celebrations aimed to invoke Chinese Americans' positive traits to ground them in the contextual framework of the American Dream and Cold War liberalism.

Furthermore, the parades themselves symbolized fervent patriotism and the defense of American democracy. From the first Chinese New Year parade in 1953 onwards, the inclusion of military units remained ubiquitous. For example, a segment of the parade celebrated the contributions of Chinese American veterans who served in both World Wars and the Korean War.[246] The festival organizers appointed Corporal Joe Wong, a veteran blinded during his service in the Korean War, as the first Grand Marshall of the Chinese New Year Parade.[247] Wong's prominent position alongside his comrades epitomized the role Chinese Americans played in protecting the United States, as well as its allies, against fascism and communist encroachment. In rapid succession, bands from each branch of the armed forces trailed the veterans' section. As noted in an article from *The Chinese World*, their prominence demonstrated the continued cooperation of the Chinese and Americans to "defend the United States in the Cold War conflict."[248] The author's emphasis on cooperation exemplified how Chinese Americans contributed, as an equal partner, to foster patriotism by defending against Communist subversion.

White politicians from San Francisco and Sacramento flocked to the New Year Celebrations, where their presence transformed the parades into imposing political rallies. For example, the 1962 Chinese New Year Parade featured former Vice President Richard Nixon and incumbent governor of California Edmund Brown, who utilized the celebrations to capture the attention of potential voters for the upcoming gubernatorial election.[249]

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[245] Charlie Leong to the President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, February 4, 1957, Carton 3, Folder 7, Charles L. Leong Papers, Asian American Studies Archive, University of California, Berkeley.

[246] "The New Year of the Serpent Wriggles In—With a Bang," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 16, 1953.

[247] "Dazzling Program for New Year Set," *The Chinese World*, February 9, 1953.

[248] "Preparations for New Year Parade Underway," *The Chinese World*, February 7, 1953.

[249] "250,000 Cheer Big S.F Parade," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 25, 1962.

Moreover, the parades honored the rise of prominent community leaders to local office, as their efforts represented Chinatown's contributions to enriching local democracy. Specifically, the 1966 New Year Parade featured Grand Marshall Lim P. Lee, whose efforts as a powerbroker between Chinatown's leaders and state representatives earned him the position of Postmaster of San Francisco.[250] For Lee and his successors, the symbolism of serving as a grand marshall in the Chinese New Year celebrations demonstrated how Chinese Americans played a central role in participating in and defending American democracy.

In addition, representatives of Nationalist China deployed diplomatic emissaries to promote the exiled government. To bolster the Nationalists' anti-communist agenda, the CCBA co-opted the activities of the Anti-Communist League into the New Year Parades. According to Albert Wong, the public relations representative of the League, the activities sought to "assure our American friends of our loyalty and feeling first. . .ensuring that we gain the trust of the United States. . .and to the Nationalist government."[251] For example, during a Chinese New Year march in 1951, over six hundred Chinese youth and adults took to the streets, wielding placards with emboldened statements such as "Preserve your heritage for freedom" and "Liberate China."[252] By rallying anti-communist sentiment and emboldening public support for the Nationalist state, the Anti-Communist League became a prominent reminder of how the CCBA's loyalty to the Nationalist state was a prop in reinforcing fervent anti-communism. Although employed successfully in subsequent New Year Parades of the 1950s, these early representations paradoxically estranged Chinese Americans as foreigners rather than affirming them as citizens.[253]

Additionally, ethnic activities featured prominently in New Year festivities. Exotic and conspicuous events, such as the dragon march,

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[250] Charlotte Brooks, *Between Mao and McCarthy*, 257.

[251] "Chinatown Parade Stresses Anti-Communism," *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), February 13, 1951.

[252] Dai-Ming Lee, "The Sincerity of the Anti-Communist League," *The Chinese World* (San Francisco, CA), February 2, 1951.

[253] Him Mark Lai, Draft of the article "A Homegrown Culture? The Challenge of Chinese America" carton 27, folder 37, Him Mark Lai Papers, Asian American Archives, UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley.

captivated both Chinese residents and tourists alike. Dubbed by the media and community members as the "Golden Dragon," the artistic piece extended as long as 125 feet, with its body crafted out of many layers of luminous, golden silk. With its imposing size and weight, the Golden Dragon required a herculean force of bearers to be gallantly paraded on the streets.[254] Devoted to promoting longevity, dispelling dolefulness, and radiating prosperity for the community and guests in attendance, the Golden Dragon march represented how Chinese Americans related to ethnic expressions.[255] Moreover, the march symbolized the utility of multiculturalism: not only did community members identify with a practice of spiritual cleansing, but the march's popularity encouraged a form of democratic self-expression. Consequently, activities such as the Golden Dragon march constituted a continued contribution by the festival organizers to promote democratic practices.

Moreover, small businesses stood to benefit from Chinatown's transformation into a tourist destination. The CCBA recognized that the New Year celebrations attracted swaths of tourists, and in the process, bolstered commercial revenue for small businesses. Since tourism accounted for a significant revenue stream for San Francisco, city officials grew increasingly interested in marshalling the resources of the CCBA to revitalize tourism in the city. To foster their relationship with city officials, the CCBA depicted Chinatown as "a sample of the Orient" to exhibit Chinatown's novel ability in garnering revenue for the city's coffers.[256] To encourage this economic relationship, Charles Leong, in a memo to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce leadership, detailed how small businesses could benefit from the development of Chinatown's New Year's festivities: "The basic weakness. . .is the lack of promotion of the business and its services."[257] In short, the traffic and publicity produced by the Chinese New Year Celebrations proved

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[254] H.K Wong, "The Divine Creature," *San Francisco Chinatown*, 50.

[255] Charles L. Leong, Rough draft of the article "The City Where the Dragon Dances," carton 2, folder 28, Charles L. Leong Papers, Asian American Archives, UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley

[256] Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 140.

[257] Charles L. Leong, " A Blueprint For the Improvement of Chinatown Business," July 6, 1953, Charles L. Leong Papers, Asian American Studies Archives, UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley.

essential to sustain Chinatown's commercial prosperity.

Buoyed by high attendance, city officials endorsed the Chinese New Year festivals as a way to cultivate San Francisco's burgeoning tourist industry. In 1953, the first New Year parade garnered 100,000 spectators, and by 1957, the popular celebrations hosted nearly 200,000 tourists.[258] In 1961, emboldened festival planners extolled the popularity of the festival with tourists and other city residents, claiming that nearly seven participants out of ten were not Chinese.[259] As a result of the rapid success of the parades, city officials cooperated with the Chinese business establishment in investing city resources to expand the New Year festivities. Hence, in his ambitions to co-opt the Chinese New Year Celebrations, then-Mayor George Christopher created a district advisory committee for Chinatown.[260] The Chinatown establishment eagerly supported his initiatives, as it proved useful in promoting the positive impact of Chinese Americans, and more importantly, garnering the political capital necessary to influence government stakeholders. As a result, in 1957, two city committees, led by members of the CCBA and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, secured responsibilities for proliferating extensive, and exotified marketing campaigns. Their objective: to establish the Chinese New Year Celebrations as one of the premiere tourist attractions of San Francisco.[261]

Despite encouraging the growth of the New Year celebrations, San Francisco's municipal government remained steadfast in outlining boundaries limiting the breadth of New Year activities. Deemed a fire hazard and a public nuisance, the New Year celebrations ultimately set limitations on the use of firecrackers.[262] However, for Chinese American residents, lighting firecrackers warded off devils and evil spirits from households and businesses, and as such, remained essential to beginning the New Year. Although city officials

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[258] "100,000 See Chinatown Celebration," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1956; "200,000 View New Year Parade," *The Chinese World*, February 5, 1957.

[259] "Crowds Amass at Chinese New Year Festivities," *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, March 9, 1961.

[260] "Chinatown Improvement Committee in Initial Meet at Mayor's Office," *The Chinese World*, February 17, 1956.

[261] "Mayor Christopher Envisions Expanded Chinese New Year Fete," *The Chinese World*, February 8, 1957.

[262] "Chinatown New Year's Fireworks," *The Chinese World*, February 13, 1956.

did not ban the use of firecrackers outright, its restrictions on use met resistance from both festival organizers and community members. Many residents expressed concern over the disregard for their ethnic pride: "[Chinese Americans] want to be law-abiding citizens, but they can not help regretting the disappearance of old customs."[263] Consequently, public dissent caught on to local, political representatives, who sympathized with their Chinese American constituents.[264]

Yet, in 1956, the city banned the use of firecrackers. Although the initial backlash from Chinese American residents and local representatives drew the attention of city officials, it nevertheless failed to change standing limitations on the ban. In response to the ban, the Chinese political establishment lobbied the city to receive exempt status on the firecracker ban. To enhance their persuasiveness, leaders co-opted Cold War rhetoric, arguing that the firecracker ban embodied a form of censorship aimed at silencing ethnic self-expression. Furthermore, leaders and festival organizers suggested that the firecracker ban posed a clear contradiction to freedom of expression.[265] Best summed up by H.K Wong, the firecracker ban exemplified the political ramifications of inhibiting constitutional rights to self expression: "To Chinese. . .it is unthinkable that in this free land, one's religious method of expression of hope and happiness could be throttled."[266] Going further, Chinese leaders pointed out that both belligerent and allied governments, such as the People's Republic of China and Great Britain in Hong Kong, permitted their subjects to express their cultural traditions without hindrance from the law, while a democratic United States failed to do so.

The Chinese political establishment's persistence in attempting to overturn the firecracker ban not only posed questions about the right for ethnic self-expression, but of the future of the New Year Parades. Emphasizing the recent contributions of Chinese Americans to the local economy, Wong contended that the success of the festivals remained

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[263] Dai-Ming Lee, "Editorial, Fireworks on the Chinese New Year," *The Chinese World*, February 7, 1956.

[264] "Chinatown Rebellion," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1956.

[265] "Fallout From the Firecracker Ban," *The Chinese World*, February 11, 1956.

[266] H.K Wong, "H.K's Corner: Sorry, No Firecrackers," *The Chinese World*, February 15, 1956.

contingent on the city's continued support. As a result, Wong further concluded that the city's endorsement of the firecracker ban threatened the future of the New Year festivities, as festival organizers could be "discouraged from staging another festival . . .that adds to the glory and achievement of San Francisco."[267] Even with special permission, the costs alone to utilize firecrackers threatened to upend funding for the New Year festival. In 1956, the CCBA paid $10,000 for a public liability insurance policy to host two firecracker displays.[268] But, the added expense meant that continuing the firecracker tradition annually was financially unsustainable. Either the CCBA would have to reduce festival activities or eliminate the firecrackers. This quandary ultimately posed new questions regarding the future of the New Year Festivities. Ultimately, with the city's economic interests in Chinatown at risk of unraveling, city officials relaxed the firecracker ban.

In attempting to contest the firecracker ban, Wong and other Chinese establishment leaders utilized the exotified celebrations in defending the interests of Chinatown residents. In doing so, Chinese leaders exposed their willingness to tie their ethnic identity to Cold War liberalism. Instead of expressing patriotism by remaining deferential to authority, they proved their loyalty by holding local officials accountable, thereby defending their own interests. Yet, the ability of the Chinese political establishment to support the holistic needs of the community remained restricted, as economic prosperity marshalled from the New Year celebrations filtered downwards to their respective members.[269] For the majority of Chinatown denizens, the reinvention of Chinese American identity did not serve as recourse against economic degradation and political representation. Instead, the reinvention of Chinese American racializations served the upper echelon of Chinatown's political leaders, whose desire to renew their influence over the community entrenched inequities among generational, immigrant, and class lines. These

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[267] H.K Wong, "H.K's Corner: Sorry, No Firecrackers," *The Chinese World* , February 15, 1956.

[268] "Firecracker Ban Holds Despite TV," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1956.

[269] George Chu, "Chinatown: Stereotypes and Myths Have Made This the Only Pocket of Poverty in the United States to be a Major Tourist Attraction," Newspaper Clippings, Asian American Studies vertical files, UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library, Berkeley, CA.

practices ultimately came into contention with a variety of youth members, as declining living conditions and rampant youth violence remained hidden under the glamor of the New Year Celebrations.

IV. Rebellion Among The Young: The Rise of Chinese American Youth Gangs

In the 1960s, changes in immigration law allowed for significant numbers of Chinese immigrants to migrate to the United States. As a result, families from Hong Kong gravitated to San Francisco Chinatown, where the CCBA mobilized these immigrants to phase out an aging, pre-1925 workforce.[270] Given that a significant proportion of Chinese immigrants did not have the cultural capital nor education to pursue professional careers, most pursued work as low-wage laborers in small businesses and factories. In attempting to sustain narrow profit margins and a competitive edge, Chinatown businesses became increasingly notorious for their degrading working conditions and low wages.[271] Furthermore, as the Chinese New Year parade and celebrations brought significant levels of tourist traffic to Chinatown, local businesses increased their demand for low-wage labor. While the celebrations generated noteworthy profits, little was investment in improving working conditions and wages.[272] In exploiting their co-ethnics for their economic success, the Chinese political establishment fueled the discontent of Chinese immigrant youth, who bore the brunt of deteriorating living conditions.

As a result, co-ethnic labor exploitation, in tandem with poor living conditions in Chinatown, contributed to a spike in youth delinquency. Although overall youth delinquency was not a new phenomenon, the 1960s marked a serious increase, as business owners in Chinatown reported multiple burglary cases affecting their overall ability to attract potential consumers. In 1965, one prominent case of youth violence involved an organization dubbed "The Bugs," whose members successfully executed forty

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[270] Alessandro Baccari, *Report of the San Francisco Chinese Community Citizens' Survey and Fact Finding Committee* (San Francisco, DH.J Carle and Sons Publishing: 1969), 22.
[271] Jane Eshelman Conant, "The Other Face of Chinatown," *San Francisco Examiner*, August 14, 1967.
[272] Alessandro Baccari, *Report of the San Francisco Chinese Community Citizens' Survey and Fact Finding Committee*, 25.

eight burglaries.[273] As youth gang violence crippled Chinatown's tourist industry, the CCBA and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce became increasingly concerned about the resulting economic implications. Scholar Stanford Lyman argued that in the early 1960s, youth violence explicitly targeted the Chinatown establishment's complicity in Chinatown's degrading living conditions.[274] In response, the CCBA's reaction towards youth delinquency became increasingly dismissive, with members of the CCBA arguing that attempts at reform by "Chinese undesirables" only yielded unnecessary conflict.[275] Additionally, widespread property damage reinforced prejudices among the CCBA's membership about Chinese youth gang behavior, ensuring that future reconciliation and collaboration between the two bodies remained elusive.

In particular, the CCBA narrowed its attacks to one prominent gang: Wah Ching (China Youth). Formed in 1963, Wah Ching consisted of recent Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. Due to the passage of the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act, thousands of Hong Kong families immigrated to the United States.[276] Given San Francisco Chinatown's prominent position as a port of entry, many of these immigrants flooded into the already crowded and poor neighborhoods of Chinatown. Their arrival taxed what little resources the Chinatown establishment and San Francisco's municipal government provided. Most members confronted the reality of stagnant mobility as they struggled to keep steady jobs. Those who did hold on to employment enjoyed wages approximate to one dollar an hour.[277] As a result of their economic deprivation, many resorted to crime to support themselves and their families. Therefore, by 1968, Wah Ching grew to nearly 300 men strong, with intentions to resist any hostilities from opposing Chinese youth gangs and other racial groups.

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[273] Stanford Lyman, "Red Guard on Grant Avenue: The Rise of Youthful Rebellion in Chinatown," in *The Asian of the West*, (Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1970), 104.
[274] Stanford Lyman, "The Rise of Youthful Rebellion in Chinatown," 105.
[275] "Six Co. Gets the Word," *East West*, Sept 18, 1968.
[276] James Wong, *Aspirations and Frustrations of the Chinese Youth in the San Francisco Bay Area: Aspirations Upon the Societal Scheme*, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1977), 52.
[277] Ken Wong, "Hong Kong Born Youth Group Plea for Chance," *East West*, January 24, 1968.

Despite the fact that Wah Ching's members contributed to multiple cases of urban unrest, they also earnestly sought to improve the community conditions engendering their plight. In a meeting of the City Commission on Human Rights, members proposed a comprehensive education plan to provide Chinatown youth with fast-track programs to obtain high school diplomas and various vocational skills. Additionally, members requested that a space for delinquent youth be constructed to promote the proposed fast-track services to the greater Chinatown youth population.[278] While the sitting members of the Human Rights Commission supported the proposal, they decided that ultimately, community organizations had to bear the responsibility for allocating the resources necessary to run the programs. Though the CCBA leadership initially pledged to fundraise to pay the costs, their membership later reneged on their commitment, claiming that extortion was no means to earn their trust and support: "They [Wah Ching] have threatened the community. If you give in to this group, you have another hundred immigrants come in and have a whole new series of threats and demands."[279] Just two weeks after their claim to support the Wah Ching proposal, the CCBA recanted their promise. This fueled Wah Ching's sense of estrangement.

Leway (short for legitimate means), an informal youth organization, suffered similar setbacks in achieving rapport with the Chinatown establishment. Formulated by a small group of disgruntled youth with similar backgrounds to Wah Ching members, Leway sought to reduce juvenile delinquency by running a pool hall to fund job-training programs.[280] To set up their job-training programs, Leway appealed for the support of the local Economic Occupancy Council (EOC), a municipal body responsible for the disbursement of public funds for low-income communities. In spite of Leway's efforts to support disgruntled youth, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce refused to recognize Leway as a legitimate, community organization. As a result of the Chamber's decision, Leway could not receive any resources from the EOC necessary to prop up their fledgling job-training

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[278] "Hong Kong Immigrants and Chinatown's Jobless Young Men," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 18, 1968.
[279] "Six Co. Nixes Hwa Ching, but Others Pledge Aid," *East West*, Mar 20, 1968.
[280] Chiou Ling Yeh, "Taking it to the Streets," 83.

program. Their credibility as a community organization, seemingly under siege by Chinatown's establishment, further received a blow when police harassed their prominent leaders.[281] Moreover, a family association with close ties to the CCBA continued to push for rent hikes, and in one instance, threatened to revoke the lease for the space Leway occupied.[282] Without a space or claim to legitimacy, Leway closed its doors in June 1969.

The role of the Chinatown establishment in denying attempts by organizations, such as Leway and Wah Ching, to reinvest in Chinatown's youth, contributed to surges in violence during the Chinese New Year Celebrations. For the individuals involved, their defeat at the hands of the Chinatown establishment left a stinging bitterness about any attempts for future cooperation. As one disgruntled youth dolefully noted regarding the shutdown of Leway: "Leway stood for legitimate ways. Helluva lot of good it did them."[283] Hence, the inability of the Chinatown establishment to resolve Chinatown's youth crisis contributed to its eroding credibility as a community leader. The resulting angst of many disgruntled youth reinforced their sense that they had no other option but to consider violence.

Therefore, in the late 1960s, disillusioned former members of Leway and current members of Wah Ching claimed responsibility for igniting violence during the Chinese New Year Parades. The attacks on the celebrations served to challenge the images of Chinatown's prosperity. Chinese youth justified their actions by venting about how the festival's profits were not reinvested in Chinatown's future. In response, the Chinatown establishment remained unwilling to directly intervene in youth affairs, and refused to mobilize its City hall networks to provide alternative forms of relief.[284] As a consequence, the Chinese New Year riots of the late 1960s gained notoriety in the local press, further contributing to the capriciousness of Chinatown's tourist industry and the waning, political standing of the

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[281] Mike Mills, "Leway—The 'Self-Helpers' of Chinatown," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 19, 1968.

[282] "Self-Help for Chinatown Youth," *East West*, March 20, 1968.

[283] Bill Moore, "Street Gangs of Chinatown," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 13, 1969.

[284] Alan S. Wong. Letter to Mayor Alioto, May 23, 1968, carton 1, folder 1, San Francisco Chinese Community Citizens Survey and Fact-Finding Committee Papers, UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.

Chinatown establishment.[285]

Youth gangs did not remain alone in challenging the New Year Parades' projections of political capital and ethnic expression. College students at San Francisco State University and the University of California, Berkeley founded community associations, such as the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), to provide English educational programs for marginalized youth.[286] Other youth organizations coalesced around militant strategies. The most well known of these organizations was the Red Guard Party, whose members drew inspiration from the Cultural Revolution in overseas Chinese, and the activities of the Black Panther Party in nearby Oakland.[287] They sought to mobilize community sympathizers through grassroots programs aimed at feeding young children and the elderly. Despite their differences in strategy, these youth organizations demonstrated their critiques of how the Chinatown establishment placed economic profit over the general welfare for Chinatown's residents. No longer did they solely rely on negotiation with Chinatown's establishment—the CCBA and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce—rather, they presented their case directly to the people they served. Therefore, their efforts provided the means for other newly formed community organizations to reinforce their own agency, and in the process, renegotiate the priorities of the Chinatown establishment.

V. Alternate Celebrations: A Case Study in Successful, Youth Based Negotiations

Chinese youth asserted their agency by coalescing around concerns elicited over the New Year celebrations. In previous years, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce organized the New Year carnival to fund the New Year celebrations. Often, the Chamber recruited outside vendors to operate games and other activities bearing little relationship with Chinese culture or New Year customs. Additionally, the carnival's location and length of duration in Waverly Place, home to multiple Chinatown-based businesses,

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[285] "New Year Festivities Marred by Violence in the Streets," *East West*, February 14 1968.

[286] William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 35

[287] Stanford Lyman, "The Rise of Youthful Rebellion in Chinatown," 106.

meant that business owners lost significant revenue.[288] Additionally, parking problems and traffic congestion contributed to the carnival's problematic impact to Chinatown's residents and local business owners. Furthermore, the exploitation of children was also a concern as the young targeted consumers wasted their Red Packets (Chinese New Year gift money) on activities. The carnival's detractors argued that the Chinatown community bore the brunt of financial losses caused by the carnival, whereas outside vendors and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce garnered profits from tourists attending the carnival.[289]

For Chinese youth, the carnival represented a failure to cater the Chinese New Year celebrations to the community at large, and to the welfare of its residents. Inviting outside vendors rather than businesses actually based in Chinatown denied working-class residents employment in the carnival. As tourists flooded into the carnival grounds, they displaced space for residents to enjoy the carnival offerings. Detractors, such as Wah Ching, threatened to burn down the carnival, citing that the carnival's role in inviting white youth exacerbated interracial tensions in Chinatown.[290] It became increasingly clear that the carnival served to reinforce Chinatown's tourist industry, and subsequently, the select interests of Chinatown's business establishment.

In 1969, nascent youth organizations banded together to create a counter-cultural space that juxtaposed itself to the carnivals of previous years. They responded to concerns that festival organizers over prioritized the commercial aspect of the celebrations. Therefore, the recently formed Chinatown-North Beach Youth and Recreation Committee (CNBYRC) and the college student based organization Concerned Chinese for Action and Change (CCAC) conceptualized a new tradition celebrating the unique origins of Chinese culture and the immigrant experience of Chinese Americans—a heritage fair.[291] Reflective of the late 1960s Asian American Movement and its

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[288] "Editorial: A Million Dollar Idea Free to the Chamber," *East West*, January 10, 1968.
[289] "Editorial: Chamber's Carnival," *East West*, August 7, 1968.
[290] Ken Wong, "New Year Festivities Marred by Violence in the Streets," *East West*, February 14, 1968.
[291] "New Year Fete, Youth Groups Do Own Things," *East West*, February 19, 1969; "Statement and Demands By Concerned Chinese for Action and Change." February 14, 1969, carton 2, folder 45, Third World Liberation Strike at University of California, Berkeley, 1969 Files, Asian American Studies Archive, UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies

emphasis on revisiting ethnic identity, the heritage fair served to educate the community and the public about the unique history surrounding Chinese Americans. Warmly received by a record attendance of community members, the 1969 New Year fair enjoyed the community's implicit endorsement.[292]

Moreover, the fair's success led to negotiations between Chinatown youth organizations and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Collaboration, however, did not reveal the full extent of the Chamber of Commerce's attempts to regulate heritage fair content, as it sought not to depict itself as an advocate of politically undesirable activities.[293] Best exemplified by an initial hesitance to allow the youth organizations to invite African American vendors, the Chamber of Commerce feared that their invitation could provoke racial tensions among Chinese residents and white tourists. Nevertheless, the CNBYRC and CCAC remained defiant, demanding that in inviting their African American guests, the opportunity to share their own histories and lived experiences could reduce interracial tensions amongst their respective communities.[294] Their pushback and ultimate success exhibited the agency that youth organizers strove in setting precedent for future festivities.

Other forms of youth resistance publicly disregarded the political censorship that the Chinese Chamber of Commerce imposed. Utilizing the fair as a medium of protest, the "Red Guards" fervently distributed copies of Mao Zedong's "Little Red Book of Quotes" to Chinatown residents and tourists alike.[295] The decision to distribute leftist literature reinforced their independence and critique against the Chinatown establishment's sailent ties with the anti-communist Nationalist government. Overall, the fair served as an outlet for youth advocacy, and with it, a challenge against the commercialization of the Chinese New Year Celebrations. Moreover, the newfound initiatives of these youth groups proved to the organizers of the Chinese New Year festivities that their concerns could no longer be disregarded.

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[292] "Editorial: Only a 'Fair' Fair," *East West*, Mar 19, 1969.

[293] Gloria He-Yung Chun, "Of Orphans and Warriors," 128.

[294] Karen Ishizuki, *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties,* (Brooklyn: Verso Publishing, 2018), 56.

[295] "A New Take for the New Year," *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, February 27, 1969.

VI. Conclusion

For Chinatown leaders, the San Francisco Chinese New Year parade and celebrations served as a strategy to resist racial hostility. As the Cold War political climate fueled an antagonistic image of Chinese Americans, the New Year celebrations provided opportunities for Chinese Americans to denounce their ties to Communist China, and as a result, claim authority over Chinese culture. By strategically appropriating selective, cultural attributes, festival organizers successfully commodified Chinese culture to appeal to the patriotic sensibilities of the greater public. Specifically, festival organizers conflated facets of exotified, Chinese culture with Cold War liberalism to advance Chinese Americans' "American-ness and patriotism." While the New Year celebrations constituted a multicultural project that elevated local economic development, the celebrations elided systemic issues of inequality, racial tensions, and economic exploitation. While popular with tourists and local political figures, the celebrations painted a false image of communitywide prosperity. As a result, Chinese youth, frustrated by how the New Year celebrations perpetuated racialized projections of Chinatown's residents, clamored for a public stage to reevaluate the status of their community.

While Chinatown's establishment attributed the spike in youth delinquency to declining living standards, their attempts to remediate living conditions remained insufficient. Instead, the political establishment pursued a law and order strategy to combat youth violence. The few opportunities for collaboration ultimately served to reinforce the generational and class gap between youth groups and the Chinatown establishment. Despite numerous attempts by the Chinatown establishment to brand Chinese youth as representatives of the model minority, youth became increasingly frustrated by their ghettoization and the complicity of the Chinatown establishment in maintaining it. Instead of tearing down the cultural projects comprising the New Year festivals, the youth of Chinatown co-opted parts of the festival to reconfigure representations of ethnic citizenship. Consequently, the resulting momentum rallied community support to combat the model minority and the New Yellow Peril racializations afflicting San Francisco Chinatown—and Chinese Americans nationwide.

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Department of History University of
California, Berkeley
3229 Dwinelle Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720

cliosscroll@gmail.com
ocf.berkeley.edu/~clios/

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