Qiu Jin's Nine Burials: The Making of Historical Monuments and Public Memory[†]

Hu Ying

My flesh reduced to dust,
My bones ground to powder,
Such fate is now a banality.
Qiu Jin [Untitled], July 12, 1907

Before daybreak on July 15, 1907, Qiu Jin (1875?–1907), convicted of insurrection against the Qing empire, was beheaded in Shaoxing.[1] Her remains were gathered by a local charity and roughly buried. Months later, Qiu Jin's brother recovered her body and had it laid out in a remote facility. Not until February 1908, when two women friends purchased ground by West Lake in Hangzhou, was a proper burial conducted. Before the end of the year, Qing soldiers razed her tomb. After Qiu Jin's husband died in 1909, his family claimed her remains and had them buried together with his body in his native Hunan. Soon after the success of the Republican revolution in 1912, her tomb was moved to a grander site in Hunan, only to be moved soon after back to the banks of West Lake. There would be four more reburials in the Communist era: in 1964, her tomb was relocated from West Lake to the surrounding hills; sometime in 1965, it was moved

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[1] For research material on Qiu Jin, see Guo 1987. For a pioneer study of Qiu Jin in English, see Rankin 1975: 39–66. For contemporary response to Qiu Jin's execution, see Xia 2000*a*: 208–43.

back to the lake, only to be banished to the hills once more in the early days of the Cultural Revolution; finally, in 1981, she was buried in state, her tomb and marble statue now overlooking West Lake.

As is evident from the many burials and the many destructions and rebuildings of her tombs, Qiu Jin attracted a great deal of interest long after her death. Today, she is a central figure in modern Chinese national history, her name perhaps one of the few still popularly remembered from the 1911 Revolution. Qiu Jin is enshrined in patriotic halls of honor on both sides of the Taiwan straits, and her official legacy is one of fearless self-sacrifice for the nation, her violent death justifying her status as a bona fide martyr. Narrated in textbooks and youth readers, her life exemplifies the newly liberated woman, iconoclastic in her self-presentation and poetic unto the last moment, her reputed last words committed to memory by every school child.[2] Yet there were thousands of men and quite a number of women who fought and died for the Revolution, whose sacrifices are remembered today only collectively, if at all.[3] The question motivating the present investigation is thus simple: what accounts for the continuing attraction of Qiu Jin despite the rapidly changing political and cultural milieu of twentieth century China? The history of her multiple burials and exhumations and of the many memorial tombs built in her honor shows that Qiu Jin's symbolic value was never stable or uncontested, because individuals and groups with widely divergent interests laid claim to her legacy and attributed competing interpretations to her legend. To ask the same question another way, then: how does Qiu Jin become such a protean symbol with multiple and sometimes contradictory attributes?

This mode of inquiry is inspired by a wealth of scholarship on memory and commemoration. Immediately pertinent to my study is the general recognition that memory and forms of collective identity are closely tied together. The intellectual foundation of this line of thinking was laid in the 1920s, principally by the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1992), who observed that memory can function only within a

[2] Qiu Jin allegedly wrote a seven-word poem fragment in lieu of a confession. The line reads "Autumn wind, autumn rain; they make one unbearably sad" (*qiufeng qiuyu chousharen*). Historians have failed to find proof that she actually wrote this line, but it is an important aspect of the Qiu Jin legend.

[3] The most prominent of Qiu Jin's male comrades are Xu Xilin and Tao Chengzhang; the most notable female revolutionaries are the sisters Yin Ruizhi and Yin Weijun. Xu, Tao, and Yin Ruizhi are buried in a collective gravesite, but Yin Weijun's tomb has not been found. See *Zhejiang Xinhai geming huiyi lu* 1984: 1–10, 64–72; also Rankin 1971: 106, 216.

collective context and that collective memory is always selective. Building on these key insights, scholars of nation and nationalism have unearthed a wide range of what Pierre Nora famously calls "memory sites," "the very building blocks" out of which representations of modern nation-states were constructed.[4] One of the most powerful "memory sites," a veritable cornerstone for nation building, is commemoration for patriotic martyrs such as Qiu Jin. Martyr commemoration is crucial because "nations . . . have no clearly identifiable births," observed Benedict Anderson. "Because there is no Originator, the nation's biography cannot be written evangelically, 'down time,' through a long procreative chain of begettings. The only alternative is to fashion it 'up time,'" a fashioning "marked by deaths" of martyrs (Anderson 2003: 205). As the rest of this paper demonstrates, it is because Qiu Jin's enduring symbolic value is closely tied to her martyrdom for the yet-to-be-born modern China, commemorations of her often became a political arena in the contested writing of national history.

An important methodological issue in the study of the memory-nation connection is how to approach the "building blocks" without falling into the trap of reifying them and the nation as if they were substantial entities (Olick 2003: 5). In the present case, this means that we need to remind ourselves repeatedly that the "Qiu Jin" as we "remember" her has been selectively made and remade, as has the "nation" to which she is said to have sacrificed herself, and that the two are mutually constitutive. More specifically, even though there may be "personal attributes" of the historical personage that make it easy to convert her into a symbol, there was little that was "natural" or automatic about the process that turned a life into a "building block" of the nation. Indeed, as we will see, a good many of the "personal attributes" were retroactively imagined or amplified in accordance with particular historical and collective needs. The "Qiu Jin" in the following pages thus refers to the legend that arose in the aftermath of the execution, related to but increasingly not the same as the historical personage bearing the same name. This project, then, is not about Qiu

[4] Nora 1996: xviv. In addition to Nora's work, there is a large case-study literature from historians and sociologists around the world who study public memory, monuments, and nationalism. Among others, see Bodnar 1992, Foote 1997, Burke 1989, and Olick 2003. Of particular note are studies of postsocialist Eastern Europe that have unearthed fiercely contested sites of memory. See, for example, Irwin-Zarecka 1994 and Verdery 1999. For twentieth-century China, see Duara 1995, Waldron 1996, Cohen 1997 (esp. Part Three), David Wang 2003, and Mühlhahn 2004.

Jin's life but her "afterlife": the contested history of a modern icon whose continuing utility and special efficacy lie in their malleability and their power to explain different things to different people at crucial moments in modern Chinese history.

One key distinction in the study of public memory and commemoration that has drawn much scholarly attention is the one between "official memory" and "vernacular memory" (Gillis 1994). In the present case, it may seem to be a foregone conclusion that because much of twentieth-century Chinese history is dominated by intense political struggle, and a good part of it under authoritarian regimes, the making of public memory such as Qiu Jin's is by necessity an exercise of state power. The tortured history of her commemoration will demonstrate that the power of the state is not always exercised through simple violence but just as often through manipulation of symbolic resources such as death and mourning; nor was there always a straightforward opposition between state-sponsored "official memory" and grassroots "vernacular memory." What we see in the maintenance of Qiu Jin's memory is that both local and state goals were articulated, sometimes in opposition and at other times in collusion with one another. The story of Qiu Jin commemoration is thus by necessity also the stories of her commemorators, from her sworn sisters Wu Zhiying and Xu Zihua, to Sun Yat-sen and Cai Yuanpei in the Republican era, to Zhou Enlai and others in the Communist era.[5]

To probe the question of Qiu Jin's special efficacy as a historical symbol, I look at the public monuments dedicated to her memory: the tombs, shrines, stelae, plaques, pavilions, and statues. As "building blocks," these monuments exist alongside a plethora of other commemorative material on Qiu Jin in other media, notably entries in national and local histories, school textbooks, patriotic youth readers, semifictional renditions of her life, dramatic performances and films, and volumes of research material. My present discussion is chiefly concerned with the physical monuments, not because they are an exclusive source in producing the

[5] Because my study focuses on physical monuments, a key figure in Qiu Jin commemoration is absent from the discussion, namely, Lu Xun. For an excellent study of his antipathy toward hero worship and ambivalence toward women in public, including Qiu Jin, see Eileen Cheng 2004.

Qiu Jin legend but because they have a specificity that warrants focused attention. Scholars who study monuments elsewhere describe them as "a sort of communicational resource, a system of signs and symbols, capable of extending the temporal and spatial range of communication," their physical durability allowing them "to carry meaning into the future so as to help sustain memory and cultural traditions" (Foote 1997: 33). In Qiu Jin's case, because these monuments are almost always located at sanctified sites—where she was executed, where she was first buried, etc.—they are imbued with a powerful sense of historical authenticity and affective vividness and are thus a unique symbolic resource recognized and used by individuals, groups, and the nation-state. On the other hand, because meanings conveyed by the monuments are not necessarily clear or always fixed, at any historical moment the precise content of her public memory was often contested. Indeed, we will see how the Qiu Jin monuments functioned often as a political arena, and as such they afford us a perspective from which to view some large topics in twentieth-century Chinese history—from political protest and the crisis at the end of the Qing dynasty, to the imagining of the new Republic sanctified by the blood of revolutionary martyrs, and to the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) troubled relationship to the 1911 legacy.

I approach the history of Qiu Jin commemoration from three angles: remembrance, imagining, and forgetting.[6] First, I ask who built the monuments, where they were built, and what specific forms of commemoration took place there. I then examine imaginative/interpretive acts that attach meanings to these monuments. And finally, where possible, I highlight the gaps and lapses in the record of public memory, which increasingly glosses over certain aspects of Qiu Jin's life and early commemorations of her that may appear inconvenient to the grand narratives of the modern Chinese nation. These gaps and lapses are as important as the actual monuments because they reveal the precise points of erasure in historical narrative. For those like myself who were brought

[6] For convenience and clarity, here I follow Casey's (2000) phenomenological study of memory, which offers an imaginative and thorough catalogue of forms of remembering.

up on familiar stories of modern China, a project such as this one may be useful in "restor[ing] the original strangeness" of certain pieces of national memory (Nora 1996: xx). Indeed, what is strange about Qiu Jin is just how much work it took from many highly placed individuals to produce this lasting afterlife, and equally strange, just how many purposes this afterlife could be made to serve.

The Body Unclaimed

Implicated in the anti-Manchu uprising that culminated in Xu Xilin's (1873–1907) assassination of Anhui Governor Enming (1846–1907), Qiu Jin was arrested on July 13, 1907 and executed two days later (Rankin 1971: 176–185). Although her execution showed poor judgment on the part of local Qing officials—for it would convert an ineffectual revolutionary into a powerful martyr—the abandonment of her body after the execution testified to the oppressive power of the Qing state, however weakened it was in its last years. These acts of state violence were still able to generate considerable fear among the general populace in the immediate months after her death, so much so that the corpse remained a potent symbol of contamination, unclaimed and disowned.[7]

On that hot summer day, Qiu Jin's body lay at Xuanting kou, a busy market crossroad in the city of Shaoxing. Aware of the long tradition of *lianzuo* (punishing relatives and neighbors of convicted criminals) and the recent official persecution of family members of other revolutionaries, her family went into hiding for months after the execution.[8] Distant relatives left behind to guard the family compound understandably ignored the official notice to collect the body. A charity organization finally came forward to bury the corpse, but it did not meet even the minimum requirements for a proper coffin; various contemporary reports claim that either there was no coffin or a thin coffin was made of poor material that quickly burst open. She was hastily interred in the hills of nearby Fushan, a burial place for paupers and executed criminals.[9]

[7] Rubie Watson (1998: 205) argues that in traditional Chinese practice, one primary role of funerals is to provide protection for the living; if so, then the enforced abandonment of the corpses of state criminals would ensure the opposite, namely, the corpse's contamination of the living. Through fear of contamination, the state thereby controls the otherwise easy production of martyrs. I am grateful to an anonymous *MCLC* reviewer for this insight.

[8] Family members of Qiu Jin's comrades were persecuted and imprisoned and new-style schools in the region ransacked. See "Zhe'an yupo" (Aftermath of the Qiu Jin's case), in *Xinhai geming Zhejiang shiliao, xuji* (1987: 317–24) and Qiu Yuzhang's piece in Guo 1987: 571–572.

[9] Not unlike relics surrounding saints, "facts" concerning Qiu Jin's remains are often contested. Whereas contemporary sources typically state that an unnamed charity group buried her, later ones credit named individuals, usually with explicit revolutionary sympathy. See Guo 1987: 571, 573; *Qiu Jin shiji* 81; and Qiu Jingwu 2003: 243.

Qiu Jin's first burial, lacking proper funerary rites and conducted hastily by the impersonal hand of total strangers, carried all the signs of impropriety in the context of Chinese traditional practice. Since antiquity, the Chinese had placed heavy significance on mortuary rituals because of the belief in the continuity of kinship links between the living and the dead, manifested in such central concepts as filial piety and ancestor worship. From the perspective of ritual propriety, the abandonment of the corpse thus further broadcast the public humiliation that the state deemed to be appropriate for a political criminal. From the perspective of the official record, Qiu Jin was to go down in history as a treasonous criminal, to be forever cast out of that orderly continuum of the human and the spirit worlds. A few months later, when officials directly responsible for the execution moved out of the area, Qiu Jin's brother Qiu Yuzhang (1873–1909) was finally able to retrieve his sister's body and convey it to the Yanjia tan mortuary facility, where the owner refused to have it laid out inside and offered only a makeshift shed.[10]

[10] Guo 1987: 159. To a small extent, the impropriety was attenuated because local custom did allow for the temporary storage of corpses above ground (Naquin 1988: 42); yet a properly conducted burial was not in sight. Qiu Yuzhang (Guo 1987: 571–72) wrote a poem in late 1907 lamenting his inability to attend properly to the burial rituals, ending with this painful couplet: "Nie Zheng [famed assassin from *Shiji*] had a sister [to rescue him from historical oblivion], while Qiu Jin must have had no brother!"

Initial Redemption

The enormity of the social stigma attached to the executed criminal was the underlying condition of the first transfer of Qiu Jin's body and its second burial: from the hands of natural kin to those of socially constructed kin—namely, Qiu Jin's two sworn sisters.

Although neither Wu Zhiying (1868–1934) nor Xu Zihua (1875–1935) had previous contact with the Qiu family, as sworn sisters both had some legitimate claim to conduct the funerary ritual on the family's behalf. Wu Zhiying became acquainted with Qiu Jin in 1903 when their husbands were colleagues as lower-level officials in Beijing (Xia 2000*b*). On February 22, 1904, at Qiu Jin's initiation, they exchanged genealogical charts (*lanpu*) to formalize their relationship (Guo 1987: 55). Xu Zihua and Qiu Jin became very close in 1906 when for four months they were colleagues at the Xunxi Women's School. Although there was no formal presentation

of genealogical charts, Xu and Qiu did make several ritual gestures that cemented a close bond (Guo 1987: 93–94). At the time of their offer to bury Qiu Jin, both women were of considerable social standing: Wu hailed from Tongcheng of Anhui Province, and was known for her poetry and calligraphy, and her uncle was the famous educator/essayist Wu Rulun; Xu came from a literary family in Chongde (Shimen), Zhejiang Province, and was now a well-to-do widow in charge of a women's school.[11] Through the power of their own good names, their offer to bury Qiu Jin was an attempt to redeem her reputation: in other words, to correct the official record.

As the events of early 1908 unfolded, Wu Zhiying financed the burial: Qiu Jin's remains were transported from Shaoxing under the supervision of Qiu Jin's brother and Wu Zhiying's husband; a modest tomb was constructed in the fairly typical Yangtze-delta style of a half-dome supported by cylindrical form; a stele was carved and erected in front of the tomb. Xu Zihua, for her part, chose and purchased the burial plot by West Lake in Hangzhou and organized the memorial service. In choosing this tomb location, Xu Zihua fulfilled her promise to Qiu Jin to bury her next to West Lake.[12]

What was it about West Lake that made it such a choice location? Above and beyond the weight of a promise to a dead friend, the Lake has historical associations that spoke to the potentially public nature of Qiu Jin's commemoration: West Lake had long been a veritable repository of cultural memory, one of the richest of similar repositories on the Chinese landscape.[13]

Even before the southern Song dynasty made Hangzhou its capital in the twelfth century, West Lake and its surroundings had already gained a reputation for natural beauty and material opulence. Over the subsequent millennium of increasing economic prosperity and cultural embellishment, "scenic spots" were developed about which generations of poets and painters composed lyrical depictions that enhanced and framed later visitors' appreciation (Liping Wang 1999; Eugene Wang 2000). Picturesque

[11] For contemporary biographical sketches of Wu Zhiying, see Yan Fu 1908. For Xu Zihua, see Chen Qubing, "Xu Zihua zhuan," in Guo 1987: 676–77.

[12] This ominous vow of burying whoever died first by the lake was made when Qiu and Xu went boating on the lake in February 1907, a few months before Qiu Jin's death (Guo 1987: 676).

[13] For a discussion of the cultural memory of West Lake, see Eugene Wang 2000. For discussion of another such cultural site constructed of the interaction of physical space and poetic legacy, see Meyer-Fong's (2003) study of Yangzhou, especially Chapter 2.

scenery alone, however, does not make a scenic spot; a scenic spot must also tell a story, either from history or from popular narrative or drama: thus there is the causeway built by the great Tang poet Bo Juyi, and there is the Leifeng pagoda under which the Lady White Snake is forever captured. In the same spirit, there are also many tomb-cum-"scenic spots," each a capsule of a bygone life, whether heroic or virtuous, romantic or sagely. The landscape of West Lake, with its many landmarks and established points of interest, is thus a memory site, eliciting rumination and reminiscence from those who visit.

Xu Zihua purchased ground for Qiu Jin's tomb to the west of the famous Xiling Bridge. In the vicinity were a host of famous tombs: that of the twelfth-century general Yue Fei (1103–1142), who defended the Song Dynasty against the Jurchens; that of Su Xiaoxiao, a fifth-century courtesan known for her exceptional beauty; that of the legendary hero-bandit Wu Song, famously depicted in the Ming novel *Outlaws of the Marsh*; those of two late-Ming concubine-poets, Ma Juxiang and Feng Xiaoqing, whose youth and untimely death were celebrated in so many literati poems; and that of Zheng Shuchang, a chaste maiden of the mid-Qing who committed suicide when her betrothed died.[14] These people had become legends, and the stories of their lives part of the public memory.

It is within this semiotic field in relation to other landmarks that the new tomb of Qiu Jin would acquire its initial meanings. The public and historical significance of this chosen location was immediately acknowledged by all involved: Xu Zihua, who was primarily responsible for choosing it, Wu Zhiying, who agreed to the choice, and Qiu Yuzhang, who expressed his gratitude repeatedly in poetry. The precise nature of this acknowledged significance, however, was by no means fixed at this initial stage. After all, Qiu Jin had been executed only months earlier, and her story had not had time to become "part of a larger story" (Foote 1997: ch. 9). At this very fluid stage, it was not always clear which of the existing figures in the surrounding landscape should be called upon to bestow

[14] For case analysis of Yue Fei, see Wilhelm 1962; for Xiaoqing, see Widmer 1992. Although having a tomb site by the lake implies some degree of public memory, not all tombs there were of equal public significance. Xu Zihua, for example, purchased lakeside burial plots for herself as well as for several friends and family members. By the 1930s, the GMD government issued a regulation against private burial plots by the Lake.

meaning to the new tomb.

Qiu Yuzhang was the most inclusive in his celebration of the location. In a cycle of six poems composed for the occasion of the burial, seven personages were invoked: Su Xiaoxiao, Zheng Shuchang, Wu Song, Lin Qi, Juxiang, Xiaoqing, and Yue Fei, figures who embodied a range of qualities from poetic talent, to love of wine, and to love of chivalry. Qiu Yuzhang's poetry cycle, in opening up a lyrical space through memorializing landscape, thus follows the tradition of the iconographic album, in which each item depicts one conventionalized personage associated with one particular virtue.[15] Inserting a new figure into this pantheon of historical figures carries an inherent tension: Qiu Jin becomes historically meaningful by association with the other figures, whose place in history is set; at the same time, the satisfaction of securing permanent meaning for Qiu Jin is purchased at the price of a multiplicity of potential associations, some of which may fit poorly with the intended significance.

[15] For discussion of this type of pictorial art and the dialectic of "convention and invention" peculiar to such a format of presenting neat iconographic sets, see Wu Hung 1997.

This tension manifests itself in one particular association, the tomb of Zheng Shuchang, better known through her exemplary chastity as the Chaste Maiden Zheng (Zheng Zhenniang). Qiu Yuzhang's otherwise celebratory poem betrays a slight sense of unease: "The Chaste Maiden, of a tomb near-by; /although not your kind, she was gentle and refined. / Welcoming you in the nether world, she nods in smile, / as if to recognize a distant kin" (Guo 1987: 573). Chaste Maiden Zheng is "not your kind" presumably because her suicide to maintain her chastity, the most celebrated feminine virtue in late imperial times, was far from Qiu Jin's revolutionary heroism; yet they are "distant kin" because they were both "Hunanese"—the Chaste Maiden by birth and Qiu Jin through marriage—a link through shared local identity, tenuous to modern readers but strangely persistent in the history of Qiu Jin commemoration, as we see later.

Strikingly, both Xu Zihua and Wu Zhiying also make associations with this woman of a different "kind." To demonstrate the value of the newly purchased burial plot, Xu Zihua points to two existing tombs of famous

women in her letter to Wu Zhiying in January 1908: "[The plot] is located centrally: Su Xiaoxiao's tomb neighbors it; that of the Chaste Maiden Zheng is close by. Such a triangulation of beauty, chastity, and heroism cannot but add greatly to the brilliance of the ancient lake" (Guo 1987: 585). In her reply, Wu Zhiying approves of the location: "In the neighborhood of the Chaste Maiden Zheng, Qiu Jin can now be certain of immortality" (Guo 1987: 596). Within this constellation of historical feminine figures known for beauty and virtue, the configuration of Qiu Jin's tomb illustrates another attribute of the feminine, unconventional but not unintelligible; after all, Qiu Jin's heroism may be situated in the long tradition of revered heroic women—the *lienü*. Completing the pantheon, her heroic attributes complement other feminine virtues; her historical significance derives partly, even if awkwardly, from the other women's tombs. This multiple and mostly feminine concern would change soon after.

Although the two women were no doubt both motivated by grief at Qiu Jin's death and indignation toward the government, they conceived of the goals of the burial quite differently: Wu Zhiying thought of a proper burial primarily as a way to bring rest to Qiu Jin's "startled spirit,"[16] whereas Xu Zihua was inclined toward turning the memorial service into a political protest. In the end, it is Xu Zihua's trajectory that drew public attention, from both opponents and supporters. The resulting memorial service in February 1908 drew several hundred mourners (fig. 1); speeches were given and photographs taken to bear historical witness. During the service, a Manchu official, who had invited himself to the event, gave a speech arguing that Qiu Jin was quite misguided in having revolted against the Qing because the empire had always treated its Han subjects kindly. This language of ethnic conciliation, straight out of the Qing court manuals, as it were, was immediately and pointedly refuted by Xu Shuangyun (1883–1961), Xu Zihua's younger sister. Citing two well-known cases of Manchu brutality toward ethnic Han people in the Yangtze delta during the early days of conquest, her counterspeech framed this ceremony in what was

[16] By this, Wu also means not drawing too much official notice so that the Qiu family would not be hounded further by the government (Guo 1987: 597).

Figure 1: Memorial Service 1908: the woman closest to the tomb on the right is Xu Zihua. From *Zhonghua minguo shihua* 1978, vol 1: 115.

then called "racial revolution" (*zhongzu geming*).[17] In thus reaffirming Qiu Jin's original revolutionary sentiments, which were also framed primarily in racialized terms, Xu Shuangyun's speech most explicitly transformed the memorial service into a performance to directly challenge the power of the regime.

Xu Zihua's epitaph (fig. 2), which is carved into the back of the stele, strongly elicits this political meaning. Although it continues to garner meaning for Qiu Jin's tomb from those in the environs, the epitaph is strikingly unlike her previously quoted personal letter to Wu Zhiying. In the epitaph, Xu Zihua makes no mention of the tombs of the beautiful courtesan or the Chaste Maiden; instead, she shifts the emphasis entirely to Yue Fei: "This epitaph is engraved here so that later generations may know that 'death by calumniation' did not cease with the Southern Song; so that they may imagine [Qiu Jin's] extraordinary heroism; so that they

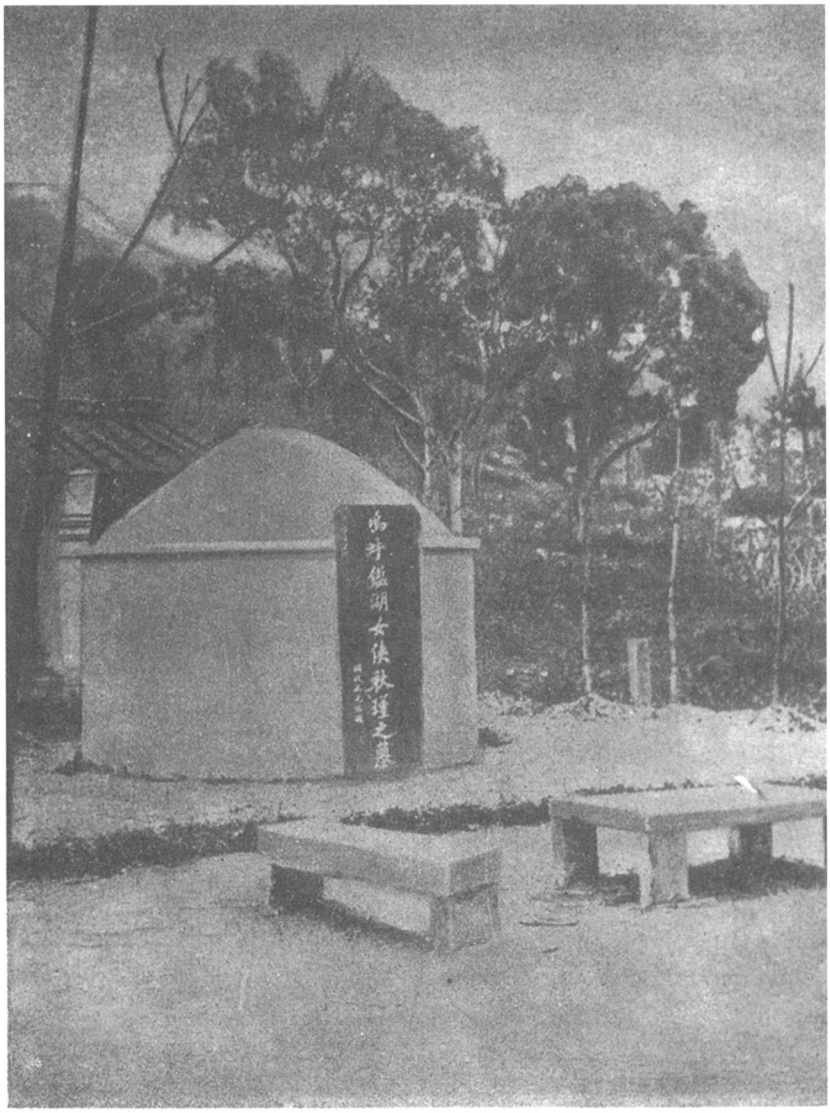
[17] The two massacres happened in Yangzhou and Jiading, respectively, in 1645, and were recorded by contemporaries. Although banned by the Qing, these records circulated widely and were quoted in the popular 1903 tract by Zou Rong, *Revolutionary Army*. See McCord 2001: 46; and Meyer-Fong 2003: 18–19. For Xu Shuangyun's role, see Guo 1987: 225–226.

Figure 2: Epitaph on the Back of the Stele and Detail. From *Zhongguo shufa* 1981.

[18] **A popular figure in the Chinese cultural imaginary, Yue Fei could be made into a "hero of the hour," as Arthur Waldron (1996: 964) puts it. Depending on emphasis, Yue Fei at times served as a symbol of Han loyalty for his fighting against the Jurchens or, under the Qing, as an abstract symbol of loyalty (see Wilhelm 1962; Liu 1972; and Jay 1994). Still, in the Yangtze Delta where the anti-Manchu spirit was periodically rekindled, Yue Fei remained a potent historical symbol, an outstanding one among many in the pantheon of protonationalist heroes.**

may shed tears and find it hard to tear themselves away. Thus may her tomb stand imperishable just like the tomb of the princely Yue" (Guo 1987: 558). In this reconfiguration, Qiu Jin is explicitly compared with the loyal general who famously died of the "three-word crime": when asked whether there was enough evidence to execute him, Qin Hui reputedly answered "perhaps there is" (*mo xu you*); this term is usually taken to mean "death by calumniation." More than evoking the physical proximity of Yue Fei's tomb, the epitaph endows the site of Qiu Jin's tomb with an emotional expressiveness specifically linked with "injustice," a theme that led directly to a public protest of the government's persecution of Qiu Jin.[18] The epitaph implicitly predicts that like the historical reversal of judgment symbolized by the figure of the calumniating official Qin Hui kneeling in front of Yue Fei's tomb, the popular record embodied here would outlive the present regime and the official judgment of Qiu Jin would be reversed and justice served.

Likewise, although more subtly, the writing on the stele was also a performance in oppositional memory. The conventional role of epigraphic art had always been the symbolic gesture of carving laudable human actions in stone. Implicit in contesting the official record of an executed criminal, Wu Zhiying's finely executed epigraph was a visual display of artistic skills for public protest. The simple black stone stele stands in front of a cylindrical tomb of approximately five feet high (fig. 3). The front of the stele reads: "Alas, here lies Qiu Jin, female knight-errant from Mirror Lake" (Jianhu nüxia, referring to a lake close to Qiu Jin's home in Shaoxing) (Guo 1987: 682). Originally it read "Alas, here lies Qiu Jin, woman of Shanyin" (Qiu Jin's native county) (Guo 1987: 674), but the finished stele was cast aside and a new one with the more heroic-sounding inscription made. Although we do not know who instigated the change or for what reasons, it is clear that the new designation of Qiu Jin changed from the private way a woman is conventionally designated through native place to use of the much more public courtesy name, a self-chosen sobriquet



杭州西湖秋瑾原墓之一（1908年建）

Figure 3: Qiu Jin's Tomb and Stele, 1908. From *Qiu Jin shiji* 1958:5.

for the express purpose of creating a public persona. Already, the basic trajectory of the Qiu Jin's political legacy is discernible, although at this early stage there was considerable ambiguity concerning the precise content of her political legacy.

Official Obliteration and Other Forms of Mourning

The thinly veiled political protest of the 1908 service predictably drew the ire of powerful officials. In October 1908, the Imperial Censor Changhui memorialized the throne to demolish Qiu Jin's tomb and punish the chief mourners, Wu Zhiying, Xu Zihua, and Xu Shuangyun. Changhui was most incensed by the comparison of Qiu Jin to Yue Fei: "The grave for the female criminal Qiu Jin is as lofty and grand as that of Yue Fei, to the point that local people speak of the two in one breath." Razing the tomb would have the effect of "stemming the shoots of discord and maintaining moral order" (Xia 2000*a*: 235). When published in several major urban newspapers, this memorial to the throne immediately generated another round of public protest, including articles by prominent public figures such as Yan Fu and the American missionary educator Luella Miner (1861–1933), who sought to use public opinion to avert official persecution of Wu Zhiying and the Xu sisters.[19] Qiu Yuzhang was able to retrieve the body before the December 11 demolition and transport it once again to the mortuary facility near Shaoxing.[20]

Although Qiu Jin's tomb was razed, group identities forged during the public commemoration continued, although in less visible ways.[21] Xu Zihua and others formed the Qiu Jin Society (Qiushe), whose commemorative activities helped cement a group identity of political dissent. For the next three decades, it was chiefly as the head of the Qiu Jin Society that Xu Zihua would participate in political events. Although the Qiu Jin Society itself was relatively minor in importance, its leadership and membership overlapped significantly with two other associations, both of crucial importance in cultural and political spheres: the Southern

[19] See Miner 1909 and Yan Fu 1908. Luella Miner came to China in 1887 as a missionary and was known primarily as a women's educator. For information on Miner, see the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions papers at Houghton Library, Harvard University; and Hunter 1984: 39, 86. Miner and Wu became close friends during the Boxer Rebellion. Yan Fu was an old family friend, having owed his early success to Wu Zhiying's uncle, Wu Rulun (1840–1903).

[20] That Wu and Xu in the end were not persecuted may be explained in part by the increasing power of public opinion, which had already cost one official his life and two their careers (Xia 2000*a*: 218–25). Another reason for the government's inconsistent suppression is the extent of association between Manchu and Han elites, despite the highly racialized rhetoric on the part of anti-Manchu revolutionaries. Zengyun, the new Manchu governor of Zhejiang and once a colleague of Qiu Jin's paternal uncle, gave Qiu Yuzhang advance notice so that he had enough time to retrieve Qiu Jin's body. Duanfang, the Manchu Governor-general, interceded on behalf of Wu Zhiying because he had a long-standing relationship with Wu Zhiying and her husband as fellow art connoisseurs (Guo 1987: 224).

Society (Nanshe) and the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmeng hui). As we will see, the latter would have a key role to play in keeping alive Qiu Jin's memory in the early years of the Republic.

Wu Zhiying's response to current events was less obviously political than Xu Zihua's. Soon after the razing of the tomb, she named a room in her new West Lake house Mourning Autumn Chamber (Bei qiu ge). For the next five years, it housed the original stele from Qiu Jin's tomb, which Wu Zhiying was able to spirit away before the demolition. This act of saving the stele clearly demonstrates Wu Zhiying's historical consciousness: what was being preserved were not only memories of Qiu Jin but also the physical object that had been the focus of the public commemoration.[22] Using the name of her private chamber as imprint, Wu (1909) published rubbings of the epitaph. Attached to the finely reproduced rubbings are news clippings about the demolition of Qiu Jin's tomb and the ensuing public protest by a wide range of literati/intellectuals. In other words, the traditional literati arts of calligraphy and book printing were put to the service of continuing intervention in public events. The resulting book was thus part art display, part political protest, and part historical witness.

Another monument to Qiu Jin was planned, and even announced publicly, but was never built because of financial troubles: a stupa to house her hand copy of the ten-*juan Surangama Sutra* (Dafoding shoulengyan jing), a form of commemoration that does not fit well with later images of Qiu Jin or the grand narratives that would envelop her story. Although the stupa was never built, we do have copies of the *Surangama Sutra* in Wu Zhiying's painstakingly fine calligraphy, privately printed in a limited edition. Part collotype and part traditional Chinese *xieke*—a format usually reserved for fine art and that reproduces the effect of stele rubbing, that is, white characters with black-inked background—it is a sumptuous folio edition and was received as a collectible work of art. Thus through both calligraphy and printing, the *Sutra* acquires an aesthetic of antique

[21] Anthropologists have long observed that mortuary rites offer opportunities for creating new group identities (Bloch/Parry 1982: 6; Rubie Watson 1988: 2).

[22] At the fifth burial of Qiu Jin in 1912, the stele was housed as a historical relic in the shrine. During the 1981 reconstruction of Qiu Jin's tomb, the stele was incorporated into the back of the pedestal for the statue.

elegance and authority that inspires proper reverence (fig. 4).

Writing a few pages every day, Wu began the project in September 1908 and finished eight months later, in May 1909. In part to seek expiation for her dead friend and in part as a supplication for the health for her own family, this project reflects the long-standing interest that Wu Zhiying had in Buddhism. Copying a sutra, or "votive copying," as some would call it (Harrist 1999: 11), has long been regarded as a special act of devotion. Women appear to have been especially involved in the practice, with less literate women copying "precious scrolls" (*baojuan*) and more erudite ones copying the *Diamond*, the *Heart*, or the *Surangama Sutras* (Mann 1997: 190–91). Wu Zhiying's copying of the sutra fits squarely in this female devotional tradition. Given that she had long cultivated her calligraphy, the perfection of which "was thought to enhance religious efficacy" (McNair 1999: 233), this practice is then an ideal marriage of the religious and the aesthetic.

As scholars such as Susan Mann have recently argued, Buddhism held a central importance "in the community life and domestic regime of every mid-Qing householder," specifically "reposition[ing] Confucian family values for women, enriching the spiritual and emotional experience of motherhood, widowhood, and old age" (Mann, 1997: 190–91). From Wu Zhiying's perspective in the last years of the Qing, copying the sutra also helped mediate the trauma of the violent death of a close friend, a deeply troubling experience that happened in the larger context of a particularly turbulent time. In part because of the increasingly secularizing tendency in the twentieth-century discourse of modernity and the nation, this particular act of commemorating Qiu Jin remains largely forgotten.

Whereas this religious commemoration of Qiu Jin aimed at spiritual solace while bracketing her revolutionary activity, the third burial was intended to erase Qiu Jin's public role altogether—this is the burial in which her remains were interred with those of her husband. Sometime in 1909, Qiu Jin's estranged husband, Wang Tingjun (1879–1909), died in his

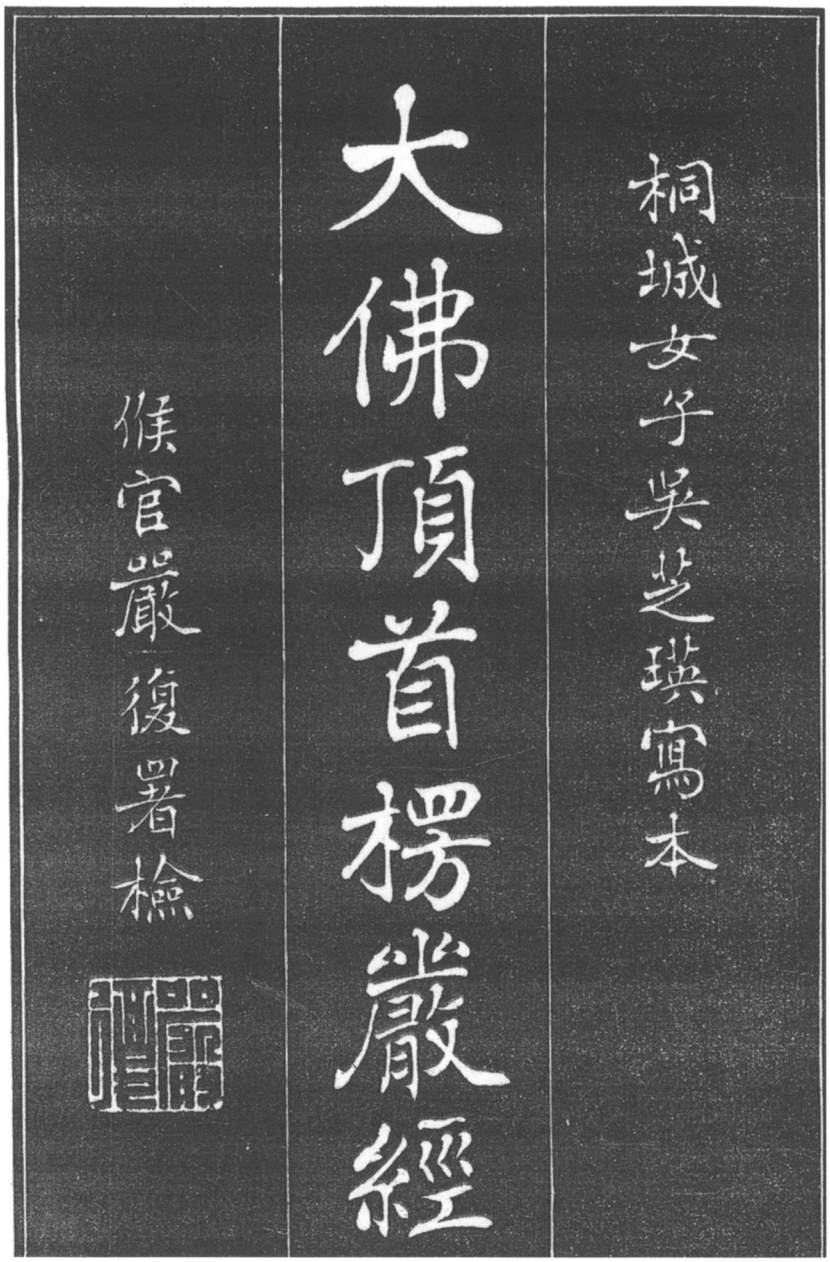


Figure 4: *Surangama Sutra.* Hand-copied by Wu Zhiying, woman of Tongcheng. Collated by Yan Fu, of Houguan.

native Hunan. In August, the Wang family sent two servants to Shaoxing to have her remains moved to Hunan, a common practice in late imperial China when a person died away from home; a large and sturdy outer casket was purchased for the long-distance transportation. Husband and wife were buried together outside Zhaoshan, Xiangtan (Guo 1987: 135, 151). Although the Wang family was no doubt aware of the earlier discord between Wang Tingjun and Qiu Jin and although they denounced her immediately following her execution, it appears that in serious matters such as funerary rites, they still considered it of paramount importance that a married couple be buried together.[23]

[23] Wang Qubing 1989: 74. The tradition of spousal burial has been traced to antiquity and continued to be strong until recent times (Luo Kaiyu 1990: 94–98).

With this burial, Qiu Jin's remains were moved, both physically and symbolically, far from where she had lived her transgressive life and far from the very public site of West Lake. Her body was interred at an auspicious but private location, her spirit tablet presumably entered into the Wang family registry to be worshipped by her children in the future. In terms of mortuary practice, this third burial was the most "normal," suggesting that Qiu Jin had been a conventional wife and mother rather than one who initiated separation from her husband, left her two children, and played an active role in antigovernment politics. This burial, although forcefully erasing the public image of Qiu Jin that Wu Zhiying and the Xu sisters had sought to create, is in turn erased in new historical narratives that emerged in the wake of the 1911 Revolution.

Official Sanctification

The early days of the Republic saw a heady wave of commemorative activities for its heroes. Nearly every day, major newspapers carried reports of memorial services for those who fell during the 1911 Revolution. These activities effectively marked a decisive break from the imperial regime and began forging a new memory for the fledgling Republic. Qiu Jin was soon transformed into a nationalist hero; and once the new nation claimed her as one of its founding martyrs, other forms of commemorations—familial,

religious, or private—would be increasingly impossible to imagine. In fact, no less a figure than Sun Yat-sen himself repeatedly made mention of Qiu Jin, cementing her status as a canonized martyr in a pantheon of revolutionary heroes. No longer part of a female-centered "triangulation of beauty, chastity, and heroism," as she had been depicted in Xu Zihua's letter, she was now reconfigured in a new triangulation of "the three martyrs of Shaoxing . . . whose contribution to the revolutionary cause was immeasurable"; or "one of the first three" who answered Sun Yat-sen's call to arms.[24] And just as quickly, her commemoration became a symbolic arena for political contestation.

Even before the new Republic was officially founded, members of the Qiu Jin Society began making plans for a reburial at West Lake. This time, the struggle was no longer for the redemption of a criminal's name but over the proud ownership of the legacy of a revolutionary martyr; multiple parties vied for the honor of burying her. There were two main groups of players: those in Zhejiang, mainly members of the Qiu Jin Society, who demanded that Qiu Jin be reburied by West Lake (*Shenbao*, Jan. 12, 1912); and those in Hunan, the Wang family with the support of Hunan members of the Revolutionary Alliance, who demanded that she remain in Hunan. This political struggle was overlaid with familial/local claims between two competing provinces, Zhejiang, where the Qiu family's ancestral home was located and where she died, and Hunan, where her in-laws and children were.[25]

Strenuously resisting the removal of Qiu Jin's remains, Qiu Jin's husband's family argued that because a proper burial had already been conducted, further disturbance to the remains was unwarranted (Zhou 1981: 22–27; Guo 1987: 135). More powerfully, they sent along Qiu Jin's fifteen-year-old son, Wang Yuande, to meet with the Zhejiang representatives. His tender youth made him a powerful symbol of the rightful heir, personally embodying the argument that because Hunan was where Qiu Jin's children resided at the time, that was where their

[24] The first quote is from Sun's speech given in Shaoxing in 1916, the second from his 1918 *Strategies of Building the Nation*, Chapter 8 (Wang Qubing 1997: 3–4). The other two martyrs in the "triangulation" are Xu Xilin and Tao Chengzhang.

[25] Just what sort of connection one has to have to the place where one is enshrined had always been a contested issue (Neskar 1996). For a woman, this problem is further complicated because of her dual identity as daughter to her father and wife to her husband.

mother's tomb should be located. This argument evokes the paramount concern in the traditional burial of women who had borne children—namely, filial piety demands that a mother's tomb be located where her children could properly perform sacrifices to her. Representatives from the other side countered this argument by evoking Qiu Jin's public and political stature as a revolutionary martyr: they argued that her place of death was of greater importance in determining a burial site than her husband's place of origin or her children's place of residence (Guo 1987: 206–207). A compromise seemed to have been reached, and on July 19, 1912, a public memorial service was held in Changsha, the provincial capital of Hunan, in which Wang Yuande was featured prominently as the heir to the legacy. The coffin was interred in Yuelu shan, a famous mountain in the suburbs of Changsha where tombs of historical figures, including those of other Republican heroes, can be found.[26]

The compromise did not last. A little more than a year later, on October 27, 1913, a new tomb was erected near the original tomb site by West Lake and a structure bearing the name Pavilion of Wind and Rain (Fengyu ting) was built facing it. That the Zhejiang side would finally win out in the struggle over Qiu Jin's remains was not a matter of course but the result of concerted effort by multiple parties; this was the beginning of the official sanctification of Qiu Jin.

On December 8, 1912, at the invitation of Xu Zihua, acting on behalf of the Qiu Jin Society, Sun Yat-sen and half a dozen Republican luminaries came for a tour of West Lake, where Sun gave a public speech in which he mentioned specifically the contribution of "old comrades of Hangzhou" and "Zhejiang military forces" to the capture of Nanjing and the success of the revolution. Qiu Jin was singled out as "a most valuable comrade" (Wang Qubing 1990: 1). The next day, Sun conducted memorial activities, agreed to be the nominal chair of the Qiu Jin Society, and composed a couplet dedicated to Qiu Jin, and wrote four characters, *jinguo yingxiong* (female hero), for a memorial plaque. In the poetic couplet, Sun Yat-

[26] Guo 1987: 599–602. Similar cases of struggles over reburials of Republican heroes can be found in contemporary news reports. For example, the body of the chief official of Hunan, Jiao Dafeng, was removed from its original tomb in Liuyang and reburied in Yuelu shan, and the body of his lieutenant Chen Zuoxin experienced a tug-of-war because "the widow would not give her consent." The news report confidently concludes that "although the case is not yet resolved, it soon will because revolutionary heroes are public personages belonging to the public." See *Minzhu bao* (Oct. 13, 1912).

sen mentions that Qiu Jin was one the first Zhejiangese to join the Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmeng hui*). The poem and the characters on the plaque were then written out in the hand of Hu Hanmin, secretary general of the new Republic (Wang Qubing 1990: 2).

Official endorsement by the founding father of the Republic ensured lasting positive meanings of Qiu Jin's life, although this also meant a considerable narrowing of the range of possible meanings. Notably, a central theme in Sun Yat-sen's discourse on Qiu Jin is her native place, Zhejiang: she was not just a member of the Revolutionary Alliance but one of the first from Zhejiang to join the Alliance; not only was she a martyr for the cause, but she martyred herself right here in Zhejiang. Despite apparent contradiction, the importance of this local identity can be understood only in the context of nationalist discourse, and more specifically, within the context of Sun Yat-sen's effort at building alliances across geographical regions.

Central to the founding myth of the new Republic is the Revolutionary Alliance, established in Tokyo by Sun Yat-sen in August 1905. There was considerable discord within the Alliance, and at times the Alliance existed more in name than in fact. In the summer of 1907, for example, prominent members of the Restoration Society (Guangfu hui, founded in 1904 and consisting almost exclusively of Zhejiang natives) were engaged in repeated efforts to unseat Sun Yat-sen as leader. To give one example of the deep division within the Revolutionary Alliance, when questioned about his revolutionary connections, Qiu Jin's close comrade Xu Xilin announced in front of his interrogators that "Sun Yat-sen cannot order me about" (Rankin 1971: 210–22). Unlike Xu Xilin and other members of the Restoration Society, Qiu Jin was singularly nonpartisan: in late 1904 in Okahawa, she joined the Sanhe hui, an anti-Manchu secret society related to the Triads; in July 1905 in Shanghai, after repeatedly pleading with its leaders, she was admitted into the Restoration Society; in August that year, when Sun Yat-sen founded the Revolutionary Alliance, Qiu

Jin joined at the first opportunity and became the contact person for Zhejiang. As Tao Chengzhang remarked with veiled criticism in 1910, "Qiu Jin was always eager to participate. Never was there a meeting that she would miss; never was there a revolutionary association that she was not a member of."[27]

It was as an eager participant of the Revolutionary Alliance that Sun Yat-sen commemorated Qiu Jin, marking her death as a "willing sacrifice for the nation," thus transforming a tragic death into a "good death" and guaranteeing her a place in the pantheon of revolutionary martyrs. From Sun's perspective, this emphasis on Qiu Jin's local roots gave him an opportunity to acknowledge the contribution of Zhejiangese to the success of the Revolution. It was therefore a very useful way to rally local support, a strategy he had used with more or less success over the years. Now that the Republic had been founded, this strategy served the pressing need to translate local loyalty to national loyalty, to turn Zhejiangese (or people of any other local designation) into citizens of the new Republic. From the perspective of the Zhejiangese audience, Sun Yat-sen's recognition of local contribution greatly augmented local pride and gave them an opportunity to participate on the national level. Thus the historical accident of Qiu Jin's gregarious personality, which led her to join competing revolutionary associations, conveniently glossed over the earlier discord between the Revolutionary Alliance and the Restoration Society, and, more significantly, it helped keep in the background, at least briefly, serious political jockeying for power.

This act of consecration, with its strong emphasis on the local, formally sealed the transfer of ownership of Qiu Jin's remains from the private/familial realm to the public/local realm. At the same time, this strong identification with the province of her ancestors and death also transposed local value onto nationalist value. The physical items, such as the plaque bearing Sun Yat-sen's writing (displayed at the pavilion that housed the Qiu Jin Society) and the photographs recording his visit, bore

[27] Wang Qubing 1990: 12. Tao was himself a leader in the 1907 and 1908 attempts at unseating Sun Yat-sen and had indeed favored the kind of political assassination carried out by Xu Xilin (Yang Tianshi 2002: 156). For extensive discussion of Sun's argument against local loyalty, see Fitzgerald 1996: 32, 84–85.

witness to the formal consecration of the memory sites. Judging by her organizational skills previously displayed, these results must not have been far from Xu Zihua's mind when she issued the invitation to Sun Yat-sen. After all, the key to sanctification involves rallying support, not only from a local base but especially from political power.

Contesting the Legacy

The sanctification of Qiu Jin may have determined the nationalist nature of her future commemoration; however, it did not prevent further contestations, which continued on many levels: over who had the higher claim to be in charge of commemorative projects, over the symbolic meanings attached to her legacy, and over the possession of more tangible aspects of the legacy. Because of the sanctity of Qiu Jin's status, no demolitions of the tomb happened for the next fifty years; instead, the power contests were conducted on details such as the exact height of her monument and the specific ownership of her memorial halls.

First, there was a significant change in the players involved. Increasingly, Wu Zhiying became associated with the Qiu Jin before her great "awakening" to the revolutionary cause; Wu became the negative foil, a "woman friend," who didn't comprehend the aspirations of the great hero.[28] Even Xu Zihua, with her solid revolutionary credentials, could not avoid becoming a pawn in the larger political arena. Her close association with Sun Yat-sen meant that she was automatically a political enemy when Yuan Shikai assumed control. For Qiu Jin's 1913 burial in Hangzhou, she had commissioned a grand memorial structure, at the center of which was a figural representation of Qiu Jin.[29] By order of the Yuan Shikai government, however, this design was drastically altered in the middle of the construction process: the monument was lowered by five feet and the figural representation of Qiu Jin taken out. There were rumors of attempts on Xu Zihua's life if she continued to resist the design change, and at the urging of Sun Yat-sen, she finally moved herself to

[28] For extensive discussion of this subject, see Hu Ying 2004.

[29] Typical of designs at the time, the structure combines features of Western and Chinese memorial buildings. It was made of granite with layers of platforms rising from a broad hexagon base toward a narrower midsection altar and culminating in a sharply pointed obelisk (Guo 1987: 225; Chen Xianggong 1983: 113).

Shanghai, away from the contentious West Lake site (fig. 5).

Despite the fierce contestation over Qiu Jin's symbolic legacy, the actual maintenance of the tomb was neglected and the physical monuments built to enshrine the memory left to decay. At the end of the chaotic warlord decade, when Qiu Jin's daughter Wang Canzhi came to visit her mother's grave site in 1928, she saw it in a state of considerable dilapidation: "The walls have fallen, the tiles broken, surely no longer able to shield autumn wind and autumn rain; / the long weeds are tangled and the wild flowers drooping, sadly I sigh over my mother's efforts long forgotten" (Guo 1987: 225).

Her petition to refurbish her mother's tomb came at an opportune moment, because the coalition of northern warlords was finally broken and the Nationalist Party rapidly secured its political and military hold on national power. This was the time for another wave of commemorative activities for Republican heroes.[30] In the summer of 1927 in Shaoxing, a few months after the Nationalist Revolutionary Army secured the region, Wang Ziyu (1874–1944), a prominent member of the local gentry on the board of city planning and an uncle to the soon-to-be famous Zhou Enlai, petitioned the government for the construction of a memorial hall and a pavilion for Qiu Jin (Wang Qubing 1997: 181–85). Unlike the exuberant celebration during the commemorative activities of 1912, the tone was more somber, and anxiety concerning the future was quite palpable.

The major figure enlisted to support the commemorative cause was Cai Yuanpei (1864–1940). As the founder of the Restoration Society and an early member of the Revolutionary Alliance, Cai had the perfect political credentials to conduct ritual activity central to the history of the Republic. In his early days as the principal of the Patriotic Women's School (Aiguo nüxiao), moreover, he had shared Qiu Jin's interest in political assassination and even championed women's special role in such activities. Now as one of the Four Elders of the Nationalist Party and a high official in the newly formed Nanjing government, Cai Yuanpei had

[30] Gilmartin (1994: 208) notes that during the mass mobilization of women between 1924 and 1927, there was scarcely any mention of Qiu Jin as a model hero. She attributes this to the identification of the revolutionary ideology with the paternal figure of Sun Yat-sen, which precluded the creation of a strong female model. Another reason may be local identity: the early base for the National Revolution was Guangzhou, where a well-known figure from the Yangtze Delta would have little name recognition and therefore little inspirational use. Once the Nationalist government began consolidating its power around Nanjing, rallying support from the Yangtze Delta clearly became important again.

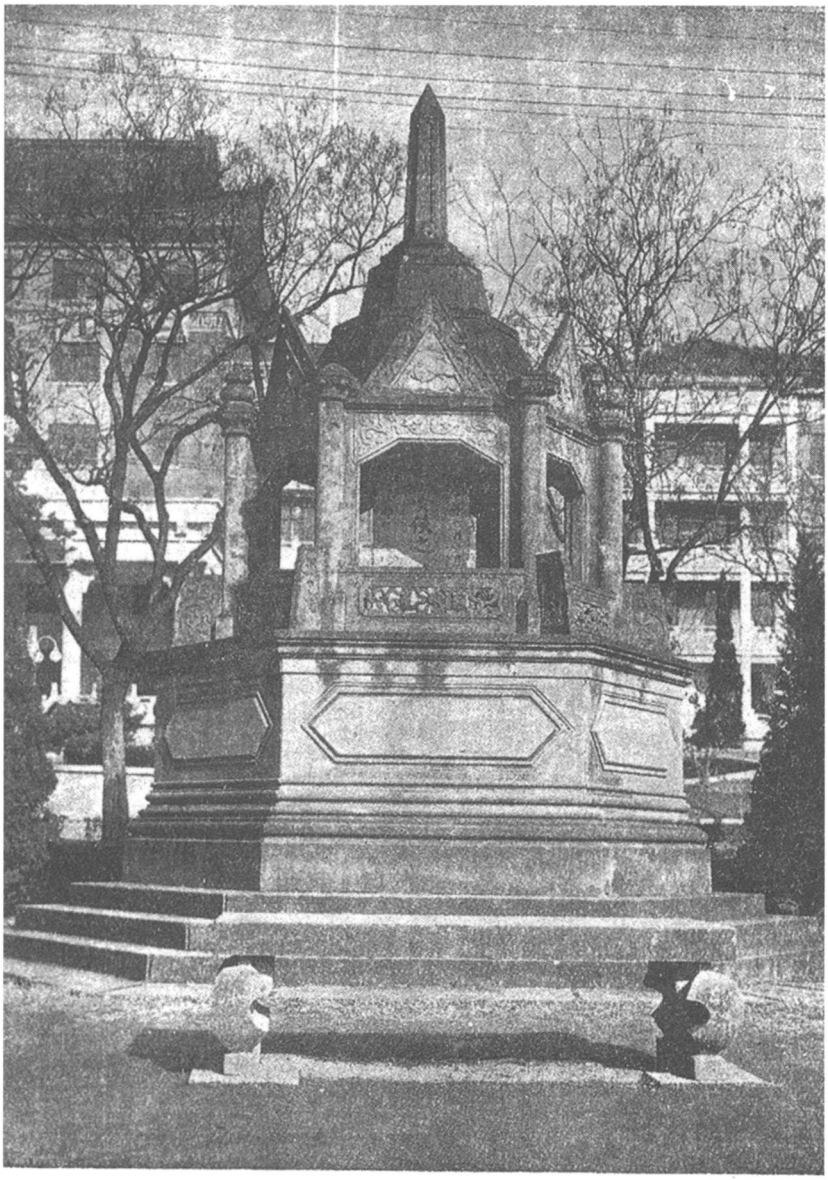


Figure 5: Tomb of the Martyr Qiu Jin at West Lake. From *Qiu Jin shiji* 1958: 4.

real authority in conducting such commemorations. This was especially the case in commemorating Zhejiang natives such as Qiu Jin, because Cai himself was from Shaoxing. As it had in 1913, Qiu Jin commemoration once again sounded the theme of local identity.

To secure funds for building memorial structures at the site of Qiu Jin's execution, Cai Yuanpai wrote an announcement, at the end of which several national and local luminaries—a kind of roster of important members of the new government—were listed as sponsors. To persuade local citizens to donate to the worthy cause, Cai Yuanpei argued that commemoration of martyrs like Qiu Jin was critical to the nation:

> The founding of the Republic was largely dependent on the sacrifice of earlier martyrs; and Qiu Jin as the first female martyr should be made known to later generations . . . whose patriotic thoughts would be stirred when they come to linger by this monument. Thus popular sentiment would be further secured for the Republic. (Wang Qubing 1990: 9)

Cai Yuanpei's sense of urgency was perhaps spurred by the realization that for more than a decade, the military might of the warlords had proven to be far greater than that of the Republic. The commemoration of Qiu Jin's sacrifice, sanctified at the very location of her martyrdom in Shaoxing, was to sustain a collective memory of the common values associated with the Republican Revolution.

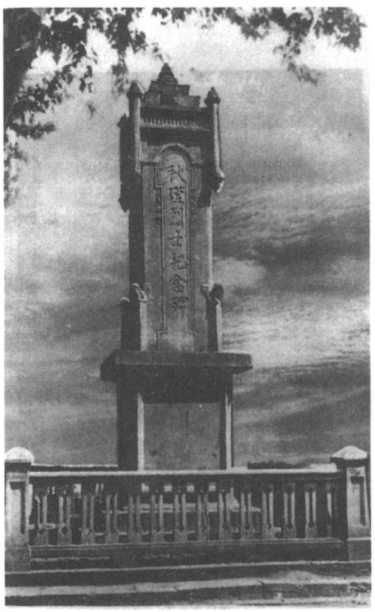
Construction of the pavilion and the stele was complete in early 1930, two years after work had begun. Cai Yuanpei composed the "Record of the Memorial Stele for Martyr Qiu." In the "Record," Cai traces the tortuous history of the petition for the memorial site and its construction, focusing on two main difficulties: the new regulation established by the central government against erecting memorial halls for individuals and the lack of funding. In the end, the memorial hall was not permitted, and only the stele and pavilion were built, thus "greatly appeasing the

desire of local people"; significantly, the funds were also donated by "the people of Shaoxing" (Guo 1987: 563). Despite his own dual identity as a high-ranking official of the government as well as a local worthy, Cai Yuanpei gives the initiative for commemoration to the locals. Once again, successful efforts of commemoration resulted from a coalition of interests from the central government and local groups.

Because lack of funds made it impossible to purchase more ground at the stele site, a busy market crossroad, the commemorative pavilion was built near the top of Fushan, overlooking the prison in which Qiu Jin was held and the foothills where her body was first buried. The pavilion is named after Qiu Jin's famous one-line poem, "Autumn wind, autumn rain; they make one unbearably sad." According to Cai Yuanpei's description in his "Record," the visitor should "recite her poem, reflect on her life, be tempted to linger a while, and experience an overflow of emotions," not unlike the behavior of generations of poets when they visit significant historical sites. This pavilion thus combined heroic sentiments with lyrical poetry and historical authenticity.

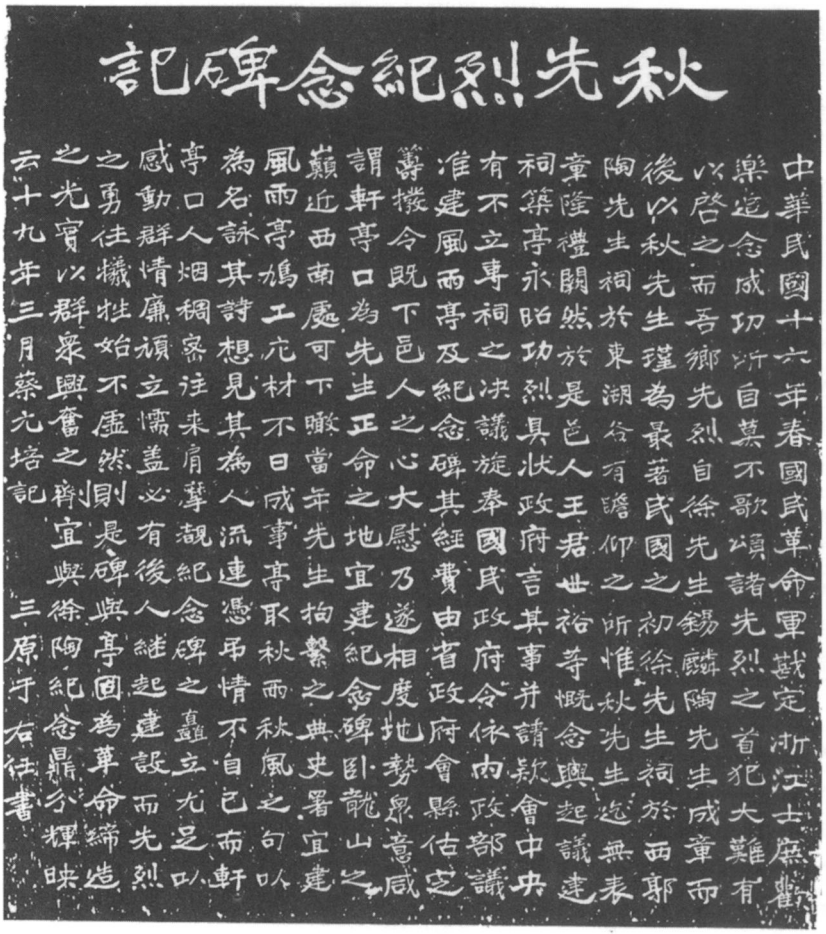
The stele (fig. 6), erected in the market crossroad where Qiu Jin was executed, was explicitly intended for popular education. A columnar structure surrounded by a balustrade that marks the ground off from traffic, it is decorated with a fluted crown and four winged tigers at the corners. This structure is reminiscent of generic forms of Western monuments and invokes modern and nationalist sentiments. On the front are seven large characters that read "Memorial Stele for Qiu Jin the Martyr"; engraved on its back is Cai Yuanpei's "Record," written out in Yu Youren's calligraphy (Yu was a high ranking government official especially noted for his fine calligraphy) (fig. 7). Like the pavilion, the site for the stele also enjoys historical authenticity, as stressed in Cai's "Record":

> As a bustling market, this is where passersby constantly rub shoulders with one another. Looking up at the lofty memorial stele, their emotion cannot help but be stirred: the stubborn will be instructed,



紹興軒亭口紀念碑（軒亭口，為烈士就義處）

Figures 6: Memorial Stele at Xuanting kou, Shaoxing. Author's photograph.



秋先烈紀念碑記

Figure 7: Cai's Epitaph on the Back of the Stele, in Yu Youren's Calligraphy. From Qiu Jingwu 2003: 208.

> the weak fortified. For indeed, only when there are followers to continue the construction [of the nation] will the brave sacrifice of the martyrs not have been in vain. (Guo 1987: 563)

Thus the "overflow of emotions" left implicit at the pavilion is clearly spelled out in the stele. Cai's essay ends with the musing that "while the stele and pavilion are no doubt honoring the glory of the revolution at its inception, they are also in essence a stimulant for the masses" (Guo 1987: 563).

The sites of Qiu Jin's imprisonment and execution, stained by her blood, thus became powerful rallying points for supporting the fragile Republic. The continuing utility of Qiu Jin at this historical juncture is very clear: as a colorful heroine in the short history of the Republic, her tragic death made her a galvanizing figure for generations of citizens to come.

Qiu Jin as a Pre (Communist) Historic Icon

As a martyr for the Republic of China, Qiu Jin became an odd figure after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Compared with female exemplars directly linked with Party ideology—Communist "big sisters," young martyrs such as Liu Hulan, or earlier peasant rebels such as the Red Lanterns[31]—Qiu Jin is decidedly different, heroic no doubt, but "traditional" in her outlook and exotic in her class association. This difference, although relegating her to the margins of Communist commemoration, is also what makes her unique and attractive at particular historical moments, particularly at moments when patriotism is defined broadly, when the state felt an urgent need to consolidate its legitimacy, such as in the early 1950s and again in the early 1980s. Yet even though changing political needs of the state largely determine all commemorative activities, other themes that we have witnessed previously—the heavily symbolic locations of her tombs and memorial structures, local and familially motivated interest in commemorative activity—continue to play active, although surprising, roles.

The Communist reshaping of Qiu Jin into a vaguely defined revolutionary model is closely linked to the figure of Zhou Enlai, premier of the PRC from 1949 to 1976 and himself a native of Shaoxing. His first

[31] On the "big sisters," see Barlow 1994; on girl red guards, see Honig 2002; on the White-Haired Girl, see Meng 1993; and on the Red Lanterns, see Cohen 1997: Part III. According to Mao Zedong's inscription (in Zhou Enlai's calligraphy) on the Monument to the People's Heroes in Tian'anmen Square, there are three tiers of heroes: those who died in the civil war of 1946–49, those who died after the 1911 revolution, and those who died before 1911. Qiu Jin belongs to this last category.

recorded mention of Qiu Jin occurred in the spring of 1939, during the days of the second United Front between the Nationalist Party and CCP (Cao 1979: 23–30). As the representative of CCP to the United Front, he traveled around the Yangtze Delta and gave pep talks at popular rallies for the War of Resistance. During this trip, Zhou spent four days at his hometown, Shaoxing, and paid respects at Qiu Jin's stele, which his own uncle Wang Ziyu had helped build, as noted in Cai Yuanpei's "Record" discussed earlier. Dining at Wang's home one evening, Zhou wrote out a piece of calligraphy and presented it as a gift to Wang's young daughter, Qubing: "Do not forget the legacy of Qiu Jin, / strive to add glory to the daughters of eastern Zhejiang." In the early 1950s, Wang Ziyu's son Wang Kuangfu, who was deputy mayor of Shaoxing, played a key role in refurbishing Qiu Jin's family compound into a historical museum (*guju*); in the 1980s and 1990s, Wang Qubing would invoke Zhou Enlai's own calligraphy as authority for further commemorative activity, such as the publication of a series of historical documents. Three members of the Wang family thus made themselves Qiu Jin's memory keepers in Shaoxing. Once again, Qiu Jin's enduring afterlife depended on the confluence of local interest (the Wangs in Shaoxing) and the perceived support of the central government (their relative, Premier Zhou Enlai). Perhaps owing to the overwhelming demand for political and nationalist loyalty, local interests were often camouflaged and the Wangs' family connection to the Premier would be consistently played down, so that at times the calligraphy gift would be described not as a present to a younger cousin but as instruction to the "female masses."

Curious, too, is Zhou Enlai's invocation of the spirit of "eastern Zhejiang," a highly particularized sense of locality. More than a predilection for local pride among Qiu Jin's comrades of the Restoration Society, and quite unlike Cai Yuanpei's support of local Republican spirit, what Zhou was calling on is a historic association of eastern Zhejiangese with an indomitable spirit in the face of defeat, an association lodged in

such popular and legendary figures as Gou Jian, the Prince of Yue during the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BCE), who was willing to "eat bitterness" for long years in the hope of finally defeating his enemy. In rallying popular support for the lengthy War of Resistance against the invading Japanese, Zhou's placing of Qiu Jin in the lineage of "daughters of eastern Zhejiang" demonstrates that his reputation as a political propagandist was well earned. That he himself was working hard to maintain the United Front made it particularly expedient to pay respects to this well-known heroine, who martyred herself before the Nationalists and Communists parted ways—in fact, before the two parties were even in existence.

Commemorative projects for Qiu Jin in the early years of the PRC largely continued along Zhou Enlai's established line. By the mid-1950s, however, the countermovement to sever connections with non-Communist history had already started. Historical tomb sites along West Lake were allowed to go to ruin, including those of Feng Xiaoqing, Su Xiaoxiao, and Wu Song, those that Qiu Jin's brother invoked to give meaning to Qiu Jin's 1908 tomb.[32] This movement was greatly accelerated in the 1960s when the Party condoned and then instigated mass movements that desecrated tombs of all kinds, from those of historical figures such as Yue Fei to Republican martyrs to out-of-favor Communist heroes. There is no official record for what transpired in the next few years; only personal memoirs and recollections.[33] As if to reflect her somewhat ambiguous status as a non-Communist revolutionary hero, three times Qiu Jin's grave was moved back and forth between the premium real estate by the lake and the uncultivated hills south of the lake. In 1964, during the Four Clean-Ups (*Siqing*), Qiu Jin's tomb was moved into the southern hills of Jilongshan. Yet a few months later, her tomb was rebuilt by West Lake. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, there was another wave of tomb desecration, and Qiu Jin's tomb was among many that were destroyed. Her remains were then put into a pottery jar and buried,

[32] ***Xihu zhi*** **(vol. 13: 681–687) records three major waves of disturbances to existing tombs (in 1955, 1964, and 1966), activities ranging from neglect to removal to desecration.**

[33] **Some of these are based on individuals who braved the wave of desecration to preserve a sense of historical memory, even when no markers were allowed for the graves (Li Jun 2001; Ding Shu 2002).**

unceremoniously and collectively with other 1911 martyrs, once again in the hills of Jilongshan.

In 1981, not long after the end of the Cultural Revolution, just as thousands of living and dead were being rehabilitated, Qiu Jin's remains were recovered from the hills,[34] and a new tomb was erected once again by West Lake and close to its original site, and this time with a grandeur unmatched by earlier burials. A full-size white marble sculpture of Qiu Jin stands atop a rectangular pedestal made of cement with granite facing. Here her remains were finally entombed. Gracing the front of the 1.7-meter tall pedestal are Sun Yat-sen's original words, "Female Hero," and on the back is mounted the original 1908 stele in Wu Zhiying's hand. Two themes became prominent in this final round of commemoration: shoring up the legitimacy of CCP and, more implicitly, increasing the economic well-being of the region.

In the memorial speech delivered upon completion of the statue and tomb, Tie Ying, the Communist Party Secretary of Zhejiang, described Sun Yat-sen's achievement: "We commemorate the 1911 Revolution not only to fully acknowledge its great historical position, but more importantly to learn from the struggles of pioneering revolutionaries the historical lesson and correctly recognize that the only possible route of saving the Chinese nation was under Communist leadership" (*Zhejiang ribao*, Oct. 11, 1981). Quoting Sun Yat-sen's own words that "Revolution was not carried out, its aims not reached and the Republic was in name only," Tie Ying inserts the CCP as the rightful heir to Sun's legacy, its succession to the Nationalist Party's rule a historical necessity. This is entirely in tune with the party-line narrative of modern Chinese history, in which the 1911 Revolution belongs to the period known as "the old democratic revolution"—"old" because it was led by the bourgeoisie, in contrast to the "new democratic revolution" led by the Communist Party. In addition to this orthodox ideology, "the old democratic revolution" acquired still more import at the beginning of Reform and the Opening policy of

[34] On the 1981 retrieval, see the account by Chen Jiexing (2000), who was the official from the Mayor's office responsible for this project. Among many such unmarked pottery graves was that of the prominent woman revolutionary Yin Weijun (see note 3); hers was not one of the few deemed worthy of reburial (Yang Guoqing 1997).

the early 1980s. As a historical symbol, it became overdetermined with multiple and potentially conflicting meanings, ranging from the political and economic to the cultural.

In terms of politics, after the disasters of the Mao era, especially the Cultural Revolution, the CCP needed serious buttressing of its own legitimacy. As Arthur Waldron observes in the context of commemoration of World War II, the 1980s were a time of "new remembering" when the Party sought to "create a new sense of national purpose, one based not on socialism but rather on patriotic feeling."[35] Patriotism served as the general platform for this new remembering, and the 1911 Revolution became a convenient symbol. The sense of historical unity is built on three concepts: a shared Chinese ethnic identity, the Chinese nation with a shared history stretched to time immemorial, and the Communist Party as leader and natural heir to this history. Depending on emphasis, any one of the three terms could become the most operative. Because Qiu Jin sacrificed herself before the two parties were created, and especially because she herself fought under the banner of a racially defined nationalism, in the post-Mao era she could be recognized once again as part of the revolutionary heritage and made useful for patriotic education. A symbol of distant but kindred spirit to the Communist revolutionaries, her death was made to demonstrate the oppression of "old China" and the ineffectiveness of the "old democratic revolution," thus shoring up the legitimacy and success of the Communist-led revolution.

On the economic side, the opening-up policy of the reform era, among other things, meant attracting visitors and investors among overseas Chinese, those who might identify themselves as "patriotic" but not necessarily pro-Communist. In this context, native-place identity and historical attractions not strongly associated with the present regime became very useful. Part and parcel of this general program was the massive effort to develop the West Lake region as an international-level tourist attraction, a process that would soon see a refurbishing of

[35] Waldron 1996: 946. For comparison, there was a similar explosion of commemoration in postsocialist Eastern Europe (Irwin-Zarecka 1994: 93; Verdery 1999: 41).

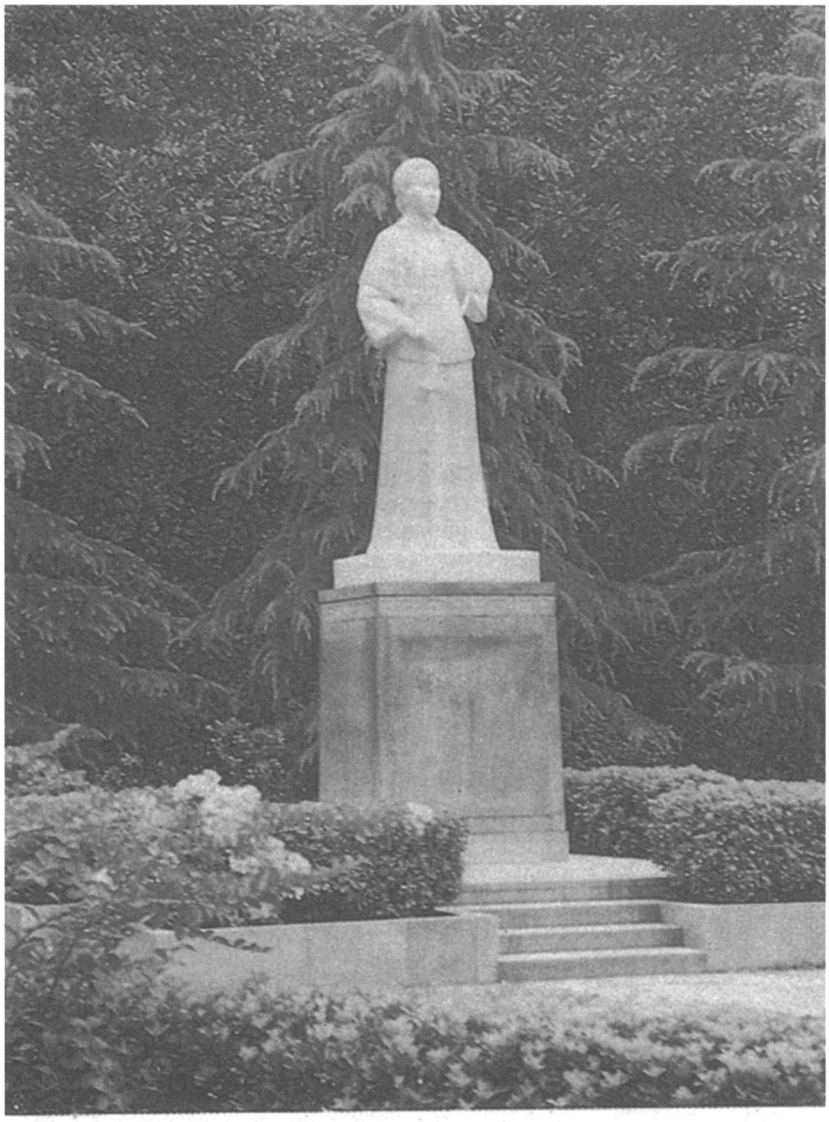
traditional "scenic spots" and a mushrooming of new ones along the shore of the lake.[36] Qiu Jin's new tomb was thus part of this general marketing effort and would conveniently perform the double function of patriotic education and cultural tourism. The tourist imperative meant that the new tomb needed to be more than instructive—it would also have to be attractive. In its deployment of a reconstructed "traditional femininity," the aesthetics of this sculpture is rather typical of hundreds of such art projects that sprang up in public parks across the country in the 1980s and early 1990s. Similar mildly revisionist female figures also appear on stage and in films during this period, figures that are often heroic in their poses, thus overlapping with familiar revolutionary ethos, but at the same time embodying prerevolutionary or nonrevolutionary forms of femininity.[37] With the passing of time, the design lost much of its novelty, but the 1981 Qiu Jin statue was a significant departure from the unisex, monotone revolutionary art of the preceding two decades (fig. 8).

Collectively designed by artists in the Zhejiang College of Fine Arts and carved in Beijing, here is a Qiu Jin in full size, in a pose that conveys solemnity and contemplation, the "stasis of monumentalized and pacified paces" (Mitchell 1992: 39) that veils the violence of her death as well as the violence of the history of her commemoration.[38] She is attired in what is popularly referred to as "Tang-dynasty dress," her left arm akimbo, her right hand resting on the handle of an unsheathed sword on which her body leans. If we compare this sculptural representation with historical photographs of Qiu Jin, which have been reproduced in many books and must have been available to the designers of this sculpture, we notice subtle but crucial changes of dress, hairstyle, and attitude (fig. 9). This comparison is not meant to show how the recent sculpture violates some historically "real" Qiu Jin, because the photographs were also quite self-consciously public performances on Qiu Jin's part. What the comparison does tell us, instead, is that the meanings of public performances/statues can be located only in specific historical contexts; and the photographs,

[36] The first scenic spot to be refurbished was Yue Fei's tomb and temple, in 1979. 1981 saw the moving of many tombs of 1911 revolutionary heroes, most of them to a collective site at the 1911 Martyrs' Cemetery. Major refurbishing of old scenic spots and construction of new ones got under way after 1982 when West Lake was declared a national-level scenic area, culminating in the 1985 popular competition to name ten new scenic spots (see *Xihu lansheng* 12–14).

[37] For post–Cultural Revolution gender politics as reflected in television and film, see Dai 2002 and Rofel 1994. Qiu Jin's 1985 statue in Shaoxing is somewhat more feminine in its pose than the West Lake one; I am grateful to one of the anonymous *MCLC* readers for this detail and for pointing out that the 1989 Goddess of Liberty has similar aesthetics.

[38] On public art and its suppression of violence, see W. J. T. Mitchell 1992. It is instructive to note that although Mitchell's critique of the utopian "public sphere" addressed by public art assumes a Habermasian liberal model, rarely can such an assumption be made in the history of Qiu Jin's commemoration.



杭州西湖秋瑾墓（1981年建）

Figure 8: Qiu Jin's Tomb, 1981. Author's Photograph.

Figure 9: Qiu Jin, ca. 1906, From Qiu Jingwu, front-matter,

which record Qiu Jin's performances in the particular historical context of the late years of the Qing, proved to be not quite serviceable for the 1981 context.

One particular photograph shows Qiu Jin in a Chinese man's gown leaning on an umbrella (fig. 10). The outfit she is wearing is a bulky, long gown in a light color topped by a dark, collared vest.[39] The 1981 sculpture changes this gown to a long skirt and a short jacket with a rounded hem, and because the entire sculpture is in white marble, the lines of her fitted jacket join those of her skirt to form a slender curve that gracefully drapes to the pedestal, conveying a far more conventionally feminine attitude than the original photograph. In the photograph, it is hard to see how her hair is arranged because it is pulled back so that she looks like a man who has not shaved off his crown (as was the Manchu practice). We know from other historical records that from 1903, Qiu Jin wore her hair in a single long braid down her back, a style not unusual among men of her time.[40] The sculpture depicts her with a chignon, not unlike what other well-known Republican females such as He Xiangning and Song Qingling were known to wear. After two decades of an enforced unisex dress code, part of the appeal of pre-Communist-era female figures such as Qiu Jin must have been the accent of sexual difference. Thus, the historically cross-dressed Qiu Jin is now transformed into a conventional feminized image. Indeed, her cross-dressing had always been a problematic point—after all, Sun Yat-sen's conventional wording of "Female Hero" (*jin'guo yingxong*) literally means "a hero in scarf and kerchief." And even the one voice most consistently linking Qiu Jin with feminism, the poet/Party-propagandist Guo Moruo, describes her penchant for cross-dressing as "over-stating her point . . . so as to demonstrate her masculinity," though he admits that such behavior is understandable for those who were intent on changing the world (*Xinhua ribao*, July 19, 1942; Wang Qubing 1990: 21). Together with the stele inscription in Wu Zhiying's hand, these changes of dress and hairstyle showcase a strategic deployment of "tradition," packaging

[39] Qiu Jin's cross-dressing attracted considerable attention during and after her life. Hu Hsiao-chen (2003: 61) argues that as a literary trope in women's writing, women's cross-dressing by the mid-eighteenth century had become a frequently seen convention and contains little subversive potential. Eileen Cheng (2004: 25–26) has recently suggested that Qiu Jin's cross-dressing was perhaps more of a necessary tactic.

[40] By the last decade of the Qing, male hairstyle became rather unstable, with variations including the officially sanctioned style of shaved crown with a queue behind, to the revolutionary style of leaving the crown unshaved and cutting the queue, to the compromise position of leaving the crown shaved but wearing a queue. See Sun Fuyuan's essay in *Xinhai geming Zhejiang shiliao, xuji* (1987: 434–36).

Figure 10: Qiu Jin, ca. 1905. From *Qiu Jin shiji* 1958: 3.

patriotic education in reconstructed femininity.

The third major change in the sculpture is the addition of a sword. In the photograph, Qiu Jin's left hand is at her side, and her right hand holds the handle of a folded umbrella whose point rests on the ground, a stylized pose that conveys contemplation. Her right index finger points horizontally along the crossbar of the handle, as if she were in a restrained move of a sword dance. It is true that Qiu Jin was well known for taking pictures in martial poses, including two with swords. In one of these photographs (fig. 9), she holds a shining dagger in a threatening manner. In comparison, the sword in the sculpture is used as though it were a walking stick. While conveying a heroic attitude, the sword also indicates a sense of ineffectiveness, thus consonant with the orthodox Party line concerning the 1911 Revolution.

And yet to read the sculpture thus is to act as if the Party-line interpretation was wholly successful and accepted by all, but we know that "memory-makers don't always succeed in creating the images they want and in having them understood in the ways they intended" (Olick 2003: 7). What do real people see when they come to West Lake today? An ethnographic study of visitors is well beyond the scope of this paper, but it is good nonetheless to remind ourselves that public memory made and propagated by the power center does not always hold sway. Perhaps like people everywhere enjoying their leisure time in public parks, individuals come to West Lake for all sorts of purposes of their own choosing, paying little attention to official efforts to instill revolutionary spirit and patriotic sentiments?

Let me now return to the question posed at the beginning of this paper: why Qiu Jin? Why is she, among the thousands upon thousands of comparable candidates, remembered today? If, as I have argued in this paper, her personal attributes are not the only cause or even the main cause for the continued fascination—such "attributes" often proved

to be selectively imagined according to current political and aesthetic needs—then what accounts for her endurance? In the final analysis, two factors more than any other determined it, both arguably historical accidents in the sense that they were out of her control, but both fortified by repeated and powerful historical needs: her unique form of death, and her unusually powerful commemorators.

Historians have pointed to the period between the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) and the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) as "the bloodiest century" in Chinese history, during which "trauma and suffering became ubiquitous" (Mühlhahn 2004: 109). Although Qiu Jin's death is but one minor example in the thick accumulation of large-scale violence and suffering, the specific form of her death—to be beheaded officially by the state—was felt to be singular and symbolic enough in 1907 that large groups of people were united through their participation in her mourning. With the successive founding of the Republic and then of the People's Republic, the sanctity of her blood and the historical authenticity of her execution provided the moral imperative for an emotional narrative of nationalist identity, even as the political definition of the nation changed dramatically. That the 1981 statue is more costume drama than a contemplation of violent death serves as an index of a collective response to the recent past, when state-sponsored political persecutions had become so ordinary that "commemoration became both too painful and too commonplace for contemplation" (Lary/MacKinnon 2001: 7). To a certain extent, Qiu Jin's last tomb might be seen as one of the few stand-ins for all those tombs that were not built, all those deaths not identified and remembered, all those bodies that never found a final resting place. It can be made "attractive" in part because this death belongs to what is now remote memory, its actual pain long forgotten, its trauma on the few individuals buried with their own passing.

Tracing the long history of commemoration for Qiu Jin, we see the baton of her legacy passing from family members to close friends

to local elites to the state. Except for her family members, who were relatively insignificant players in modern Chinese history, her other commemorators all happened to be highly placed individuals, wielding considerable cultural and political power. This is not something Qiu Jin could have foreseen but it does follow, by the logic of historical necessity, from the symbolic power of her death. For even at the very beginning, her memory was recognized to be a public one, and its creation through commemorative activities was meant to sustain a particular sense of community. This community was defined locally at first, but as time went on, it was increasingly defined nationally; and yet, martyrs cannot be engineered from above without local support. Thus, a key factor for Qiu Jin's endurance in public memory is the historical accident of her ties to Shaoxing, the town of her paternal ancestors and the place of her death. Shaoxing also happens to be the birthplace of Republican luminaries such as Cai Yuanpei and the Communist Premier Zhou Enlai. Much as both Cai and Zhou insisted on commemorating Qiu Jin in the framework of the nation, their own deep local roots accounted for the continued high-level support of local interests in maintaining Qiu Jin's public memory.

Ultimately, what the tortuous history of Qiu Jin's commemoration reflects is the insatiable demand for nationalist martyrs, despite and because of the contentiousness of the writing of modern Chinese history. As she becomes more abstracted as a symbol of generalized patriotism, her life is subject to increasing editing, until finally, an iconoclast is thoroughly conventionalized into an icon.

Appendix I: Qiu Jin's Nine Burials (or Eleven Moves)

(1) July 15, 1907: buried at a pauper's graveyard in Fushan, Shaoxing

(1a) Oct., 1907: moved to the storage facility at Yanjia tan outside Shaoxing

(2) Feb. 24, 1908: buried by West Lake in Hangzhou

(2a) Dec. 1, 1908: moved to the storage facility at Yanjia tan outside Shaoxing

(3) Fall, 1909: buried with Wang Tingjun in Xiangtan, Hunan

(4) Summer, 1912: buried in Changsha, Hunan

(5) Oct. 27, 1912: buried by West Lake

(6) Dec., 1964: buried in the hills of Jilong shan, Hangzhou

(7) 1965: buried by West Lake

(8) 1966: buried in the hills of Jilong shan, Hangzhou

(9) Oct., 1981: buried by West Lake

Glossary

Aiguo nüxiao	愛國女校
aiguo zhishi	愛國志士
Anhui	安徽
Bei Qiu Ge	悲秋閣
bei	碑
baojuan	寶卷
Cai Yuanpei	蔡元培
Changhui	常徽
Changsha	長沙
Chen Shi	陳湜
Chen Qubing	陳去病
Chiang Kai-chek (Jiang Jieshi)	蔣介石
Chongde (shimen)	崇德（石門）
ci	祠
Dafoding shoulengyan jing	大佛頂首愣嚴經
Duanfang	端方
Enming	恩铭
Feng Xiaoqing	馮小青
Fengyu ting	風雨亭
Fushan	福山
Gou Jian	句踐
Guangfu hui	光復會
guju	故居
guo	墎
Hangzhou	杭州
He Xiangning	何香凝
Hunan	湖南
Jiang Pinsan	蔣品三
Jianhu nüxia	鑑湖女俠
Jilongshan	雞籠山
jinguo yingxiong	巾幗英雄
lanpu	蘭譜
lianzuo	連坐
Liao Zhongkai	廖仲愷
lienü	烈女
lieshi	烈士
Liu Yazi	柳亞子
Lu Diping	魯滌平
Ma Juxiang	馬鞠香
Mai Meide (Luella Miner)	麥美德

mo xu you	莫須有
Nanshe	南社
Nanyang lushi xuetang	南洋陸師學堂
Nie Zheng	聶政
Qi Yaoshan	齊耀珊
Qin Hui	秦檜
Qiu Jin	秋瑾
Qiu Yuzhang	秋譽章
Qiuci	秋祠
qiufeng qiuyu chousharen	秋風秋雨愁煞人
Qiushe	秋社
Qiuxin lou	秋心樓
Sanhe hui	三合會
Shanyin nüzi	山陰女子
Shaoxing	紹興
shenkan	神龕
Shuihu zhuan	水滸傳
Siqing	四清
Song Qingling	宋慶齡
Su Xiaoxiao	蘇小小
Sun Chuanfang	孫傳芳
Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan)	孫逸仙 （孫中山）
Tao Chengzhang	陶成章
Tie Ying	鐵瑛
Tongcheng	桐城
Tongmeng hui	同盟會
Wang Canzhi	王燦芝
Wang Qubing	王去病
Wang Shize	王時澤
Wang Tingjun (Zifang)	王廷鈞（子芳）
Wang Yuande	王沅德
Wang Ziyu	王子余
Wu Rulun	吳汝倫
Wu Song	武松
Wu Zhiying	吳芝瑛
xianü	俠女
Xiangjun	湘軍
xianglie	相埒
Xiangtan	湘潭
xieke	寫刻
Xihu	西湖
Xiling qiao	西泠橋

xinjun	新軍
Xu Xiaoshu (Shuangyun)	徐小淑 (雙韻)
Xu Xilin	徐錫麟
Xu Zihua	徐自華
Xuantingkou	軒亭口
xunguo	殉國
Yan Fu	嚴復
Yanjia tan	嚴家潭
yimu	義墓
Yin Ruizhi	尹銳志
Yin Weijun	尹維峻
Yu Youren	于右任
yuannü	冤女
Yuan Shikai	袁世凱
Yue Fei	岳飛
Yuelu shan	岳麓山
Yufo ri	浴佛日
Zengyun	增韻
Zhedong nü'er	浙東女兒
Zhejiang	浙江
Zheng Shuchang (Zhenniang)	鄭淑嫦（貞娘）
zhongzu gemming	種族革命
Zhou Enlai	周恩來
Zhu Rui	朱瑞

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