

## Transcending Regional Boundaries: Poetic Connection between Nanyang and Lingnan

LAM Lap\*

Since the late nineteenth century, when tens of thousands of Chinese immigrants began moving to Nanyang, the region's connection with China has been constructed in many ways. While political, economic, and cultural connections between the two places have received much scholarly attention, scant regard has been paid to the literary domain other than the point that literary writings in Nanyang Chinese communities were greatly influenced by China in the early days. For example, Singapore, the centre of Nanyang Chinese literature and publishing, was under the spell of the New Literature or May Fourth Movement in China. As a result, vernacular literature gradually replaced classical writing as the dominant form in the colonial city.<sup>1</sup> Using the word “transplanted” (*yizhi* 移植) to describe Singapore's new literature movement, Huang Mengwen 黄孟文 and Xu Naixiang 徐迺翔 reveal that initially most of the contents in local newspapers were simply reprints (*jiangao* 剪稿) of articles or essays by Mainland Chinese writers. In creative writing, local authors also “transplanted” the thoughts, ideas, and literary styles of writers in China, and this practice remained the norm even after the promotion of a distinct Nanyang literature.<sup>2</sup> Yet, newspaper entrepreneurs in Singapore were not only followers or imitators. Beginning in the 1920s, they actively expanded their

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\* Lam Lap is an associate professor at the National University of Singapore.

<sup>1</sup> For the influence of the May Fourth Movement in Singapore, see David L. Kenley, *New Culture in a New World: The May Fourth Movement and the Chinese Diaspora in Singapore, 1919–1932* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Huang Mengwen (Wong Meng Voon) 黄孟文 and Xu Naixiang 徐迺翔, *Xinjiapo Huawen wenxueshi chugao* 新加坡華文文學史初稿 (Singapore: Department of Chinese Studies, National University of Singapore, 2002), p. xi.

influence and networks far beyond local regions. The most conspicuous example was Hu Wenhui's (Aw Boon Hwa) 胡文虎 (1882–1954) "Star Newspapers" series (thus called because the first character in the titles of the papers was *xing* 星), whose publications reached not only the Greater Nanyang area but also South China, including Hong Kong.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, writers also frequently travelled back and forth between China and Singapore.

Yet classical literature, including poetry, was still well represented in local literary supplements in the 1920s.<sup>4</sup> In his review of Singapore's May Fourth Movement, David Kenley states that in as late as 1922, not only was vernacular writing not as widespread as might be expected but it was outnumbered by traditional writing by nearly six to one in *Le bao* (*Lat Pau*) 叻報, the first Chinese newspaper printed in Singapore. Thus, he concludes that continuity "was easier to discern than was radical change."<sup>5</sup> Indeed, any narrative of Singapore's Chinese literary history must include classical writing, which began to take root in the British colony in the late nineteenth century through the active promotion of Qing consuls Zuo Binglong 左秉隆 (1850–1924) and Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848–1905). Both Zuo and Huang were prominent poets from Guangdong. During their terms of office, they carried out a series of educational schemes to "resinicize" overseas Chinese and organized literary societies and poetry contests to raise local literary standards. Thanks to their vigorous efforts, the hitherto

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<sup>3</sup> Sin Yee Theng and Nicolai Volland, "Aw Boon Haw, the Tiger from Nanyang: Social Entrepreneurship, Transregional Journalism, and Public Culture," in Christopher G. Rea and Nicolai Volland, eds., *The Business of Culture: Cultural Entrepreneurs in China and Southeast Asia, 1900–65* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2015), pp. 132–37. See also Shen Yiting (Sin Yee Theng) 沈儀婷, "Puxie Hubiao chuanqi: Hu Wenhui ji qi chuanyue wenhuashi" 譜寫虎標傳奇：胡文虎及其創業文化史 (Ph.D. diss., National University of Singapore, 2013), pp. 93–96.

<sup>4</sup> Zhang Jinzhong (Tee Kim Tong) 張錦忠, "Jixu lisan, haishi liudong: Kuaguo, kuayu yu Mahua (Huama) wenxue" 繼續離散，還是流動、跨國、跨語與馬華(華馬)文學, in Malaixiya liutai xiaoyouhui lianhe zonghui 馬來西亞留台校友會聯合總會, ed., *Mahua wenxue yu xiandaixing* 馬華文學與現代性 (Taipei: Xinrui wenchuang, 2012), p. 140; "Literary Interference and the Emergence of a Literary Polysystem" (Ph.D. diss., National Taiwan University, 1997), pp. 54–55, quoted in Alison M. Groppe, *Sinophone Malaysian Literature: Not Made in China* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2013), p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> David Kenley, "Singapore's May Fourth Movement and Overseas Print Capitalism," *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series*, No. 70 (Singapore: Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2006), pp. 11–12.

uncultured Chinese community in Singapore became more literate, and a *shi* 士 (scholar) class emerged.<sup>6</sup> Since then classicist poets in China and Singapore remained in frequent and close contact, either in person or by mail.

Although Hokkien (Fujianese) was, and still is, the largest dialect group in Singapore's Chinese society, and many of the local poets were also from the province of Fujian, the poetic connection between Singapore and Lingnan (i.e., Guangdong province) was perhaps even more salient. The three other major dialect groups, Teochew, Cantonese, and Hakka, were in fact all from Guangdong.<sup>7</sup> Using colonial Singapore and classical-style poetry as examples, this paper attempts to rediscover the poetic connection between Nanyang and Lingnan, and the factors that contributed to their transregional interaction. The information provided offers an alternative viewpoint for the study of Lingnan culture and its relationship with overseas Chinese communities and shows us how Nanyang Chinese transcended regional and dialect differences in constructing their cultural networks with their compatriots in China. The poets studied in this paper were from the late Qing period with similar socio-political backgrounds, such as the reformists, or Qing officials like Zuo Binglong and Huang Zunxian. But in some cases, the connection between Lingnan and Nanyang poets was built upon a shared interest in classical-style poetry, which transcended political consideration. The correspondence between Qiu Shuyuan (Khoo Seok Wan) 邱菽園 (1873–1941), the “Poet Master of the South,”<sup>8</sup> and the Nanshe 南社 (Southern Society) poet Pan Feisheng 潘飛聲 (1858–1934), is a conspicuous example.

<sup>6</sup> See Gao Jiaqian (Ko Chia-cian) 高嘉謙, “Diguo, siwen, fengtu: Lun zhuxin shijie Zuo Binglong, Huang Zunxian yu Mahua wenxue” 帝國、斯文、風土：論駐新使節左秉隆、黃遵憲與馬華文學, *Taida Zhongwen xuebao* 臺大中文學報 32 (Jun. 2010): 363–74. Also Liang Yuansheng (Leung Yuan Sang) 梁元生, *Xinjiapo Huaren shehui shilun* 新加坡華人社會史論 (Singapore: Department of Chinese Studies, National University of Singapore, 2005), pp. 9–15.

<sup>7</sup> For a description of these dialect groups, see C. M. Turnbull, *A History of Modern Singapore, 1819–2005* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2009), pp. 55, 114; also Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese Among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), pp. 161–75.

<sup>8</sup> The appellation “Poet Master of the South” (*Nanguo shizong* 南國詩宗) is mentioned in Qiu Xinmin (Chiou Sin Min) 邱新民, *Qiu Shuyuan shengping* 邱菽園生平 (Singapore: Seng Yew Book Store, 1993), p. 148. Another title, “Poet Master of the Overseas Chinese in the South” (*Nanqiao shizong* 南僑詩宗), is found in the same book (p. 17).

## I. Lingnan Poetics and Nanyang Poetics

Both Lingnan and Nanyang had distinct regional cultures that yet share many similarities in daily customs and practices.<sup>9</sup> In Lingnan since the fifteenth century, the literati of the Pearl River Delta, as a way to diminish their exotic image, attempted to make Guangzhou (the capital city of Guangdong) their cultural centre, while at the same time emphasized their connection with the legitimate Han culture in the north through the writing of genealogies.<sup>10</sup> The establishment of the Academy of the Sea of Learning (Xuehaitang 學海堂) in Guangzhou by Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849)—a native of Jiangnan who served as governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi from 1817 to 1826—further consolidated the cultural identity of the Guangdong elite. Through the promotion of scholarly studies of the classics, the production of local historical texts as well as the compilations of local literary anthologies, the Xuehaitang scholars effectively reshaped the cultural landscape of Guangdong and portrayed the Pearl River Delta as a highly civilized region, with Guangzhou as its centre.<sup>11</sup> The very notion of being Cantonese was from then on injected with new constructive meanings, while the province's relationship with the state and its “greater” northern culture was redefined and rewritten.

In poetry, Lingnan had a much longer history than Nanyang and had developed what Chen Yongzheng 陳永正 called the “Lingnan School of Poetry” (*Lingnan shipai* 嶺南詩派). According to Chen, Lingnan poetics has five attributes: 1) it takes Tang poetry as its model; 2) its style is masculine and majestic; 3) it consists of distinct local colour; 4) it is innovative; and 5) it is influenced by Cantonese folk song.<sup>12</sup> Although the first and fourth attributes seem rather vague and can be applied to other regions, others are more unique features of Cantonese poetry. In his study of Cantonese poetry, David Honey particularly emphasizes its local authenticities, such as oceanic elements, riparian revelries, and aqueous atmospheres contrasted with stunning rocks and majestic mountains; a love for the local, especially plants,

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<sup>9</sup> For a detailed study of the cultural practices of the Cantonese people (including Teochews, Hakkas, and Hainanese) in Singapore, see Thomas T. W. Tan, ed., *Chinese Dialect Groups: Traits and Trades* (Singapore: Opinion Books, 1990), pp. 10–15, 38–90.

<sup>10</sup> David Faure, “Becoming Cantonese, the Ming Dynasty Transition,” in Tao Tao Liu and David Faure, eds., *Unity and Diversity: Local Cultures and Identities in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996), pp. 37–50.

<sup>11</sup> See Steven B. Miles, *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), esp. chapter 4.

<sup>12</sup> Chen Yongzheng, “Lingnan shipai lüelun” 嶺南詩派略論, *Lingnan wenshi* 嶺南文史 3 (1999): 15.

products, and lore.<sup>13</sup> He also suggests that, in studying regional literatures, one should take note of “how regional voices differ from more normative literary voices at the centre of political or cultural power”; “how they attempt to access the centre; and how they view themselves in the context of local traditions.”<sup>14</sup> With its brief literary history, however, social memories about local literary tradition (such as that of the Southern Garden Poetry Society in Guangzhou), a salient topic in Cantonese poetry, were scarcely mentioned in Singapore. While we may replace the “local traditions” in Honey’s statement with the more appropriate “foreign cultures,” we find that poets in Singapore also sought to maintain a balance between inheritance and innovation, and always had the same concern about their relationship with the origin, the real or imagined “centre,” whether in the temporal or spatial sense.

For Chinese poets in Nanyang, Lingnan and Fujian would be the cultural “centre” to which they always looked back. The foreign region nearest to Lingnan, Nanyang was also considered by Chinese people as an exotic, outlandish place, and to some extent shared Lingnan’s weather, natural environment, flora and fauna. It is not surprising, therefore, that classical-style poetry in Singapore is akin to its Lingnan cousin, as it also includes a substantial amount of works on maritime topics and southern products, such as fruit. Occasionally, Cantonese culture and dialect can be found in the works of Singaporean poets as well. For example, in his Bamboo Branch Verses (*zhuzhici* 竹枝詞), Qiu Shuyuan was fond of describing unusual Cantonese customs (e.g., snake eating) or adopting colloquial Cantonese, as the following piece shows:

Following others, he drinks some brandy,  
 And crams himself with durian to slake his thirst and hunger.  
 “This is nourishing,” for these words he misbelieves.  
 His old bones, truly at great risk.  
 學人飲下勃蘭池，飽飫榴蓮慰渴饑。  
 補字為它迷信誤，個條老命實而希。<sup>15</sup>

In his explanatory notes to this poem, Qiu argues that eating durian with alcohol greatly increases body temperature and eventually causes incurable diseases. The word *erxi* 而希 (commonly written as 兒戲, pronounced *yihai* in Cantonese), as he

<sup>13</sup> David B. Honey, *The Southern Garden Poetry Society: Literary Culture and Social Memory in Guangdong* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2013), p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. pp. xiii–xiv, cited p. xiii.

<sup>15</sup> Qiu Shuyuan (penname Yuangong 猿公), “Liulian zhuzhici” 榴蓮竹枝詞, *Xingzhou ribao* (*Sin Chew Jit Poh*) 星洲日報, 24 July 1932, p. 15.

explains, means “risky” in colloquial Cantonese, and in fact *yinxia* 飲下 (*yumbaa*, “to drink”) and *getiao* 個條 (*gohtiu*, “that [guy’s]”) are also Cantonese slang.<sup>16</sup>

A type of seven-syllabic folksong originating in Tang-dynasty Sichuan, Bamboo Branch Verse was refined and popularized at the hand of Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772–842) when he was banished to the region.<sup>17</sup> Later, many poets used the genre to describe local folkways in remote, exotic places. In the Pearl River Delta, there was a significant number of Bamboo Branch Verses composed in the Ming-Qing period to describe local scenery and products, social practices, and romantic love.<sup>18</sup> Immigrant poets in Singapore, as in other overseas Chinese communities, were also fond of adopting it to record foreign customs and their diasporic experiences. With more than four thousand pieces published in Malaya and Singapore from 1888 to 1950, it was perhaps the most popular poetic form for writers from diverse social echelons. In these poems, a colourful yet complex, multicultural Nanyang society is vividly depicted, and one can find in them a rich presentation of foreign languages, Chinese dialects, and various neologisms and Nanyang products.<sup>19</sup>

However significant the number of classical-style poems produced in colonial Singapore, no commentator has ever articulated a “Nanyang poetics.” Still, in light of the unique literary attributes and the site-specific nature of Singapore’s classical-style poetry, one may imagine, invent, and reconstruct a “Nanyang poetics” in hindsight. This poetics can generally be summarized as a continuity of the

<sup>16</sup> The adoption of Cantonese dialect words into classical-style poetry is not uncommon in modern times. One of the most conspicuous examples is Liao Entao 廖恩燾 (1866–1954), who produced a significant number of regulated verses in colloquial Cantonese. See Huang Kunyao (Wong Kuan Io 黃坤堯), “Liao Entao ‘Guangdong suhua qilushi’ yu shili tansuo” 廖恩燾「廣東俗話七律詩」與詩律探索, *Wenxue lunheng* 文學論衡 20 (Feb. 2012): 26–36. For more discussions of Qiu Shuyuan’s Bamboo Branch Verses, see my paper, “Caifeng Nanyang: Qiu Shuyuan zhuzhici tanlüe” 采風南洋：邱菽園竹枝詞探略, *Huaren wenhua yanjiu* 華人文化研究 7.2 (Dec. 2019): 95–106.

<sup>17</sup> Liu Yuxi, *Liu binke wenji* 劉賓客文集, in *Yingyin Wenyan ge Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 1077 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), *juan* 27, p. 492.

<sup>18</sup> See Wang Fazhi 王發志, “Ming Qing shiqi Guangzhou zhuzhici chutan” 明清時期廣州竹枝詞初探, *Guangdong sheng shehui zhuyi xueyuan xuebao* 廣東省社會主義學院學報 35.2 (Apr. 2009): 46–50.

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed study of Singapore Bamboo Branch Verses, see my paper, “Poetic Record of Local Customs: Bamboo Branch Verses of Singapore (1888–1941),” *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 15 (Apr. 2019): 5–32. For a compilation of the Bamboo Branch Verses in Nanyang, particularly Singapore and Malaya, see Li Qingnian 李慶年, *Nanyang zhuzhici huibian* 南洋竹枝詞匯編 (Singapore: Jingu shuhua chubanshe, 2012).

tradition and adaptations to a foreign context. On the one hand, Singaporean poets had maintained much of the stylistics and aesthetics of classical-style poetry. On the other, they injected overseas elements into their works. These included the application of Nanyang toponyms and neologisms, such as coffee, sarong, durian, betel nuts, and others, as well as transliterations of Malay and English words. Some poets also developed a certain sense of belonging or emotional attachment to Nanyang, with Qiu Shuyuan being the most distinguished example. He is labelled a local Singapore poet as he had settled down and spent his final years there. Nevertheless, although he had no intention to return to China, his devotion to his motherland never waned. He was a traditionalist in many ways, whether in lifestyle or poetry writing, but he also welcomed Western learning and was enthusiastic about the late Qing Reform Movement. Although he would introduce Nanyang material culture and objects as well as transliterations of Malay speech into his more popular Bamboo Branch Verses, his regulated poetry was largely elegant and lyrical in style, with rich classical allusions, and generally following traditional *shi* poetics. From these observations of Qiu's and others' works, a "Nanyang poetics" would be essentially a hybrid of Chinese literary tradition and local cultures. It can be seen as a type of regional poetics, or in the conception of Kenneth White, a "geopoetics." The task of the geopoetician, in White's opinion, is to "integrate aspects of many cultures into a new coherence," which is not colourless, but "can be all kinds of local coloration and tonality."<sup>20</sup> In sum, a feasible "Nanyang poetics" would retain many features of traditional poetics, yet also include considerable local elements varying from the linguistic and imagistic to social and emotional aspects. As a way to establish themselves as literati, the poets would likewise maintain frequent and close interactions with their counterparts in China, such as the Lingnan poetry circle in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

## II. The Interactions between Poets in Singapore and Lingnan

### 1. Zuo Binglong and Lingnan poets

The earliest interaction between poets in Lingnan and Singapore is found in the case of Zuo Binglong, the first Qing consul of the colonial city. Affiliated with the Han Plain Yellow Banner, Zuo was born in Guangzhou. He served as Singapore's consul twice, first from 1881 to 1891, then from 1907 to 1910 (as consul-general

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<sup>20</sup> See Kenneth White, "An Outline of Geopoetics," at <https://www.institut-geopoetique.org/en/articles-en/37-an-outline-of-geopoetics>; "The Great Field of Geopoetics," at <https://www.institut-geopoetique.org/en/founding-texts/133-the-great-field-of-geopoetics>.

overseeing Penang and Malacca as well).<sup>21</sup> During his tenure, Zuo maintained close contact with his literary friends in Guangdong. For example, he received from Liu Anke 劉安科 (style name Shaoxi 少希), also a Han Plain Yellow Bannerman born in Guangzhou, a poetry collection by the famous hermit-poet Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427) and the eight-juan *Lingnan Collection* (*Lingnan ji* 嶺南集) by Hang Shijun 杭世駿 (1695–1773). Zuo composed a poem for Liu to show his gratitude, excerpted as follows:

The two collections presented to me are better than twin pearls,  
 Deeply I bear your favour in mind, but how sad that we are parted.  
 When shall we spend the windy, rainy night side by side,  
 And discuss poetry together in the candlelight?  
 二集贈我勝雙珠，銘深肺腑悵隔面。  
 何當風雨更連牀，與子論詩共燭光。<sup>22</sup>

Hang Shijun once served as a lecturer in Guangzhou's Yuexiu Academy 粵秀書院 in his later years, and his *Lingnan ji* was printed by the Academy of the Sea of Learning. Zuo seemed to have received these two collections from Liu Anke twice, as he mentioned in a poem for a Cantonese visitor:

In the ninth month of 1887, a cool wind blew  
 And sent you straight to Singapore.  
 Old friends happily united, wine cups in our hands again,  
 When drunk, we sang and wrote a great deal of poetry,  
 . . .  
 You parted with me, but left your inmost thoughts here,  
 As I study the two collections you presented to me. (excerpt)  
 丁亥九月涼風發，吹君直到新嘉坡。  
 舊雨歡聯酒重把，醉時唱和得詩多。 . . . . .  
 君辭我去心不去，貽我二集供摩挲。<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For Zuo's biography, see his *Qinmiantang shichao* 勤勉堂詩鈔 (Singapore: Nanyang lishi yanjiuhui, 1959), pp. 1–3.

<sup>22</sup> Zuo Binglong, "Liu Shaoxi yi Tao Qian ji ji Hang Shijun Lingnan ji jizeng, fu ci yi xie zhi" 劉少希以《陶潛集》及杭世駿《嶺南集》寄贈，賦此以謝之， in Zuo, *Qinmiantang shichao*, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Zuo, "Huang Xuanting taishi yi suo ta Liu Shaoxi daling shi jianshi, gan er you zuo" 黃宣庭太史以所搨劉少希大令詩見示，感而有作， in Zuo, *Qinmiantang shichao*, p. 45.



In his notes to the last two lines, Zuo explains that the collections are the same as the ones mentioned in the previous poem.

In 1891, Huang Zunxian, a Hakka from northeastern Guangdong, succeeded Zuo Binglong as the consul-general in Singapore. Before his arrival, Huang sent a poem to Zuo to praise his talents and feats,<sup>24</sup> and Zuo replied with the following piece:

All my aspirations have frittered away,  
 Only my poetic feeling still lingers.  
 Hair turned grey, I am abashed to look in the jade mirror;  
 Yet my heart is pure, almost the same as the ice in the wine bottle.  
 I always think of Ma Yuan, that even he was slandered,  
 And want to follow Yu Fan to write a book sooner.  
 Now the weather is cool as the autumn wind comes;  
 I wait for you but you do not come; it makes me feel chillier.  
 平生意氣銷磨盡，祇此詩情未許無。  
 頭白自慙窺玉鏡，心清差可比冰壺。  
 每思馬援猶招謗，擬學虞卿早著書。  
 已是秋風涼冷候，遲君不至益悽如。<sup>25</sup>

Though he had won much acclaim from the local Chinese community because of his promotion of Chinese culture and literature in Singapore, Zuo was not happy with his consular appointment, which he felt was like banishment to a remote, uncivilized place, as he lamented in other poems. It was said that due to his refusal to bribe his superiors, he was not promoted, and so he mocked himself as “an abandoned [literally, cold] official on the hot island” (*yanzhou lenghuan* 炎洲冷宦).<sup>26</sup> In the fifth line of the poem above, Zuo identifies himself with Ma Yuan (14 B.C.E.–49 C.E.), a Han general who was accused by his political enemy of looting a large amount of treasure while conducting military campaigns in the south. Yu Fan 虞翻 (164–233) in line six was a scholar in the Three Kingdoms period exiled to present-day Vietnam by the Emperor of Wu. With these historical allusions, Zuo Binglong expresses his disappointment and a sojourner’s sentiment in the poem.

<sup>24</sup> Huang Zunxian, “Jihuai Zuo Zixing lingshi (Binglong)” 寄懷左子興領事 (秉隆), in Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, comm., *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* 人境廬詩草箋注, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), p. 534.

<sup>25</sup> Zuo, “Ciyun chou Huang Gongdu guan cha jianji” 次勻酬黃公度觀察見寄, in Zuo, *Qinmiantang shichao*, p. 129.

<sup>26</sup> Huang Yinpu 黃蔭普, “Ji shi” 記事, in Zuo, *Qinmiantang shichao*, pp. 3–4 (postscript section).

Culturally or politically speaking, in his mind China was always the centre, and Singapore or Nanyang, a truly foreign place, was not even considered its fringe. In addition to his official correspondence with the Qing government, communication with his literary friends in Guangdong and elsewhere would, thus, keep him in touch with the culture of the centre and ensure that he would not be forgotten as an outsider.

## 2. Qiu Shuyuan and Lingnan poets

After Zuo Binglong, the most notable person in Singapore who maintained a close connection with the Lingnan poets was Qiu Shuyuan. Born in Haicheng 海澄, Fujian province, in 1874, Qiu was the seventh son of Qiu Duxin (Khoo Tock Xin) 邱篤信, a leading rice merchant in Singapore. He passed the imperial civil service examination at the provincial level in 1894 and was awarded the title of *juren* 舉人, the only Singaporean Chinese to obtain such an honour. In 1896, Qiu settled permanently in Singapore to inherit his father's large fortune. Both a spendthrift and a philanthropist, he went bankrupt in 1907 due to his extravagant lifestyle and poor business management. Afterwards, he served as director or editor for several local Chinese newspapers, and as secretary to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Zhonghua zongshanghui 中華總商會) and the Zhangzhou Association 漳州會館.<sup>27</sup>

Although born in Fujian, Qiu Shuyuan spent his childhood in Macau, where there was a significant Hokkien trade community. In 1875, when he was only two years old, his mother took him to the Portuguese colony to stay until 1880.<sup>28</sup> Obviously, it was in Macau that he picked up the Cantonese dialect and developed a particular fondness for the Cantonese people, who were like his own hometown fellows and helped him collect many posthumous poetry collections by Cantonese poets.<sup>29</sup> One anecdote even suggests that he sponsored all the Cantonese literati—to the extent of paying 500 *yuan* each in travel expenses—if they came to visit him in

<sup>27</sup> For a detailed study of Qiu Shuyuan's life, see Yang Chengzu 楊承祖, "Qiu Shuyuan yanjiu" 邱菽園研究, *Nanyang daxue xuebao* 南洋大學學報 3 (1969): 98–118; Li Yuanjin (Lee Guan Kin) 李元瑾, *Dongxi wenhua de zhuangji yu Xinhua zhishi fenzi de sanzong huiying: Qiu Shuyuan, Lin Wenqing, Song Wangxiang de bijiao yanjiu* 東西文化的撞擊與新華知識分子的三種回應：邱菽園、林文慶、宋旺相的比較研究 (Singapore: Department of Chinese Studies, National University of Singapore / Global Publishing, 2001), pp. 33–43; Qiu Xinmin, *Qiu Shuyuan shengping*.

<sup>28</sup> Qiu Xinmin, *Qiu Shuyuan shengping*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>29</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, *Huizhu shiji* 揮塵拾遺 (Shanghai: s.n. 1901), *Guantianyanzhai congshu* 觀天演齋叢書 edition, *juan* 1, p. 11b.

Singapore.<sup>30</sup> His close relationship with the Lingnan poets, therefore, seems all too natural. He also noted that the teaching courses he designed for the literary society, Lizeshe 麗澤社 (Society for Mutual Learning), which he founded in Singapore in 1896, were in fact modelled after those of Guangzhou's Xuehaitang, a remarkable example of his desire to identify with the cultural centre. In fact, many members of the Lizeshe were also local residents or visitors from Guangdong.<sup>31</sup>

In 1896, Qiu Shuyuan accompanied his father's coffin back to Haicheng, then went to Hong Kong to have his book *Shuyuan zhuitan* 菽園贅譚 (Superfluous talks of Shuyuan) printed, serendipitously meeting the Cantonese poet, Pan Feisheng, at a banquet.<sup>32</sup> Three years later, he composed a poem entitled "Eight Poet Friends," which, as he mentioned, followed the example of Pan's "On Poetry" (Lunshi 論詩).<sup>33</sup> Of the eight poets, six were Cantonese, including the reformist Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927), Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929, Kang's most outstanding disciple), Qiu Fengjia 丘逢甲 (1864–1912), Pan Feisheng, Huang Zunxian, and Wang Enxiang 王恩翔. The other two were Tang Jingsong 唐景崧 (1841–1903) of Guangxi, the former Qing governor in Taiwan, and Lin He'nian 林鶴年 (1846–1901) from Fujian, who was also in Hong Kong at the time of Qiu's 1896 visit. This shows yet again how familiar Qiu was with the Cantonese elites. In the poem, Qiu dedicates four lines to each of them and praises their political aspirations, personal integrity, and poetic talents.

Qiu was particularly close to Kang Youwei, Qiu Fengjia, and Pan Feisheng.<sup>34</sup> In his "Eight Poet Friends," Kang is described as follows:

<sup>30</sup> Liang Shaowen 梁紹文, *Nanyang lüxing manji* 南洋旅行漫記 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1933), p. 51.

<sup>31</sup> Qiu Weixuan 邱焯菱 (Qiu Shuyuan), *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu* 五百石洞天揮塵 (s.l.: s.n. 1898), *Guantianyanzhai jiaoben* 觀天演齋校本 edition, *juan* 2, p. 28a. For a study of the Lizeshe, see Tan Yonghui (Tam Yonghuei) 譚勇輝, "Zaoqi Nanyang Huaren shige de chuancheng yu kaituo" 早期南洋華人詩歌的傳承與開拓, (Ph.D. diss., Nanjing University, 2014), pp. 127–30.

<sup>32</sup> Qiu Weixuan, *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, *juan* 1, p. 14a.

<sup>33</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, "Shizhong bayou ge" 詩中八友歌, in Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji* 菽園詩集 (Singapore: s.n. 1949), *chubian* 初編 (Book I), *juan* 1, pp. 13a–14a. Qiu Shuyuan, *Huizhu shiyi*, *juan* 4, pp. 2a–b. The poem might be also influenced by Du Fu's 杜甫 "The Eight Drinking Immortals" (Yinzhong baxian ge 飲中八仙歌).

<sup>34</sup> Qiu Shuyuan wrote a set of four poems to commemorate Huang Zunxian in 1909, four years after Huang passed away. See Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book I, *juan* 2, pp. 18b–19a. Yet Huang's poetry collection does not consist of any poem about Qiu. Qiu also did not write any other poem about Wang Enxiang, although Wang composed a prefatory poem for Qiu's *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*.

Master Nanhai advocated for reform,  
 But his new poems are akin to ancient splendour.  
 The tip of his brush puts force and spirit into action,  
 Since deep in his heart, sadness and joy are greater than in others.  
 南海先生倡維新，新詩偏與古豔親。  
 筆端行氣兼行神，中心哀樂殊勝人。<sup>35</sup>

A staunch supporter of the late Qing Reform Movement, Qiu Shuyuan was deeply influenced by Kang Youwei's political ideas when he was in Beijing in 1895 to attend the metropolitan examination. After the reform was crushed by the Empress Dowager in 1898, Kang fled to Hong Kong. Qiu, though not acquainted with Kang then, sent him a large amount of money and invited him to Singapore to stay at Qiu's Keyunlu 客雲廬 guest house at South Boat Quay.<sup>36</sup> Qiu also contributed generously to Kang's Chinese Empire Reform Association (Baohuanghui 保皇會) and became the chairman of its Singapore branch. When they first met in Singapore in the Lunar New Year of 1900, Kang showed Qiu a poem he composed on his voyage and Qiu cordially responded with a piece in the same rhymes. The concluding lines contain some words of comfort to Kang: "Thousands of miles away, no need to feel sad about the long journey / In midstream, just let go of your mega yacht" 萬里未須憐跋涉，中流自在放艨艟。<sup>37</sup> From then on they exchanged poems on many occasions; some of them included Kang's inscriptions on portraits of Qiu, namely, "Wind, Moon, Zither, and Wine Bottle" (Fengyue qinzun tu 風月琴尊圖), "Selecting Poetry" (Xuanshi tu 選詩圖), and "Watching the Clouds" (Kanyun tu 看雲圖). Many other poets also contributed poems to these paintings.<sup>38</sup>

Yet their collaboration broke up in 1901, as there were rumours that Kang used Qiu's donation to fill his own pocket. Their relationship did not resume until

<sup>35</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book I, *juan* 1, p. 13b.

<sup>36</sup> Kang Youwei, *Wanmu caotang shiji* 萬木草堂詩集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1996), pp. 111, 113.

<sup>37</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, "Gengzi kaisui zhi sanri, xiwu Kang Gengsheng xiansheng, chushi jihai chuxi zhouzhong zuo, ciyun fenghe" 庚子開歲之三日，喜晤康更生先生，出示己亥除夕舟中作，次韻奉和，in Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book I, *juan* 1, p. 11a. Kang Youwei's poem can be found in his *Wanmu caotang shiji*, p. 112.

<sup>38</sup> Kang, *Wanmu caotang shiji*, pp. 114, 117, 118. For an introduction of Kang's poems written for Qiu and the many poems contributed to Qiu's portraits, see Li Qingnian 李慶年, *Malaiya Huaren juitishi yanjinshi (1981-1941)* 馬來亞華人舊體詩演進史 (1981-1941) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), pp. 147-49, 174-75, 181-82.

1910, when Kang returned to Singapore after his world tour.<sup>39</sup> By that time, Qiu had gone bankrupt. They helped each other edit their poetry manuscripts, and Kang also provided a preface for Qiu, commending his concern for his motherland and his generosity in supporting the Reform Association. Two poems by Qiu record their interaction.<sup>40</sup> To thank Kang, Qiu further presented him with a precious stone from Yingde 英德, a county in Guangdong famous for its production of garden rocks, and expressed his wish in another poem that “the sincerity shown by this small token of gratitude would last forever” 拳拳之意斯無窮。<sup>41</sup>

Unlike Kang Youwei, whose purpose of coming to Singapore was mainly political, Qiu Fengjia (style name Xiangen 仙根) was more concerned with Chinese education and the transmission of Confucian teaching in Nanyang when he visited Singapore in 1900 with Wang Enxian. Born in Taiwan, Qiu Fengjia’s ancestors were Hakka from Jiaying 嘉應 County, which was, incidentally, also Huang Zunxian’s hometown in northern Guangdong. Qiu Fengjia fled to Guangdong after his military campaign against the Japanese occupation of Taiwan failed in 1895. Thereafter, he bent most of his efforts toward Confucian teaching and supporting Kang Youwei’s reform movement before turning to Sun Yat-sen’s revolutionary cause. In “Eight Poet Friends,” Qiu Shuyuan describes Qiu Fengjia, beginning by stressing their shared surname:

My kinsman Xian’gen is adept at writing sad songs,  
Which are like cavalries suddenly charging forward, brandishing their  
golden daggers.  
In combat uniform, should he come to the southern mound at dusk,  
Only to be disheartened by the drunken captain’s jeer?  
吾家仙根工悲歌，鐵騎突出揮金戈。  
短衣日暮南山阿，鬱勃誰當醉尉呵。

Qiu Fengjia’s poetry is linked here with his military background. The allusion in the last line refers to the famous Han general Li Guan 李廣 (184 B.C.E.–119 B.C.E.), who returned to his hometown after being demoted to a commoner. Not recognizing

<sup>39</sup> Qiu Xinmin, *Qiu Shuyuan shengping*, pp. 65, 89. For a detailed study of Qiu’s rupture with Kang, see Zhang Kehong 張克宏 and Wang Kangding (Wong Hong Teng) 王慷鼎, “Qiu Shuyuan, Kang Youwei jiao’e yuanyin tanxi” 邱菽園、康有為交惡原因探析, *Zhong-jiao xuebao* 中教學報 26 (2000): 43–52.

<sup>40</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book I, *juan 3*, pp. 1a–b.

<sup>41</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, “Yi Yingde quanshi zeng Gengsheng xiansheng” 以英德拳石贈更生先生, in Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book I, *juan 3*, pp. 1b–2a.

Li, a drunken captain reproached him for breaking the curfew when he went out at night with his friends.<sup>42</sup> The two poets had communicated with each other earlier through letters and Qiu Shuyuan had published more than a hundred poems by Qiu Fengjia in his newspaper, *Tiannan xinbao* (*Thien nan shin pao*) 天南新報 since 1897. During his 1900 visit, Qiu Fengjia's major proposal was the establishment of the Confucius Temple and a modern academy, as well as protecting overseas Chinese and their rights.<sup>43</sup> He clearly had a great impact on elites within local Chinese community, as his daily activities and public talks were frequently reported in newspapers. Most of his Nanyang poetry was about scenic description and friendly correspondence.<sup>44</sup> The latter includes two sets of poems replying to Qiu Shuyuan and the Cantonese journalist, Ye Jiyun (Yap Quee Hoon) 葉季允 (1859–1921).<sup>45</sup> In one of Qiu Shuyuan's four poems composed at a banquet, for example, he refers to Qiu Fengjia's mission: "Merry and satisfied, someone eagerly gives his blessing,/ Urging us to entrust a Marquis of Zhuxu to remove the aliens" 快意有人殷祝福，教鋤非種任朱虛。<sup>46</sup> The Marquis of Zhuxu—Liu Zhang 劉章 (200 B.C.E.–177 B.C.E.) of the Han dynasty—played a pivotal role in deposing Empress Lü's family from the court, famously saying, "Those who are not of the same root should be eliminated" 非其種者，鋤而去之。<sup>47</sup> The last of Qiu Fengjia's four responding poems holds Qiu Shuyuan in extremely high esteem:

<sup>42</sup> *Shiji* 史記 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1969), vol. 9, *juan* 109, p. 2871.

<sup>43</sup> See his letter to Qiu Shuyuan, quoted in Gao Jiaqian, "Diguo, shi yu Kongjiao de liuwang: Lun Qiu Fengjia yu Kang Youwei de Nanyang shi" 帝國、詩與孔教的流亡：論丘逢甲與康有為的南洋詩, in Wu Shengqing 吳盛青 and Gao Jiaqian, eds., *Shuqing chuantong yu weixin shidai: Xinhai qianhou de wenren, wenxue, wenhua* 抒情傳統與維新時代：辛亥前後的文人、文學、文化 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2012), p. 188.

<sup>44</sup> See Li Qingnian, *Malaiya Huaren jiu tishi yanjinshi*, pp. 183–90.

<sup>45</sup> See Ye Jiyun (Ye Maobin 葉懋斌), "Zeng Qiu Xiangen gongbu jian jian Wang Xiaocang guangwen" 贈邱仙根工部兼柬王曉滄廣文, "Zeng Wang Xiaocang guangwen jian jian Qiu Xiangen shuibu" 贈王曉滄廣文兼柬邱仙根水部 and "Shu gan ci Qiu Xiangen shuibu jianzeng yuanyun" 書感次邱仙根水部見贈元韻, in *Le bao*, March 26 and 27, 1900. Qiu Fengjia, "Da Ye Jiyun (Maobin) jianzeng" 答葉季允 (懋斌) 見贈, in Qiu Fengjia, *Lingyun hairilou shichao* 嶺雲海日樓詩鈔 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 166–67.

<sup>46</sup> Qiu Weixuan, "Houye yan jixi zuo" 後夜宴即席作, in Qiu Weixuan, *Xiaohongsheng shichao* 嘯虹生詩鈔 (s.l.: s.n., 1922), *juan* 2, p. 2a.

<sup>47</sup> *Shiji*, vol. 6, *juan* 52, p. 2001.

You endeavour to collect the rains from America and roll up the winds of Europe,  
 At leisure, you are a master of music at a banquet.  
 Who would send a Napoleon out into the world again?  
 When there has been a hero on this island all the time.  
 力收墨雨卷歐風，餘事當筵顧曲工。  
 誰遣拿破崙再出，從來島上有英雄。<sup>48</sup>

Comparing Qiu Shuyuan to Napoleon may be exaggerating, but it shows how prominent he was in the mind of his literary friend in Singapore. Qiu Fengjia also wrote a preface for each of Qiu Shuyuan's two volumes of miscellaneous notes, further lauding his extraordinariness and the content of his writing. As noted in one of them, his preface to *Shuyuan zhuitan*, "The changes in China and the world are certainly intensifying daily. Pondering cases ancient and contemporary, it is important to have no superficial and empty talk when discussing policies in court and debating principles in study" 中外之事變，固日亟矣。準古酌今，議政于朝，論道于學，貴無遊談焉，無虛談焉。Finally, he encourages Qiu Shuyuan to persist in his revival of Confucian teaching so that in the future people would cite his talks as "magnificent" rather than "superfluous."<sup>49</sup>

Qiu Shuyuan's relationship with Pan Feisheng—style name Lanshi 蘭史 or Jianshi 劍士 (literally, "Swordsman")—was chiefly personal and literary, rarely involving public affairs. The following is his portrayal of Pan in "Eight Poet Friends":

Lanshi in Hong Kong calls himself an Old Dweller,  
 Drunken by the river, his wine cup is never empty.  
 With concern for the chaotic world since the beginning of time,  
 He transforms all the verve of his sword into a rainbow.  
 蘭史香江稱寓公，盡醉江頭杯不空。  
 直從元始愁鴻濛，劍氣都化美人虹。

Pan lived in Hong Kong from 1894 to 1906 and became the editor-in-chief of *Huazi ribao* 華字日報 (Chinese Mail) and *Shi bao* 實報. Later he settled in

<sup>48</sup> Qiu Fengjia, "Nianer ye xishang die Shu daoren yuanyun" 廿二夜席上疊菽道人元韻, *Tiannan xinbao*, 28 March 1900, p. 8. In Qiu Fengjia's *Lingyun hairilou shichao*, only two pieces are collected and the title is "Yin Xinjiapo Shangyonglou ci Shuyuan yun" 飲新架坡觴詠樓次菽園韻 (p. 165).

<sup>49</sup> Qiu Fengjia, "Preface," in Qiu Weixuan, *Shuyuan zhuitan* (Hong Kong: s.n. 1897), prefatory page, 2b. See also his preface to Qiu Weixuan's *Wubaisi dongtian huizhu*, prefatory pages, 1a–2a.

Shanghai, joining the revolutionary poetry society Nanshe and other literati organizations. In his poem, Qiu hails Pan's unrestrained, heroic character and his concerns for the troubled times at hand. As an outstanding poet with reformist ideas, Pan published many commentaries about China's political situations in the newspapers he edited and often expressed his feelings about contemporary issues in his poetry.<sup>50</sup>

Pan was invited to teach Chinese literature at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin in 1889. On his return trip from Europe in 1890, he briefly stopped over in Singapore in September, but it was not until 1896 that he met Qiu Shuyuan in Hong Kong.<sup>51</sup> Afterwards they maintained frequent communication through letters. It has been noted that from 1907 to 1913, because of his relationship with Pan, Qiu was hired as a guest writer for *Huazi ribao* and contributed to it more than 1,400 essays and poems.<sup>52</sup> While Qiu mentioned in his discourse on poetry, *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, that whenever Pan had some new poems written, he would send them to Qiu by steamship, which could arrive in Singapore in as soon as five days.<sup>53</sup> Many entries in the book cite and compliment Pan's poetry, especially his sensual works about women and his descriptions of foreign scenery. In Qiu's opinion, the latter poems are full of "heroic feelings and robust manner, overwhelming all the distinguished figures of the age. Although his work is aided by scenes of marvellous mountains and rivers, thus there are no weak phrases, how could he let thunder and storm move under his wrist and colourful diction issue from his tongue if they were not richly stored in his bosom?" 豪情壯氣，壓倒一時豪傑，雖山川奇境有以助之，故摘詞無懦。然非蘊蓄於胸中者厚，亦安能腕下走其風雷、舌底翻其藻采哉？<sup>54</sup>

In 1898, Pan published his *Hong Kong Collection* (*Xianghai ji* 香海集).<sup>55</sup> Qiu contributed a preface, in which he wondered whether anyone could properly

<sup>50</sup> For a detailed study of Pan Feisheng's life, see Lin Chuanbin 林傳濱, "Pan Feisheng nianpu" 潘飛聲年譜, *Cixue* 詞學 2 (2013): 394–458; and Mao Qingqi 毛慶耆, "Pan Feisheng xiaozhuan" 潘飛聲小傳, *Wenjiao ziliao* 文教資料 5 (1999): 71–79.

<sup>51</sup> Lin Chuanbin, "Pan Feisheng nianpu," p. 410.

<sup>52</sup> Wang Kangding, "Qiu Shuyuan yu Xianggang *Huazi ribao*" 丘菽園與香港《華字日報》，in Yang Songnian (Yeo Song Nian) 楊松年 and Wang Kangding, eds., *Dongnanya Huaren wenxue yu wenhua* 東南亞華人文學與文化 (Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies, 1995), pp. 56–76.

<sup>53</sup> Qiu Weixuan, *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, *juan* 7, p. 11a.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, *juan* 1, p. 17a.

<sup>55</sup> For a detailed study of this collection, see Cheng Zhongshan (Ching Chung Shan) 程中山, "Lun Pan Feisheng *Xianghai ji*" 論潘飛聲《香海集》，in Wu and Gao, eds., *Shuqing chuantong yu weixin shidai*, pp. 236–53.



appreciate Pan's deeper concerns—despite his exposure through his daily newspaper columns—and suggested that Pan's allegorical poetry contained nostalgic feelings and lofty ideals like those of Wang Can 王粲 (177–217) and Du Fu.<sup>56</sup> In return, in Pan's collection there is a prefatory poem written for Qiu's poetry manuscript, and there are several poems in reply to Qiu's "Feelings about My Experiences in Singapore" and "Quatrains on *Dream of the Red Chamber*."<sup>57</sup> The latter series by Qiu was inspired by his first wife Wang Mei's 王玫 (1874–1892) four quatrains composed after she read the novel. Three years after Wang passed away, while returning to his hometown from his unsuccessful examination in Beijing, Qiu reviewed these poems and, deeply moved, penned one hundred pieces (later reduced to fifty) on the characters of the novel to commemorate Wang. His friends responded to him warmly with poems on the same themes. This collective activity continued until 1900 when he settled in Singapore. The Cantonese poets involved were Pan Feisheng, Qiu Fengjia and his younger brother Qiu Shujia 丘樹甲 (1873–1900), Wang Enxiang, Wen Zhonghe 溫仲和, Liang Yucai 梁育才, and Tan Biao 譚彪.<sup>58</sup> These works were compiled and published in 1898 under the title, *Honglouloumeng fenyong jueju* 紅樓夢分詠絕句 (Classified quatrains on *Dream of the Red Chamber*).<sup>59</sup> Together with the poems contributed to Qiu's portraits mentioned earlier, such collective literary activities notably demonstrate how poetry composition could transcend geographical boundaries and help poets from different regions (including Taiwan and Japan) connect with each other.

Qiu and Pan's relationship can be further observed through Qiu's occasional poems dedicated to Pan. When Pan compiled a poetry collection to mourn his

<sup>56</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, "Qiu Shuyuan xiaolian shu" 邱菽園孝廉書, in Pan Feisheng, *Xianghai ji* (Guangzhou: s.n. 1898), Guangzhou xiancheng yaozhou 廣州仙城藥洲 edition, prefatory page, 1a; also collected in Qiu Weixuan, *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, *juan* 2, pp. 3a–4a, with different wording.

<sup>57</sup> Pan, "Ti Qiu Shuyuan xiaolian Weixuan shigao" 題邱菽園孝廉煒菱詩稿, "Shuyuan xiaolian jishi 'Honglouloumeng jueju' suoti" 菽園孝廉寄詠《紅樓夢》絕句索題 and "Ti Shuyuan 'Xingzhou ganyushi' hou" 題菽園《星洲感遇詩》後, in Pan, *Xianghai ji*, pp. 27a, 29a–b.

<sup>58</sup> Qiu Weixuan, *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, *juan* 8, p. 1a.

<sup>59</sup> Most of the collection is not extant, but twenty-eight poems by Qiu, titled "Yiwei dongri, cunju wuli, oulian *Honglouloumeng* shuobu renming xiwei fenyong, de ruogan jueju 乙未冬日，村居無理，偶拈《紅樓夢》說部人名戲為分詠，得若干絕句， are included in his *Xiaohongsheng shichao*, sequel *juan* 1, pp. 3a–5b. For a detailed study conducted using the latter and perhaps other extant parts, see Wu Yingjing 吳盈靜, "Yimin Hongxue: Bianyuan chujing de jingdian yuedu" 遺民紅學：邊緣處境的經典閱讀, in Wu, *Qingdai Taiwan Hongxue chutan* 清代臺灣紅學初探 (Taipei: Da'an chubanshe, 2004), pp. 319–47.

deceased wife, Liang Peiqiong 梁佩瓊 (1862–1887), a talented Cantonese poet, Qiu sent him three poems in response and recorded a number of her works in his *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*.<sup>60</sup> He was particularly touched by this incident because it reminded him of Wang Mei, as he admitted in the third poem: “I too have gone through this; / You are sad, and to no avail I send you words of comfort” 我亦曾經此，君悲我漫箴。Qiu explains in the notes to the first line that his marriage lasted less than a year due to Wang’s untimely death from illness. Other poems that Qiu wrote for Pan include three pieces on Pan’s paintings and several others to convey his regards.

Qiu’s relationships with the abovementioned Cantonese poets suggest that for Nanyang literati, connections with the homeland or the “original centre” could have different implications, be they literary, political, or cultural. Other than establishing the usual social networks, these connections would provide them with the essential spiritual support and help strengthen their self-awareness as overseas Chinese in a far-flung, hostile foreign land. For, as Li Yuanjin (Lee Guan Kin) avers, during the colonial period, Chinese immigrants almost unequivocally held China as their motherland and still considered themselves Chinese citizens in terms of national identity.<sup>61</sup> They would therefore, in Yang Songnian’s observation, generally choose to maintain their cultural heritage and practices in areas such as journalism, literature, education, religious belief, and even architecture. The power of this influence, especially in literary writing, is not to be ignored.<sup>62</sup> Undoubtedly,

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<sup>60</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, “Ti Pan Lanshi daowang shijuan sanshou” 題潘蘭史悼亡詩卷三首, in Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book I, *juan* 1, pp. 5b–6a; Qiu Weixuan, *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, *juan* 8, pp. 6a–b, 18b–20a, 20b–21a.

<sup>61</sup> Li Yuanjin, “Xinjiapo huaren shenfen rentong yishi de zhuanbian” 新加坡華人身份認同意識的轉變, in Li Yuanjin, ed., *Xinma huaren: Chuantong yu xiandai de duihua* 新馬華人：傳統與現代的對話 (Singapore: Centre for Chinese Language and Culture, Nanyang Technological University, 2002), pp. 65–66.

<sup>62</sup> Yang Songnian, “Shengming yu wenhua: Cong Dongnanya huazu yiminshi shuodao wengxue bentuxing de neihan” 生命與文化：從東南亞華族移民史說到文學本土性的內涵, in Li Xuanlou 李選樓, ed., *Xinhua wenxue 50 nian lunwenji* 新華文學50年論文集 (Singapore: Singapore Literature Society, 2015), p. 262. Wang Gungwu classifies the identities of Singaporean Chinese into the “historical” and the “national” types before the Second World War. The former type is called “historical” because it emphasized traditional values “as well as symbols of a glorious Chinese past.” While the latter type was developed in the 1920s and 1930s and built upon Sun Yat-sen’s concept of *minzu* 民族 (race or nation). See Wang Gungwu, *China and the Chinese Overseas* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1991), pp. 198–221.

Lingnan was one of the fountainheads from which the cultural heritages and practices of Nanyang Chinese originated.

### III. Shared Features in the Poetry of Nanyang and Lingnan

The case studies above illustrate the connections between individual poets in Singapore and Lingnan. As mentioned in the first section, thematically and stylistically, there were some similar, though not exactly equivalent, features in the poetry of the two regions. Both, for instance, were imbued with southern characteristics, with the descriptions of local flora and products not commonly found in other regions. Use fruit as an example, in Cantonese poetry, there is an abundance of poems on lychee. The tradition probably started with the Cantonese poet Zhang Jiuling's 張九齡 (678–740) "Rhyme Prose on Lychee" (Lizhi fu 荔枝賦) and was popularized by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) when he was exiled to Guangdong. Su composed a pair of poems, titled "Eating Lychee" (Shi lizhi 食荔支), the second of which contains a well-known couplet: "Eating three hundred lychees daily,/ I will not refuse to be a Lingnanese forever" 日啖荔支三百顆，不辭長作嶺南人。<sup>63</sup> In the late Qing, Qiu Fengjia also added a set of four poems to this repository of lychee poetry, comparing lychee to ancient beauties and peony flowers and claiming that it was the "King of Fruit" (*guo zhong wang* 果中王).<sup>64</sup> When he retired from his consular position in Singapore, Zuo Binglong recalled this lovely fruit in a quatrain during the Double Fifth Festival:

Thinking from afar, at this time of the dragon boat race on the Pearl River,  
Under the willow shade, women frolic on the flower yachts.  
The wind swirls on the water, sending forth the charming voices  
Of the boat girls who call out to peddle lychees.  
遙想珠江競渡時，柳陰花舫眾娥嬉。  
風回水面嬌聲送，蛋女頻呼賣荔支。<sup>65</sup>

Boat girls (*dannü* 蛋女), or Tanka girls, usually refer to sing-song girls who worked the waterways of the Pearl River Delta and some parts of Fujian. Vividly depicting

<sup>63</sup> For an analysis and English translation of Zhang's "Lizhi fu," see Honey, *The Southern Garden Poetry Society*, pp. 11–16. For Su Shi's poems, see Su Shi, *Su Shi shiji* 蘇軾詩集, coll. And comm. Wang Wengao 王文誥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), vol. 7, pp. 2192–94.

<sup>64</sup> Qiu Fengjia, "Lizhi" 荔枝, in Qiu Fengjia, *Lingyun hairilou shichao*, p. 258.

<sup>65</sup> Zuo, "Duanwuri zuo" 端午日作, in Zuo, *Qinmiantang shichao*, pp. 274–75.

the ebullient atmosphere of the lychee season, Zuo articulates in this poetic snippet his eidetic memory of the riparian revelry of Lingnan. He also shows that he favours durian, the “King of Fruit” of Nanyang:

A tall tree of the south,	南有喬木，
its fruit is large, its sprouts round.	實大耳圓。
Its shell resembles a crooked hedgehog,	殼如蝟縮，
Its flesh is like an array of pearls and jade beads.	玉粒珠編。
When you first smell it, your gut may wrench,	初聞欲嘔，
But as you savour it, its flavour grows on you.	食久彌鮮。
Is it not appropriate then,	不亦宜乎，
To call it <i>Liulian</i> ?	名曰流連。 <sup>66</sup>

Written in the rare tetrasyllabic form, Zuo entitles and finishes the poem with the word *liulian* 流連, “to linger,” punning on the subject of the poem, *liulian* 榴槿, “durian.” He conveys the distinctive appearance, smell, and flavour of the fruit, emphasizing finally that, the fruit can be addictive after one acquires a taste for it. To Zuo Binglong and many Chinese immigrants, Singapore or Nanyang was perhaps also like durian—intolerable at first, but as time passed, displaying its special allure such that they would, as the Chinese idiom goes, “linger on with no thought of leaving” (*liulian wangfan* 流連忘返).<sup>67</sup>

In fact, Qiu Shuyuan decided to live in Singapore for good after he came to inherit his father’s business in 1896, and the longer he stayed in Nanyang, the more enthusiastically he seemed to embrace the local culture. Yet, he often looked back to his motherland for poetic inspiration. His “Freshly Tasted Fruit” (Xinchang xianguo 新嘗鮮果), written in 1901, for example, has the following description of lychee, grape, and lotus seed in the preface:

The maritime transportation of Singapore has been convenient. As soon as a fruit is in season, they are hawking it. Lychees from Fujian and Guangdong and grapes from North America are all shipped from far away, while lotus

<sup>66</sup> Zuo, “Liulian” 流連, in Zuo, *Qinmiantang shichao*, p. 301.

<sup>67</sup> Zuo’s successor Huang Zunxian also composed a poem about durian, which is mentioned together with lychee and betel nuts. See his “Xinjiapo zashi” 新嘉坡雜詩, No. 9, in Qian, *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu*, vol. 2, p. 595. In contrast to his public image as an able, virtuous consul, Zuo always appeared in his work to be homesick and troubled by personal griefs. In this regard, as Gao Jiaqian suggests, he was not much different from other diasporic Chinese who came to Nanyang to make a living. See Gao, “Lun zhuxin shijie Zuo Binglong, Huang Zunxian yu Mahua wenxue,” p. 383.

seeds can be seen all year round. The weather on the southern island is hot all the time, thus, to have these [lotus seeds] produced here is not unusual. I always have the gourmet's luck, so I hereby record them together.

星洲交通夙擅舟航之利，時果初登便陳販肆。閩粵荔枝、北美葡萄，皆自遠致，蓮肉尤週年恆值。南島長暑，產此并不爲異。口福屢酬，綜合紀事。

Qiu then makes these comments in the poem:

Sumptuous is the food of the south, heartily one will enjoy.  
The flying wheels arrive just when the fruit is ripe.  
Durian for sure is inferior to lotus seed,  
And how can grape be better than lychee? (excerpt)  
南食充盤快朵頤，飛輪通驛踐瓜期。  
鷄頭原自輸蓮實，馬乳何嘗勝荔枝。<sup>68</sup>

In line three, the original Chinese term *jitou* 鷄頭 (chicken head) refers to durian, as it was described as “like the head of Chinese moorhen” 如中國水雞頭樣 in the Ming voyager Ma Huan's 馬歡 travelogue *Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores*;<sup>69</sup> *maru* 馬乳 (horse teat) in line four is grape because its shape resembles the teat of horse. Since the lotus seed produced in Nanyang was commonly found in South China as well, it seems that Qiu Shuyuan preferred the “Chinese” fruit in general to the foreign ones, such as durian and grape. Almost forty years later, in 1940, Qiu composed a poem about pomegranate and lychee. He first compares them to fairies, praising their sweetness and mouth-watering textures, then continues with these lines:

By ship they arrive pleasantly from beyond the clouds,  
Reaped from gardens, laugh not that there is none on this island.  
Nowadays, the fruit is picked all across the southwest,  
And brought from afar to this seashore to give us a fresh taste.  
航遞好從雲外至，園收休笑島中無。  
于今採遍西南果，遠道嘗新足海隅。<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, “Xinchang xianguo,” in Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book I, *juan 1*, pp. 17a–b.

<sup>69</sup> Ma Huan, *Yingya shenglan jiaozhu* 瀛涯勝覽校注, ed. Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955), p. 29.

<sup>70</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, “Yong Shiliu lizhi” 詠石榴荔枝, in Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, sequel 二編 (Book II), p. 10a.

Qiu notes to line three that pomegranate came from Indonesia and Myanmar, and lychee, again, from Fujian and Guangdong.

Though he was increasingly fond of Nanyang, Qiu Shuyuan did not have an appetite for durian like his fellow countrymen. In the explanatory notes for the Bamboo Branch Verse quoted in our first section, he cautioned his readers against an excessive consumption of durian, especially together with alcohol. The poem is the fourth of a five-poem series under the title, “Durian Bamboo Branch Verses.” In the last poem, citing the ancient rumour that durian was originally metamorphosed from the excrement of the great Ming voyager Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1433), Qiu ridicules its obscure history, noting that Western botanists could not find the original species of durian anywhere in the Malay Peninsula.<sup>71</sup> In another series of Bamboo Branch Verses, he further belittles the local custom of eating durian, saying that the fruit was “no good.” People loved it simply because consuming it was a modern trend.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, most Chinese immigrants, like the Malays, were infatuated with durian. This is evidenced in Tang Chengqing’s 唐承慶 (1917–1988) 1961 collection *Liulian shihua* 榴槤詩話 (Poetry talks on durian), in which over a hundred poems about durian are recorded. Many more, also, had been composed thereafter.<sup>73</sup>

Some scholars consider that Cantonese poetry in the Qing dynasty is notable for its *xiongli* 雄麗 (magnificent and glorious) style, though this is arguable. Cheng Zhongshan points out this characteristic in his study of Pan Feisheng’s *Hong Kong Collection* and adds that Pan’s poetry was clearly influenced by the late Qing poet, Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841), who was particularly well-known for pairing the terms “verve of sword” (*jianqi* 劍氣) and “heart of flute” (*xiaoxin* 簫心) in his works. Pan, following Gong’s model, named his studio “Sword Talk Hall” (*Shuojiantang* 說劍堂) and adopted the style name “Swordsman” or “Old Sword” (*laojian* 老劍). To demonstrate this *xiongli* style, Ching quotes the first poem in Pan’s collection as an example, displaying the poet’s heroic aspirations by using the word “longsword” and allusions to outstanding historical figures.<sup>74</sup> The aforementioned poetry discourse of Qiu Shuyuan also characterizes Pan’s overseas poetry as full of “heroic feelings

<sup>71</sup> Qiu Shuyuan (pen name Yuangong), “Liulian zhuzhici,” *Xingzhou ribao*, 24 July 1932, p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> Qiu Shuyuan (pen name Xiaohong 嘯虹), “Xingzhou zhuzhici” 星洲竹枝詞 (first of four pieces), *Xingzhou ribao*, 14 May 1933, p. 15.

<sup>73</sup> Missing, among others, Zuo Binglong’s poem about durian, Tang’s collection is far from complete. See Tang, *Liulian shihua* (Hong Kong: Yimei tushu gongsi, 1961), pp. 1–5.

<sup>74</sup> Cheng Zhongshan, “Lun Pan Feisheng *Xianghai ji*,” pp. 245–46; Pan, “Jiawu dongri Zhujiang zhoufa” 甲午冬日珠江舟發,” in Pan, *Xianghai ji*, p. 1a.

and robust manner” and especially refers to poems about his voyages in the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, and the like.<sup>75</sup>

We may disagree that the *xiongli* style was a feature exclusive to Cantonese poetry, as it was also present in works from other provinces. Nevertheless, the oceanic and riverine scenes did provide Lingnan poets with many opportunities to belt out heroic and powerful emotion in their poems. Compared to their inland fellow poets, they had in fact more overseas and maritime experience, as seen in Liang Qichao’s famous “A Twentieth-Century Song of the Pacific Ocean.”<sup>76</sup> His mentor Kang Youwei also composed a number of oceanic poems on his voyages to Nanyang, America, and Europe. One of these was a seven-syllable regulated verse he wrote on his way to Singapore with this couplet, “Disordered clouds remotely connect the air of the Central Plain; / Black waves startle, swirling the winds of the great ocean” 亂雲遙接中原氣，黑浪驚回大海風。 Qiu Shuyuan, as mentioned, responded to this poem.<sup>77</sup>

Qiu also noted in his *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu* that Qing poets such as Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634–1711) and Hang Shijun had used the term *xiongzhi* 雄直 (magnificent and straightforward) to extol the exceptional quality of Cantonese poetry, claiming that it had an ancient origin and did not suffer from the conventional practices of Jiangsu and Zhejiang poets.<sup>78</sup> In the same passage he particularly cited the Cantonese poet, Zhang Weiping 張維屏 (1780–1859), as an example, commending that his poetry is “pure and magnificent, as well as profound and colourful” 有清有雄，亦沈亦麗。<sup>79</sup> Living in Singapore, undoubtedly Qiu was greatly inspired by the magnificent coastal scenery, and the *xiongli* style is on full

<sup>75</sup> Qiu Weixuan, *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, pp. 17a–18a.

<sup>76</sup> Liang Qichao, “Ershi shiji Taipingyang ge” 二十世紀太平洋歌, in Liang Qichao, *Liang Qichao shici quanzhu* 梁啟超詩詞全注, annot. Wang Songtao 汪松濤 (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), pp. 41–49.

<sup>77</sup> Kang Youwei, *Wanmu caotang shiji*, p. 112.

<sup>78</sup> The original line that Qiu quoted from Wang Zhizhen and Hang Shijun is 昔漁洋、葦浦，皆嘗以雄直許粵詩，謂得古學淵源，無江、浙習氣。 Qiu Weixuan, *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, *juan* 1, p. 4b.

<sup>79</sup> Qiu also mentioned such Cantonese poets as Song Xiang 宋湘 (1756–1826) and the “Three Great Masters of Eastern Guangdong” (Yuedong sandajia 粵東三大家): Chen Gongyun 陳恭尹 (1631–1700), Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630–1696), and Liang Peilan 梁佩蘭 (1629–1705), as well as various others, including Li Jian 黎簡 (1747–1799) and the three Chens: Chen Li 陳澧 (1810–1882), Chen Liangyu 陳良玉 (1814–1881), and Chen Pu 陳璞 (1820–1887), in his *Wubaishi dongtian huizhu*, *juan* 1, pp. 19b–20a, 2b–3a; *juan* 3, pp. 19a–24a. Due to the limited space, the characteristics of Cantonese poetry and Qiu Shuyuan’s comments on it shall be studied in a separate paper.

display in many of his poems about the colonial city. The “Star Island,” composed when he just arrived in Singapore in 1896, is an excellent example:

Amid the broken chain of hills, one sees the Starry Island.  
 At sunset, sails of thousands of ships furl from the masts.  
 The equator divides Southern and Northern hemispheres;  
 Surging billows from the west whirl the eastern currents.  
 A key place to waters and skies, it connects the dark ocean;  
 Demonic clams and geckos, stinking, make a mirage of city and towers.  
 I spur my horse on the iron bridge, while the wind is whistling  
 In the clouds, eagles and falcons are gliding on the autumn air.  
 連山斷處見星洲，落日帆檣萬舶收。  
 赤道南環分北極，怒濤西下捲東流。  
 江天鎖鑰通溟渤，蜃蛤妖腥幻市樓。  
 策馬鐵橋風獵獵，雲中鷹隼正憑秋。<sup>80</sup>

Legend has it that a mirage was produced by a giant clam (or a sea dragon) called *shen* 蜃 when it exhaled, as seen in line six. In the late Qing, the word “mirage” was often used to describe an unstable political situation. The eagles and falcons in the last line may refer to airplanes on the one hand, and, according to traditional allegory, malicious forces on the other. Other poems written in Qiu’s twilight years continue to depict different aspects of Nanyang scenes, such as the hot weather and rains. The following excerpt is about the scorching heat in summer:

June waves roll like snow up the level sands,  
 They reflect the sunny sky and dazzle my eyes.  
 The tide comes in, heaven and earth are suddenly blue;  
 And billows fly as if they were the blood of turtle and alligator.  
 At the edge of the clouds, the morning sun becomes a fireball,  
 As steam rises, the rosy glow is trapped in the sea.  
 六月平沙浪捲雪，反映晴空眼生纈。  
 潮來不覺天地青，濤飛疑是龜鼈血。  
 雲端朝日火成球，蒸出紅霞海不泄。<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, “Xingzhou” 星洲, in Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book I, *juan* 1, p. 3b.

<sup>81</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, “Dongbin kure xing” 東濱苦熱行, in Qiu Shuyuan, *Shuyuan shiji*, Book II, pp. 10a–b.



The passage is not only powerful but also grotesque. As Qiu retired, however, some of these later poems about Singapore lack the *xiongli* style of his early works but at times tend to be serene and meditative. Yet the themes would be the same as those found in Cantonese poetry, since the weather, landscape, and products of Lingnan are similar to those of Nanyang. Further research is needed to explore the many similarities between the poetic themes and styles of the two regions.

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Nanyang used to be a region with a vibrant language environment, famously evidenced in an immigrant city like Singapore. As different dialects and languages coexisted and interwove on the small island, linguistic influence and adaptations easily and frequently occurred in daily life and found their way into poetry composition. The linguistic vitality of Singapore greatly facilitated its literary connections with other regions and cultural spheres, in which Lingnan played a significant role.

The case study of Qiu Shuyuan effectively shows that classical-style poetry, just like Mandarin, has a communicative function that can transcend provincial and dialectic distinctions. When writing classical-style poetry, especially regulated verse or *ci* song lyrics, poets from different localities all followed standardized tonal regulations, while also employing shared, conventional diction, expressions, imagery, and allusions, though they still used their local tongues to compose and read poems. A native Fujianese who spent some of his childhood years in Macau, Qiu might be seen as a unique case in the poetic connection between Nanyang and Lingnan. Yet many of his literary friends in Singapore had the same ability and willingness to associate with others from different dialect groups. For example, the poetry society, Tanshe 檀社 (Sandalwood Society), that Qiu and his friends established in the 1920s in Singapore consisted of members from varied regional backgrounds. Most of them were from Fujian (24). Others were from Guangdong (6 from Teochew and 2 from Hakka), Jiangsu (3), and Sichuan (1).<sup>82</sup> Using classical-style poetry as a communication medium, they shared with each other their Nanyang experiences, nostalgia for the motherland or their hometowns, and Buddhist beliefs, constructing close, dynamic social bonds regardless of place of origin.

Transregional communication between Nanyang and Lingnan poets discontinued for some time in the twentieth century due to the Pacific War and political turbulence in China. Yet during the Cold War, connections resumed through the publications of such periodicals as *Asian Poetry Circle* (*Yazhou shitan* 亞洲詩壇)

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<sup>82</sup> Qiu Shuyuan, ed., *Tanxie shiji* 檀樹詩集 (Singapore: Tanshe, 1926), list of members.

and *Chinese Poetry Garden* (*Zhonghua shiyuan* 中華詩苑) in Taiwan and Hong Kong.<sup>83</sup> The Singapore poets who published their works in these two periodicals were mainly from the Xin Sheng Poets' Society 新聲詩社, which was initiated in 1957 by a group of poets at a gathering at the Shuanglin Monastery 雙林寺 in Singapore. Zhang Renshi (Cheung Yan-shi) 張紉詩 (1912–1972), the prestigious Cantonese woman poet in Hong Kong, also travelled to Nanyang several times to hold painting exhibitions, meeting and composing poems with poets in Singapore. After the Chinese economic reform started, direct poetic connections between Singapore and Lingnan immediately revived, with the Guangzhou Poetry Society being the first such organization to visit Singapore in 1985 and the Xin Sheng Poets' Society as one of their hosts. The result of this historical meeting was the poetry collection titled *Works of Singaporean and Cantonese Poets at the 1985 Poets' Festival*, which highlights this significant event and the century-long poetic relationship between the two regions.<sup>84</sup>

From the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, China (or many of its localities) was seen as the cultural centre or origin for most Chinese immigrants in Nanyang. Their desire to connect with it was often coupled with nostalgic feelings and a sense of national identity and belonging. As Singapore, Malaysia, and other regions in Nanyang became independent countries in the second half of the twentieth century, new cultural identities were formed, and the concept of cultural centres and margins also underwent drastic change. It is based on this awareness of cultural diversity that scholars of Sinophone studies and global Chinese literature propose the idea of “multiple centres” for various Chinese communities of literary production.<sup>85</sup> Each of these centres, as they argue, developed its own sense of place

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<sup>83</sup> For a study of the Malaysian poets who published their works in the *Chinese Poetry Garden*, see Li Zhihao (Li Chi-Hau) 李知灝, “Jianguo qianhou Malaixiya Hanshi shequn zai Tai fabiao: Yi *Zhonghua shi (Yi) yuan* (1955–1967) xianyong, keti zuopin weili” 建國前後馬來西亞漢詩社群在臺發表：以《中華詩(藝)苑》(1955–1967) 閒詠、課題作品為例, *Malaixiya hanxue kan* 馬來西亞漢學刊 2 (Aug. 2018): 51–67.

<sup>84</sup> See Xinjiapo wenhua xueshu xiehui 新加坡文化學術協會 and Zhongguo Guangzhou shishe 中國廣州詩社, eds, *Xin Yue yichou shirenjie yaji* 新粵乙丑詩人節雅集 (Singapore: Singapore Cultural Studies Society, 1985); and Zhang Yu 張玉, “Lun Xinjiapo Xinsheng Shishe jiti shici zhong ‘Zhongguo yishi’ de zhuanbian: Yi 1957–1985 nian Duanwu ‘Shirenjie yaji’ weili” 論新加坡新聲詩社舊體詩詞中「中國意識」的轉變：以1957–1985年端午「詩人節雅集」為例, *Malaixiya hanxue kan* 馬來西亞漢學刊 2 (Aug. 2018): 93.

<sup>85</sup> Tee Kim Tong, “(Re)Mapping Sinophone Literature,” in Jing Tsu and David Der-wei Wang, eds., *Global Chinese Literature: Critical Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 81.

and “gusto.” This reconstruction of literary topography means that the previous poetic connections between Nanyang and Lingnan will not be the same as before. Nevertheless, their frequent association and many similarities in the past still provide a solid foundation and much inspiration for the development of new kinds of interaction and mutual influence.

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# 跨越界限：南洋與嶺南的詩學聯繫

(提要)

林立

十九世紀末至二十世紀初，南洋與嶺南之間建立了多方面的聯繫，其中在文學領域，舊體詩人間的交往尤為顯著。本文以殖民時期的新加坡和舊體詩為例，探討南洋與嶺南之間的詩學聯繫，以及這一跨境互動背後的各種原因。通過分析兩地詩人共同的詩學特質與詩歌唱酬，作者認為對於南洋文人而言，與祖國或「原中心」的聯繫有著文學、政治與文化等方面的不同含義。本文冀以所採用的資料，為研究嶺南文化及其與海外華人社會之間的關係提供另一種視角，並呈現南洋華人如何在與中國國內文人建立文化網絡的過程中，跨越了地域和方言的界限。

**關鍵詞：** 嶺南文化 殖民時期新加坡 舊體詩 邱菽園

# Transcending Regional Boundaries: Poetic Connection between Nanyang and Lingnan

(Abstract)

LAM Lap

From the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, the connection between Nanyang and Lingnan was constructed in many dimensions, among which poetry writing played a significant part in the literary domain. Using colonial Singapore and classical-style poetry as examples, this paper studies the poetic connection between Nanyang and Lingnan and the factors that contributed to their transregional interaction. Examining the shared poetic attributes and the correspondences between poets of the two regions, the author suggests that for Nanyang literati, connections with the homeland or the “original centre” have different implications, be they literary, political, or cultural. The information provided offers an alternative viewpoint for the studies of Lingnan culture and its relationship with overseas Chinese communities, and shows us how Nanyang Chinese transcended regional and dialect differences in constructing their cultural networks with their compatriots in China.

**Keywords:** Lingnan culture   colonial Singapore   classical-style poetry  
Qiu Shuyuan