

THE LIFE AND POETRY OF DAI TIAN

**A Thesis Submitted to
University of London
In Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

By



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Abstract

The thesis studies the life and poetry of Dai Tian (1937-) as a Hong Kong poet. Hong Kong literature and poetry have seldom been studied by scholars in the West in past years. With the ending of British colonial rule and the handing over of the sovereignty of Hong Kong back to the Chinese on 1st July 1997, there is an urgency in the study of Hong Kong poetry to render overdue recognition to Hong Kong poets. Dai Tian was born in China, raised in Mauritius, studied in Taiwan and the USA, and now lives in Hong Kong. In this thesis, I demonstrate that Hong Kong poetry exists and that Dai Tian is one of its foremost representatives. The thesis is in 5 chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the literary activities and development of Hong Kong from 1842-1997. A definition of Hong Kong poetry on the basis of themes will be given. The question of Hong Kong being a place of importance in poetry is raised. Chapter 2 is an account of the life of Dai Tian. Chapter 3 is the discussion of Dai Tian's poetry. Dai Tian's poetry is divided into 3 stages, the 1st stage is from 1957-1966, the 2nd stage from 1967-1980 and the 3rd stage from 1981-1990. Recurring themes like Chineseness, Chinese arts and artists, time and life, international politics, fables and cultural China are discussed. Chapter 4 is the study of Dai Tian as a Hong Kong poet. Dai Tian's poetry will be studied as representative of Hong Kong poets. The themes of anti-colonialism and Hong Kong as a periphery to Mainland China, Taiwan and the United Kingdom will be examined. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis and examines the friendship between Dai Tian and contemporary poets, Dai Tian's influence on Hong Kong poets and his plans for future writings.

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Dai Tian
Photograph taken in Hong Kong on 9th January 1992

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Responsibility for any errors in this thesis is mine alone.

To Hong Kong

1st July 1997

A note on Romanization

With the exception of persons who are well-known by their English names or by a different system of romanization, all personal names are romanized according to the pinyin system. All place names in Hong Kong are romanized or translated according to the local system.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The main objectives of this thesis on the life and poetry of Dai Tian are to render overdue recognition to Hong Kong poets and to argue that Dai Tian is an archetypical representative of Hong Kong poets. The thesis is in 5 chapters. Chapter 1 is a brief introduction to the colonial history of Hong Kong and the literary activities and development taking place there from 1842 to 1997. The definition of a Hong Kong poet, and Dai Tian as a Hong Kong poet will be discussed in the opening sections. Chapter 2 is a chronological description of the life of Dai Tian. Chapter 3 presents the methodology and the division of stages, themes and technique of Dai Tian's poetry. This thesis will only include the study of Dai Tian's poetry up to the year 1990. Chapter 4 will concentrate on the research of Dai Tian as a Hong Kong poet. The Hong Kong elements in Dai Tian's poetry, and the marginality of Hong Kong with regard to Mainland China, Taiwan and the United Kingdom as reflected in Dai Tian's poetry, will be discussed. The conclusion in chapter 5 will elaborate Dai Tian's friendship with other contemporary poets, Dai Tian's influences on his contemporaries, as well as Dai Tian's unfinished poems and his pursuit of a cultural China (*wenhua Zhongguo*).

A Hong Kong Poet: Dai Tian

In January 1998, Dai Tian was awarded the poetry prize in the 1st Literary Awards organized by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council. The award pays recognition and due respect to Dai Tian's poetry writing in the spread of over twenty years in Hong Kong. (1).

I shall argue that Dai Tian is a representative of Hong Kong poets in that he writes about the colonial history of Hong Kong on the periphery of China. The opium war and cession of Hong Kong in 1842, and the handing over of Hong Kong in 1997, are important themes in Dai Tian's poetry. On the periphery of Mainland China, Taiwan and the United Kingdom, Dai Tian writes with the mentality of a Hong Kong Chinese living in a British colony looking North to Mainland China. Dai Tian criticized the Cultural Revolution and

condemned the Tiananmen Massacre unreservedly. If Dai Tian were not living on the political periphery of Mainland China, he would not be able to produce these poems. Without the elements of anti-colonialism, the city lives of Hong Kong, the 1997 worries, the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Massacre in his poetry writings, Dai Tian could not be regarded as a true Hong Kong poet. Even though none of the thematic elements that constitute Hong Kong poetry (colonialism, marginality, city life) are unique in their own right, it is the combination of these elements in one oeuvre that determines Dai Tian's Hong Kong identity and distinguishes his work from that of his contemporaries on the Mainland, in Taiwan, and in the overseas Chinese communities.

I shall suggest a broad definition of 'Hong Kong poet', whose key criterion is that the poet produces poems representative of Hong Kong. Those poems written in Hong Kong in Chinese and readily identified with the historical development and people's lives of Hong Kong are written by Hong Kong poets. I would like to leave out the distinction between 'good poem' or 'bad poem' in order not to create further confusion, nor shall I try to differentiate between 'major poet' and 'minor poet'. Most of the well-known Hong Kong poets in the narrow definition were born after 1949 and were the second generation of Hong Kong settlers. Those who have been writing since the 1970s form the bulk of the 'Hong Kong poets' of the future. However, with the change of sovereignty in 1997, the identity of the Hong Kong poet will have to be redefined, as Hong Kong forms an integral part of China and no longer remains on the political periphery of China. Hong Kong will then have a similar status to Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang, either politically or geographically. Although the Mainland Chinese Government has repeatedly assured that Hong Kong will remain unchanged for 50 years, it is already undergoing moderate and gradual changes.

All Hong Kong poets are Chinese poets, but most Chinese poets are not Hong Kong poets. All Chinese poets living overseas, especially the first generation who still write Chinese poetry, should be regarded as overseas Chinese poets. China does not recognize dual nationality, therefore all those who have settled down overseas are not regarded as Chinese nationals. There is obviously more difficulty in defining the identity of those poets who are in exile, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Therefore, it is essential for overseas Chinese intellectuals to modify the concept of cultural China as part of the development of a modern and dynamic Chinese civilization. There is also an urgent need to research and reassess the historical role of the Hong Kong poet in its own right. From

the view point of language and literary history, Hong Kong literature undoubtedly forms a part of Chinese literature. However, the development and characteristics of Hong Kong literature are so different to the development of modern literature in China after 1949, that Hong Kong literature should be regarded as a special case. Politically, Hong Kong is to a great extent isolated from the turmoil and numerous political movements taking place on the Mainland. Zheng Shusen (William Tay, 1948-) has stated that from the viewpoints of 'language', 'cultural heritage', 'geographical environment' and 'conditions of existence', Hong Kong cannot be excluded from the 'centre'. However, in reality Hong Kong has been destined to act on the margins (2), as regards by both Taiwan and PRC critics, the existence of Hong Kong as an independent cultural 'margin' is often denied. Indeed, Hong Kong is peripheral to Taiwan, Mainland China and the United Kingdom. Although some would argue that Taiwan and Hong Kong are both peripheral to the Mainland, yet there is fundamental difference in the socio-political modes of the two places. Hong Kong was a colony under British rule since 1842, while Taiwan is ruled by a Chinese regime from 1949 proclaiming the legitimacy of uniting Mainland China. It may seem to be an over-simplification to conclude as such, since the scope of this thesis is to identify Hong Kong as peripheral to the PRC, the ROC and the United Kingdom, but I shall not delve into the status of Taiwan as a periphery of Mainland China. In my opinion, Dai Tian is the archetypical representative of 'Hong Kong poets'. He has lived in Hong Kong for 37 years, writes poetry in Chinese as a conscientious Chinese intellectual describing the happiness and sadness of Hong Kong.

I would argue that important elements of Hong Kong history such as anti-colonialism and periphery are central themes in Dai Tian's poetry. The elements of anti-colonialism in Dai Tian's poems include the following three subjects: Opium War, City life and 1997, which are very often intertwined. Dai Tian was the first Hong Kong poet to write about the opium war and the worries concerning 1997. His poems describe the lives of Hong Kong citizens in the 50s to 80s, therefore, I shall also briefly discuss, as a background, the British Government's colonial rule in Hong Kong and the negotiation of the two Governments on the handing over of Hong Kong in 1997 in chapter 4. The concept of periphery in politics can appropriately reflect the status of Hong Kong as peripheral to the development of Chinese literature. Hong Kong literature, under British colonial rule, is often referred to as deviated, poisonous, capitalistic and corruptive. It is being recognized as a stream and a special species of Chinese literature only after the initial negotiation on the future of Hong Kong in the early eighties. The Hong Kong elements in Dai Tian's

poetry will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4, I shall now discuss other definitions of 'Hong Kong poetry'.

Definitions of Hong Kong Poetry

In 1983, Huang Weiliang (1947-), a scholar writing about Hong Kong, tried to define Hong Kong writers under four main categories:

1. Born and raised in Hong Kong, began writing and becomes famous in Hong Kong;
2. Born somewhere else but raised in Hong Kong, began writing and becomes famous in Hong Kong;
3. Born and raised somewhere else, began writing and becomes famous in Hong Kong;
4. Born and raised somewhere else, began writing and even became famous somewhere else, then lodged or settled down in Hong Kong and continues to write there. (3)

Huang Weiliang put Dai Tian into the third category of Hong Kong writers, but, Huang Weiliang displayed insufficient knowledge of Dai Tian's life and poetry. Dai Tian was a budding and promising poet when he was studying in Taiwan. Accordingly, Dai Tian should belong to the fourth category. Huang Weiliang's definition is rather general and mechanical. Being 'famous' is subjective and controversial, writers can be famous for many reasons: partisan, small circle, commercial, popular, political, serious and many other factors.

In 1992, Zheng Shusen tried to define Hong Kong literature into two divisions, the broad and narrow definition. (4) Zheng Shusen illustrates the example of Zhang Cuo (Dominic Cheung, Ao Ao, 1943-) who was born in Macau and raised in Hong Kong. Zhang Cuo continued his university education in Taiwan and began publishing his poems there. Zhang later settled down in the USA. Although Zhang Cuo has written a few poems about Hong Kong, he is generally regarded by Hong Kong critics as a Taiwanese poet or overseas Chinese poet. Zheng Shusen said that Dai Tian has a similar background to Zhang Cuo, but Dai Tian stayed and published in Hong Kong for more than 30 years, so Dai Tian's identity as a Hong Kong poet is never questioned. Accordingly, Zheng Shusen regards Xi Xi (1938-), Ye Si (Liang Bingjun, Leung Ping-kwan, 1948-) and He Furen as Hong Kong poets in the narrow sense. But Xi Xi was born in Shanghai in 1938, and Ye

Si was born in Guangdong province in 1948, only He Furen was born in Hong Kong in 1950. So Zheng Shusen's definition of a Hong Kong writer in the narrow sense covers those who are raised, write and publish in Hong Kong, disregarding their birth places. And Zheng Shusen's broad definition includes all those writers who are just passing through Hong Kong, writers from Mainland China who stay in Hong Kong temporarily, those writers who only publish in Taiwan and those who have emigrated. Zheng Shusen's definition of a Hong Kong writer relates mainly to their physical contacts with Hong Kong, and does not touch on the themes of their literary works. Under his broad definition, most Taiwan poets who have visited Hong Kong can also be regarded as Hong Kong poets.

Critics have said that the publication of Brief Biography of Hong Kong Literature Writers (*Xianggang wenxue zuojia zhuanlüe*) by the Urban Council, Hong Kong in 1996 could be seen as a grand gift paying tribute to the handing over of Hong Kong to China in less than a year's time. (5) After consultation with leading researchers and scholars of Hong Kong literature like Luo Fu (Lo Fu, 1921-), Huang Jichi (1938-), Lu Weiluan (Xiao Si, 1939-), Huang Weiliang, Zheng Shusen, Liang Bingjun and many others, Liu Yichang (1918-), editor of the biographies, spelled out the two criteria for selection of literary writers representing Hong Kong from 1842 to 1995:

- (a) Owners of Hong Kong Identity Card or over 7 years of residence in Hong Kong, and had published at least one book on literature composition or always published literary compositions including commentary and translation in newspapers or magazines.
- (b) To form an editorial committee so as to pursue and define the definition of Hong Kong Writers with flexibility. Taking the 'broader definition' as a guideline, and to consider the inclusion of those writers who had emigrated overseas. (6)

The above broad criteria allow writers who have resided in Hong Kong for a substantial period, say 7 years in a non-specific time span, and who have contributed just one literary composition in Hong Kong to be included. Hong Kong legislation allows those who have legally stayed in Hong Kong for a continuous 7 years to acquire citizenship. Therefore, the residential requirement of a Hong Kong writer in this sense is a political one. However, this first criterion is meaningless in the context of the flexibility of the second criterion which itself can be a floodgate allowing the inclusion of all sorts of writers. Membership of the editorial board can be easily manipulated by the authorities, i.e. the Hong Kong Government, and the broader definition of literature writer has not been clearly outlined. Of the 561 writers included in the book, the eldest was Wang Tao

(1828-1897) and the youngest was born in 1973. Because of the broader definition of Hong Kong literary writers, writers like Xu Dishan (Hsu Ti-shan, 1893-1941), Cao Juren (1900-1972), Dai Wangshu (1905-1950), Zhang Ailing (Eileen Chang 1920-1995) and Zhang Cuo were also included. However, if such a flexible and broad definition is applied, Xiao Hong (1911-1942) who died in Hong Kong should also be included as a Hong Kong writer. Although this is the most thorough and up to date biography of Hong Kong Literature writers, with a time span of over one and half centuries, 561 writers is not a satisfactory score, particularly taking into account the initial invitation to over 1,200 contemporary Hong Kong writers to provide information for their biographies, less than 400 of whom responded (7), and that writers using classical Chinese language were also considered for inclusion in the Biography.

The above selection criteria have solved the problem of identity for those Hong Kong writers who work, study or emigrated overseas, however, they do not take into consideration those writers and poets who write in English or other foreign languages, although these are few and far between. Moreover, there is also the problem of multi-representation which poses a difficulty in the narrow definition of Hong Kong literature writers.

Robert Simpson was Professor of English at the University of Hong Kong between 1921 and the mid-50s. He wrote poems on the subject of 'Hong Kong Volunteers' describing the mood of British settlers in Hong Kong before the Japanese invasion. (8) Is he a Hong Kong poet? The same happened with Edmund Charles Blunden (1896-1974), a British poet and critic. (9) Blunden came to Hong Kong in 1953 as Professor of English at the University of Hong Kong until 1964. He lived in Hong Kong for 11 years and wrote about Hong Kong. He was awarded the Queen's Gold Medal for poetry in 1956. Shall we not call this distinguished British poet a Hong Kong poet? However, Blunden was English and wrote in English. It is easier to define him as a British poet, considering that Hong Kong is a British colony, and that the holder of the Queen's Gold Medal for poetry must be a British poet. More poetry on Hong Kong in English can be found in the anthology compiled by Joyce Hsia and T.C. Lai. (10)

In order to illustrate the difficulty of defining the term 'Hong Kong writer' comprehensively, I shall take the example of a popular Eurasian fiction writer, Timothy Mo (Mao Xiangqing, 1950-). Mo was born in Hong Kong. His father was a leading Chinese barrister, his mother being English, he went back to study in England at the age

of ten and later graduated from Oxford University. He wrote a number of works in English including Monkey King, Sour Sweet, An Insular Possession, Redundancy of Courage and Brownout on Breadfruit Boulevard. (11) Winner of the Geoffrey Faber Memorial prize 1978, he was also short-listed for the prestigious Booker Prize in 1991. Timothy Mo is usually labelled as an English fiction writer from Hong Kong. He writes in English, but his theme is mostly related to the historical background of Hong Kong and the lives of overseas Chinese people living in the United Kingdom. Sometimes, critics call him an Anglo-Chinese writer representing a non-native-English character. (12) This hybridity is vehemently denied by Mo who regards himself as a mainstream English writer. The broad definition of 'Overseas Chinese Writers' also poses problems for his American counterparts. American born Chinese Writers, like Maxine Hong Kingston (1940-) (13) and Amy Tan (Tan Enmei, 1952-) (14), no longer label themselves as 'Overseas Chinese Writers'. Whenever regard is paid to their ethnicity, they are referred to as 'American Chinese Writers', more often, they are being called American writers.

Xia Ji'an (Hsia Tsi-an, 1916-1965), a scholar of contemporary English literature, never described himself as a poet. However, when he was temporarily living in Hong Kong in 1950, he wrote a poem 'Hong Kong—1950' (*Xianggang—yijiu wuling*) imitating the style of T.S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land'. (15) The poem describes the lives of Shanghai immigrants living in Hong Kong. In this case, no one would claim that Xia Ji'an is a Hong Kong poet. Likewise, Zheng Chouyu (1932-), one of the most popular modern Chinese poets, is now teaching at Yale University. Zheng has frequently visited Hong Kong as a panelist in major Hong Kong poetry writing competitions and literary forums. Zheng has written seven poems under the section 'Hong Kong Collections' (16) Some of these poems relate to his drinking parties with Dai Tian in Hong Kong. However, Hong Kong is only one of the minor themes that Zheng Chouyu has touched on in his course of poetry writing. Again, Zheng certainly would not claim he was a Hong Kong poet.

It is much more difficult to define Yu Guangzhong's (Yu Kwang-chung, 1928-) identity. In his forty years of writing, Yu has written over seven hundred poems. He has taught in the United States, Taiwan and Hong Kong. While Yu was teaching at the Chinese University of Hong Kong between 1974-1985, he published three collections of poems. (17) During this period, Yu Guangzhong claimed himself to be a Hong Kong poet. After his retirement from the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Yu Guangzhong became

professor of English at National Sun Yat-sen University in Taiwan. At this time, Yu Guangzhong is certainly a Taiwan poet. In the author's introduction to his bilingual anthology of poems, The Night Watchman, Yu Guangzhong was introduced as 'a writer well-known in Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China.' (18)

Compared to all these definitions, my definition, which is based on the thematic content of the poems rather than the identity of the poet, appears both more workable and more accurate.

Hong Kong: A Place of No Importance in Poetry?

For most scholars of new Chinese poetry, when they discourse on Chinese poets, Hong Kong poets are the last to be mentioned if they are mentioned at all. These poets of modern Chinese poetry fall mainly into two camps: those colossi from the May 4th heritage and the younger dissidents exiled from China since 1979. The canon would include Bing Xin (1900-), Feng Zhi (1905-1993), Ai Qing (1910-1996), Bian Zhilin (Pien Chih-Lin, 1910-), Xin Di (1912-), He Qifang (1912-1977), Lu Li (1914-), Chen Jingrong (1917-1989), Du Yunxie (1918-), Zheng Min (1920-) and many others. Since 1977 there has been a poetic renaissance in Mainland China. The young dissidents are those who became well-known after the crack down on the democratic wall in Beijing in 1979. They were termed as the obscure (*menglong*) school of poets and mainly published in the literary magazine Today (*Jintian*). The best known of these exiles and their close associates are Bei Dao (1949-), Mang Ke (1950-), Duo Duo (1951-), Jiang He (1952-), Shu Ting (1952-), Yan Li (1954-), Yang Lian (1955-) and Gu Cheng (1956-1993). The political dominance and the vastness of Mainland China has been a world focal point, and so are their poets. It seems that the poets from Taiwan were children of a lesser god, although Yu Guangzhong had edited and translated Taiwanese poems into English as early as 1960 (19), followed by Ye Weilian (Yip Wai-lim, 1937-) in 1970 (20), and other works of translation by Angela Jung Palandri (1926-), Dominic Cheung and others in later years. (21) Hong Kong poets are altogether trivial and negligible.

To understand the complexity of Hong Kong and to appreciate the struggles of Hong Kong writers is no easy task. Chen Bingliang (1935-), Professor in Chinese Studies, Lingnan College, Hong Kong, has pointed out why Hong Kong literature has been disregarded:

From the 70s onwards, there were a substantial number of Hong Kong born writers. Their themes were concentrated on Hong Kong, and they were well versed in both Western and Eastern techniques. On the other hand, after the 'Cultural Revolution' in the Mainland, more writers moved from the North to the South. There were also writers from Taiwan who temporarily lived in Hong Kong, and had great influence on the local literary scenes. These two groups of writers had brought in different writing styles. Those who came from Taiwan had mostly read Western literature, and their works revealed the ideology of the petite bourgeoisie, and the writers from the North contributed the realism of nativeness. Unluckily, Taiwanese scholars, when commenting on Hong Kong literature, subconsciously regarded those Taiwanese writers who stayed temporarily in Hong Kong as representative of Hong Kong writers. Similarly, Mainland critics regarded those who came from the North as representative. Under these circumstances, local writers attracted no attention at all. Although there have been one or two writers 'recommended' recently, this has been of little help in appraising Hong Kong literature comprehensively. (22)

The time is due to give recognition to Hong Kong writers. Dai Tian, who is also a prose writer, columnist and translator, has lived in Hong Kong since 1961. It is the objective of this thesis to provide a study of Dai Tian's life and poetry, to demonstrate the development of Hong Kong poetry in the past years, with emphasis on the period from the 60s to 90s, and to establish Dai Tian as a representative of Hong Kong poets.

Cession of Hong Kong: 1841, 1860 and 1898

On 29th August 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date 24th of the 7th month in the 22nd year of Taou-Kwang (Daoguang), the Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing) was signed in both the English and Chinese languages aboard one of the British expedition's ships, Her Britannic Majesty's Cornwallis at Nanjing. According to article III of the treaty, the island of Hong Kong was ceded in perpetuity to the Crown from 1st July 1843. (23) Henry Palmerston (1784-1865), who had never been to the island, described Hong Kong as 'a barren island with hardly a house upon it.' (24) According to the estimate of the Government Gazette of May 1841, the island had a population of some 7,450 villagers and fishermen. (25) In 1860, Kowloon was ceded as a dependency of Hong Kong. (26) Again, for the necessity of proper defense and protection of the colony, the Qing Government was forced to lease the New Territories and the nearby islands to the British from 1st July 1898 for a period of ninety-nine years. (27)

The total income of the colony from 1st July 1843 to 31st March 1844 was £37,455 7s 10d. The total expenditure within the period was £40,572 6s 1d, including £13,510 15s

4d advances to the following consulates: Canton, Shanghai, Ningpo, Amoy and Macao (Macau). Opium was licensed for sale by Ordinance No.21 of 1844 dated 26th November 1844. (28) During this period, opium smoking was not illegal in Britain.

Hong Kong was a miraculous economic success. At the end of 1994, Hong Kong had an estimated population of 6,149,100. The accumulated assets in the Hong Kong Government's Exchange Fund were HK\$348 billion up to 31st December 1993. The total expenditure for the financial year ending 31st March 1994 was HK\$1,552.07 billion, the total revenue being HK\$1,666.02 billion. (29) In the early eighties, Hong Kong, together with South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan, were named the four small dragons in Asia because of their vibrant economic growth. According to the 1993 World Bank report, the average gross domestic product of Hong Kong was US\$13,430 per capita, and that of Britain was US\$16,550. (30) However, Time Magazine reported that the average GDP for Hong Kong in 1993 was already US\$17,000 (31), therefore, the living standard of Hong Kong was actually higher than that of its colonial ruler. Indeed, Hong Kong has been one of the most important financial cities in the world from the 80s until now.

It was felt by many observers on Chinese affairs that, once the lease of part of the Kowloon Peninsular and the New Territories and its nearby islands had expired, the ceded Hong Kong Island and Kowloon could not survive on their own. The model of Singapore was not feasible and impractical if applied to Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China (PRC) would not sanction the existence of an independent Hong Kong. After two years of protracted negotiations between the Chinese and the British Governments, the '1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration' was signed in Beijing on 19th December 1984. It was agreed that the sovereignty of Hong Kong would be returned to the PRC on 1st July 1997. Hong Kong has now become a Special Administrative Region (SAR), and with the implementation of the Basic Law, Hong Kong will remain unchanged with its existing systems and capitalistic characteristics for fifty years. (32)

It has long been a misconception that the economic success of Hong Kong was due to the non-interventionist policy of the Hong Kong Government. Indeed, Wu Zhongxian (1946-1994) pointed out that the Hong Kong Government had no formulated economic policy on Hong Kong at all. The economic success of Hong Kong was due to two factors. Firstly it was the change of government in China in 1949 and the embargo and blockades on China because of the Korean war. Secondly, it was due to the changes in industrial

structures and internal economic infrastructures of the world capitalistic states. (33)

What Lennox A. Mills said in the 40s seems to be valid up to the 90s:

Analysis of the underlying reasons for the prosperity of Hong Kong reveals one ominous factor: far too many of them are determined by forces utterly beyond its control. (34)

Indeed, the colonial nature of the rule of Hong Kong by the British imperialists has never changed throughout the entire period between 1842 to 1997. Hong Kong has been a 'junction between diaspora and homeland' (35) Its welfare has never been looked after by either the British or the Chinese Governments. Rey Chow (Zhou Lei) emphatically stated that:

British colonial and Chinese Communist, neither of which takes the welfare of Hong Kong people into account even though both would turn to Hong Kong for financial and other forms of assistance when they needed it. (36)

The colonization and marginality of Hong Kong will be further elaborated in relation to Dai Tian's poetry in chapter 4.

Hong Kong: A Safe Haven

Hong Kong was a safe haven for Mainland Chinese throughout its colonial era. Whenever there was external war, internal conflict, unrest and natural disaster, Hong Kong remained a temporary abode for the Mainland Chinese. The founder of modern China in 1911, Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Sun Yixian, Sun Zhongshan, 1866-1925), was one of the first two medical graduates of the forerunner of the University of Hong Kong in 1892. When addressing his alma mater on 20th February 1923, Dr. Sun explicitly pointed out that his revolutionary and modern ideas were conceived in Hong Kong. (37)

During the Second World War, Hong Kong became a safe haven when the Japanese first invaded China. The period between 1935-1949 witnessed much political and literary activity in the colony. The solidarity of Chinese writers was ensured by the establishment of the 'All China Literary Associations Against Encroachment Hong Kong Branch' (*Zhonghua quanguo wenyijie kangdi xiehui Xianggang fenhui*) on 26th March 1939 at the Chinese School of Hong Kong University. Xu Dishan was elected the Chairman, and the eight elected executive members were Ouyang Yuqian (1889-1962), Chen Hengzhe

(1893-1976), Lu Danlin (1896-1972), Ye Lingfeng (1904-1975), Liu Simu (1904-1985), Dai Wangshu (1905-1950), Lou Shiyi (1905-) and Cai Chusheng (1906-1968). (38) Apart from the above well-known literary figures, poets who were staying at the same period in Hong Kong included Zang Kejia (1905-), Lin Lin (1910-), Ou Waiou (1911-), Lou Qi (1912-), Lu Di (1912-), Xu Chi (1914-1996), Chen Canyon (1914-), Huang Ningying (1915-1979), Jin Jin (1915-1989), Yuan Shuipai (1916-1982), and Zou Difan (1917-). (39) When Hong Kong fell to Japanese invasion on 24th December 1941, a large part of the Chinese population fled the colony to the unoccupied south western parts of China.

The year 1949 marked another watershed in the history of Hong Kong. When Hong Kong was liberated from the Japanese, Rear-Admiral Harcourt arrived in Hong Kong on board HMS Swiftsure on 30th August 1945 assuming the duties of Commander-in-Chief. Harcourt was overwhelmingly welcomed by a sea of Chinese flags. (40) The British colonialists were neglected by the Chinese citizens, in the same way as when Harcourt visited the 'walking skeletons' (British prisoners of war at Stanley Camp) but failed to mention the plight of the half-starved Chinese whom he encountered in large numbers on the roads. (41) The alienation between the British colonialists and the Chinese people living in Hong Kong at the time was immense. However, the change of government from Kuomintang to Communist in the Mainland in 1949 witnessed a rapid increase in population in Hong Kong. The population stood at no more than 600,000 people when Hong Kong was liberated from the Japanese in 1945, by the end of 1950, however, the estimated population was 2,360,000. (42)

Hong Kong, being without any natural resources, was sensitively situated between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang after 1949. Lu Weiluan depicted the historical plight of Hong Kong as follows:

From 1841 onwards, it was 'deserted by the home country', and lived a life 'with no one to turn to'. It had grown up in silence. Probably because of its proximity to the home country, and its political and economic development, it has proved to be a convenient haven. Whenever there were drastic changes in Mainland China, it was able to embrace people from the home country. Visitors, passing time here for various reasons, contributed culturally and intellectually to the colony, yet they always had their minds elsewhere. As regards this temporary place of abode, there was often more hatred than love. This relationship of inter-dependence and distance has formed the tragic character of Hong Kong (43)

The love-hate relationship was always there before 1949, and deepened from 1949 to the early 80s especially among the older generations who fled Mainland China because of the Communist regime. Since the negotiations on the future of Hong Kong began, it is estimated that about half to a million Hong Kong people have emigrated to other parts of the world in advance of 1997. (44) Although the population of Hong Kong will be constantly replenished by newcomers from the Mainland, the 'tragic character' of Hong Kong in its role as a safe haven for the Chinese people from the Mainland vanished on July 1997. It is because of this change in the future role of Hong Kong, and the fact that very little research has been done in the past into Hong Kong poetry in its entirety, that there is an urgency for Hong Kong people to study and anthologize Hong Kong poetry. I shall summarize the research done in Hong Kong poetry in later paragraphs. The author of this thesis was born, raised and educated in Hong Kong. In this thesis, the author will argue that Dai Tian is a unique example in demonstrating the drifting life and fate of a Chinese intellectual living in Hong Kong. It must be feared that after 1st July 1997, Hong Kong may not remain a safe haven for outspoken poets like Dai Tian.

Hong Kong: Literary Development 1842-1997

Although Hong Kong was destined to be deserted by the Chinese and British governments during its period of lease to the British empire between 1842-1997, Hong Kong was not deprived of its plentiful and various literary activities. Though only remotely related to literature, the first monthly periodical Treasures Far and Near (*Xiaer guan zhen*) was published by British missionaries in 1845. (45) This was also regarded as the first Chinese periodical in the history of Chinese publishing. (46) China and Foreign News (*Zhongwai xinbao*) was published in 1858 and had a life span of 61 years until 1919. Chinese Daily (*Huazi ribao*) was founded in 1864. (47) Looking back, one can see that the publication of these newspapers, with supplements on arts and literature, contributed immensely to the development of Hong Kong literature before 1949. Newspaper and magazine columns have also become significant elements of post-1949 Hong Kong culture. The establishment of the All China Literary Associations Against Encroachment Hong Kong Branch in 1939, as mentioned earlier, was just one example of the patriotic activities of the Chinese literati who were staying in Hong Kong. Broadly speaking, the development of Hong Kong literary history can be divided into four stages: the awakening stage of 1874-1949, the sojourner's stage of 1950-1969, the Hong Kong

identification stage between 1970-1981, and the transitional period of 1982-1997. The following is by no means a complete literary history of Hong Kong, the emphasis is placed on the publications and activities which are related to modern Chinese poetry.

The Awakening Stage: 1874-1949

Liu Yichang commented that the beginning of Hong Kong literature should be the year 1874. (48) In 1874, Wang Tao (1828-1897) founded the newspaper Circulatory Daily (*Xunhuan ribao*) in Hong Kong. Wang Tao was the first international Chinese journalist. A writer himself, Wang was one of the earliest Chinese scholars to promote Western studies. He also assisted Dr. James Legge (1815-1897) in translating Chinese classics into English. (49) The needs of the colonial Government bureaucracy led to an increase in the number of experts in translation, as can be seen from the establishment of the Department of Chinese in the University of Hong Kong.

Until the opening of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1963, the University of Hong Kong remained the only University in the colony. The University of Hong Kong was formally opened in 1912, but the Department of Chinese was only opened in 1927 on a trial basis for two years. Two *Hanlin* (member of the Imperial Academy), Dr. Lai Tsi-hsi (Lai Jixi) and Dr. Ou Ta-tien (Ou Dadian) were appointed as readers. (50) However, it seemed that the study of classical Chinese on its own was not popular:

There had been a notable lack of interest among pupils for a full degree course in Chinese alone; the Faculty of Arts would therefore introduce two new groups of studies for the degree, one consisting of Chinese and English studies running in parallel and connected with special translation courses, and the other somewhat more specifically concentrated in Chinese studies, but with some English and translation. (51)

However, the major curriculum of the Department of Chinese in the University of Hong Kong remained classical throughout the years up to the 90s, and the objective of producing translators remained unchanged.

Hong Kong produced very few distinguished writers of its own before 1949, but this did not deprive Hong Kong of its status as a safe haven for itinerant writers. In 1928, an arts magazine Companion (*Ban liu*), which was described as the 'first swallow of the Hong Kong literary scene', was published. (52) According to Wu Baling (1904-1976), a

journalist and classical poet, there were 28 newspapers and magazines published in Hong Kong in 1928, and there were over 20 literary writers who published frequently. (53) When the anti-Japanese war broke out in 1937, Hong Kong was flourishing with a new barrage of newspapers and magazines like Li Daily (*Li bao*), Sing Tao Daily (*Xingdao ribao*), Ta Kung Daily (*Ta kung bao*), Chinese Merchant Daily (*Hua shang bao*), Gusty Wind (*Da feng*), Discourse in Pen (*Bi tan*) and Literary Base (*Wenyi zhendi*). All of these publications provided space for literary writing and were edited by well-known writers like Dai Wangshu and Ye Lingfeng. (54)

A cursory look at the literary history of Hong Kong between the 20s and 40s will reveal the names of well-known writers who had visited or stayed in Hong Kong. For example, Lu Xun (1881-1936) made two speeches 'On Hong Kong' at the YMCA on 18th-19th February 1927. An Honorary Doctorate Degree was conferred on Hu Shi (1891-1962) by the University of Hong Kong in 1935. Ba Jin (1904-) first visited Kowloon in 1927. He later passed through Hong Kong in May 1933 on his way from Shanghai to Guangzhou and his description of 'Hong Kong Nights' was collected in his book Informal Essays on the Journey (*Lütu suibi*). (55) Dai Wangshu was arrested and incarcerated for three months in 1941-42 for his anti-Japanese activities when Hong Kong was captured by the Japanese during the Second World War. (56) Xiao Hong died in Hong Kong on 22nd January 1942 after her last tormented years. Her body was cremated and half of her ashes were buried near the Lido Garden in Repulse Bay until 1957. (57) Mao Dun (1896-1981), Huang Tianshi (1898-1983), Huang Guli (1908-1977), Ai Wu (1908-1992), Xiao Qian (1910-), Lü Lun (1911-1988) and many others all stayed in Hong Kong during the war. Writers like Huang Tianshi, Huang Guli and Lü Lun who had stayed a much longer period in Hong Kong before 1949 or continued to live in Hong Kong after 1949, would never regard themselves as 'Hong Kong Writers', instead they would prefer to be identified as 'Chinese Writers'. (58) However, these three writers were regarded by Liu Yichang as Hong Kong writers and included in the Brief Biographies of Hong Kong Literature Writers (*Xianggang wenxue zuojia zhuanlüe*) published in 1996. (59)

Although most of these literary figures were only briefly or remotely associated with Hong Kong, nevertheless it demonstrates the importance of Hong Kong as an exit gate of China. Indeed, Hong Kong was a place where the East and the West met. George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) made a sparkling speech to the students of Hong Kong University in 1933 at the request of the then Vice-chancellor William Hornell, who may

well have regretted the invitation afterwards! Shaw inflamed the elitist undergraduates with his ideas on communism and revolution, in a period when the growth of communism was being checked by the Kuomintang government in China. (60)

The Sojourner's Stage: 1950-1969

The year 1949 marked a distinct political and literal point in the development in all respects of Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. China underwent a series of political movements where, under the doctrine of Maoism, all literature had to 'serve the workers, peasants and soldiers'. Writers were only granted the freedom to praise the greatness of Maoist Socialism. In Taiwan, in order to stabilize the Province to get ready to recover the Mainland, martial law was imposed. People were banned from reading any Communist publications, and these included those writers who were stranded behind in Mainland China. (61) Although there was a strong sense of vagrancy and nostalgia among the Taiwanese writers in this period, most of them had to be published under the mantle of anti-Communism. The mass influx of Chinese into Hong Kong also drastically changed the literary development in the colony. Throughout the 50s, when the majority of writers were not realizing that they could not return to the Mainland in the distant future, the themes and moods of most writings were mainly nostalgic, and strangely with the negligence of the mood of anti-British colonialism. This air of nostalgia continued into the 60s, but began to fade for the younger generation of Hong Kong writers with their growing sense of belonging in Hong Kong. (62)

The 50s:

Between 1950-52, there was a flurry of new publications in Hong Kong including the Literary Forum (*Wen tan*, 1950), Happiness (*Xing fu*), West Point (*Xi dian*), Sing Tao Weekly (*Xingdao zhoubao*), Humour (*You mo*), Everyman's Literature (*Ren ren wenxue*, 1952) and The Chinese Student's Weekly (*Zhongguo xuesheng zhoubao*, 1952). (63) With the exception of Everyman's Literature and The Chinese Student's Weekly, all of the above publications were short lived. Critics used to label the literary development of the 50s as mainly dominated by the 'rightist' under the auspices of the 'American Dollar

Culture' (*Meiyuan wenhua*), alternatively called the 'Green-back Culture' (*Lübei wenhua*). To counteract the tide of romanticism inherited from the above camp of poets who were close to the May 4th tradition, there were also the so-called 'leftists' promoting realism close to the doctrines of Socialism, publishing under the auspices of the Communist supported publications. And there was also the undercurrent of a third group, the 'modernists' who were independent young enthusiasts of modern literature. (64)

The American Government funded Asian Foundation set up two bodies in Hong Kong which had great influence in the 50s and 60s. The Union Research Centre was set up in 1951 and Ren Ren Publishing in 1952. The Union Research Centre published the University Life (*Daxue shenghuo*) targeting the college students, The Chinese Student's Weekly for the secondary students and Children's Paradise (*Ertong leyuan*) for the children. The Chinese Student's Weekly which provided plenty of space in creative writing, with a life span of 22 years from 1952-74, had great influence on the generation of new-born Hong Kong writers. Ren Ren Publishing published the Everyman's Literature. Although only in print for two years with 23 issues, the published poetry of Xu Xu (1908-1980), Li Su (1910-1986), Stephen C. Soong (Lin Yiliang, Song Qi, 1919-1996), Xu Su (1924-1981) and Li Kuang (1927-1991) were popular among readers. Li Kuang was particularly loved by young students of the time. Wu Xinghua's (Liang Wenxing, 1921-1966) poems were first published by Lin Yiliang in Everyman's Literature and later reprinted in Literary Review (*Wenxue zazhi*, 1956-1960) in Taiwan. (65) Eileen Chang also wrote two anti-Communist novels, The Rice-sprout Song (*Yangge*) and Naked Earth (*Chidi zhilian*), commissioned by the so called 'Green-back Culture' in early 1954 when she was living in Hong Kong. Liu Yichang commented that the 'Green-back Culture' wooed most of the writers in terms of money, therefore the independent thinking power of the writers was lost and the drive for creative writing diminished:

Everyman's Literature and The Chinese Student's Weekly were both products of the green back culture, they had political objectives and were not too concerned with commercial value. (66)

Liu Yichang was correct in pointing out the non-commercial objectives of the above two publications. However, most of the writers published in the flagship publications of the 'Green-back Culture' were sojourners, who mostly indulged in their own pursuit of artistic merit. As Hu Guoxian (Ju Hun, Woo Kwok-yin, 1946-) said, their writings reflected more on the lost mentality of the 'refugees' and the consciousness of 'exile' than

on political dogmatism. (67) It would be unfair to write off the influences and results of these writers simply because they were published under the so called 'Green-back Culture'.

Apart from the above mentioned publications, there were other journals belonging to the 'rightist' camp including: Literary World (*Wenxue shijie*, 1954) and Ripples (*Hai lan*, 1955). There was also the 'New Thunder Poetry Forum' (*Xinlei shitan*) founded in 1955 by Lin Renchao (1914-1993) representing the traditionalists. These traditionalists were not classical poets, but their style and language of poetry writing was similar to the poets of the 20s. On the opposite of the 'rightists', the 'leftists' camp of writers mainly published in Native Soil (*Xiangtu*), New Language (*Xin yu*), Literary Century (*Wenyi shiji*), Youth Knowledge (*Qingnian zhishi*) and Youth's Paradise (*Qingnian leyuan*). Poets published in these publications included He Da (1915-1994) and Shu Xiangcheng (1921-).

In the 50s, a group of young enthusiasts, like Li Weiling (1920-), Bei Natai (Yang Jiguang 1926-), Ma Lang (Ma Boliang, Ronald Mar, 1933-), Kunnan (Shum Quanan, 1935-), Lu Yin (1935-) Cai Yanpei (Du Hong, 1936-), Wang Wuxie (Wucius Wong, 1936-), Ye Weilian and others, were keen to promote Western literature and contemporary theories into Hong Kong. Although their publications, Poetry Petals (*Shi duo*, 1955), Literary Current (*Wenyi xinchao*, 1956) and New Currents (*Xin sichao*, 1959), were all short-lived, their earnest efforts also influenced the literary scenes outside the PRC in the mid 50s. (68) It has been a common misconception that modern Hong Kong poetry, in the 50s, was being overwhelmingly influenced by her counterpart from Taiwan. Indeed, it was the enthusiasm of these young 'modernists' and their followers which produced the flowering of the poetry scenes of Hong Kong in the 60s & 70s.

Ma Boliang (69), another important figure in the history of modern poetry in Hong Kong, said that the first wave promoting modern poetry in Hong Kong included Li Weiling, Bei Natai, Zhong Wenling and himself in the mid 50s. The second wave in the late 50s includes Kunnan, Wang Wuxie, Cai Yanpei and Ye Weilian, the third wave in the early 60s, Ying Zi (Chen Bingyuan 1918-), Mu Shi, Hai Mian, Jin Bingxing (1937-), Dai Tian and Ma Jue (1943-). The fourth wave includes Xi Xi, Wen Jianliu (1944-1976), Gu Cangwu (Gu Zhaoshen, 1945-), Li Guowei (1948-1993), Zhong Lingling (1948-), Ye Si, He Furen (1950-), Huai Yuan (1952-) and many others. (70) However, I argue that the first to third waves of Ma Boliang's analysis of the development of modern poetry in

Hong Kong are the result of personal nostalgia. The divisions are based on the literary publications run by their associated members for Poetry Petals, Literary Current, New Currents and Cape of Good Hope (*Haowangjiao*). In fact, the style and technique of this school of modernist poets between the mid 50s to early 60s underwent little drastic change and I regard these poets as the forerunners of modern poetry in Hong Kong. Furthermore, Ma Boliang made no division among the poets of the mid 60s to 90s lumping them all in the fourth wave. However, there were drastic changes in the themes of poems written in Hong Kong from the 70s onwards. The Hong Kong identification stage and the imminence of the hand over of Hong Kong in 1997 injected a great volatility into the lives of Hong Kong citizens. Dai Tian is not only one of the forerunners of modern poetry in Hong Kong, he has also been a torch-bearer of modern Chinese poetry throughout his thirty odd years of poetry writing and literary activities in Hong Kong.

The 60s:

The 60s witnessed the retreat of American funding in support of Ren Ren Publishing and The Chinese Student's Weekly. However, the former editors of Ren Ren Publishing, including mainly Xu Su, formed the Highland Press in 1963, and published the Contemporary Literature (*Dangdai wenyi*) in 1965. The Chinese Student's Weekly continued to publish and spread its influence among young students. Together with the 'Student's Garden' (*Xuesheng yuandi*) provided by the Sing Tao Daily (*Xingdao ribao*), 'Repulse Bay' (*Qianshuiwan*) of the Hong Kong Times (*Xianggang shibao*), and similar columns by other newspapers, they invigorated the famous 'tide of literary associations' (*wenshechao*) from 1957 to the end of the 60s.

In 1957-58, there were tens of literary associations organized by college students. This phenomenon was mainly due to the boost of the publications supported by the 'Green-back Culture'. With the retreat of the 'Green-back Culture' in the early 60s, these literary associations soon disbanded. However, in the early 60s, a few secondary school students began contributing articles to the newspapers and magazines which provided spaces for young students. Within no time, this developed into hundreds of literary associations including students and contributors associated with the so-called 'rightist', 'leftist' and 'modernist' publications. Hu Guoxian said that under the colonial education system, so many young students who were actively promoting the art of Chinese writing could be

seen as a cynical slap to the colonialists. (71) However, Dai Tian predicted during a seminar on literary associations in 1967 that the literary associations would disband within a short period of time. Dai Tian said that a lot of these literary associations were formed at the time because it was trendy, but without the 'spirit of sacrifice' needed to promote literature. Indeed, the last of these literary associations was disbanded in July 1971 in silence. (72) Although the achievement in literature by these literary associations and their publications was not of a high standard, they provided plenty of opportunities for young enthusiasts to practice writing and get acquainted with each other. (73) They included Gu Zhaoshen, Hu Guoxian, Huang Guobin, Wu Xuanren (1947-), Liang Bingjun and many others who continue to write and publish poetry to this day. In 1996, the Urban Council commissioned Wu Xuanren as writer in residence to research and edit a book on the history of the 'tide of literary associations' in the 60s and 70s. From Wu's personal recollection, there were at least some 200 active literary associations formed in the 60s. (74)

Amidst the tide of literary associations, those mature writers and enthusiasts, like Li Weiling, Ma Lang, Li Yinghao (1941-) and others, had formed the Modern Literature and Art Association (*Xiandai wenxue meishu xiehui*) in 1959 promoting modern literature. The Association published a literary magazine Cape of Good Hope in 1963. Although the magazine was discontinued after 13 issues, it was an important bridge for the continued promotion of modern literature from the 50s to the 60s. Dai Tian was the only Hong Kong poet to win a poetry competition organized by the Association in 1963, all other winners were from Taiwan. This is another example of interchange between the Hong Kong and Taiwan literary circles. In 1967, Dai Tian edited and published the Stylistic Poetry Page (*Fengge shiye*) dedicated solely to modern Chinese poetry writing. Stylistic Poetry Page was the first modern poetry magazine published in the history of Hong Kong. (75) Also in the year 1967, Hu Juren (1933-), Dai Tian, Gu Cangwu and others founded the Pan Ku Magazine (*Pan gu*), and published a special issue on the review of contemporary poetry in Taiwan and Hong Kong. (76) In 1968-69, Dai Tian, inspired by his attendance at the Iowa International Writers' Program, invited Gu Cangwu to organize a poetry workshop based on the model of the Iowa poetry workshop. The Pan Ku Magazine and the poetry workshop together had great influence on the young poets who were concerned with the daily life and affairs of Hong Kong, also contributed to a new approach of 'clarity' in Hong Kong poetics and poetry writing. These young poets included Xi Xi, Guan Mengnan (1946-), Li Guowei, Zhong Lingling, Mai Ji'an, Zhang

Guoyi and Huai Yuan. Dai Tian, apart from writing poems on Hong Kong, was also seen by critics as a bridge and torch-bearer of modern poetry linking up the 50s to the 70s and 80s. (77)

In 1970, Ye Weilian translated and edited a volume of Modern Chinese Poetry: Twenty Poets from the Republic of China 1955-1965. A Hong Kong poet, Kunnan, who translated 4 of his own poems was also included in the anthology. (78) This is the first time that English translation of a Hong Kong poet's work was included in any anthologies. However, the title of the anthology is unmistakably depicting poets from Taiwan, and the Hong Kong identity of Kunnan is to a great extent blurred by this.

The Hong Kong Identification Stage: 1970-1981

The younger generation of writers who were actually born in Hong Kong, amidst the drastic social changes of the early 70s, contributed to a growing, specifically Hong Kong, sense of social and literary identity. The movement to fight for the official status of the Chinese language in Hong Kong in 1970, the responses to the worldwide patriotic movement of defending the Diaoyu Dao (*Diaoyutai*) from becoming a Japanese territory in 1971, the anti-corruption demonstrations in 1972, and the activities of the college students in recognition of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong and concern on Hong Kong social issues, all provided food for the rethinking and review of British colonial rule in Hong Kong. (79) Apart from the above mentioned poets in the 50s and 60s, the younger generation of poets were either born in Hong Kong after 1949 or had been resident in Hong Kong since childhood. These budding poets included: Qin Quan (1945-1978), He Furen, Kang Fu (1951-), Qi Ling (Stephen Ng Lui-nam, Wu Lunan, 1952-), Lin Li'an (1953-), Hu Yanqing (1954-), Xiu Shi (1954-), Wen Ming (1955-), Su An (1956-), Li Jingfeng (1957-), Huang Xiang (1957-), Chen Dejin (1958-) and Cao Jie (1958-).

In 1970, two poetry associations, Autumn Firefly (*Qiu Ying*) and Scorching Wind (*Fen Feng*), were formed as a continuation of the dying out 'literary associations' of the 60s. The *Qiu Ying Poetry* (*Qiu ying shikan*) and *Fen Feng Poetry Page* (*Fen feng shiye*) were published respectively by the above poetry associations. The magazine *The 70s'* (*Qiling niandai*, 1970) promoting anarchism, which also provided valuable pages for alternative

poetry writings, was founded by Wu Zhongxian and Mo Zhaoru (1947-). (80) The publication of the Poetry (*Shi feng*, 1972) was a landmark in the modern poetry history of Hong Kong. Founded by Huang Guobin (Laurence Wong, 1946), Hu Guoxian (both graduates of the University of Hong Kong), and their contemporaries, the Poetry had a life span of 12 years from 1972 to 1984. Throughout its life, the Poetry also invited prominent poets from Taiwan to deliver literary lectures in Hong Kong. Those invited included Yu Guangzhong, Luo Fu (1928-), Lin Huanzhang (1939-), Yang Mu (Ye Shan, C.H. Wang, 1940-) and Luo Qing (1948-). These cross border literary activities had a great influence on the writing style of many budding Hong Kong poets. (81) It is evident that the style of Yu Guangzhong's poetry writing had its great imprints on the camp of poets, like Huang Guobin, Hu Guoxian and Hu Yanqing, who published on the Poetry. The Poetry also had a special feature on Hong Kong poetry in its September 1977 issue. Another important poetry publication founded in the 70s was the Compass (*Luopan*, 1976). The Compass was a poetry bimonthly found by He Furen, Kang Fu and their contemporaries in 1976. Its objective was 'to pay more attention to Hong Kong poetry writers'. (82) The first issue included interviews with the poets Xi Xi, Zhong Lingling and the fiction writer Wu Xubin (1949-). (83)

Other than the above literary publications, the most important evidence marking the struggles of Hong Kong university students to raise the awareness and standard of Chinese writings in the early 70s was the Youth Literary Awards (*Qingnian wenxuejiang*). The Youth Literary Awards were initially organized by the University of Hong Kong Student's Union in 1972 to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the University, and Hong Qingtian (1949-) was the chairman of the organizing committee. (84) From 1973 onwards, the Youth Literary Awards have been co-organized by the University of Hong Kong Student's Union and the Chinese University of Hong Kong Student's Union. The competition is comprised of six genres each judged by a different panel of distinguished writers and critics. The Youth Literary Awards cannot afford to offer any prize money, but with complementary activities like book exhibitions, literary talks and forums, seminars, literary camps, and the publication of annual prize-winning collections, they become the most appealing and popular literary programs for the younger generations. (85) Dai Tian was one of the panel of judges in the 3rd Youth Literary Awards in 1974, and thereafter on numerous occasions has been speaker and judge for many other literary competitions and forums. Evidently, almost all the university undergraduates in the 70s belonged to the new generations born in Hong Kong. The

organizers and participants of the Youth Literary Awards later founded the Hong Kong Young Writer's Association (*Xianggang qingnian zuozhe xiehui*) in 1982. Dai Tian was one of the advisors to the Association. (86)

Following the example of the Youth Literary Awards, the Hong Kong Polytechnic Student's Union organized the Hong Kong Polytechnic Literary Awards (*Ligong wenxuejiang*) in 1978, the New Youth Study Society (*Xinqing xueshe*) organized the Worker's Literary Award (*Gongren wenxuejiang*) in 1980. The Hong Kong Government was inspired to organize its Chinese Literary Awards (*Zhongwen wenxuejiang*) from 1979 onwards under the auspices of its Urban Council. The students who organized the Youth Literary Awards also formed literary associations on their own campus, namely the Hong Kong University Literary Association (*Gangda wenshe*, 1973) and the Chinese University Literary Association (*Zhongda wenshe*, 1974). The Hong Kong University Literary Association was formed by Hong Qingtian, Stephen Ng Lui-nam and their contemporaries in 1973. Apart from the writing workshops, literary forums and publications, the Hong Kong University Literary Association undertook the pioneer project of researching the literary history of Hong Kong for the years 1930-1970 in 1975. Valuable materials were documented and photocopied, and kept by the Hong Kong Collections in the Hong Kong University Library. (87)

The Transitional Stage: 1982-1997

The 80s and 90s saw rapid changes in the Hong Kong literary scene. Due to the negotiations concerning the future of Hong Kong, the status and importance of the colony was suddenly transformed from an ugly duckling to a swan. The 1st Academic conference on Taiwan and Hong Kong Literature was held in Ji'nan University in 1982. However, only four insubstantial papers on Hong Kong were delivered, and these only constituted around 1/10 the total number of papers. A 2nd conference was held in 1984 at Xiamen University, and a 3rd held at the end of 1985 at Shenzhen University. A conference of a similar nature on a smaller scale was also held at Lanzhou University in May 1985. (88) Similar activities were regularly held in Mainland China thereafter. In 1985, the Literary News Monthly (*Wenxuan yuekan*) published in Taiwan also carried a special issue on Hong Kong literature. (89)

Like their counterparts in the Mainland and Taiwan, the Asia Research Centre of the Hong Kong University organized a symposium on Hong Kong literature in 1985, and the Translation Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong also organized an International Conference on Hong Kong literature in 1988. (90) In the same year, the Research Centre for Translation of the Chinese University of Hong Kong also published a special issue on Hong Kong literature in Renditions. (91)

In the early 80s, the Hong Kong scholar Huang Weiliang began to introduce and interpret Hong Kong literature to his readers. Most of his materials and opinions were contained in his book Initial Exploration in Hong Kong Literature (*Xianggang wenxue chutan*) published in 1985. This was a book rich in the collation of basic information, but fragmented and superficial in commentary. Huang Weiliang's views were rather prejudiced. He overrated and praised the works of Yu Guangzhong as the 'poet laureate'. This immediately provoked severe criticism of Huang's book by young critics like Li Huachuan (1952-). (92) Huang also underrated the poetry of Dai Tian and Xi Xi. (93) Moreover, Huang also mistakenly stated that Dai Tian was born in Mauritius (94), whereas, in fact, Dai Tian was born in China in 1937.

In Hong Kong, there were also many literary publications in the 80s. Su Yeh Publications (*Su ye chubanshe*) was established in 1978 by Xi Xi, Ye Si, He Furen, Xu Diqiang (1953-) and their contemporaries. Su Yeh Publications became active in the 80s, apart from

publishing Su Yeh Literature (*Su ye wenxue*) in 1980, it has also published more than 30 volumes of individual writings by Hong Kong writers so far. (95) The New Ear of Grain Poetry (*Xin sui shikan*) was published in 1981 by Chen Dejin and contemporaries (96), and One-ninth Poetry (*Jiufenyi shikan*) was published in 1986 by Yin Jiang (1949-), Wu Meijun (1964-) and contemporaries. (97) These two poetry publications were among the more important ones published by Hong Kong poets and editors. Other poetry publications like, World China Poetry (*Shijie Zhongguo shikan*, 1985), Contemporary Poetry Forum (*Dangdai shitan*, 1987) and Poetry World (*Shi shijie*, 1987) were published by literature lovers who came from the Mainland and settled down in Hong Kong from the 70s onwards. (98) The other important literature publications in the 80s included Literary Magazine Quarterly (*Wenyi zazhi jikan*, 1982), Hong Kong Literary (*Xianggang wenyi*, 1982), Breaking Ground (*Potu*, 1982), Poetry and Critique (*Shi yu pinglun*, 1984), Hong Kong Literature (*Xianggang wenxue*, 1985), Literature World (*Wenxue shijie*, 1987), Boyi Monthly (*Boyi yuekan*, 1987), Hong Kong Literature Journal (*Xianggang wenxuebao*, 1988), and Shi Bimonthly (*Shi shuangyuekan*, 1989). (99) The Hong Kong Literature, founded by Liu Yichang in 1985 and still in print, was one of the most important literary magazines in the colony. Young Hong Kong poets who made their names in the 80s include Zhong Weimin (1961-), Xun Qing (1961-), Zhong Guoqiang (1962-), Wang Lianghe (1963-), Luo Guixiang (1963-), Luo Feng (1964-), Wu Meijun and others.

The 90s:

As already discussed, research into, and publications on, Hong Kong literature became trendy after 1982, especially through the efforts of Mainland scholars and writers. However, a lot of these research and publications on Hong Kong literature were prepared in haste and fully exposed the lack of knowledge about the Hong Kong literary scene. Many writers, who were regarded by Mainland scholars as representative of Hong Kong writers, were of little known to the Hong Kong literary circles. An article dated 15th June 1993 in the People's Daily Overseas Edition (*Renmin ribao haiwaiban*), based on material provided by the Beijing Xinhua News Agency, reported that a Hong Kong writer Li Huiying (1911-1991) had donated more than 5,800 volumes of books to the Chinese Modern Literature Institute (*Zhongguo xiandai wenxueguan*) in person, and that the

Taiwanese writer Lu Weiluan had also donated her writing to the same Institute. The commentator Luo Fu pointed out that the writer Li Huiying had passed away in 1991, so how could he have donated his writings and books in person? Moreover, Lu Weiluan was a prominent Hong Kong writer and pioneer researcher into Hong Kong literature, not a Taiwanese. The article further described some Hong Kong merchants as Hong Kong writers. The people's Daily and the Xinhua News Agency were supposedly national organizations responsible for information and culture. If they were so fallible, what could the readers expect from the Mainland Chinese information and communication bureaus? (100)

However, after nearly a decade of research into Hong Kong literature, academics in the Mainland produced some formidable results. It was not until the early 90s that such research by Mainland scholars had become more accurate and comprehensive. The Brief History of Hong Kong New Literature (*Xianggang xinwenxue jianshi*) by Xie Changqing published in 1990 was rich in materials. But unfortunately it began with the year 1841 and stopped in 1949. (101) The History of Hong Kong Literature (*Xianggang wenxueshi*) by Wang Jiancong published in 1995 covering the period up to the 90s (102), and Wang's other book 20th Century Hong Kong Literature (*Ershi shiji Xianggang wenxue*) published in 1996 were among the better ones. (103)

Likewise, there were also special issues on Hong Kong literature published in Taiwan and overseas. Unitas (*Lianhe wenxue*) published a special issue on Hong Kong literature in 1992 (104), and the New York based overseas magazine Today published a feature on Hong Kong culture in 1995. (105)

From the 90s onwards, the Hong Kong Government began to invest more resources into literary and cultural activities. Apart from the Chinese Literary Awards, which were an ongoing project, the Urban Council also organized the 1st Hong Kong Chinese Literature Biennial Awards (*Xianggang wenxue shuangnianjiang*) including the genre of poetry in 1991. Dai Tian was coordinator of the panelists in the poetry genre, the panelists included Zheng Chouyu, Cai Yanpei, Ye Weilian, Gu Zhaoshen and Ji Hun. The two poets awarded recommendations in the poetry genre were Wu Meijun and Qi Ling. (106) From 4th-11th January 1997, the Urban Council organized its first ever large scale Hong Kong Literature Festival. The festival programs included a symposium on international poetry, writing workshops, seminars, movies and forums for meeting the writers. Dai Tian was one of the representatives of Hong Kong poets. (107) This series of literary

activities organized in such a grand style was viewed as part of the cultural celebrations surrounding the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty back to the Chinese.

Apart from these literary activities and the publications which had been active since the 70s and 80s, there were other poetry publications founded in the 90s. The *Poetics (Shixue)* was published in 1993 (108), *Poetry Workshop (Shizuofang)* in 1994 (109) and *Breathing Poetry (Huxi shikan)* in 1996. (110) New poets like Miao Qiyuan (1967-), Fan Shanbiao, Liu Weicheng, Zhang Shaobo, Cai Zhifeng, Xiao Xi, Qiu Peihua, Nian Xing and many more were active in the 90s. On the other hand, Hong Kong also witnessed the brain drain of poets like Huang Guobin, Wu Guoxian and many others in the 90s. It was not until late 1996 that Liang Bingjun produced a brief paper in English on the development of modern Chinese poetry in Hong Kong in the 50s. (111) Liang introduced 5 Hong Kong poets and their works to demonstrate the non-monolithic nature of their poetry writings in the colony. The 5 poets discussed were Stephen C. Soong, Ma Lang, Wucius Wong, Yip Wai-lim and Kunnan. Although Stephen C. Soong and Wucius Wong had published very few poems, and the paper only covered a period of around five years in the late 50s, this is the first English language article of its kind in the discussion of Hong Kong poetry. I would argue that Liang's definition of the non-monolithic nature of Hong Kong poetry in the early 50s is disputable, for these poems were mainly centred on the lives of the sojourners in Hong Kong. However, this ground breaking work of introducing Hong Kong poetry in Western language was done by a Hong Kong poet and scholar. Poetry in Hong Kong has been unduly neglected for a long time, the recognition and proper anthology of works by Hong Kong poets are overdue. One must worry that now Hong Kong is handed back to China, the canonization of literary works may be influenced by political dogmas of the Communists. It is unlikely that an outspoken poet like Dai Tian will stay in Hong Kong. Indeed, Hong Kong is experiencing a drastic change in its historical direction, and no doubt this will leave its hallmark on Hong Kong poetry.

Poetry Anthologies:

In the early 80s, the Joint Publishing Co. (H.K.) published a series of twenty volumes of works under the title 'Overseas Chinese writers series'. One of these volumes was called

Anthology of Poetry from Overseas Chinese Writers (*Haiwai huaren zuojia shixuan*) published in 1983. (112) First of all, the naming of the anthology is dubious. One had to be a writer or author before one could write poems. Secondly, it would be more appropriate if the anthology was renamed Anthology of New Poetry from Chinese Sojourners in America (*Jumei huaren xinshixuan*). The fact was that most of these poets had been living in the United States for more than forty years or half their lives. Thirdly, the 20 poets selected in the anthology mostly came from Taiwan and some of them were little known. There seemed to be certain hidden guidelines and criteria in the selection of the poets, which produced an unbalanced and incomplete picture. It is notable that most of these overseas poets obtained their first degree in Taiwan and then a post-graduate degree in the United States. Afterwards, all of them continued to live and lecture in universities in the United States. (113) It is sad that to date there has been no anthology of Hong Kong poetry or literary history of Hong Kong published by a Hong Kong publisher.

The first and most comprehensive anthology of Hong Kong poetry, the Anthology of Contemporary Hong Kong Poetry (*Xianggang dangdai shixuan*), was published in 1989. (114) This was mainly the effort of cooperation between a young Hong Kong poet and scholar Chen Dejin and a Mainland scholar Yao Xueli (1949-). The anthology included a total of 92 poets and 277 poems. 99% of the poems were written and first published in Hong Kong between the years 1950-86. Nearly all the major poets within the period were included, but a lot more poets like Li Su, Yi Jin (1913-1992), Chow Tse-tsung (Zhou Cezong, 1916-), Xu Su, Xiahou Wuji (Qi Huan, 1930-), Hong Ye (1934-), Kunnan, Shi Shangyong (1944-), Lu Ya, Wu Xuanren, Mian Xin (1947-), Huai Yuan, Ruan Zhixiong (Yuen Che-hung, Wu Lu, 1953-), Guo Danian (Xi Meng, Shan Mu), and many others who published in magazines like 70s Biweekly, Morning Bell (*Chen zhong*) etc., should also have been considered and included. (115) Moreover, the Anthology of Contemporary Hong Kong Poetry was not well edited, the name of the most promising Hong Kong budding poet Zhong Weimin was misprinted as Zhong Weiming both in the table of contents and under the poem itself. Furthermore, Zhong was born in Macao and raised in Hong Kong, and not, as stated in the book, born in Hong Kong. In one of the poems written by Qi Ling, 'Thanks to Pui-yee' (*Xie Peier*), the last 22 lines were missed out. (116) Finally, there might still be some argument as to whether the selected poems best represented the 92 poets. However, this anthology is still recommendable, and is the only existing anthology of contemporary Hong Kong poetry up to the present.

Having briefly examined Anthology of Poetry from Overseas Chinese Writers and Anthology of Contemporary Hong Kong Poetry, we now look into the problems created by the Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry edited and translated by Michelle Yeh (Xi Mi) in 1992. (117) First of all, there are some minor mistakes in the biographies of the poets. The death year of Hu Shi should be 1962 instead of 1963. (118) The poet Zhang Cuo was born in Macao and raised in Hong Kong, and not as Yeh said born in Hong Kong. (119) The birth years of some Mainland poets were also incorrect. Jiang He's should be 1952 instead of 1949, Wang Xiaolong's should be 1954 instead of 1955, Zhai Yongming's should be 1955 instead of 1952 and Liang Xiaobin's should be 1955 instead of 1954. (120) The more serious problems lie in the representation of Hong Kong poetry in Yeh's anthology. The anthology was a collection of poems from the 1910s to 1980s, including poets in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. However, out of the 66 selected poets, how many of them were from Hong Kong? In the whole collection, there is not one poet who is indisputably a Hong Kong poet. Wen Jianliu grew up in Hong Kong and graduated from National Zhengzhi University in Taiwan. In 1968 he attended the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa. Wen returned to Hong Kong in 1974 and later taught at the University of Hong Kong. He died of nasal carcinoma in 1976. However, the 3 selected poems of Wen were all written in America, and after all, it is arguable whether Wen was the most representative Hong Kong poet of the period. There were a further 6 poets who could be related to Hong Kong, though some of them only remotely or very recently related. Dai Wangshu lived intermittently in Hong Kong between 1938-1948, perhaps because he would never agree to be a permanent resident of Hong Kong. Yu Guangzhong is now living in Taiwan since his retirement from the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1985. Ye Weilian was born in Guangdong and raised in Hong Kong. He participated in the literary activities in Hong Kong as early as 1955. Ye is now teaching at the University of California, San Diego. Zhang Cuo's situation was similar to that of Ye Weilian, but Zhang's poems were all written and published in Taiwan and United States. Yang Mu was born in Hualian, Taiwan, and only taught for a brief period in the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology in 1991. Fang Ezhen (1954-) was born in Malaysia and studied in Taiwan. Fang moved to Hong Kong in the early 80s, and since then she has not published many poems. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Yu Guangzhong, Ye Weilian, Zhang Cuo and Yang Mu will settle down in Hong Kong. Michelle Yeh's book extracted a lot of basic materials from the 2 volumes of Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry (*Zhongguo xiandai shixuan*) edited by

Yang Mu and Zheng Shusen in 1989. (121) In Yang and Zheng's anthology, apart from Wen Jianliu, the following Hong Kong poets were also included: Shu Xiangcheng, Dai Tian, Gu Cangwu, Guan Mengnan, Liang Bingjun, He Furen and Zhong Weimin.

In 1995, Andrew Parkin edited an English anthology including mainly translated Chinese poetry by Hong Kong poets, the Poems From the Bluest Part of the Harbour. (122) The anthology was a mixed bag of Chinese poets. Among the 12 selected poets, Louise Ho Shew-wan, Yuen Che-hung and Juliette Chen (Trn Ngoc Linh) wrote in English. Juliette Chen was based in San Francisco, Yu Kwang-chung lived in Taiwan, both Woo Kwok-yin and Laurence Wong had emigrated to Australia and Canada respectively and only returned to the colony recently. Wu Xubin was well-known for her fiction, therefore the inclusion of her translated and only prose-poem in the anthology was debatable. This can be seen as a last effort to introduce the poetry of Hong Kong to the Western world before 1997.

According to Lin Huanzhang, a Taiwanese poet and scholar, Hong Kong was regarded politically as an 'overseas free region' (*haiwai ziyou diqu*). Taiwan writers had been in the habit of regarding any Chinese community that was not ruled by the Communists as a free region. Based on rough statistics covering the main publishers in Hong Kong, Lin estimated that there were only 76 individual collections published between 1950-74. (123) This worked out to a mere 3 volumes of poetry published each year. Goh Thean Chye (Wu Tiancai), Professor of Chinese Studies at the University of Malaya, recorded a total of 133 individual collections published in Hong Kong between 1950-79. (124) However, there were 9 collections, written by Liu Bannong (1891-1934), Bing Xin, Zang Kejia, Ai Qing, Yu Guangzhong and Ya Xian (1932-), which did not have any connection with Hong Kong. This worked out at about 4 volumes of poetry published each year. Although these statistics were incomplete, they did reflect the lack of a commercial market for poetry in Hong Kong throughout those years.

Quantitatively, Hong Kong lagged behind their counterparts in Taiwan and the Mainland in publication of poetry collections. (125) Interestingly, a large number of poetry collections by Hong Kong poets were published by Taiwan publishers in the 70s and 80s, and since the late 80s, some Mainland Chinese publishers have also begun to publish works by Hong Kong poets and Dai Tian was among the first of these. From this it can be deduced that Taiwan enjoyed a wider readership in modern poetry in the 70s and 80s. While in the late 80s, more selected works of Hong Kong writers were published in the

PRC. This can be seen, politically, as an ulterior motive prior to the return of the colony in 1997. Dai Tian's 1st collection of poetry Debate on Rugged Mountain (*Goulou shan lunbian*) was published in 1980 (126), and the 2nd collection of poetry, The Research of the Stone (*Shitou de yanjiu*), was published in 1987 (127), both in Taiwan. The 3rd collection, An Anthology of Dai Tian's Poetry (*Dai Tian shixuan*), was published in Mainland China in 1987. (128)

It is most interesting to note that in the highly commercialized and successful city of Hong Kong, the publishing of poetry is so difficult. A lot of poets have to finance the publication of their own poetry anthologies. Under these circumstances, the study of Dai Tian's poetry will also shed light on the poet's struggles in a commercialized city. Although Dai Tian's poetry had been anthologized by Mainland Chinese publishers as early as 1987, it is unlikely that his poetry will continue to enjoy the same attention after 1997. The role and contribution of Dai Tian as a Hong Kong poet will be discussed in chapter 4. I shall begin with the life of Dai Tian in chapter 2.

Chapter 2

The Life of Dai Tian

In this chapter, my account of the life of Dai Tian is mainly based on an interview with Dai Tian held on 9.1.1992 in Hong Kong. Supplementary materials were extracted from Dai Tian's writings and information obtained from other available sources. I shall begin with a brief introduction of Dai Tian's parents, followed by his life in Mauritius, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Dai Tian's Parents: Dai Yi and Li Bixia

Dai Tian's father was called Dai Yi. He was a native of Jiaying Village, Meixian Prefecture, Guangdong Province. In his early twenties, Dai Yi was appointed headmaster of the Dabu County secondary school of Meixian Prefecture. Because there were a number of Hakka generals like Wu Qiwei (1890-1953) and Luo Zhuoying (1896-1961) from Meixian Prefecture in the Kuomintang (Guomintang) army, they invited Dai Yi to join the army, taking charge of the secretarial duties. (1) Dai Yi was the Chief of Staff of the 87th Army of the Kuomintang. In the winter of 1944, Dai Yi had to command a battle against the Japanese in Dushan, Guizhou Province. It was a very famous battle in which the Kuomintang defeated the Japanese, stopping their advancement into Sichuan Province. (2) After the war with the Japanese, Dai Yi was Secretary to Wu Qiwei who became the Head of Hunan Province. Dai Tian said his father was an upright and honest official. The salary of a middle ranking Kuomintang official at that time was not very high, so their family standard of living was only mediocre and sometimes the family would encounter a bit of difficulty. (3) After the changeover from the Kuomintang government to the Communist government, Dai Yi and his whole family moved to Hong Kong in 1949. Later, Dai Yi and his wife moved to Sumatra, Indonesia, where they set up primary and secondary schools. In 1950, there were some 250,000 pupils studying in Chinese schools in Indonesia. (4) However, due to the coup d'état and ethnic resentment against

the Chinese in 1965, Dai Yi and his wife had to flee Indonesia. (5) Dai Yi died around 1982. (6)

Dai Tian's mother was called Li Bixia. She was born in the early 1910s in Mauritius. Li Bixia's father was then the wealthiest Chinese in Mauritius. She returned to China to receive her primary, secondary and university education, and graduated from a university in Shanghai. Li Bixia met and married Dai Yi in China. She gave birth to four children; Dai Tian was the eldest, with one brother and two sisters. She moved to Sumatra with her husband after 1949, and assisted her husband in establishing several schools and also took up some teaching duties. Later, due to the expulsion of the Chinese from Indonesia in 1965, she emigrated to Canada, and settled down in Taiwan in her later years. However, she must have traveled extensively, and lived in the United States in 1993. (7) Li Bixia died in early 1997 in Taiwan. In Dai Tian's eulogy to his mother, he said his mother married her husband in a liberal courtship and marriage. Although she kept in touch with her family throughout her life, she never asked for any favours from them. Dai Tian's mother never formally worked in her life, but she had a real way with money. Despite the relatively low income Dai Yi earned as a middle ranking Kuomintang officer, she managed to maintain a proper standard of living for the family, and all her children received a good education. Apart from pre-arranging her own funeral expenses, she also saved up a substantial fortune in her last years. A large part of Li Bixia's legacy was bequeathed to charities, and the interest generated from the remainder was given to her children. (8)

Dai Tian said that it would be extremely difficult to trace a complete picture of his family tree. Dai Tian's mother was legally married to his father, but Dai Tian guessed that his father might have had another wife and children in his native village. However, as Dai Tian's father has been dead for a considerable time it would be very difficult to gather information about his life. (9)

Dai Tian: From China to Mauritius 1937-1957

Dai Tian was born in 1937 in the village of Jiaying, Meixian Prefecture, Guangdong Province. (10) Dai Tian's original name was Dai Chengyi to commemorate the righteous war against the Japanese invasion. 'Chengyi' came from a quotation of the patriotic

Prime Minister (*chengxiang*) of the Southern Song Dynasty, Wen Tianxiang (1236-1283): ‘*Kongyue chengren, Mengyue quyì*’ (Confucius said to die for a righteous cause and Mencius said to defend a just cause). (11) ‘Chengyi’ had the literal connotation of ‘*chengren quyì*’ (dying for righteousness and defending justice) implying a sacrifice for the country in the righteous war against the Japanese invasion.

During the eight years of war against the Japanese, Dai Tian was in his infancy, and he could not remember much of the details of life during the war. However, the impression of the horrendous wars and the atrocity of the Japanese army was vividly imprinted on his mind. During the difficult years of defending against the Japanese, they were on the move frequently. Family members of Kuomintang officers stayed in the safe enclaves between Hunan, Hubei, Shaanxi and Sichuan provinces. Dai Tian remembered that he had seen Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi, 1887-1975) when Chiang was addressing a military meeting in Enshi Prefecture, Hubei Province in 1943. (12) In the winter of 1944, when Dai Tian’s father was engaged in battle far away with the Japanese in Dushan, Dai Tian lived with his mother in a small mountainous town, Yongsui in *Xiangxi* (Western Hunan Province), where Dai Tian also remembered a snowfall. (13) After the Chinese victory in the war against the Japanese in 1945, Dai Tian studied at the Pei Zheng Primary school in Guangzhou.

Dai Tian remembered that between the years 1946-49, his father Dai Yi was Secretary to the Governor of Hunan Province. When the Kuomintang Government disarmed the Japanese army in Changsha, the capital city of Hunan Province, all the children, including Dai Tian, sang spiteful songs and jeered at the Japanese. This happened again in 1950 when Dai Tian was on the ship to Mauritius, he and his Chinese companions adapted some ditties to pour scorn on the Japanese children who were also on the ship with their families migrating to Brazil to start a new life. Dai Tian remembered that the children of the winning countries in the Second World War could stroll in the city of Singapore when disembarked from the ship, but the ship’s captain announced that the children of the defeated countries, like Japan, would not be allowed to land. (14) In late 1949, being the eldest son in his family and the favourite grandson, Dai Tian moved from China to Mauritius with his grandmother on board the Dutch passenger ship ‘Ross’ (*Luo si*) owned by the shipping company Java (*Zha hua*). The passenger ship embarked from Hong Kong and Dai Tian, in the 60s, wrote an article about passing by Singapore and Vietnam in the year 1950. (15)

Mauritius is an island situated in the Indian Ocean and east of Africa. It was a Dutch colony from 1589-1712, a French colony from 1715-1810, and an English colony from 1810-1968. Mauritius finally became independent in 1968. English and French are the two official languages. In the old capital Curepipe, there were hotels named 'Shanghai' and 'Hong Kong'. There was a substantial China Town in the capital, Port Louis. (16) In the 1950s, Dai Tian's uncle Li Zida (-1985?), known to local people as Lai Fat-fu, was the wealthiest Chinese in Mauritius. They lived at Port Louis. Li Zida was regarded as a sort of patriotic overseas Chinese leader, the de facto Chinese Ambassador to Mauritius. (17) Dai Tian studied from primary 6 to the 6th form in Mauritius. He was taught in both Chinese and French. Although, Dai Tian did not have the opportunity to converse in French in later years, he can still read French reasonably well. Apart from English, Dai Tian speaks Mandarin, Cantonese and Hakka. Dai Tian attained a liberal education in Mauritius. He could read books by Russian writers, Chinese writers and any Western writers. Dai Tian's uncle and aunt and family members were all intellectuals and they had a rich collection of books including contemporary Chinese writings since 1911. Dai Tian could also watch soccer matches, and attended the opera season. Dai Tian said Mauritius had inherited the French tradition of great respect for intellectuals. They ornamented the statues of writers in the parks and public squares. In one of the villages they even exhibited all the characters in *Pêcheurs d'Islande* written by Pierre Loti (1850-1923) in 1886. Mauritius had its unique atmosphere of culture and was a popular tourist spot. The governmental structure of Mauritius was also influenced by the parliamentary system of the British, in which they adopted two party, free elections. Dai Tian said that he did not understand their arguments, and that politics was not at the top of his agenda at the time. However, the prevailing political climate cultivated and enhanced Dai Tian's belief in democracy and freedom. While Dai Tian was studying in primary 6 in 1950, he also received intensive tutorials in French from his family tutor. The tutor used to compare Dai Tian to the extinct large bird the dodo which once existed in Mauritius, because Dai Tian was so slow in learning French that, if he did not catch up, one day he would become extinct as well. This vivid comparison inspired Dai Tian and his classmates to visit a specimen of a dodo in the local museum. (18) From Dai Tian's own writings, we know that at the age of 17 he was interested in reading writers like William Shakespeare (1564-1616) and John Milton (1608-1674). (19) Dai Tian rambled in the gardens and on the seashore, and sat on the marble staircase of his grandmother's graveyard reciting poetry. At this age, he especially loved and quoted the poetry of Paul Eluard (1895-1952). (20)

This perhaps demonstrates Dai Tian's interest in modernist poetry in his early years. When Dai Tian was studying in secondary school, he was a contributor to the local China Daily (*Zhonghua ribao*). In order to practise his Chinese, Dai Tian attempted to write poetry, fiction, drama, criticism and to translate. Apart from contributing articles to the local newspaper and magazines, Dai Tian also had one of his poems published in Hong Kong in 1956. I shall discuss this poem, 'The Chirps of the Swallows' (*Yanyu*), further in chapter 3. In 1957, Dai Tian went to Taiwan to receive his university education.

From Mauritius to Taiwan: 1957-1961

In the 50s and 60s, the United States and its Western allies were engaged in cold war with the Communist bloc of countries. The American policy was to blockade and isolate Mainland China from Taiwan. However, a fairly large number of overseas Chinese, especially those who lived in the Far East, were attracted by the aspirations of the new-born Red China. After the Communist take-over in 1949, a lot of overseas Chinese returned to China to study. In order to counteract the return of overseas Chinese to Mainland China, the American Government financed overseas Chinese students to further their studies in Taiwan, a non-Communist Chinese territory. Under these political circumstances, Dai Tian was awarded an American Government scholarship to study medicine, but soon transferred to Western Languages and Literature, at National Taiwan University in 1957.

In 1957, the standard of living in Taiwan was very low. Dai Tian received US\$40 scholarship money per month, which was equivalent to \$240 Taiwan currency at the time. Dai Tian, like many other overseas students, would have had his meals prepared by the cookshops opposite to the National Taiwan University campus. Although he lived in the International Student's Hostel, he also reserved a bedsit in the National Taiwan University Student's Hostel, because it was free. Each room in the National Taiwan University Student's Hostel accommodated 8 students. One of Dai Tian's room-mates was an overseas student from Hong Kong called Yu Yushu (1937-). (21) Yu Yushu wrote poems and was one class senior to Dai Tian. Yu organized the Oceanic Poetry Society (*Haiyang shishe*), and appointed himself the chief editor of the publication Oceanic

Poetry (Haiyang shikan). The Oceanic Poetry was subsidized by the Overseas Chinese Committee of the Taiwan Government. (22)

National Taiwan University had inherited the liberal spirit of Beijing University before 1949. Students could drop in and drop out of the lectures at will. Dai Tian soon changed subject from medicine to Western literature. His academic results were very good, and he used to have an average mark of over 80%. The University had excellent library facilities. If students wanted to study existentialism or modernism, they could easily order books through the librarian. They could also obtain discounts from the Dunhuang Bookstore situated at Zhongshan Sanlu. Therefore, they could follow the latest books and magazines overseas. Apart from catching up with modern life, they also had to catch up with the different strands of contemporary thinking. Dai Tian said that, because he was born in Mainland China and brought up in Mauritius, he had easy access to the literary works of the May 4th tradition. As I had mentioned earlier, Dai Tian's uncle had a private library with a rich collection of books, including modern Chinese writings. However, native Taiwanese writers like Ye Shan who was born in Hualian in 1940, were deprived of the opportunities to read most of the literary works published in Mainland China in the 30s and 40s.

If Dai Tian had gone to America, then he might have written in English, or in French if he had gone to live in France. It was destiny that brought him to Taiwan. He recalled that there were a lot of brilliant scholars and students in the Department of Western Languages and Literature at National Taiwan University in his time. Many of his contemporaries have become internationally famous writers and scholars. They were mostly comrades associated with the magazine Modern Literature (Xiandai wenxue), which included Liu Shaoming (Joseph S.M. Lau, 1934-), Bai Xianyong (1937-), Ye Weilian, Chen Ruoxi (Chen Xiumei, 1938-), Wang Wenxing (1939-), Ouyang Zi (1939-), Li Oufan (Leo Ou-fan Lee, 1939-) and others. (23) Modern Literature was an important chapter in the development of modern Chinese literature. The aim of Modern Literature at the time was to explore ideas and techniques, but it was also seen as representative of the 'time' and the 'place'. It explored Western literary theories like existentialism and symbolism, but in the specific setting of the island of Taiwan and its regime in the 60s and 70s. When Modern Literature resumed publication in 1977, Dai Tian wrote that literature was not isolated and should be related to the whole of human thinking, sentiment and life. Indeed, he said that the rich sources from the roots of Chinese culture should not be

forgotten. (24) The success of the writers under the banner Modern Literature was all related to Xia Ji'an who was then lecturing on the history of English literature at National Taiwan University. Xia Ji'an was also the publisher of the magazine Literary Review. Xia was a great scholar who believed in liberal education.

At the time, students were allowed to refer to books, or even went to the library to copy during examinations. On one occasion Dai Tian went to the library to copy some passages but changed a few words. As a result, his original mark of 90 was downgraded to 80. Sometimes, the examination questions were open questions. The 20,000 word short story 'Uncle Qinzhi' (*Qinzhi jiujiu*) by Chen Ruoxi was first a piece of homework. Then it was presented as an examination paper, and finally published in the Literary Review. (25) During that era the caliber of some of the students at National Taiwan University was exceedingly high, even higher than that of many of the lecturers. Students like Li Ao (1935), Li Yuanzhe (Lee Yuan-tseh, 1936) and Li Oufan later became extremely gifted intellectuals. (26)

Dai Tian, Dai Chengyi's pen-name, first appeared in Taiwan in 1959 when the poem 'Things Perceived Under the Eyes' (*Yan di*) was published in Literary Review. (27) From then onwards, the pen-name Dai Tian was widely used and becoming popular, therefore the real name of Dai Tian was seldom mentioned. However, the pen-name 'Dai Tian' led to a lot of controversy and interpretation in later years. The origin of Dai Tian's pen-name was due to his own misreading and ignorance when he was in Mauritius. In the 50s, people often used pen-names when contributing articles to newspapers and magazines, and Dai Tian got his pen-name from a misquotation when reading Sima Qian (c. 145-c. 85 B.C.). (28) Furthermore, Dai Tian's pen-name had nothing to do with the proverb '*bugong daitian*' (not living under the same sky), which had the literal meaning of the filial son revenging the killing of his father. The contemporary use of '*bugong daitian*' created further ambiguity in Dai Tian's pen-name. Very often, when people were talking about '*daitian*', they would automatically apply the antecedent '*bugong*'. 'Bu' means 'no' or 'anti', and 'gong' means 'together', but in this contemporary context, 'gong' could be the abbreviation for '*Gongchandang*' (Communist Party). Therefore, the pen-name, Dai Tian, could be regarded as anti-Communist. However, Dai Tian pointed out that although he regarded himself as an honest and moral writer in criticizing social injustice, he had never dreamt of using his pen-name as a representation of a political stance. Dai Tian did not want to carry a name meaning 'anti-Party, anti-Socialism' which

might be liable to attract an accusation of treason when the Communist Party rules Hong Kong in 1997. (29) However, this alternative interpretation of Dai Tian's pen-name, though unintentional according to Dai Tian himself, is not devoid of meaning when seen in the light of his writings which severely criticized the Communist regime in China.

Upon graduation from the Department of Western Languages and Literature at National Taiwan University in 1961, Dai Tian settled down in Hong Kong where he continues to use Dai Tian as his favourite pen-name.

A Prolonged Stay: Hong Kong 1961-?

When Dai Tian settled down in Hong Kong in 1961, he began his long services to the American Government from 1961-1982, and in the American company, The Reader's Digest, from 1982-1990. After some extensive travelling in the early 90s, Dai Tian has worked on a Hong Kong based publication Hong Kong Economic Journal Monthly (*Xinbao caijing yuekan*) from 1993 up until now.

From 1961-1964, Dai Tian taught as a secondary school teacher at the YMCA school in Waterloo Road in Kowloon. At the same time, he also worked part-time for the Voice of America. Dai Tian taught translation in school, and sometimes the students would ask Dai Tian to teach them some French. The teaching experience enabled Dai Tian to write a column 'Teacher's Notes' (*Jiaoshi shouji*) in the Chinese Student's Weekly using the pen-name He Zhen. The Voice of America in Hong Kong was part of the establishment of the American Embassy in Hong Kong. Dai Tian's duties included news 'monitoring' of English and Chinese radio broadcasts from Mainland China. (30)

The United States Information Services in Hong Kong: 1964-1982

In 1964, Dai Tian took up the full-time post of editor for the United States Information Services (USIS) which was also part of the American Embassy establishment in Hong Kong. When Xia Ji'an and Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965) died in 1965, Dai Tian eulogized their deaths. Xia Ji'an died in the USA, but his work of bridging Western and Chinese literature was highly praised by Dai Tian. Xia's research on the leftist literary

movement in China, collected in the book The Gate of Darkness published in 1968, was regarded by Dai Tian as an enlightening work. (31) Dai Tian also paid great tribute to the theologian, medical missionary and organist, Albert Schweitzer, regarding Schweitzer's humanist deeds as having greater meaning than the works and acts of Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), Winston Churchill (1874-1965), Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) and Albert Camus (1913-1960). (32) In 1967, Dai Tian received a research grant from the State Department of the American Government to attend the International Writing Program at Iowa University. Dai Tian was granted two years of study leave from USIS. In 1968, Dai Tian was awarded an MA degree. On his way back from Iowa in 1968, Dai Tian lived for 3 months in London in a small hotel in the Westbourne area near Hyde Park. He returned to Hong Kong on 10th July 1968. (33) Because the two years study leave had not expired yet, Dai Tian worked in a public relations company Fletchers & Robertson for some months. He resumed his duties in the USIS at the end of 1968.

Dai Tian worked as a full time editor of the World-today Press financed by USIS for 18 years. His duties included selection, and translation into Chinese, of American publications. These books mainly concentrated on American civilization and culture, including how the United States was founded, and democracy in America and contemporary American literature. (34) Dai Tian himself was fond of the writings of Saul Bellow (1915-) and John Updike (1932-) (35) He also translated the Selection of Katherine Anne Porter's Short Stories (*Bote duanpian xiaoshuoxuan*) by Katherine Anne Porter (1890-1980) and Saul Bellow's Henderson the Rain King (*Yuwang Handexun*). (36) All these books were edited bilingually in Chinese and English. In order to edit and publish them, he had to do a lot of in-depth research. Dai Tian said this was a job providing free reading and education. From the critique and prose writings of Dai Tian at this time, we can see that he read extensively, including works by Dostoyevsky, Zola, Rilke, James Joyce, Kafka (1883-1924), the Spanish writer Salvador de Madariaga (1886-1978), the British writer and scientist Charles Percy Snow (1905-1980), Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, the Italian poet and novelist Cesare Pavese (1908-1950), the Chinese poet Zheng Chouyu and the fiction writer Bai Xianyong, as well as many others. (37) When Dai Tian was promoted to the post of chief editor, he had the authority to select books for translation and publication. Dai Tian said he built up walls with books on his extra large-sized desk in his office so he did not have to say a word to anybody if he did not want to. In 1970, the American Government decided unilaterally to return the 'Diaoyutai' to the Japanese Government which sparked world-wide protests by the Chinese. On the

afternoon of 18th February 1971 (38), Dai Tian with his colleague Dong Qiao (1942-) who was also working at the USIS, left their office inside the America Embassy at Garden Road, Central, Hong Kong to demonstrate against the American Government outside the American Embassy during their lunch break. This was an extremely bold move in the early 70s in colonial Hong Kong for an American Government civil servant to protest against governmental policy in public. However, Dai Tian and Dong Qiao were not reprimanded by USIS on this occasion. Some of Dai Tian's American bosses welcomed the idea of their employees being active and famous in the cultural fields. However, from time to time, when Dai Tian's supervisors in the USIS threatened to refuse Dai Tian permission to continue his newspaper column writing as an outside job unless he was prepared to conform, Dai Tian had to change his pen-name, the name of the column and even the layout and position of the column altogether.

Apart from winning the poetry competition organized by the Hong Kong Modern Arts and Literature Association in 1963, (39) Dai Tian edited and published the first ever modern Chinese poetry magazine Stylistic Poetry Page in Hong Kong in 1966. (40) In the mid 60s, Dai Tian used to live with a group of intellectuals including Hu Juren (1933-) and Lu Li (1938-) in Prince Edward Road (*Taizi Dao*) in Kowloon. The place was regarded as a sort of commune for intellectuals, which they named '*Aihuaaju*' (China-lover's Cottage). They lived together and shared the rent, and formed themselves as an intellectual ally. Together, the residents of *Aihuaaju* and their associates formed the 'Pan Ku Society' (*Pan gu she*) and published the magazine Pan Ku Magazine on 12th March 1967. The name '*Pan gu*', the first human being living in Chinese cosmogony, who chiselled out the earth in 18,000 years, was chosen by Dai Tian. In October 1968, they also established the '*Chuangjian xueyuan*' (Academy of Creation and Development). Hu Juren was responsible for supervising a course on literary criticism. While Dai Tian was inspired by the writing program he attended at Iowa University, he also invited Gu Cangwu to run a poetry workshop with him. (41) The workshop was highly successful and raised the profile of a batch of young poets. From 1968 onwards, the Pan Ku Magazine officially supported the movement 'Make Chinese an Official Language' in Hong Kong. (42) Dai Tian also demonstrated in a rally in support of the movement.

While Dai Tian was living at Prince Edward Road, Kowloon in the 60s, he had already shown his interest in, and passion for describing, city lives. In his writings, he made use of characteristics of places and streets, and how people behaved. At home, Dai Tian

listened to 'The Song of the Earth', a composition which was inspired from classical Chinese poems, by Gustav Mahler (1860-1911). (43) While he was watching the tides and the crowds at Tsimshatsui Pier (*Jianshazui matou*), which is the tip of the Kowloon Peninsula, he would often quote the simple and catchy lyrics of 'Blowing in the Wind', which represented the revival of American folk songs and championed the cause of civil rights, written and sung by Bob Dylan (1941-) in 1962. The lovers' lanes in Kowloon Tong (*Jiulongtang*) near where Dai Tian lived were familiar to him. He would ramble to Public Square Street (*Gongzhong sifang jie*) in Yaumatei (*Youmadi*) where performances of traditional Chinese culture and fortune telling stalls were held. Dai Tian also passed by Mongkok (*Wangjiao*) district in between Tsimshatsui, Yaumatei and Kowloon Tong, where he came across Chinese tea houses like 'King Wah' (*Qiong hua*) and 'Lung Fung' (*Long feng*), superstores like 'Sincere' (*Xian shi*) which had its origin in Shanghai before 1949, and the 'Sun Wah' emporium (*Xin hua*) which specialized in Chinese products and was run by the PRC. (44) During the property market boom of the 80s and 90s, long established traditional Chinese tea houses like 'King Wah' and 'Lung Fung' were gradually closed down. After the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong to the PRC in July 1997, a lot of these places and streets which bear colonial memories, like Prince Edward Road and King's Road, are likely to be renamed. Dai Tian's writings about the city lives of Hong Kong in the 60s will remain as material for research into the history of the city.

It is interesting to note that, unlike his poetry anthology, both of Dai Tian's collections of prose were published in Hong Kong. His first collection of prose, Occasional Essays (*Wumingji*), was published by the Union Press in 1970. (45) This was the first collection of Dai Tian's prose writings each of approximately 1,200 words written in Hong Kong in the 60s. The first section had a total of 30 articles surrounding the themes of culture, philosophy and the situation of overseas Chinese intellectual living in Hong Kong. The topics included death, color discrimination, music, sex, political refugees and Hong Kong. Sections 2 and 3 each contained 15 articles. Section 2 mainly concentrated on the experiences of Dai Tian's early life in China, Mauritius and also in Hong Kong. This section gives readers valuable information concerning the early life of Dai Tian living in China, Mauritius and Hong Kong which he does not elaborate much further in later writings. Section 3 also includes 15 articles. These are on commentary and comparative literature, both in Chinese and world literature, including an analysis of the works of Nobel Prize literature winners Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972) and George



(1900-1971), comparison between James Joyce and Bai Xianyong, discussions on the works of Robert Frost (1874-1963), Salvador de Madariaga, Lillian Hellman (1905-1984), Cesare Pavese, Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986), Xia Ji'an and others.

When the magazine *The Perspective* (*Nanbeiji*) was founded on 1.1.1971, Dai Tian wrote a column 'Talks on Mending the Sky' (*Butiantan*) of 500 to 800 words from the first issue until March 1972. The title of the column originated from the legend of Nu Wa, and related to the novel *A Dream of the Red Mansions* (*Honglou meng*) by Cao Xueqin (1715-1763). I shall further explore the relationship between *A Dream of the Red Mansions* and Dai Tian's poem 'The Story of the Stone' (*Shitouji*) in chapter 4. In the 1st issue, Dai Tian wrote 'On the Death of Yukio Mishima' (*Guanyu Sandao Youjifu zhi si*). When the Japanese novelist and playwright Yukio Mishima (1925-1970) committed hara-kiri as a protest against the weakness of postwar Japan in 1970, Dai Tian commented that Mishima's hara-kiri was a reflection of the revival of Japanese militarism, though it was not orchestrated by the Japanese Imperialists. Furthermore, Dai Tian commented that suicide was not an act of beauty, there were many better ways to demonstrate a person's patriotism and accomplishment (46). In the 2nd issue, Dai Tian introduced the works of the 'Flux' school poet, Emmett Williams. In his article 'Fish Write "Poetry" in Clear Water' (*Shuiqing yu xie "shi"*), Dai Tian discussed the problems created by the school of 'Flux' or 'Concrete Poetry' which visually conveys the poet's meaning through the graphic arrangement of letters, words, or symbols on the page. The American poet, Emmett Williams, was holding an exhibition of fish writing poetry in a museum in Cologne, West Germany. The exhibition consisted of a huge fish tank containing 26 fish, each given an English letter from A to Z. When the fish moved, numerous combinations of words were formed randomly, and the person who was watching the movement of the fish could make up poetry accordingly. Dai Tian joked that because the fish were moving so quickly the watcher had to computerize the poems written by the fish. Dai Tian was highly skeptical about the artistic merits of this school of poems and its so-called 'poets' (47). In the 3rd issue, Dai Tian commented on air pollution in Hong Kong in the article 'My Nose' (*Wo de bizi*) (48). In the 4th issue, it was an article on 'The Feelings of Vegetation' (*Zhiwu de ganjue*) (49). In the 5th issue, he introduced an article written by Leon Slaweki proving that Chinese coolies were not employed by the French in the expedition to Madagascar in 1895. (50) In Dai Tian's article, 'The Article on "Coolies"' (*Kuli' de wenzhang*), he severely criticized the PRC for sending Chinese laborers against their will to assist African countries like Tanzania to build railways in the 60s (51). In

issue 6, Dai Tian wrote a poem 'Under the Warm Blanket in Winter' (*Zai dongtian de beiwoli*) which was not published in his collections of poetry. In this poem, Dai Tian employed the imagery of the intermingling of the sun and the moon, and reading Mao Dun's novel 'Midnight' (*Ziye*, 1933) under the warm blanket in winter. The employment of Mao Dun's best-known novel, which describes the filth and corrupt of the commercialized life in Shanghai in the 30s, is to parade with the petit bourgeois mentality of the Hong Kong intellectuals in the 70s. (52). The last article Dai Tian published in the magazine The Perspective in 1972 was also a poem, 'A Piece of Diary' (*Riji yize*), which I shall further discuss in chapter 3. (53) Other contributors to The Perspective at the time included Sima Changfeng (1920-1980), Nie Hualing (1925-), Hu Jinquan (King Hu, 1931-1997), Hu Juren, Liu Shaoming and Li Oufan.

Dai Tian has also written a column for the newspaper Economic Journal Daily (*Xin bao*) since it started on 3rd July 1973. He first used the pen-name Zhong Daoguan to write the column 'Butianji' (Collections on Mending the Sky) which could be seen as a continuation of his column 'Butiantan' in The Perspective. Then Dai Tian changed his pen-name to Leng Jingrui while writing the column 'Zaokongtan' (Talks on Extending Territories), and currently he is writing the column 'Chenyoulu' (Records of Encountering) using his favourite pen-name Dai Tian in the Economic Journal Daily. Dai Tian said that there was no special meaning in the choice of these pen-names. However, the changes of pen-name and title of column could also reflect, to a certain extent, the tension between Dai Tian and his American supervisors when working in USIS. His American supervisors, when having grudges with Dai Tian, would threaten to prevent him writing his columns on newspapers and magazines. During the 24 years he has been writing his column in the Economic Journal Daily, Dai Tian has discussed various themes from civilization to literature, international politics, politics in Mainland China and Taiwan to the future of Hong Kong, from the research of the sinologists to the writings of the obscure school of poets, commentary on current affairs and his encountering of friendship among intellectuals, and many other topics. In a nutshell, Dai Tian uses his column as a 'public sphere' to carry out his duties and responsibilities as an overseas Chinese intellectual. A lot of people, including Dai Tian's readers and acquaintances, however, have said that Dai Tian's accounts of banquets and drinking parties with his literary circle were decadent and of no importance. Even well-known writers like Nie Hualing doubted the usefulness and contribution of columns consisting of only several hundred words. (54) Her son-in-law, Li Oufan, on the other hand wrote to Dai Tian in 1994 stating that

all these columns about eating and drinking could be regarded as maintaining the 'cultural sphere' (*wenhua kongjian*) in Hong Kong. (55) Li regarded all these details and recollection as the original material in the research of Hong Kong popular culture.

In the early 70s, Dai Tian lived at Broadcast Drive, Kowloon. Around 1975, he moved again and lived in Austin Road, Kowloon. In 1977, when Dai Tian was 40, he married Rosemary Leung (Liang Chun'er, 1938-). (56) They have no children. According to Dai Tian, the marriage was not a rational choice. When Dai Tian was in his late thirties, he developed a painful nose. It was first suspected of being a carcinoma. Rosemary had learnt acupuncture from her father, who was a famous traditional Chinese medical practitioner, and went to Dai Tian's home in Broadcast Drive every morning to heal his ailment with acupuncture. Dai Tian was so grateful he felt he could not repay her, but she suggested marriage to which he agreed. Dai Tian said that Rosemary loved him very much.

Apart from his half-hearted marriage, Dai Tian seems to enjoy and succeed in most aspects of his life. He was one of the panelists in the 3rd Youth Literary Awards co-organized by the Hong Kong University Student's Union and the Chinese University of Hong Kong Student's Union in 1974. From then on, Dai Tian was panelist and speaker for many literary awards and seminars organized by other student's unions and organizations. In September 1979, Dai Tian and his contemporaries published the Octagon Literary Journal (*Bafang wenyi congkan*). (57) On 15th-17th September 1979, Dai Tian attended the famous 'Chinese Weekend' organized by the International Writing Program of Iowa University. This was the first of such functions where writers of Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas met after 1949, (58) including Xiao Qian, Bi Shuowang (1918-) from Mainland China, Gao Zhun (1938-) from Taiwan, and over 30 well known Chinese literary figures from other parts of the world.

Dai Tian's 2nd collection of prose Dodo, the Bird (*Dudu zhezhong niao*) was published in 1980 by Su Yeh Publications. (59) The book was divided into 5 sections. Section 1 included 10 parables and short stories of between 500 and 3,000 words. Sections 2-5 included prose of approximately 800 words each. There were 18 articles in section 2 mainly on the theme of travelling, places visited by Dai Tian included villages in Mauritius, European cities, Japan and America. The 15 articles in section 3 cover Dai Tian's impressions and interpretation of painting, photography, language, music and arts. The 10 discursive essays in section 4 were related to the formation and accumulation of

culture, one of the essays 'The Story of May 4th (*Wusi de gushi*), was about the sigh of an old man on the 60th anniversary of the May 4th movement. (60) The 6 articles in section 5 were all about Italian cultural phenomena and poetry. Dai Tian praised the poetry of Luigi Pirandello (1867-1936), Ezra Pound (1885-1972), Eugenio Montale (1896-1981), Salvatore Quasimodo (1901-1968), Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922-1975) and the younger generation of Italian poets. Apart from Dai Tian's comparison of 'chamber poetry' (*Shinei shi*) and his invention of 'outdoor poetry' (*Shiwai shi*), he also compared the social environment and poetry writings of Hong Kong poets to their Italian counterparts. (61) Dai Tian argued that Italian poets like Pasolini wrote about the problems of industrialization in the cities, civil war and lives in big cities. They wrote from their concrete life experience and not from the empty talk of the salons. These were regarded as 'outdoor poetry'. Other poets like Montale did not compromise with the trendy taste of the readers, they used their own rhythm and style to reflect their lives and worries, but their precise description and forceful image can be defined as 'chamber poetry'. On the other hand, Dai Tian said that Hong Kong was a city in the shadow of China and foreign countries. Hong Kong writers wrote in the shadows. Hong Kong poets could not produce either the refined and delicate 'chamber poetry' or the magnificent 'outdoor poetry'. Many Hong Kong writers tried to conform with the capitalistic nature of the community, satisfying the laziness, dependence and sensory stimulation of the readers. These Hong Kong writers tried to pursue their own greatness in cultural vanity. However, most of these writers failed disastrously. (62)

In November 1981, Dai Tian and 28 of his contemporaries founded the Hong Kong Arts & Literature Association (*Xianggang wenxue yishu xiehui*), and Dai Tian was elected as chairman. (63) Since the inception of the Pai Shing Semi-monthly by Hu Juren in 1st June 1981, Dai Tian has contributed a series of short stories of about 1,000 words. These are all about strange happenings in Hong Kong communities. The style of writing is cynical and absurd. The 1st article 'Eating of Worm' (*Chichongji*), is about a Chinese gourmet encountering two senior Chinese people eating their delicious and nourishing worm in a restaurant. The 2nd article, 'Vending of Dreams' (*Yumengji*), is about a seller of dreams, but, as Hong Kong people are too busy buying shares, gold and property, no one was interested in buying his dreams. The 3rd article, 'Case of the Mysterious Corpses' (*Guaishi an*), is about the discovery of mysterious corpses in Hong Kong. The corpses had no eyes, ears, mouth and nose, but still had all four limbs and a brain. When the narrator of the story went to consult the doctor, he was told that he too did not have

any eyes, ears, mouth or nose. (64) The cynicism of the image of a face living in shadows without the five sense organs came from Dai Tian's poem 'Pose' (*Zaoxiang*) written in 1977. (65) The same image of shadows was also employed in Dai Tian's discussion on Italian 'outdoor poetry' mentioned above.

The Reader's Digest: 1982-1990

At the start of 1982, Dai Tian wrote a series of political fables, '1997: A Tale of Four Cities' (*Yijiu jiuqi sichengji*), under the pen-name 'Chen Xueluo' in *Bai xing shuangzhoukan* (*Pai Shing Semimonthly*). (66) These political fables were based on a description of the thoughts and inner feelings of the people living in the four cities most closely involved with the political changes in Hong Kong in the run up to 1997, London, Taipei, Beijing and Hong Kong. The writing style of Dai Tian's political fables was influenced by George Orwell's *1984*. In the 3rd episode, 'Beijing', Dai Tian described some privileged cadres in Beijing who enjoyed all the material wealth imported from Hong Kong, but whose minds were focused on their children living in the USA. This still seems to be valid for most of the senior Communist Party members in Mainland China. However, the rapid changes in public opinion and the political structure of Hong Kong, especially after the Tiananmen massacre in 1989, was not predicted by Dai Tian in 1982. Nevertheless, these political fables, published in early 1982, were the first of their kind to explore the fate and destiny of Hong Kong in the run up to 1997.

As early as 1982, Dai Tian began composing a long poem called the 'Glassy Marble' (*Boli danzi*). Dai Tian said that the world viewed from space looked like a marble, and this glassy marble is where human beings live. It will be a philosophical poem describing people familiar to the poet. The theme is the thoughts and attitudes of intellectuals under the influence of the event of 1997. Dai Tian has finished the first draft of this long poem, however, he misplaced it, but vows that he will never give up on this long poem, and some day he will see it published.

Dai Tian left USIS in early 1982. He insists that his subsequent employment with Reader's Digest had nothing to do with his aunt Lin Taiyi (1927-). Lin Taiyi was the daughter of Lin Yutang (1894-1976), and the chief editor of the Chinese edition of the *Reader's Digest* at the time. Lin was married to Dai Tian's uncle Li Ming (1920-). (67)

In fact, Dai Tian was recruited for Reader's Digest by a headhunter, following a two days interview. Dai Tian's wife and a Miss Ouyang, then the Librarian of USIS, encouraged him to apply for the job. Not until Dai Tian got the job did he know the company was Reader's Digest. At that time, the Reader's Digest was planning to publish a series of pocket-sized editions in Chinese, anticipating an immense market in the Far East. These pocket-sized editions had been very popular in America. While Dai Tian was working at Reader's Digest, the promotions department did not feel confident enough about the Taiwan market for translated books. And that the computer system was not yet ready, the series for the Taiwan market did not get off the ground during Dai Tian's period of employment. Dai Tian's title in the series department was Consultant Editor, there was also a post of Chief Editor. Dai Tian did not have a specific job description, so the situation was a bit baffling. During his stay at the Reader's Digest, Dai Tian set up 6 projects including one on medical health. These projects may have generated a profit of several million Hong Kong dollars for Reader's Digest.

When Dai Tian was working for Reader's Digest, all the staff welcomed his articles and columns being widely published outside Reader's Digest. During the June 4th Massacre, there was a full page in Reader's Digest in support of democracy in China, and the staff also faxed pro-democratic materials to organizations in China from the office. Amid typhoon and heavy storm, they marched on the streets of Hong Kong in solidarity with the Chinese student's movement. Dai Tian also participated in these street demonstrations. He left the Reader's Digest in 1990, the main reason for his early retirement was that the American Headquarters of Reader's Digest had decided to trim down expenses. However, Dai Tian was offered a very generous package including a pension.

Apart from working at the Reader's Digest, Dai Tian also engaged in numerous literary activities throughout the period. Since the inception of the literary magazine Unitas in Taiwan in November 1984, Dai Tian has been an editorial committee member. (68) On 30th June 1985, the newly established Centre for Promotion of Chinese Culture in Hong Kong (*Xianggang zhonghua wenhua cujin zhongxin*) organized a poetry reading of Dai Tian's poetry by Dai Tian himself. The recitation was convened by Ye Si and attended by over 100 poetry lovers. (69) In November 1986, Dai Tian accepted the invitation of the Chinese Writer's Association to visit China. Dai Tian was the leader of the literary delegation. The delegates included Huang Jichi (1938-), Lu Li and her husband Shi Qi

(1946-), Lu Weiluan, Guan Mengnan, Ye Si and his wife Wu Xubin, Hu Furen, Yan Zhanmin (1952-), Hu Yanqing, and Wang Renyun (1957-). They travelled extensively in Sichuan and Yunnan provinces and met Chinese writers like Ai Wu in Sichuan. (70) On 29th May to 2nd June 1987, Dai Tian was invited to speak at the International Literary Camp organized by the United Daily (*Lianhe zaobao*) and United Evening (*Lianhe wanbao*) in Singapore. Writers and critics from Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia and the United States were invited, including fiction writers Chen Yingzhen (1937-) and Huang Chunming (1939-) from Taiwan, Chen Rong (1936-) and Feng Jikai (1942-) from Mainland China. The topic of Dai Tian's speech was 'Poetry and Modern Society' (*Shi yu xiandai shehui*). Dai Tian first stressed the importance of the interrelationship between poetry and society, and then he applied the views of French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930-) to poetry. Poetry was not to be restricted by time, or bound by the text and that each individual should have a different interpretation when deconstructing poetry. Dai Tian said that the response from the audience to the literary talk was not very good. (71) Throughout the 80s, Dai Tian was interviewed on many occasions on air and in publications. The most penetrating interview was conducted by Du Jian (1935-), together with Huang Jichi (1938-), Gu Cangwu and Ye Si in 1985, which will be quoted when discussing Dai Tian's poetry in chapters 3 and 4. (72)

Another Chapter: 1990-1997

In 1990, Dai Tian travelled around Canada, the USA and Mexico for over a year. The year 1990 was a happy one for Dai Tian, he could do what he wished. Dai Tian said he was a man of the world, he could live anywhere in the world, and he was not addicted to Chinese food. He said he would not mind living in any part of the world, but he had to choose the area. In Canada, he favored the depressed province of Quebec where there were still traces of European continental culture. Toronto was too English. Dai Tian had had enough of colonialism and snobbishness under the rule of the Hong Kong Government. Toronto was too much like Hong Kong. Quebec is nearer to the great metropolis New York, and it also provides a stronger atmosphere for culture. Dai Tian lived there for 3 months in 1990. In Canada, Dai Tian had many cousins, they were mostly either engineers or medical doctors. When Dai Tian was in Toronto in 1990, his niece even invited him to officiate at the opening of her clinic. Dai Tian said that he did

not have a strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong, but he always saw things from the viewpoint of a third person, therefore he was very cool-headed when examining the problems faced by Hong Kong. A lot of people who were born and brought up in Hong Kong have an extremely strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong. Dai Tian says that whether a person is happy or not has very much to do with their own character. He says he himself is not a happy person. However, Dai Tian says that he has no regrets about his life. Dai Tian further says that the best recipe for good health was being optimistic, and being moderate in eating and drinking.

In January 1991, Dai Tian was interviewed by Zhao Weimin (1955-) of *Lianhe bao* on the subject of poetry. (73) Dai Tian quoted the favourite lines '*Kanshi xunchang zui qijue, chengru rongyi que jianxin*' (What seemed to be ordinary is most spectacular, what looked to be easily done is in fact the most difficult) to describe his poetry and his life. (74) During the interview, Dai Tian talked about his criticising the Cultural Revolution in 'Comments & Remarks on Cultural Revolution', and the pursuit of cultural China in 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. Once again, Dai Tian stressed that a poet is only an ordinary person who writes poetry, just like a carpenter is an expert in carpentry. Dai Tian said he never kept his own writings, and he did not write a preface for his own publications. The publication of his two volumes of poetry, in 1980 and 1987, was possible mainly due to the collection of newspaper cuttings by Dong Qiao and Ye Si. In June 1991, Dai Tian was interviewed by Radio & Television Hong Kong (75). In the interview, Dai Tian said that the first step in settling down and living a worthy life was to handle the practical problems of daily life. For example, people had to face, and arrange for, the imminent changes posed by 1997. Fate was unpredictable, therefore the best way was to establish a set of value judgments for oneself. Furthermore, Dai Tian talked about the effectiveness of column writing in newspapers. During the June 4th Massacre in Tiananmen Square, Dai Tian found that columns in the newspaper were the most effective way of expressing his spontaneous reaction to the tragedy. Dai Tian said he was also aware of the gradual return of Japanese militarism in 1991, and that he had tried to expose and condemn this trend in his column. When I interviewed Dai Tian on 9th January 1992, he said that he was disturbed by the problem of emigration. He could have gone to the United States. There had been a rule that any person who had worked for an American organization for over 15 years could apply for emigration to the United States. However, Dai Tian had left the American organizations some years ago, and he did not like to plead for mercy. In 1992, Dai Tian was invited to speak at the 'Hong Kong Week' held at

Harvard University. He tried to demonstrate the characteristics of Hong Kong culture and Hong Kong people using themes from two works of fiction. One was The Pilgrimage to the West (*Xiyouji*) by Wu Cheng'en (1500-1580), and the other was The Pilgrim's Progress by the British writer John Bunyan (1628-1688). Through the experiences of 'concern' and 'wonder' during the pilgrimages, Dai Tian discussed the human and cultural identity of Hong Kong, with regard to the imminent hand over of the former British colony to PRC. (76)

From April 1993 onwards, Dai Tian became Chief Editor of the Hong Kong Economic Journal Monthly (*Xinbao caijing yuekan*), an in-depth journal in monetary and economic analysis and commentary, and providing extensive pages in cultural pursuits. He moved to Canada on 18th August 1993, and returned to Hong Kong at the end of June 1994. During his stay in Canada, Dai Tian relied on post, fax and modern communication technology to continue his duties as Chief Editor of Hong Kong Economic Journal Monthly. (77) Again, Dai Tian went to Canada on 27th July 1994 and moved into his new home at 4 a.m. on 28th July 1994, because the sages of the family regarded 4 a.m. on that particular morning as the best time for moving. However, on the way they passed a house on fire, thus encountering fire and water, two of the five elements according to Chinese philosophy, which may have counter-balanced the effect of the propitious timing; that the new house may be prone to flooding and fire in the future. (78) Dai Tian returned to Hong Kong on 11th August 1994. (79) From then onwards, Dai Tian has often travelled to Canada for short intervals.

Dai Tian wrote in his column on 22nd March 1997 that he had received the draft of this thesis, but it would be inappropriate for him to say anything further, therefore he would not reply to any of my letters. Furthermore, Dai Tian wished that I would not be too explicit and make any 'current comment' on his 'family matters'. (80)

In January 1998, Dai Tian was awarded the poetry prize in the 1st Literary Awards organized by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council. The other winners included the martial arts novelist Jin Yong (Louis Cha, 1924-), novelist Xi Xi and prose writer Dong Qiao. (81)

Chapter 3

Dai Tian's Poetry

Dai Tian never regards himself as a poet. (1) He says poetry is only part of life. He is only a person who writes poetry. Dai Tian regards himself as a Chinese, not a poet, and not a Hong Kong poet at all. However, in this thesis, I shall argue that Dai Tian is a Hong Kong poet first, and then a Chinese poet. Dai Tian says that he can write Chinese poems wherever he is. Due to the different circumstances of Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, the ways in which literary works are expressed will be different. The degree of influence of Western theories, the translation of terms and names of places, the inclusion of social events and people, and the literary expressions and style also produce variations. Nevertheless, readers will note that the theme of Chineseness is always apparent in Dai Tian's poems.

Division of Three Stages

When Dai Tian was interviewed by Du Jian, Huang Jichi, Gu Shaoshen and Liang Bingjun in 1985 (2), he broadly divided his poetry into 3 stages. The first stage was his student years in Taiwan. He said that his knowledge of Chinese culture and life were then superficial. The second stage was after graduation as he moved to Hong Kong in 1961. Dai Tian said that his poems in the 60s and 70s were very often stimulated and triggered off by current events, e.g. the Anti-Vietnam war movement and the Defend Diaoyutai Movement. At that time he liked to reflect on Chinese culture in his writings, but vaguely. In the 80s, Dai Tian had an urgent need to speak out about Chinese culture, and to act as a mouthpiece for the Chinese people, although he said that he may not have had the ability to accomplish this task. At this stage, Dai Tian was very conscious of pursuing the ideal of a cultural China in writing his poetry. The poem cycle 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' is a carefully crafted, quoted and structured work that I shall discuss later on in this chapter.

Liang Bingjun, a Hong Kong poet and critic, pointed out that some people regard Dai Tian's work in the 60s were obscure, and being influenced by modernism and

existentialism. They regarded his poems in the 70s as being plain in technique, and demonstrating more concern with the social issues of Hong Kong and with international affairs. Dai Tian's poems in the 80s were mainly focused on cultural introspection with an overwhelming Chinese consciousness. (3) However, Liang Bingjun admitted that this did not clearly describe the ambiguity, contradiction, twisting and sophistication of Dai Tian's poetry. Liang said that Dai Tian's poems contained obscurity in plainness, modernity in the Chinese theme, and individuality among the mass. Indeed, Dai Tian's work has had different characteristics at different stages. Dai Tian cannot be categorized simply under a specific category.

Wang Jiancong, a Mainland Chinese scholar, in his work 20th Century Hong Kong Literature, published in 1996, also divided Dai Tian's work into 3 stages: the 60s, 70s and 80s. (4) He described Dai Tian's poetry in the 60s as a pursuit of a certain atmosphere. The latter two periods contain different degrees of Chinese consciousness. This is a broad and non-specific classification of Dai Tian's poetry.

Dai Tian's poems are about the various facets of life. He has a strong commitment to contribute to Chinese civilization. It is an oversimplification to classify his work just by a thematic approach, e.g. by calling him a patriotic Chinese poet. Patriotism is often used as a label for those writers who adhere to the political indoctrination of a particular regime without due assessment of their artistic merit. Dai Tian is a patriotic Chinese, but he always criticizes the ruling Chinese regimes for autocracy, corruption and de-humanization. In order to provide a more informed reading, I shall approach Dai Tian's poetry by looking at themes, imagery, techniques and influences from other poets, but also by taking into account the historical and personal background.

I shall concentrate on interpreting the texts against the background of political, social and economic changes during the different periods. Dai Tian's poems will be divided into 3 stages according to his themes and style of poetry writing. The first stage is from 1957-1966, a stage when Dai Tian is influenced by Western theories and writing techniques. The second stage is from 1967-1980, this stage is the climax in Dai Tian's poetry writing. The dominating theme of this period, Chineseness, is best demonstrated by his successful poems 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' (*Jingdu shishou*). The third period, from 1981 to 1990, marks the turning point in Dai Tian's poetry writing. In poems like 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' (*Ni fangguxing*) written at this time, cultural China has become the most important issue for Dai Tian.

The poems discussed in the thesis, as far as possible in chronological order, will be the ones most representative of the above three stages. One of the main concerns of this thesis, as elaborated in chapter 1, is to prove the existence of Hong Kong poetry. I will not venture into the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' Hong Kong poetry, but I will occasionally argue that some poems are more successful than others. A 'successful' poem, according to the writer of this thesis, is one that touches the heart of the reader; it provokes and invigorates the emotion of the reader, either in a gentle or violent manner. Within the context of this thesis, Dai Tian's 'successful' poems are examined as poetry written on the marginality of the PRC, the ROC, and the United Kingdom. His criticism on colonialism, representation of Hong Kong identity, and condemnation of the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Massacre, are vital substances in building up these 'successful' poems. The Hong Kong identity of Dai Tian's poetry will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. Dai Tian's employment of imagery, e.g. the 'stone' and the 'bird', and his techniques of stream of consciousness, alienation, interior monologue, parallel imagery, multileveled association, binary division and discursive format, all contributed to the success of his poems.

Except for a few poems which have been translated by Nancy Chang Ing (Yan Zhang Lanxi, 1920-), Diana Yu (Yu Dan), Pang Bingjun, John Minford (1946-) and Sean Golden, all other translations are mine. I shall try to analyse and criticize Dai Tian's poetry in the broadest possible framework with regard to artistic merit. However, since one of the ultimate aims of the thesis is to study Dai Tian's poetry in terms of his being a Hong Kong poet, I would like to examine and analyse Dai Tian's poetry from the viewpoint of a Hong Kong person. I shall try to relate Dai Tian's poetry to the historical development of Hong Kong, and to demonstrate his sentiment towards this former British colony. I shall retain the passion and perspectives of a person being born, raised and educated in Hong Kong, in the process of reading Dai Tian's poetry, as far as possible.

Early Poem: 'The Chirps of the Swallows'

I shall begin the discussion with Dai Tian's only remaining poem written in Mauritius at the age of nineteen in order to portray a complete picture of the history of Dai Tian's poetry writing. Dai Tian migrated from China to Mauritius with his grandmother in 1950.

He received his secondary education in the local schools. Dai Tian was very keen to practise his Chinese by writing articles in different genres. He contributed his articles to the local Chinese newspaper, but only one of his early poems is found published in Hong Kong in 1956. I will compare Dai Tian's poem 'The Chirps of the Swallows' (*Yan yu*) with a poem of the same title by Li Kuang written in 1952 in Hong Kong. However, first of all, I would like to provide a general background to the political situation of Hong Kong and Mauritius in the fifties.

Austin Coates (1923-), an administrator and special magistrate appointed by the British Government to serve in the Hong Kong Government in early 1949, was advised that he would need a sword when reporting for duty. The following is his description of the capricious situation in Hong Kong:

News from China indicated that the armies of the National Government were in retreat before the communist forces of Mao Tse-tung, advancing from the north. Peking had long since fallen to the communists. The National Government of President Chiang Kai-shek had shifted the capital of China southward from Nanking to Canton, only eighty miles or so north of Hong Kong. The Chinese Red Army was reported to be less than fifty miles from the Yangtze, in central China. Shanghai was not expected to hold out more than a few weeks. (5)

From the Hong Kong Government statistics (6), it is apparent that in the 50s Hong Kong had an indigenous Chinese population of up to 99%. Capital and entrepreneurs were being drained from China, especially Shanghai, which rapidly increased the wealth of Hong Kong.

As regards the Chinese settlement in Mauritius in the 40s to 60s, Ly Tio Fane has the following statistics:

In 1944 there were 6,808 males and 4,079 females of Chinese origin living in the island. Eighteen years later the Chinese population had increased by 12,176 individuals. At the same time the Chinese manifested an inclination towards a more complete integration into Mauritius society by adopting the British nationality. In 1944, the percentage of Chinese having retained their nationality was 42.44%, in 1962 the percentage was reduced to 15.32%. (7)

At the age of nineteen, Dai Tian used the old fashioned and clichéd pen-name 'Nanlaiyan', the wild goose coming to the South, to contribute a poem to the China Weekly (*Zuguo zhoukan*, 1953-64) in Hong Kong. The poem 'The Chirps of the Swallows' was published in October 1956. (8) The wild goose, in the context of classical Chinese literature, has a rich symbolic meaning. It is a migrant bird which flocks together

and flies in the shape of the Chinese character 'ren' (man). When a wild goose is missed out in the 'ren' formation, it means the loss of a brother. It also applies to the situation of a lonely soul wandering away from the flock. 'Nanlaiyan' is nostalgic and denotes a strong sense of exile from the Homeland. The poem 'The Chirps of the Swallows' reads:

Who has never spread the wings of youth,
like swallows passing through the cold currents of living?
It is true that human beings are rushing about like migrant birds,
only for adapting oneself to the life outside.

This is how we arrived at the distant overseas,
together with the heart of the old country, mother's tears and love of the maids.
Although long-distance hovering would make youth decrepit,
but we nevertheless would continue incessantly.

Anticipation and hard-working are on the same level,
time will let us go wherever we have to,
one day the brutal bustards would be chased out,
we will re-build our new home on the embroidered vertex embracing the wind.

There are a number of characteristics we could discuss concerning this poem. The theme is nostalgic and sentimental, it employs the parallel simile of the migratory swallow and the exodus of refugees due to political turmoil. It compares the life of human beings to that of the swallows, both have to adapt to outside pressure. The mood of the poem is a romantic one, an optimistic tail is added to the poem wishing that the brutal 'bustards' would be chased away one day, therefore the sojourners could return to their new homes in the Motherland. 'Bustards', an image employed as wickedness in classical Chinese literature, is a reference to the communist regime in China. The poem is written in a prose style, in plain and descriptive language. There is no employment of imagery and classical Chinese literary quotations.

The poem is written in three stanzas of four lines each. Each line has a similar number of characters. The first stanza contains four lines of 12, 12, 13 and 13 characters. The second stanza contains 12, 15, 13 and 12 characters. The final stanza contains 12, 13, 12 and 14 characters. Since Chinese characters are monosyllables, a unified format with a regulated pace can be produced. There are 5 'dums' (segments), in most of the lines, which created a regulated and harmonious tonal structure for the poem. The segment is explained by Lloyd Haft as:

'Segment' is not, strictly speaking, an exact English translation of *tun* (dun). *Tun* in Chinese means, literally, 'pause'; when Chinese theorists speak of a line of poetry as containing a given number of *tun*, they are referring very literally to the number of caesurae. In practice, however, they are often using the term to refer to the element or elements falling between caesurae. In other words, the term *tun* is used in the meaning of something like 'rhythm-unit', 'sound unit', 'sense unit', or whatever the given writer feels the most essential 'unit' to be. The common feature of all these usages is that they stand, in value if not in literal content, in close parallel to the English word 'foot' as used as a common basis for discussions of verse structure. (9)

Secondly, Dai Tian intends to rhyme the poem with the words '*benzou*' and '*ganzou*'. Moreover, the auxiliary word '*de*' appears in all the lines to form a pattern of internal metronome. In the first stanza, there are four '*de*', five in each of the second and final stanzas. '*De*' is often used as a half sound or an auxiliary tonal unit for acceleration and pause among the May 4th poets. Michel Hockx has thoroughly researched the natural sound and rhythm of Zhu Ziqing's (1899-1948) poems:

In his later work, the musicality becomes much more intricate. Although bi- and trisyllabic syntactic units with one stressed syllable continue to dominate, they are more often alternated with other units, such as, for instance, the tetrasyllabic unit *ABBde* (e.g. *jingqiaoqiao de*) or the pentasyllabic unit *AABBde* (e.g. *fangfangfufu de*). The points of stress become less obvious, the strong beat is absent most of the time, and the number of lines that do not fit the scheme at all increase. (10)

However, the random arrangement of '*de*' in various parts of the poem 'The Chirps of the Swallows' does not constitute a harmonious rhythm. The employment of '*de*' does not form a tonal pattern. If '*wit*' is an essence of a modernist poem (11), there is none in 'The Chirps of the Swallows'. There is no intensity of images or splitting images, each line of the verse has a self-contained meaning which links up to the next line. It is apparent that the use of punctuation marks clearly helped to regulate the lines in the verse. The use of punctuation marks was popular among the May 4th poets, because it helps to achieve the effect of acceleration and pause, but on the other hand, it may very often obstruct the interrelationship between the lines and the complex development of images. If we also regard 'deep thought, superb sound or vivid imagery' as prerequisites of great poetry (12), this poem lacks all of them. However, the form of the poem is uniform and symmetric, the language is plain and smooth without the defects of sentimentalism.

Dai Tian's poem denotes the worries and sincere wishes of those refugees far away from China. In Hong Kong, there was an influx of refugees who were linked closely to the fate of China, and whose security and livelihood were greatly affected by any imminent

changes on the Mainland. And this writing would inevitably reveal strong and sensitive feelings towards China. In 1956, a lot of these sojourners staying temporarily in Hong Kong had already been waiting for seven years to return to China. With increasing political campaigns and movements in China since 1949, the date for these sojourners to return to a liberal and democratic China seemed remote. Li Kuang (1927-1991), a popular poet among the young readers, was one of these refugees who were stranded in Hong Kong. Below, I shall discuss one of Li Kuang's poems. It clearly demonstrates the influence of his poetry on Dai Tian in the fifties.

Li Kuang: 'The Chirps of the Swallows'

Li Kuang is much underrated and his works are not mentioned prominently nowadays. (13) He published his first collection of poems in 1952, using the title poem 'The Chirps of the Swallows' as the title of the collection. When comparing these two poems of the same title, not surprisingly readers will detect a lot of similarities. Li Kuang's poem 'The Chirps of the Swallows' reads:

This moment I rested on the beam of your house,
it was because of the tiredness from the long distance flying,
you said that I looked like a foreign guest,
indeed I did come from a far-away village.

I had once dwelled in a magnificent hall,
I lived among the fragrance of the spring flowers,
I loved those warm and sunny days,
I was reluctant to leave the green and elegant willow.

You asked why I left my old nest,
you asked why I left my partner and wandered alone,
this was because I belonged to the races that loved warmth,
and there was now grim frost in the North country.

I had heard about the sentimental swallow,
unwilling to part with the statue of the happy prince,
day by day lingered in the place which gradually becomes cold,
and eventually dies in the snowy winter.
But I would never bury myself so foolishly,
I still had lofty hope of myself.

You asked me what assistance did I need,
thank you very much I only needed this beam sheltered from rain and wind,
I was used to build my humble nest with grass and mud,

and needed no other people's assistance and strength.

Here I loved the warmth of the sun,
I was drunk by the gentle and pleasant sea breeze of this island,
but when the chilly season also came to this place,
when the day came I had recuperated with strong wings,
I would again pursue the ideal of the fragrant flowers and the warm sun,
flying to the place further south. (14)

Li Kuang is undoubtedly a lyricist, his poem is full of passion and sentiment. The format is uniform and symmetric, there are six stanzas in which four stanzas have four lines and the other two stanzas have six lines. The longest line has 16 characters and the shortest has 7 characters. The even length of lines and speed imitating people in dialogue renders relaxation and intimacy to the readers. Punctuation marks are used at the end of each line. When comparing these two poems, there are obvious signs that Dai Tian has been influenced by Li Kuang's theme and style. The theme of the two poems is exactly the same, i.e. the memories of a sojourner thinking of home, and both employ the simile of the migratory swallow. The first two stanzas of Dai Tian's poem are an extension of Li Kuang's first stanza. It tells of the long and tiring journey of the swallows, resembling that of a foreign guest travelling from a far-away village. The only elaboration is that Dai Tian ventures further away to 'the distant overseas'. Both poets use the affirmative expression '*shide*' (yes) in the beginning of either the third or fourth line of the first stanza. This style of engaging in dialogue must have been very popular in the fifties in Hong Kong, as it can also be found in the poems of Xu Xu, Li Su, Ma Lang and others. (15)

Li Kuang and Dai Tian both employ the technique of personification of the swallow in their poems. They have also both inherited the emphasis on 'self' and 'moral duty', typical of the intellectuals of the May 4th tradition. Li Kuang uses 'I' in his poem 19 times, while Dai Tian uses 'we' 4 times in his poem. The pastoral poet Fei Ming (1901-1967) observed that subjects were not frequently used in classical Chinese poetry. He said: "In Chinese poetry, subjects are simply not used." (16) Li Oufan also pointed out that:

The May 4th generation of writers (with a few exceptions) often asserted their individual personalities and life-styles externally against an environment that they found both confusing and alienating. (17)

Li Kuang is more successful in creating a harmonious mood throughout the poem, he engages himself in an intimate conversation with readers, 'you' is used six times evenly in the first, third and fifth stanzas. Li Kuang also cleverly employs 'de' as an internal metronome. He used a total of 22 'de', and placed all but 3 of them at the last but third syllable of each line. These placed the stress at the end of each line thus creating a phonetic harmony. In the fourth stanza, Li Kuang borrowed the symbolic image from Oscar Wilde's (1854-1900) fable 'The Happy Prince' who requested the swallow to help him help the poor and starved people. Therefore the swallow stayed behind and was eventually frozen to death in the snowy winter. (18) The application of a foreign fable, in this case an adapted version, enriched the substance of the poem. Especially in the 50s when most Hong Kong citizens regarded the moon as being brighter in the west, foreign literature was an attractive feature appealing to the young readers of the time. Li Kuang moved to Singapore in 1958 and continues writing poetry there, however, his major works were written and published before 1958. Li Kuang became an educator more than a poet since going to Singapore. Dai Tian is a poet of dynamic changes. Dai Tian employs different techniques and touches on a variety of themes, and Li Kuang was a lyrical poet mainly engaged on nostalgic themes. However, the drifting life of a contemporary Chinese poet clearly reflected from both of their works. I shall proceed to the discussion of Dai Tian's poetry in three stages.

THE 1ST STAGE: 1957-1966

There are about 30 published poems in this stage. Most of these poems are to be found in section one and two of Dai Tian's first collection of poems, Debate on Rugged Mountain which was published in 1980, and in literary magazines published in Taiwan before Autumn 1961.

This is a stage of inquiry and experiment. Dai Tian is clearly being influenced by all kinds of popular thinking at the time, e.g. symbolism, modernism and existentialism. He applies all kinds of techniques, Western and Chinese terms and expressions, even the name of French movies, in his poems, and experiments with imagery, symbol, mood, visual layout and phonetics. The themes of Dai Tian's poetry in the 1st stage include Chineseness, decadence, and meaning of existence.

Dai Tian lived in Taiwan between 1957-61, and then settled down in Hong Kong from 1961 onwards. The following poems: 'Wind' (*Feng*), 'Impromptu' (*Ji xing*), 'Things Perceived Under the Eyes' (*Yan di*), 'Cut-outs' (*Jian tie*), 'Incomplete Manuscript of 1959' (*Yijiuwujiu nian cangao*), 'Self Portrait of A Drinker' (*Yinzhe zihui*), 'Shaoxing Rice Wine' (*Huadiao*), 'Nirvana' (*Yuanji*) and 'That is It' (*Rushiguan*) will be discussed in detail. First, I shall discuss Dai Tian's poetry published in the Taiwan era with an introduction to the literary scene of Taiwan in the late 50s.

Taiwan Era: 1957-1961

Dai Tian received an American Government scholarship to study in Taiwan in 1957. These four years of studying and writing practice in Taiwan helped to transform Dai Tian from a budding poet to a major poet in his later stages. Dai Tian benefited from his contemporaries when he was living in Taiwan from the age of 20-24. 1957 was an important year in the literary history of Taiwan. Yang Mu reminded researchers in modern Chinese poetry to take notice of the year 1957 which marked the change in language and style of major Taiwanese poets like Ya Xian (1932-) and Zheng Chouyu. (19)

With the cold war raging between the United States and the Soviet Union after the 2nd World War, and the blockades against Mainland China, Taiwan enjoyed a high degree of

security in the fifties. Taiwan was then ruled under martial law, and any person found to have the slightest sympathy or contact with communism was subject to stern scrutiny and punishment. All the works of the so-called left wing writers, from Lu Xun onwards, were banned in Taiwan. Even the works of Bing Xin, a passionate writer whose works included correspondence with children readers and whose poems were regarded by critics as metaphysical (20), were reprinted under an inconspicuous false name. As Howard Goldblatt and Liu Shaoming pointed out:

By governmental decree, virtually all literature of the 1930s and 1940s from the mainland was proscribed, even though such measures did not inhibit aspiring writers from reading Lu Xun and other major underground figures, at considerable personal risk. (21)

Except for the works of those established writers or scholars like Hu Shi, Lin Yutang (1895-1976), Liang Shiqiu (1902-1987) and others who either lived in Taiwan or the United States, the younger generation from Taiwan were deprived of full access to the May 4th literary tradition. Nie Hualing pointed out that in the fifties, some articles which showed the other side could not be published. The popular trend then was 'anti-Communism literature' and 'evasive literature'. (22) It was under such political circumstances that the essence of modernism was being employed in both theory and technique in the 1956 Taiwan literary scene. Many of the literary works at that era inclined to escape from personality, alienation and non-commitment. (23)

Three Modernist Schools: 1956

In Taiwan, the forerunners of modern poetry were mostly young poets in their 20s and 30s, with the exception of Qin Zihao (1912-1963) and Ji Xian (1913-). Qin Zihao and Ji Xian were both already known in China as modernist poets before they moved to Taiwan in the late 40s. In 1956, three groups were formed almost simultaneously. These poets brought out a lot of arguments among themselves, but also provided controversy and enrichment in the development of modern poetry in Taiwan in the following decades.

Ji Xian, who published several volumes of poetry and edited a poetry journal with fellow poets like Dai Wangshu in 1936 in China, first founded the Modern Poetry Quarterly

(*Xiandaiishi jikan*) in 1953. On 1st February 1956, the 'Modernist School' was founded in Taipei under his leadership. Among the six manifestoes, the most important ones were:

An emphasis on intellectualism as a remedy for sentimentalism, a replacement of conventional poetic diction with plain prose, and a transplantation of recent Western poetry since Baudelaire. (24)

The declaration of new poetry as a 'horizontal transplantation' of the West and not the inheritance of the Chinese tradition was unthinkable and unacceptable to most of the Taiwanese poets. Ji Xian's followers were mainly his companions or students including Fang Si (1925-), Yang Huan (1930-54), Zheng Chouyu and Lin Ling (1938-). The 'Modernist School' was disbanded in 1962.

Closely following the 'Modernist School' was the 'Blue Stars Poetry Society' formed by a loose group of intellectuals. The 'Blue Stars' was more a friendly union than a programmed movement:

Influenced as they were by Western literature, they thought it unwise to disown Chinese traditions and were strongly opposed to Ji Xian's proposal for radical Westernization. In creative practice, they preferred spontaneous lyricism to contrived intellectualism. (25)

The founders of the 'Blue Stars Poetry Society' were Qin Zihao, Zhong Dingwen (1914-), Xia Qing (1925-), and Yu Guangzhong. Their followers included Zhou Mengdie (Chou Meng-tieh, 1920-), Rong Zi (1928-), Luo Men (1928-), Xiang Ming (1929-), Wu Wangyao (1932-), Huang Yong (1936-), Zhang Jian (1939-) and Xiong Hong (1940-). The 'Blue Stars Poetry Society' is still publishing the Blue Stars Poetry Quarterly (*Lanxing shikan*).

The third group, the 'Epoch Poetry Club', was formed by a group of naval officers stationed at their base in southern Taiwan. They included Ya Xian, Luo Fu and Zhang Mo (1931-). They first tried to proclaim a 'model for national poetry' without success. Then they turned to the other extreme to promote avant-garde writing including a form of French Surrealism:

They plunged headlong into the inner world of the unconscious and tried to present their private experiences, unprocessed by the 'distortion' of reason, in the so called automatic writing. Theoretically, they sought to free the unconscious from such cultural and social inhibitions as morality, logic, grammar and rhetoric, and to cut all links of textual association. (26)

The other members of the 'Epoch Poetry Club' included Kuan Kuan (Guan Guan, 1930-), Shang Qin (1931-), Pu Ti (1931-), Chu Ke (1932-), Ta Huang (Da Huang, 1932-), Xin Yu (1933-) and Mei Xin (1934-). Their publication The Epoch Poetry Quarterly (*Chuangshiji*) is still in print.

The three schools enlisted almost all the established and budding poets in Taiwan. Their pursuit of modernism, according to their different manifestoes, lingered on for three decades. All of these contributed to the startling use of imagery, the experiment of language sensibility and most important of all, the alienation from reality and politics by borrowing the mantle of Western literary theories such as Modernism. Modernism has had a different fate in Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. As Liang Bingjun pointed out:

In the past thirty years, Modernism is completely rejected in Mainland China, but now (in the 80s: author's note) they start to discuss, translate and introduce it. In Hong Kong, Modernism has been comprehensively accepted, but now it is under scrutiny and criticism. (27)

Dai Tian went to Taiwan in 1957. After living in Mauritius for eight years, once again he went back to live in a Chinese community. Moreover, he was studying at Taipei, the capital city of Taiwan. He had a chance to learn from and live among the Chinese intelligentsia. These years of thriving argument and discussion about poetry were certainly an eye-opener for Dai Tian. However, although Dai Tian befriended the poets of the above mentioned three modernist schools, he did not associate himself with any of the schools. He belonged to his own group of writers clustered around the magazine Modern Literature. Dai Tian's first poem published in Taiwan appeared in the Literary Review (*Wenxue zazhi*) founded by Xia Ji'an.

Literary Review: 1956-1960

In 1956, Xia Ji'an was Professor of English at National Taiwan University. In the editorial of the first issue of Literary Review, the editor declared that they were living in a riotous era, but that their articles were not 'riotous'. They were against communist propagandist literature, they did not promote art for art's sake, they liked to reflect and express the spirit of the time. They just wanted to tell the truth. They liked to pursue the

liberal, reasonable, serious and humorous teachings of Confucius. In short, they liked to repay the country with their writings (*wenzhang baoguo*). (28) Although Nie Hualing pointed out that a lot of articles telling the truth could not be published in the fifties, but she commended the Literary Review for publishing a large number of these writings. (29) Nie might have overrated the political and social values of Literary Review, but there is no doubt that it was one of the most important pioneering literary magazines in Taiwan in the 50s.

In the first issue of Literary Review, three poems were published, the first was a translation of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's (1807-1882) poem 'The Arrow and the Song' by Hu Shi. The other two poems were written by Xia Qing (30) and Liang Wenxing. (31) Xia Qing was cofounder of the 'Blue Stars Poetry Club', his poetry has the characteristics of being intellectual, analytical and optimistic. The poems of Wu Xinghua were much neglected after his untimely death at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. We can find in the short span of four years of publication of Literary Review, a total of 21 poems, and an essay on new poetry was published under the pen-name Liang Wenxing. Stephen Soong, a scholar and friend of Wu Xinghua, also passed the war against the Japanese in Shanghai between 1937-1945. Soong's appreciation of Wu Xinghua's poems is quoted by Edward Mansfield Gunn, Jr., as follows:

It is Wu's poetry which embodies some of the aspects of an anti-romantic verse which concerned Soong, and Soong was to praise his work highly after the war. Ironically, Wu had given up writing poetry by the end of the war, discouraged with poetry itself. Yet Wu remains the most interesting poet of the occupation period. (32)

Apart from Stephen Soong, Xia Ji'an must also have been fond of Wu Xinghua's poems, and sympathized with Wu's life in Mainland China. If Wu Xinghua's unpublished poems were not published in the pen-name of Liang Wenxing, it would not be feasible to publish in Taiwan in 1956 at all.

Within the span of four years, Dai Tian published three poems in the Literary Review. The first poem 'Things Perceived under the Eyes' was published in July 1959. The second poem 'Impromptu' and the third poem 'Wind' were published in the September and October issues in 1959. More established poets, like Xia Qing, Yu Guangzhong, Luo Fu and Wu Wangyao, had their poems published in Literary Review more frequently. Young poets like Ye Shan published 8 poems, Xiong Hong 7 poems, Zhang Jian 3 poems, Ye Weilian and Zhang Mo both 2 poems. Throughout the four years, Ye Weilian also had

many translation and critique pieces published. If we just judge by quantity, Dai Tian did not publish as much as his contemporaries like Ye Weilian, Ye Shan and Xiong Hong in the Literary Review. Dai Tian matured late as compared to these three young poets. However, when comparing the theme and technique of Dai Tian's early poem 'The Chirps of the Swallows' to his poems of this first stage, Dai Tian had already gone through his first stage of metamorphosis. I shall discuss his poems of this stage in greater length in later paragraphs.

Modern Literature: 1960-1973, 1977-1984

A very valuable endeavor by Dai Tian and his contemporaries among the third year students of the Foreign Language and Literature Department at the National Taiwan University was the founding of Modern Literature. Dai Tian and Bai Xianyong, together with Liu Shaoming, Ye Weilian, Chen Ruoxi, Li Oufan, Wang Wenxing, Ouyang Zi and others founded Modern Literature on 5th March 1960. Throughout, Bai Xianyong was the main financial supporter of the magazine. Bai Xianyong, son of General Bai Chongxi (1893-1966), went from the Mainland to Taiwan in 1952. He first studied engineering and later changed to the study of Western literature. Bai Xianyong obtained a foundation grant of \$100,000 Taiwan dollars, through his father's connections with the coal mining entrepreneur Li Jianxing, to start the publication. Since they could only use the interest derived from the grant to finance Modern Literature, and the normal interest derived from the grant was insufficient to support the publication, Bai Xianyong lent the money at a high rate of interest. However, the loan was never recovered, and this nearly caused the collapse of the magazine. Luckily, the head of the USIS in Taipei, Richard McCarthy, was sympathetic and came to the rescue by ordering huge numbers of the magazine. For the first period of 13 years, Modern Literature published altogether 51 issues. There were 206 short stories and novels written by 70 authors, and more than 200 poems all by prominent contemporary poets. As Bai Xianyong reflected, his biggest achievement at the National Taiwan University was the founding of Modern Literature. And from the magazine, his greatest reward was the association with many companions. (33) This experience was shared by Dai Tian as well. Twenty years on, Dai Tian said that Modern Literature at the time was concerned with all things 'modern', but that since then it has become broader and more inclusive. (34)

In the preface of the founding issue of Modern Literature, Liu Shaoming declared that the magazine was concerned with the future of Chinese literature. The magazine was to promote creative writing, criticism and the introduction of foreign literature. The process might involve some 'constructive destruction'. (35) Indeed, this was one of the most important literary magazines in Taiwan in the sixties and seventies. It was the first to introduce Thomas Mann (1875-1955), James Joyce (1882-1941), Franz Kafka (1883-1924), William Faulkner (1897-1962) and many other foreign maestros into Taiwan. Although there were no payments for the contribution of articles, writers did contribute generously their most satisfactory articles to Modern Literature. Those established writers included Zhang Ailing, Xia Zhiqing (C.T. Hsia, 1921-), Xia Qing, Yu Guangzhong and many others.

Modern Literature provided Dai Tian with a most valuable platform to practice his writing, and to be in the company of a peer group who later become major scholars, writers, translators, theorists and poets in the literary world. Dai Tian's poems 'The Coming of May' (*Wuyue zhi li*) was published in the 2nd issue on 5th May 1960, 'Composition' (*Zuo pin*) in the 3rd issue, the prose poem 'Thorn Bird' (*Piao niao*) in the 6th issue and the poem 'Cut-outs' in the 7th issue. And many more of Dai Tian's poems were published in this magazine after he went to Hong Kong in 1961 upon graduation.

New Voices: 1961 and 1980

In the fifties, Taiwan poets were little known to the Western world. One of the main reasons was that no translations of their poetry had been published. In 1960, Yu Guangzhong edited New Chinese Poetry to introduce the more established Taiwanese poets. (36) In 1961, Nancy Chang Ing edited New Voices, stories and poems by young Chinese writers in Taipei. (37) Most of the 14 young writers selected in New Voices were closely associated with the bimonthly literary magazine Modern Literature. The young writers were introduced as follows:

The 14 writers represented in this volume are either students at or recent graduates of Taiwan universities. With 2 exceptions, who are both 27, they are in their early twenties. Six were born on the China mainland, six are native-born Taiwanese, one comes from Hong Kong and another is an overseas Chinese student from the island of Mauritius. One more vital statistic: five are young women. (38)

Among the 14 writers, 6 were poets and 8 fiction writers. The two 27 years old were Xiu Tao (Hsiu Tao, 1934-) and Jin Daixi (King Tai-hsi, 1934-). The poet from Hong Kong was Ye Weilian who had just received his MA degree in English Literature from Taiwan Normal University. And the overseas Chinese student from the island of Mauritius was, unmistakably, Dai Tian. Two of Dai Tian's early poems 'Cut-outs' and 'Wind' were collected in the anthology. Dai Tian's poems were included as an overseas student studying in ROC, and this had nothing to do with his Hong Kong identity. In 1961, Dai Tian had just graduated from National Taiwan University. Nancy Chang Ing introduced Dai Tian as being very much interested in the French poets, and that he had even tried his hand at writing verse in French. He belonged to the group which began the publication of Modern Literature. (39) After 18 years, when New Voices was reprinted in 1980, Nancy Chang Ing concluded in the preface of the second edition as follows:

It is most interesting to note that of the 13 authors whose works are included, ten have achieved genuine renown through their literary efforts. My work on this new edition has confirmed my early belief in the quality of these writings. They show with great clarity the talent that led to their authors' present achievements as established writers. (40)

'Wind', 'Impromptu' and 'Things Perceived Under the Eyes'

In the summer of 1959, three poems written by Dai Tian were published in the Literary Review, however, these three poems were not collected in his first collection of poems Debate on Rugged Mountain. These three poems, written after Dai Tian had been in Taiwan for two years— 'Things Perceived Under the Eyes', 'Impromptu' and 'Wind'— were published in July, August and October 1959. They have many similarities in theme and technique. Dai Tian's poem 'Wind' was dedicated to 'Ya-yuin' (*Ya Yun*). (41) This was one of Dai Tian's early poems published in 1959 in Literary Review. The poem was translated by Nancy Chang Ing and collected in New Voices. The poem reads:

My heart is hanging on a palm tree, lonely
Like a newly born green fruit
In the cradle of the world. Your slender finger
An alien stroking hand, rouse a prickly sensation,
Faintly, indistinctly, to the rhythm of the sea.
Quietly, softly like a deer
Stepping like the whisperings of the soul,
Audible though invisible, brushing the quivering branches,
Gesturing, wanting to fly, to dance, to climb to the rainbow,

Then slipping into the pure blue of the heavens.

Floating in the monotone color of water and sky, you stop at last
To rest in the bosom of the sea, searching for dreams,
Uncaring as to space and distance. By your ears
The sound of the flying fishes,
Stirring up rusty memories and pain
—Your reverent offering has been repaid
Only by my coldness; a throb of tenderness repudiated
By a hard exterior. So to search for the song of the tide,
Like poetry, soft and gently rhyming.
And I, only from the shells do I understand you,
Arousing memories as you wander the four corners of the earth
——Where are you?

Where are you?

Ai ! This moment you have returned from the path of the equator
In a glorious chariot of gold, snowing a fragrant
Harvest and a fully ripened season.
In the midst of the faded fallen leaves with the blue sky for a mirror,
I see the proud face of yesterday
Shrouded with a lonely veil, the floating clouds,
in the destructive heat of the noonday sun. The universe
Is still.....heavy of heart, it leaves its refuge,
Falling into the cold and desolate sod; unable to climb upwards,
Unable to feel your tender touch.
Let the passage of time carve out the flowers of life.

The poem 'Wind' is addressed to a young lady 'Ya-yuin', but 'Ya-yuin' could also have the literal meaning of 'the cloud'. Thus wind and cloud can be a pair. The inspiration comes from the natural environment in which the poet tries to inject a lot of his own feeling and passion into the descriptive theme. Imagery is employed with a strong sense of decadence. It is a poem about the desire for love being deserted and wasted. The poet tries to portray a complete cycle of the lonely heart, in the imagery of a greenish coconut, hanging on a palm tree unable to feel the tender touch of 'Ya-yuin', the wind. However, the poem and the image are not tersely and sharply applied, it reads like prose. Dai Tian tries to balance the form of the poem by three stanzas each of eleven lines, and the number of characters in each line is more or less regulated. There is one outstanding line with a question mark: 'Where are you?' after the 2nd stanza to ignite the answer in the final stanza.

It is interesting to note that the translator used punctuation marks throughout the English translation demonstrating that the poem could be logically followed as in prose. It is

evident among young and immature poets, like Dai Tian, Ye Shen and Xiong Hong in the 50s, that an excess of reduplicative adjectives are employed imitating the style of *ci* and *qu* in classical Chinese literature. ‘*Qingqing*’ (greenish), ‘*yinyin*’, ‘*yueyue*’, ‘*jingjing*’, ‘*qingqing*’ (softly), ‘*guoguo*’, ‘*sisi*’, ‘*youyou*’ and ‘*diandian*’ are all used in the poem ‘Wind’. The excessive use of familiar reduplicative adjectives often weakens the intensity of the imagery, reducing the impact of the language, and rendering the poem artificial and banal. While the appropriate and successful application of reduplicative words can enrich the musical force and onomatopoeic sense of the language. The most typical example is the 7 reduplicative words used by Li Qingzhao (1084-1151) in the beginning of the ‘Tune: “Slow, Slow Tune”’: ‘*Xinxin mimi lengleng qingqing qiqi* (bleak and desolate) *cancan qiqi* (sorrowful)’. Xu Yuan-zhong translates these 7 reduplicative adjectives as: ‘I look for what I miss,/I know not what it is:/I feel so sad, so drear,/So lonely, without cheer.’

(42) Although the translation itself is rhymed, the reader can see how helpless it is to convey the full artistic conception when translating poetry into another language. As John Turner (1909-1971) told of his experiences in translating Chinese poetry:

Accordingly I do not comply with the modern fashion of putting Chinese verse into line by line prose or into unmeasured sprung rhythm, which is the same thing, I believe that poetry cannot really be translated into prose. The translation of a poem into prose, which is merely verbally accurate, is not itself a poem and remains a crib. It misses the point and soul and reason of a poem, its specific beauty.

(43)

It is not surprising to find that Dai Tian also used similar reduplicative adjectives loosely in his other poem ‘Impromptu’ which was only published two months earlier. (44) In the 12 line verse ‘Impromptu’, we find: ‘*qingqing*’, ‘*yinyin yueyue*’, and ‘*toutou*’. The poem contains numerous descriptive images like: ‘Empty room’, ‘rebounding heartbeat’, ‘obscure eyesight’, ‘undistinguished ashes’, ‘love of a young woman’, ‘season of falling flowers’, ‘quiet path like C minor’, ‘bury a drop of crystal tear’, ‘last strike of the blue sky’, ‘lonely mirror’, ‘an aged 23 youth drank up hope’ and ‘stolen kisses to the mermaid on the calendar’. The imagery of the ‘fish’ in the poem ‘Impromptu’ is employed as a ‘burnt out fish’, which is only a slight variation of the imagery employed in his previously written poem ‘Things Perceived Under the Eyes’. The 7th to 13th lines of the poem ‘Things Perceived Under the Eyes’ read: ‘There is no more memory of chilliness/Insect voices of Autumn is still far behind/The spring dream of winter is still slumbering/Summer is burning out/Like a fish in the dried pond/Turns its white eyes/Showing a swagging tail

before death!' (45) The poem describes the four seasons of the year, a lot of familiar images like 'transparent hand of the wind', 'glittering green', 'golden light from the pine needles' and 'posture of slumbering' are used. The underlying mood of these three poems 'Things Perceived Under the Eyes', 'Impromptu' and 'Wind' is detachment from the bustling world of reality. The restlessness and desperation of youth is reflected through the emptiness, loss and decadence of the material world. However, the excessive and nondiscriminatory employment of modern images does constitute a certain kind of modernistic atmosphere, but in this case it does not produce successful poems.

'Cut-outs', 'Incomplete Manuscript of 1959' and other Poems

The poem 'Cut-outs' was first published in Modern Literature in 1961. (46) Written two years after the poem 'Wind', this is a more fluent and mature poem. It is included in Dai Tian's collection of poems Debate on Rugged Mountain. From this poem, the reader can easily trace Dai Tian's progress from his earlier writings and denote the familiarities in style when compared to his poems of later stages. The poem 'Cut-outs' has 39 lines in 7 stanzas, the first 3 stanzas each have 5 lines and the latter 4 stanzas each have 6 lines. 'Cut-outs' was also translated by Nancy Chang Ing and collected in New Voices. The poem reads:

We do not know ourselves
even if we uncover the heavy curtains
facing the severe black-robed priest
and take off our masks
 prostrated

sometimes in the dimness of the early morning
a show appears
also because of the season
we do not wish to stand in this world of cares
to see the sunrise

and night after night we cry
using our tearless tears
to mourn the disappearance of a picture
then we wring dry our emotions
and hang them to sun on the transient rainbow

although the sun has burnt us
our youth is still assembled
in an unknown place

gathered with strange wrinkles
waiting for memory to reach out both hands
to wipe away the dust from the moon

many are the times when we cross the crossroads
the voice shrilly says
that many heroes will die
at times also dividing and diffusing
among the nude and bare shouldered advertisements
that stand between each and other footsteps

we desire to embrace the heavens
to feel the far-conquering clouds and the stallion-like wind
to feel the bubbling spring under the hanging cliffs
a sea of burning dreams
but after your two hands are folded
only we are left

our life is not a vacuum
out of the cracks of our teeth are ground
the dregs of the loves of this one or the other
and the women
roll into the fog of our eyes
and there occurs a chemical reaction. (47)

The poem is written in a prose style. The title 'Cut-outs' is itself an image, full of probability and uncontrollable elements. The main theme of the poem is an inquest into the meaning of existence and the value of life. Again, there is a strong sense of decadence. Death and its shadow are mentioned in the poem announcing the death of the heroes. There is no outlet for youthfulness and they cry night after night. Life is confusing, everyone can easily become 'cut-outs' by fate. The poem is reacting against the ugliness of industrialism and contemporary utilitarian social philosophies. 'Industrialism' is very much a concept borrowed from the West, like the introduction of Eliot's 'The Waste Land' into Taiwan. In Eliot's poem, Londoners are 'gnomes'. 'If there is to any sort of good emerging from a monstrous site like modern London, it will not be in this but in "another world"'. (48) In late 50s, Taiwanese poets were yearning for natural and pastoral beauty. Utilitarianism was very much the reality of the social and political environment of Taiwan in the late 50s.

The image of 'Self' is also an essential element in the poem 'Cut-outs'. Throughout the poem, 'We' is used 9 times. 'We' is a collective noun for 'I', the subject of 'Self' gives the impression of a declaration on behalf of all human beings. Like Dai Tian's early works, a lot of stereo-typical expressions are employed, like: Spring dream, searching for

dreams, like poetry, blue sky, an obscure shadow, to see the sunrise, we cry, tearless tear, rainbow, sun, youth, dusty moon, crossroads, embrace the heavens, far-conquering clouds, stallion-like wind and burning dreams. Such clichés only go to make a banal poem if not used in the right context. As Roland Barthes (1915-) pointed out: ‘The stereotype can be evaluated in terms of fatigue. The stereotype is what begins to fatigue me’. (49)

However, the last stanza of the poem ‘Cut-outs’ is stunning and revives the importance of the theme on life. It is not about something philosophical or existential, it is about the dregs of real life that liberate and elevate the strength of the imagery. From the crack of teeth of Zhang San and Li Si: ‘and the women/roll into the fog of our eyes/and there occurs a chemical reaction’. The term ‘Zhang San Li Si’ vividly denotes the trivia and unimportance of ‘the dregs of the loves of this one or the other’. In Chinese, Zhang San and Li Si are often referred to describe the nondescript every person. This last stanza clearly demonstrates the wit and ability of Dai Tian in ending the poem on a high note. The clarity of language, some surprising imagery and application of cynicism, the trademarks of Dai Tian’s successful poems, can be found in this last stanza. All in all, the poem ‘Cut-outs’ is much better than ‘Wind’, ‘Impromptu’ and ‘Things Perceived Under the Eyes’.

The writings of Dai Tian in Taiwan are highly relevant to his later work, since they represent the process by which he developed his poetic gifts, and demonstrate his talent and potential to become a major poet. In ‘Incomplete Manuscript of 1959’ (50), there are four short poems: ‘Song’ (*Ge*), ‘Sing’ (*Chang*), ‘Life’ (*Sheng*) and ‘Fate’ (*Ming*), which means ‘In praise of life’ (*Gechang shengming*). In the second short poem, ‘Sing’, the same imagery is employed as in Dai Tian’s later and highly successful poems. The poem ‘Sing’ reads:

I used a seed a seed used germination
Germination used sprouting, sprouting used
Green growing
In order to protest

Blue Sky blue sky oh so high!
I finally moulded a
Perfect
A Perfectly
Small world
Belonging to me
——With a seed inside

The poem is not in praise of life, but is rather lamenting and protesting about life. The image of the 'seed' is well applied to show the complete cycle of its growth. The growth of 'protest' enriches the angular tension of the whole poem, thus creating a surprising effect. Dai Tian fully demonstrates his ability to extract images from nature, within the germination and growth of the seed, he is able to portray the green shoots protesting against the blue sky. The imagery of incessant growth from the innermost and dark side of the body reappears in 'The Story of the Stone' written in 1969, which is one of Dai Tian's most successful poems. The third stanza of 'The Story of the Stone' reads:

As for seeds
What people fear most
Is death
As for dreams
It is awakening
As for stone
It is continuous
Growth

The vivid image of the seed gradually shades into the image of the stone. The seed is soft and vital, while the stone is hard and lifeless. Dai Tian's successful endowment of the stone with the capacity for incessant growth, in contradiction of the stone's very essence, exhibits a cynicism and self-mockery in Dai Tian's writing style. The image of the stone is found in 'Research of the Stone' (*Shitou de yanjiu*) written in 1983, the final stanza of the poem ends with self-denial and self-mockery as follows:

From inside the stone
I clawed out
Myself

From these two explicit examples, we can see the consistent development of the same image 'seed' and 'stone' by Dai Tian. The images are being enriched cynically and paradoxically. This seed and stone inter-relationship will be further elaborated in chapter 4. We can also find the inter-relationship between the images 'Yellow River' and 'Yangtze River' in the poem 'Fate' and the poem 'The Story of the Stone'. The poem 'Fate' reads:

I spread my palm like spreading
The leaf of that begonia
Revealing the secrets of fate

This is Yellow River full of fervour
That is the Yangtze packed with majesty
I closed my palm
Hearing the sound of
Moaning bones

This is a short poem but full of heavy-heartedness, especially the last three lines expressing the immense pain and suffering of the author and of China. The 'begonia leaf' is unmistakably the map of China. The subject is 'I'. The 'bone' represents the author's movement, the groans and moans are those of the author and the suffering Chinese. When spreading the palm, the territory of China is fully exhibited like reading a map, but China can only live in memory and be stored in the closed palm of the poet. The poem is painfully nostalgic. China has been a source of constant pain but also creativity for Dai Tian. The idea of using the sound and movement of the bone to represent the moan of the Yellow River and the Yangtze, and the groan of homesickness, is witty and it is a very forceful image. We can trace similar imagery in the fifth stanza of the poem 'The Story of the Stone':

If inside the blood vessels
Hides
A huge river
Oh! Yellow River carp and Yangtze pike
All stopped
— Wandering
All are frozen
There

The consistent development of the images like seed, stone Yellow River and Yangtze River, and the varied and enriched application of these images throughout the three stages of his poetry writing, are keys to a discussion and appreciation of Dai Tian's poetry.

Hong Kong Era: 1961-1966

After graduation from National Taiwan University, Dai Tian came to Hong Kong in 1961. He stays in Hong Kong for nearly 40 years and has flourished into a major poet. In the years 1961-66, Dai Tian was still predominantly a modernist poet. In the 15 poems published during this Hong Kong period, the hallmark of pursuing the images and themes like drinking, existence, time, Buddhism and nihilism are obvious.

'Self Portrait of A Drinker'

The first poem written by Dai Tian in Hong Kong and collected in Debate on Rugged Mountain was 'Self-portrait of A Drinker'. The poem was first published in Modern Literature in 1962. The poem contains the reminiscences of an intellectual being lost in the wilderness. Drinking and escapism are important themes in Dai Tian's poetry at this stage. Dai Tian begins the poem with symbolic imagery describing the beauty of tipsiness. The poem consists of 6 stanzas, each stanza has 4 lines. The first 2 stanzas are as follows:

My dear beauty
In the last drop of night
I murdered you
With a pair of convulsing hands

You are France
The most fervent part
When the moonlight soaked me in cold dew
When the city sounds vanished (51)

Drinking is a traditional and popular theme among Chinese poets. Tao Yuanming (365/372-427), Li Bai (701-762), Du Fu (Tu Fu, Du Shaoling, 712-770) and Su Dongpo (Su Shi, 1037-1101) are among the most famous and admired by Dai Tian. Likewise, Dai Tian's contemporaries like Zheng Chouyu, Cai Yanpei, Bai Xianyong and many others also write about drinking, apart from being good drinkers themselves. In this poem about drinking, Dai Tian projects the drinker as a hero and ventures from France into the storms of the seven seas in the 3rd stanza. In the 4th stanza, the drinker lays his head on the boundless Sahara desert in North Africa, and then thinks of the madness and wilderness of the River Nile twisting into the tropical forests. Dai Tian ends the poem with a more sober note, the 6th stanza reads:

Even the South
Challenging its right foot with its left foot
Dancing the Twist
Wandering between the two oceans

Dai Tian spent eight years of his youth in Mauritius, so it is not unnatural that he would always bring back memories of Africa. The stream of consciousness is boundless. Dai Tian uses the word 'twist' to exemplify the turmoil in South Africa in the form of the violent movement of a drunkard. Where the left foot is challenging the right foot, the

blacks are fighting against the whites. Apart from being a form of modern dance, 'twist' is also a kind of cocktail, so it corresponds with the drinking theme of the poem. The beautiful lady is represented by the empty bottle being murdered after the final drop is consumed.

Dai Tian tries to include foreign words in his poems, particularly English and French words. Perhaps it is intended to show knowledge and ability in the mastering of foreign languages and is regarded as trendy. Yet, the inclusion of foreign words in poetry also has the purpose of trying to expand the meaning and messages of the Chinese language, and very often of creating an alienating effect. 'Self Portrait of A Drinker' is an experimental poem, the inclusion of distant countries and places is intended to expand the horizon of the poem. These techniques led to one of Dai Tian's popular poems 'Huadiao', written in 1963.

'Huadiao'

'Huadiao' was first published in the poetry publication Cape of Good Hope. (52) It is a poem of 68 lines in 6 uneven stanzas. Huadiao is a high-grade Shaoxing rice wine, which is deep in colour and rich in flavour, best drunk when it is warm. The name Huadiao itself is beautiful, having the meaning of 'carving of the flowers'. 'Huadiao' begins with Dai Tian's favourite poet Tao Yuanming, 'Mr. Five Willows':

And then
Towards the other half of the world
Dazed (Oh! Mr. Five Willows)
Merely remembered having dated, at
the banks of the River of Forgetfulness
Childhood riding a bamboo horse, having dated
Her swinging plaits
And the immature
Coarseness
 (Standing like a tree
 In the wind exposing
 All the weakness
 While flirting)

Dai Tian begins the poem with the mythical world of the ancient hermit, Tao Yuanming, some 1,600 years ago. In drinking, the drinker dreams of his own childhood, the familiar yet surrealistic world. Dai Tian uses the image from the traditional folk song 'The boy

comes on a bamboo horse' to denote a naïve and peaceful picture of the childhood of peasant life in the distant past. And the poet puts his comments and remarks in brackets throughout the poem in order to bring readers back to reality, a kind of alienating effect. This employment of alienation effect is also found in Bian Zhilin's poems such as 'Spring City' (*Chun cheng*) and 'The Composition of Distances'. Drinking liberates the drinker wandering between the ancient mountains and rivers, just like a greedy butterfly or the unrestrained cloud. This is how Dai Tian describes their adventures:

(It often makes love with the four-seas
On its way to the sleepless modernity)

From here on, Dai Tian describes all the images and actions from the modern world, which made people sleepless. The time is going backward from contemporary to ancient, the bustling city of modern Hong Kong is being shifted back to the prosperous city of Ying, the capital city of the State of Chu, some 1,600 years ago. Dai Tian aptly applies the technique of stream of consciousness through time travelling and the thinking process of the drinker. The drinker and his childhood mate venture into the unrecognized era, with Hong Kong as a background. And then:

(With a dry cough)

This is like the change of tune and topic in Chinese operatic music. 'With a dry cough', the scene crosscuts into another scene. The drinker and his mate sit at the head table in the Spring View Restaurant in Ying. Dai Tian synchronizes the two busy cities; the modern and the old, to bring out the footsteps of the animals, and the leisurely sky of the wild geese. From this surrealist state of mind, Dai Tian attempts to denote the sequence of actions in order to describe the historical inheritance of Chinese culture. The following arrangement of the poem in Chinese is most applauded by Dai Tian's critics:

Gobi
 Plateau
 Steed
 Sad wind
 Chasing
 Bending the bow
 Crying

From nouns to verbs, from place to action, the inevitable outcome is moaning and crying. From the desolate Gobi Desert to the inhabitants on the plateau, the steed chasing in the melancholic wind with an anonymous rider bending his bow. The scene is so distant, yet

the mood is so close to the drinker who is embracing the whole of Chinese history and civilization in his bosom. After raising and lowering the mood in the 2nd stanza, Dai Tian employs more images like ‘showing the sorrow of the sun under the moon’, ‘wrapping up all the years in a camphor fan’, ‘to store the fan in the high cockloft, or to use it for fanning’ and ‘to read the wrapped anthology of wrinkles?’ To end the poem, Dai Tian has to switch back to face reality with frustration. Thus, the following is an illustration of the decadence of the real world:

Perhaps to-morrow
Like scavengers
 Pecking away
All the fables nourished by to-day
And on the side of the future
People are said to drink the old days
Inscribing poems cherishing ideals
“Another glass
Bottoms—up”
Kissing unscrupulously with a tart
Feeling the wind’s embrace all around
But the raindrops don’t come

The end-lines come from the poem ‘Evening Prospect from the West Gate Tower of Xianyang’ (*Xianyangcheng xilou wantiao*) by the Tang poet Xu Hun (dates unknown). In the 4th line of Xu Hun’s *lü shi* (a poem of eight lines), it reads: ‘The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains’. (53) The quotation is widely used to demonstrate the patriotism of the intellectuals when the country is in crisis. But, the quotation is being used here to satirize the wishful thinking and hypocrisy of intellectuals in general. Those intellectuals in the 60s of Hong Kong were being described as armchair patriots, they talked but never acted. They were drunk and the only action was ‘kissing unscrupulously with a tart’. The poem ‘*Huadiao*’ is rich in colour and the rhythm is fluent, it demonstrates the artistic merit of the maturing poet. However, the parallel comparison of the two busy cities, Ying and Hong Kong, is superficial. Readers may also run the risk of being entrapped in a specific image of the poem, and forget the ultimate concern of the poet which is to embrace the cultural history of China, of which he is a part.

‘*Huadiao*’ is a surrealistic composition. It describes the fantasy and dreamy adventures after drinking. Like ‘Self-portrait of a Drinker’, the poem is full of decadence. However, after lamenting about the sorrows of human life, and the satire on the old literati, Dai Tian always goes back to the intellectual pursuit of patriotism and Chineseness.

Critics were quick to point out that 'Huadiao' had a strong sense of decadence which they compared to Samuel Taylor Coleridge's (1772-1834) 'Kubla Khan' (Or, A Vision in a Dream) (54), saying that Dai Tian was drunk when he composed the poem 'Huadiao', and that Coleridge was drugged. As Coleridge admitted:

This fragment with a good deal more, not recoverable, composed in a sort of Reverie brought on by two grains of Opium, taken to check a dysentery, at a Farm House between Porlock & Linton, a quarter of a mile from Culbone Church, in the fall of the year, 1797. (55)

However, Dai Tian said that all his poems were written when he was sober. He likes drinking, but when he is drunk, he simply goes to sleep. 'Huadiao' was not written when he was tipsy or drunk. (56) The critics were correct when they pointed out the surrealistic nature and decadence of Dai Tian's poem 'Huadiao', but they were incorrect in guessing Dai Tian was drunk when he wrote the poem.

'Nirvana' and 'That is It'

On 1.3.1963, the Hong Kong Modern Arts and Literature Association published the first issue of its literary semi-monthly The Cape of Good Hope. Although it was not purely a poetry publication, in each issue many pages were dedicated to modern poetry writing and the introduction of Western literary theories. In the last and 10th issue of the publication, it announced the winners of the poetry and novel writing competition. (57) Winners of the poetry section included Zhou Mengdie, Guan Guan, Ya Xian and Dai Tian. Winners of the novel section included Sima Zhongyuan (1933-) and Wang Zhenhe (1940-1990). These winner's poems, apart from containing the metaphysical thinking in Chinese Buddhism and Taoism, clearly demonstrated the influence of the West, either of modernism, existentialism or surrealism. Dai Tian's winning poem 'Nirvana' reads:

It seems to be a complete desire
A desire without clothes
A disobedient body
Brutally trampled on yesterday

Once fled by, jumped past
Cried at the far end of the rail-track
Even opened thousands of doors
Breathed mouldy knowledge

And now encircles
'I' and 'I'
Very womanish, very sexual

Perhaps it is a high mountain
Safely, more like a knoll
It lets the sun drop streams
of blood upon its shoulders
The moon is searching on its forehead
The road of Zen

History is written
On our classical faces
When the tide rises and retreats
Before the screen of eyes
Those restless eyes are rolling
Still longing
Still thinking of worldly matters (58)

'Nirvana' denotes the highest state of completion in Buddhism. The liberation from the limitations of existence and rebirth are attained through the extinction of desire. In this ironic poem of Dai Tian's, the pursuit of nirvana 'seems to be a complete desire' of a disobedient body without clothes, the desire also includes woman, sex and worldly matters. The poem reflects a lot of the techniques used by Dai Tian in earlier poems. He tries to squeeze many images into the poem: Complete desire, disobedient body, mouldy knowledge, the road of Zen classical faces and worldly matters. Zen (*Chan*), which has preoccupied the minds of many modern poets, originated from the East, is confronted with the existential pursuit of 'I' and 'I'. 'The moon is searching on its forehead/the road of Zen' and 'It lets the sun drop streams/of blood upon its shoulders' are both misty and surrealistic. One favourite image is used repeatedly, i.e. the moon and the sun, to create a complete contrast of day and night and the never ending cycle of time. The same image is also used in the poem 'A Sprinting Zebra' (*Yipi benpao de banma*) which I shall discuss later. The poem 'Nirvana' was written in the Spring of 1963. Another poem, 'That is It', written in the same year but possibly at a later day (59), shares a similar theme and style. 'This is It' reads:

An urn placed there
Don't know why it is seated
There

Tranquil, it is an existence
An existence in tranquillity

Unaware of any sadness
Any happiness

And not sure of yesterday's to-morrow
To-morrow's yesterday
How empty and void they are

Then it is a bit desolate
A bit like that
A bit cold

This is a more regulated poem in 4 stanzas each consisting of 3 lines, except the second stanza with 4 lines. The poet tries to play with words by posing a similar inquiry about existence in the same stanza, a kind of self-explanatory questions and answers. The theme is about the lost and loneliness in human life, and the questioning of the value of the existence of individuals. The first and second stanzas 'An urn placed there/Don't know why it is seated/There', and 'Tranquil, it is an existence/An existence in tranquillity/Unaware of any sadness/Any happiness' are self-explanatory for the soul-searching of existence. The third stanza 'And not sure of yesterday's to-morrow/To-morrow's yesterday/How empty and void they are' denotes void and emptiness. A strong sense of soul-searching and unawareness of sadness and happiness, like 'Don't know why', 'Unaware of any sadness', 'Any happiness', 'Empty and void', 'Desolate' and 'Cold', are typical of Buddhist pursuits. Although the poem does not contain in-depth thinking and paradox, its logic and terseness in poetic expression will easily capture the minds of its readers.

Zhou Mengdie, Guan Guan, Ya Xian and Dai Tian

Zhou Mengdie's award winning poem in the same competition mentioned above, was 'On the Summit of the Solitary Peak' (*Gufeng dingshang*). (60) Zhou Mengdie, the poet of the 'lonely kingdom', a phrase coined by Zhang Mo, Luo Fu and Ya Xian (61), is a metaphysical poet. A lot of his poems including this winning one are concerned with the study of Zen. Images from Buddhist studies are widely quoted and interpreted in his poems. The pursuit of the harmonious universe as contained in Taoism is also a theme of Zhou Mengdie's poetry. Guan Guan's award winning poem was 'Kingdom of the Younger Brother' (*Didi zhi guo*). (62) In the sub-title of the poem, Guan Guan quoted

the words of the French surrealist poet Andre Breton (1896-1966): 'Here he comes, a fox with glassy teeth, he is biting time in the small roundish box'. Guan Guan used the same line in brackets at the beginning and end of the 1st episode of the poem. Undeniably, Guan Guan's poem 'Kingdom of the Younger Brother' is under the strong influence of surrealism. Likewise, Ya Xian's award winning poem 'Tribute to Henri Matisse' (*Xiangei Madisi*) was dedicated to the French painter and sculptor Matisse (1869-1954). However, as Ya Xian confessed to Ye Shan this poem was 'pretentious' and the poet himself was 'artificial'. (63)

In 1963, Dai Tian was the youngest among the winning poets in the above poetry competition. He was a graduate from National Taiwan University, aged 26, and working in Hong Kong, while the other three winning poets were all residing in Taiwan. Zhou Mengdie was then 43, Guan Guan 33 and Ya Xian was 31. The two winning novelists were also residents of Taiwan, Sima Zhongyuan was then 30 and Wang Zhenhe aged 23. Although almost all of the award winners came from Taiwan, the writing competition was organized by the Hong Kong Modern Arts and Literature Association. Once again, this shows the mutual influence that Taiwan, Hong Kong had on each other's modern literature between Taiwan and Hong Kong in the mid-50s, and modern poetry in the early 60s. That is, Hong Kong was not unilaterally influenced by Taiwan as regards literary activities in the 50s and 60s.

Summing up 1st Stage

Dai Tian has said that he does not learn from a particular poet. While this may be true, readers can find a lot of traces of other poets in his early works, though the influences are all superficial. Dai Tian is fond of using English words in his early poems, 'C minor' is used in 'Impromptu' as a musical tune, the dance 'the Twist' is used in 'Self-portrait of a Drinker'. There is also the transliteration of the beverage 'Martini' used in the poem 'Composition' written in Taipei in 1960. Names of foreign countries and places like France, Sahara desert, River Nile, North Africa and Middle Africa are used in the poem 'Self-portrait of A Drinker' and can be easily found in Dai Tian's later poems. Indeed, it is a kind of cocktail mixing all sorts of ingredients available to the author. More than this, Dai Tian also uses the poems and even the names of poets from ancient to contemporary

China to suit his use. A line by Wang Jingwei (1883-1944): 'To be killed by knife is a pleasure' (*Yindao cheng yikuai*) is used in the last line of Dai Tian's poem 'Composition'. In the poem 'Looking Horizontally' (*Heng kan*) written in 1963, not only the well-known poet and prose writer Zhu Ziqing's most popular prose 'Back Shadow' (*Beiying*) is being quoted, but names of ancient poets like Du Fu, Liu Zhongyuan (773-819) and Lu You (1125-1210) are also enlisted.

During this period, Dai Tian and his writing friends, most of whom turned out to be major writers and critics in contemporary Chinese literature, published Modern Literature at the National Taiwan University. He was also exploring various writing techniques and themes (like symbolic imagery, stream of consciousness, alienation existence and decadence). Oriental philosophy like Buddhism and the nostalgic atmosphere of Chineseness are also conspicuous in Dai Tian's poetry in the 1st stage.

The 2ND STAGE: 1967-1980

There are about 33 published poems during this period.

This stage is the climax of Dai Tian's poetry writing, a golden harvest with his best poems. In 1967, Dai Tian was awarded a scholarship to attend the Iowa International Writer's Workshop. (64) When Dai Tian was in the United States, he was deeply influenced by the anti-Vietnam war students' demonstrations. The year 1967 was turbulent in the history of Hong Kong. The effects of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1968) in China caused extreme panic in the colony and riots. The effects of the Cultural Revolution in China, the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations, the revival of the folk song movement in America in the 60s and the French students' Movement in 1968 deeply influenced Dai Tian's thought. 1967 marks the end of the 1st stage and the beginning of Dai Tian's 2nd stage of poetry writing. In early 1967, Dai Tian had written poems like 'Thoughts from Listening to Buddha' (*Tingfo yougan*) (65) and 'Autumn' (*Qiu*) (66) which are similar in style and theme to 'Nirvana' and 'That is It' of his earlier stage. All the poems collected in volumes 1 and 2 of Debate on Rugged Mountain belong to the 1st stage of Dai Tian's poetry writing. The rest of the poems in volumes 3, 4 and 5 of Debate on Rugged Mountain all belong to the 2nd stage.

During the 2nd stage, Dai Tian demonstrated his ability to write symbolic poems, yet he also wrote lucid lyrical poems with a graceful and restrained beauty similar to that of the 'Gentle School' of Chinese *ci* poems which flourished during the Five Dynasties (907-960) and Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127). (67) Dai Tian has explored different themes as he has matured: Chineseness and Hong Kong identity, international politics and time and life. Except for Hong Kong identity which will be specially discussed in the next chapter, I shall deal with these themes in detail in this chapter. Dai Tian's employment of alienation, parallel imagery, discursive format and binary division will also be closely examined. The following poems: 'Ten poems on Kyoto' 'Stone Court' (*Shiting*), 'A Child's Fable No.1' (*Tonghua*), 'I am a Bird' (*Woshi yizhiniao*), 'Impression on the Painting "Chant while Walking of the Song and Yuan Periods"' (*Du 'Song Yuan xingyintu'*), 'Dance by the Cloud Gate Dance Troupe' (*Yunmen zhi wu*), 'Ju Ming' (*Zhu Ming*), 'As the Right' (*Ru you*), 'Selling of the Head' (*Fantouji*), 'A Sprinting Zebra', 'Kite' (*Fengzheng*), 'This is a Rotten Apple' (*Zheshi yige lanpingguo*), 'Debate on

Rugged Mountain' (*Goulou shan lunbian*), 'To a Mountaineer' (*Zhi mou pashanjia*), and 'The Fossil Says' (*Huashi shuo*) will be discussed in detail.

Chang'an and Kyoto: Su Manshu, Bian Zhilin and Dai Tian

Dai Tian had not experienced the tumultuous conditions of the 1967 Hong Kong riots. In the early summer of 1967, on his way to Iowa, he visited Japan including the ancient city of Kyoto which reflects the past glory of the ancient capital Chang'an (nowadays Xi'an) of the Han (A.D 206-220) and Tang (618-906) dynasties. Dai Tian has written 20 poems about Kyoto. Only a suite of 'Ten poems on Kyoto' and the 'Stone Court' were published. These poems denote the serene beauty that is often found in the *ci* poems of the Northern Song dynasty, yet readers can also trace the quiet realm of Chineseness in the ancient architectural heritage of Kyoto. The term 'Chineseness' is defined here with the broadest sense as any description and sentiment that is related to China, reflected by historical events, people, philosophy, religion, arts, culture, customs, landscape and architecture. In Dai Tian's poetry, places like the Yellow River, the Yangtze, Mount Tai, etc., names like Qu Yuan (circa 278-343 BC), Sima Qian, Tao Yuanming, Li Bai, Du Fu, Su Dongpo and others, philosophy schools and religion like Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, etc., cultural remains, artifacts, reminiscences and history, Chinese fables, paintings, contemporary dance and sculptor, all contribute to the theme Chineseness.

Before I venture into Dai Tian's 'Ten poems on Kyoto', it is essential to explore the importance of and relationship between the two cities, Chang'an and Kyoto, and the reasons why Chinese poets are so strongly attracted by the beauty and nostalgia of the Japanese city. Kyoto was the capital city of Japan from 794-1192, and the imitation imperial palace and ancient Buddhist temples still remain. It is believed that Buddhism was spread from China during the Tang dynasty to Japan, and Kyoto remains the centre of Buddhism in Japan. Moreover, the city planning and architectural buildings of Kyoto were based on the model of Chang'an. In present day China, however, there is little trace of ancient Chang'an. Kyoto has thus become a place for Chinese people to wander in the seeming aura of the ancient Chinese capital, Chang'an. From the Han dynasty onwards, Chang'an is frequently mentioned and employed in Chinese literary works. During the late Qing dynasty, Qiu Jin (1874-1907) and Su Manshu (1884-1918) visited Japan and

wrote a large number of poems concerning Japan. Su Manshu's father was a Japanese, and there was a Buddhist building called the 'Garden of Manshu' in Kyoto built in the 17th century. The poem, 'Spring Drizzle' (*Chunyu*) or 'Occasional Poem, No.1', written by Su Manshu in the first half of 1909 is most famous. The poem is translated by Liu Wu-chi (Liu Wuji, 1907-):

Spring rain pattering on an upper chamber—the sound of 'a foot-and eight' flute.
How I yearn to go to watch the tide at Ch'ien-t'ang!
With straw sandals and a broken alms-bowl, all unknown I roamed.
I wonder how many bridges I've crossed, where the cherry blossoms bloom. (68)

This rhymed *jueju* of 4 lines each of 7 characters is beautifully written with elegance and ease of mind. The figure of a wandering Buddhist monk who is not restrained by poverty and property is lively, yet the theme is nostalgic but not sentimental. Su Manshu was listening to the flute 'on an upper chamber' and thinking of China. This recurrent scene of reading and thinking 'on the highest terrace' is also an image used in both Bian Zhilin and Dai Tian's poems which I shall discuss later. However, in Su Manshu's poem, 'Spring Drizzle', the most significant object employed by Su Manshu is the flute, the Chinese '*chiba*' ('a foot-and eight' flute). It is believed that the '*chiba*' was imported from China to Japan by a monk during the Song dynasty (960-1279). It is the music of the flute that links up the sentiment of the poets of different eras. Bian Zhilin, a poet whom Dai Tian admires, stayed in Kyoto and Tokyo for 5 months in the early summer of 1935. The sound of the flute made Bian Zhilin recite Su Manshu's poem 'Spring Drizzle', thinking of himself as a sojourner in Kyoto, but in another sense as a sojourner in Chang'an. This mingled feeling and passion inspired Bian Zhilin to write the poem '*Chiba*', because he was so amazed to hear the music of (probably) the Tang dynasty in this foreign land. Bian Zhilin quoted Zhou Zuoren (1884-1967) to explain this excitement:

When we are in Japan, the feeling is like half being in foreign land, the other half is in the ancients (China). These ancients are fully and healthily re-lived in foreign land, it is neither a dream nor a myth. It is also different to the spurious customs in Korea and Annam. (69)

'Ten Poems on Kyoto' and 'Stone Court'

In the early summer of 1967, when Dai Tian was in Kyoto, he must have experienced similar feelings and expectations as those experienced by Qiu Jin, Su Manshu, Zhou Zuoren and Bian Zhilin. In 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' (70), Dai Tian uses numerous Chinese images in order to re-create the state of 'Chineseness', a serene mood and conception which is characteristic of the 'Gentle School' of Chinese *ci* poems. The uniqueness of the poem cycle, as discussed below, is a climax in Dai Tian's poetry writing. When the poems were first published in the Ming Pao Monthly in July 1968, it was stated that the poem cycle was 'dedicated to Professor Paul Engle, a well-known poet and educator'. Paul Engle (1908-1992), husband of Nie Hualing and father-in-law of Li Oufan, was a poet and founder of the Iowa International Writing Program. The 1st poem 'Seated to Watch the Moss' (*Zuo kan qingtai*) reads:

All the foot-steps
Like snow
Melted
A Glance

 Lightly
Came this way
Just to say

Be seated

The poem describes the sheer quiet and peacefulness of the surroundings. At the same time, it also demonstrates the leisurely and pious state of mind of the visitor. This is the 1st poem of the suite, it denotes the elegance of a prologue. The visitor is welcomed by the serene environment, alone and undisturbed. The poet is asked lightly but naturally to be seated. Thus, the poet can relax and become absorbed in his own thought and imagination, beyond watching the moss. The poem describes the large lawn at the 'Chinese Toon Cottage' (*Chunshan zhuang*) in Kyoto. In an essay written by Dai Tian in the 70s (71), he remembers his previous visit to the 'Chinese Toon Cottage'. Describing the strength of the lawn, he quotes five lines from the poem, 'Seated to Watch the Moss': 'A glance/Lightly/Came this way/Just to say/Be seated'. This is the kind of feeling, contemplation and meditation with the nature in the imitated aura of ancient Chang'an, that Dai Tian is trying to capture in the suite 'Ten Poems on Kyoto'. The 2nd poem 'Butterfly' (*Hudie*) reads:

Zhuang Zhou's butterfly remains a butterfly when waking up from dream I'm a
butterfly too you are a butterfly all waking up from dreams
Gracefully flying into her eyes filled with blooming flowers
To pick up
That
Sweetness

From a seated position, the poet meditates upon the indescribable Taoist state of mind, a mind full of illusions and imaginings. The metaphor is borrowed from Zhuang Zi in which Zhuang Zhou dreams of being a butterfly. In Dai Tian's poem, it is the butterfly that dreams of being Zhuang Zhou. (72) However, the poet also transforms himself into a butterfly so the real world is negated. What attracts the butterfly is the sweetness of the different flowers. The poem contains movement and illusion. The last but second line of the poem when first published was different from this amended version. The first edition reads:

To pick up
That bit of
Sweetness (73)

After the deletion of 'bit of' in the last but second line of the poem 'Butterfly', the poem becomes less directional and quantitative in the ending, and the 'sweetness' is being stressed and reinforced. The 3rd poem, 'The Mirror Pond' (*Jingrong chi*) reads:

Like this
A soft touch
The hand of the wind
Makes the willows' green drops sparkle
Makes the lotus flowers
Lead the roaming fish
To
A world
Without dust

The application of imagery is similar to the 1st poem 'Seated to Watch the Moss'. In the 1st poem, it is the glance that invites the visitor; in this 3rd poem, it is the soft touches of the wind inviting the poet to adventure further. The season is summer, the willow is green, the lotus flowers begin to bloom. In Buddhist writings, lotus flowers are arranged to form the Buddha's seat, thus the 'lotus throne' symbolizes the inclusion of the material world. The surroundings are so tranquil that they seem to have been transformed into the world of no trouble. In the poem, the Chinese character for 'dust' is often translated as 'trouble', for 'dust' is a common expression for the Buddhists meaning this material

world. The 'world of dust', a world full of troubles, is a standard Buddhist epithet for the transitory world of illusory phenomena. The 4th poem 'Scenes of Nijō Castle' (*Ertiao cheng suojian*) describes the old imperial palace that the poet was visiting:

Eyes
Like revolving lanterns
Underneath the balcony of far-away waiting
Spring after spring
Summer after summer

And from where the bald vulture is
Seeing the pine aging
The cloud relaxing
Looking at the steep and boundless cliff
Feeling
A sudden faintness

Nijō Castle is a palace with three courts built by the Ashikaga shōguns in 1602, the south, west and north courts. There is also a 'Tang Gate' which literally means the gate to Tang Dynasty. The poem denotes the changes of time. The first stanza reveals to readers that the season is between spring and summer when the poet was visiting Kyoto. The use of reduplication ('Spring after spring/Summer after summer') emphasizes the ever-changing time, just like the revolving lantern. The eyes of the visitor are so greedy, just like the revolving lantern, viewing the beauty of the changing season, and this shifting vision leads into images in the second stanza like: the bald vulture, aging pine, relaxing cloud and the far-reaching cliff, which have been there for ages. The age of the scenery contributes to the 'sudden faintness' of the traveller. This 'sudden faintness' touches on the theme of time and death which is elaborated in the 5th poem, 'The Court of Light Vertex' (*Juguang yuan*) which reads:

Light
Concentrated on
Foreheads of tombstones
All the dead
From the forestal shadows
Arose
A wisp of still warm
Smoke
After the living people had gone far
Beyond the green mountain
Stopped in mid-air
The voiceless
Voices
Vanished with a touch

The Court of Light Vertex is described by Japanese people as the ‘Court of Hundred Stones’. It was also the burial place for 300 families. The Court of Light Vertex and the Temple of Solitary Canopy in poem No.10 are both part of the Great Virtue Temple (*Dade si*) first built in 1453. The entrance to the Court of Light Vertex is marked with a plaque with two Chinese characters ‘*Ju guang*’. This poem describes the scenes at a court with a burial place. The Japanese people, like the Chinese tradition of remembering the dead, burn incense and candles as offerings to the deceased. Dai Tian cleverly deploys the scene of offerings to arouse the spirit of the dead. The burning of the sutras lights up the foreheads of the tombstone, the spirit of the dead is transformed into a wisp of smoke following the foot-steps of the living. However, there is no conversation between the living and the dead. The ‘voiceless voices’ are unheard and ‘vanished with a touch’. There are eight kinds of sound in Buddhism, including the good and the bad. The two lines ‘The voiceless/ voices’ are Zen-like. Are there any voices? The image is employed coherently with the image of the ‘door’ in the 7th poem ‘Heavenly Temple’ (*Tianshou an*) of the poem cycle. The ‘touch’ here is different to the ‘soft touch’ of the wind as described in the 3rd poem, ‘The Mirror Pond’. The use of the image of ‘light’ in the poem is similar to the technique used by Luo Fu in his poem, ‘Death in the Stone Chamber No.6’ (*Shishi zhi siwang*), written in 1961-63: ‘Someone tries to suck early morning light from my forehead’. (74) Likewise, both Dai Tian’s poem, ‘The Court of Light Vertex’ and Luo Fu’s poem, ‘Death in the Stone Chamber’, bear the hallmark of surrealism. The 6th poem, ‘The Morning Verandah’ (*Jibai xuan*), reads:

The meandering path of the Morning Verandah
 Stops at
 The sweet-scented osmanthus
 All the flowers
 Were already laughing
 Had been laughing
 The flowers
 From the sound
 Borrowed
 Complete commotion

The Morning Verandah is part of the Temple of Fine Heart (*Miaoxin si*) first built in 1467. From the meandering path of the Morning Verandah, accompanied by the noise of the sweet-scented osmanthus flower, Dai Tian continues his visit to the buildings and temples in Kyoto. It is imaginative and vivid to apply the commotion of the noise to describe the colour and smell of the flower. The 7th poem ‘Heavenly Temple’ reads:

At the time
There was no more
Door

Shadows
Under the glazed tiles
Skeletal eye sockets
On the right
Of the upturned eaves

Only the stone laid
Stone laid courtyard
Still in position
In front of the door
That has no door

The Heavenly Temple was part of the South Monastery (*Nan chansi*) built in 1627. The door has gone, but the stone courtyard is still there. This conveys to us once again the changes in time, and that the 'shadows' and 'skeletal eye sockets' of the past still linger around. The image of the 'door' is full of the philosophy and paradox of Zen. According to Zen, the ways of learning Buddhism is by going through the 'door', and the 'door' is the entrance to the eternal world. However, is there a door or not? A door is only a symbol that exists in the mind, and anything can represent the existence of such a door. Once there was a door in front of the stone courtyard, but the physical door has long gone. However, the stone courtyard is still there, and the door exists in the mind of the poet. The existence of the door adds weight to the 'changes' in this 'world of dust', the sublime passion and intimate feeling in search of eternity touches the soul of the visitor. The shadow also dims the time of the day into evening. With the time approaching evening, and the path through the 'door' of 'no door', Dai Tian meticulously leads the reader into the 8th poem 'Moon-lit Gate' (*Yuexia men*):

The door-leaves of the Moon-lit Gate
Securely locks in
The verdant of pine and cypress
And ushers aside
The path from outside

Nobody knows
Where the foot-prints come from
That paused
Deeply
In front of the eaves

Through the doorless path of the Heavenly Temple, the poet finds himself locked outside the Moon-lit Gate. The foot-prints here recapitulate the melted foot-steps of the 1st poem ‘Seated to Watch the Moss’, but the foot-prints staying here denotes the difference in time, and temperature or landscape. The Moonlit Gate is a small construction resembling an entrance porch leading to the Temple of Eastern Bliss (*Dongfu si*) first built in 1236. The name ‘*Yuexia men*’ might have come from the lines of the Tang Dynasty poet Jia Dao (779-843), who was a Buddhist monk before becoming a scholar, his two lines read:

The birds nestle on the tree beyond the pond;
The monk knocks at the gate in the moonlight. (75)

In transliteration, Jia Dao’s two lines read: ‘*Niaosu chibian shu/sengqiao yuexia men*’. When Jia Dao was composing these two lines, he was undecided to choose between the verb ‘*tui*’ (push) and ‘*qiao*’ (knock) in the second line. The words were then weighed by Han Yu (768-824), a major poet of Jia Dao’s contemporary, who deliberated that ‘*qiao*’ was better in the context. The word ‘*tuiqiao*’ (weigh, deliberate) is, therefore, used as a compound in the Chinese language. In Dai Tian’s poem, the verb ‘*tuikai*’ (push away) was used in the 4th line of the 1st stanza, and was translated as ‘ushers aside’. The reader may correlate that the spirit of Jia Dao was with Dai Tian at the time of writing the poem ‘Moon-lit Gate’.

Pang Bingjun, John Minford and Sean Golden translated Dai Tian’s poem ‘*Yuexia men*’ under the title ‘Gate in the Moonlight’ as follows:

Double gate in the moonlight
Locks in
Dark-green pine and cypress,
Push away
The path from outside

No one knows
Whence the feet came
That stopped and
Left so deep an imprint
Under the eaves. (76)

I prefer to use the traditional term ‘door-leaves’ rather than the ‘double gate’ as in Pang, Minford and Golden’s version. Also, I think ‘paused’ implies a more serious intent for the visitors than ‘stopped’. Last of all, the invention and inclusion of punctuation marks in the translated text is totally unnecessary. The fluency and internal flow of the 1st stanza could not possibly be chopped into two halves by a comma. Likewise, the full stop at the

end of the poem limits the reader's free association. Dai Tian's poem 'Moon-lit gate' does not end at the last line, in fact this signals the commencement of meditation.

The editors did not seek Dai Tian's prior permission or endorsement to include the poem 'Gate in the Moonlight' in the anthology of 100 Modern Chinese Poems. When Dai Tian was eventually informed of the publication, not by the editors, but by his friend Liu Shaoming, he wrote in his column as follows:

(25th September 1991) Received Liu Shaoming's letter. Liu informed me that a foreign language 'Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature' had included my humble composition 'Gate in the Moonlight'. I am surprised. Because this is only an episode of the whole poem, and a fragment of the whole poem is incomplete in its own. Also, this is my work of the earlier stage, it can not represent my work and should not be selected into any anthology. (77)

Dai Tian was certainly displeased with the selection of only one poem from 'Ten Poems on Kyoto', which is a poem cycle, for inclusion in an anthology. Yet, he is too humble in depreciating his poems of this time. His comments also demonstrate his view that poetry is only part of life, and often it is not the most important part. Dai Tian does not even save or collect his published writings.

The 9th poem, 'The First Mountain Hall' (*Kaishan tang*), reads:

Forecourt of the First Mountain Hall
Ploughed
Plenty of square and circular
And those straight forward moving
Patterns

Little mountains
So aged that they cannot open
Their mossy eyes
But they cannot but argue
With the equally old
Pine trees
About circles and squares

And now the straight forward image
Already united with
The boundless deepening shade of dusk

The First Mountain Hall is the first building to be built in the vicinity of a temple, or such building resided in by the first presiding monk of the religion. In Dai Tian's poem, First Mountain Hall refers to the one in the Temple of Eastern Bliss. The discursive style of the poem resembles the old monks arguing about Zen. It bears a great similarity to Dai

Tian's poem 'Debate on Rugged Mountain' written during the same period of the poet's life, but in 1976. The poem 'First Mountain Hall' reveals to us the wide and patterned landscape with large patches of round and irregular rocks and trees, and large pieces of grassland in horizontal and vertical shapes interweaving with each other in the forecourt of First Mountain Hall. The poem also points out the approaching of 'the boundless deepening shade of dusk'. This line foretells the end of the day's tour.

The 10th poem 'The Temple of Solitary Sail' (*Gupeng an*) reads:

Thinking of mist-covered waters
Vast and boundless
Not yet late: Footsteps
Cockcrow: Eyes
And forever gone
A drifting
Vagabond's garment
As well as
Amid the concealed reedy path
A secluded
Mystery

This poem is the epilogue of the suite. It is full of departing and a wandering mood. 'The Temple of Solitary Sail' was first built in 1644 in the shape of a boat. It was damaged by fire in 1793 and rebuilt afterwards. The entrance to the temple is built amid bushy groves, there is a 'T' shaped slab block forming a gangway leading to the temple. The temple in solitude also indicates the solitude of the visitor who is thinking of the far away 'mist-covered waters' in Jiangnan, China. Jiangnan is famous for its architecture in traditional Chinese courts and gardens. The symbol of the 'cockcrow', which first appears in the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing*) is used as a metaphor representing a determined person who works hard in order to serve the country. In an essay written by Dai Tian around the same period lamenting the severing of the umbilical cord connecting Hong Kong from Chinese culture, Dai Tian also uses the image of the 'cockcrow':

In midnight, when the cock crows, awakening from dream, we may sigh. But when day time comes, we all changed into 'yes' men. (78)

Dai Tian modifies the symbol with 'And forever gone/A drifting/Vagabond's garment'. Dai Tian ends the poem with uncertainty and mystery. 'Amid the concealed reedy path/A secluded/Mystery', which reminds the readers of the riddle of Zen. This recaptures the theme of visiting a cluster of ancient temples and courts built in the 17th century which

were deeply influenced by Buddhism. As Lloyd Haft commented on Bian Zhilin's poetry, there is an underlying influence of Taoist and Buddhist thoughts: 'Their function is rather to imply, in a very general sense, an underlying Buddhist or Taoist perspective on the nature of human identity.' (79) I find that this is also true in Dai Tian's poetry as demonstrated in 'Ten Poems on Kyoto', and in 'Debate on Rugged Mountain' which I shall discuss in later paragraphs.

All in all, the technique applied in 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' is mature and varied. Dai Tian's development of the cycle is fluent and harmonious. It depicts patterns— circular, square, straightforward, meandering, stone laid; colour— green, mossy, snow, white, deepening shade of dusk; smell— sweet-scented osmanthus, lotus; and time and movement— dream, spring spring/summer summer, equally old, death, eye-sight and foot-prints. The meticulous ordering of the words and the air of quietness in 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' can instil a sense of purity in the minds of readers, and the nostalgic theme of 'Chineseness' set in the reminiscences of Tang Dynasty architecture will also leave its mark. Critics like Huang Jundong have described 'Ten poems on Kyoto' as Dai Tian's best poem, for it is full of Oriental philosophical aesthetics. An unique contrast to the disturbing and commercialized society like Hong Kong. Such purity is not to be found in the younger generation of Hong Kong poets, because according to Huang, the younger generation do not have such a good knowledge of Chinese literature, and their appreciation of Chinese culture is not up to the same high level as Dai Tian's. (80) Indeed, I have not found any other poems written on a similar theme by other Hong Kong poets which can maintain the same degree of linguistic purity and aesthetic beauty.

The poem 'Stone Court' is similar in style to 'Ten Poems on Kyoto'. In the remarks that followed the title of the poem (81), Dai Tian says that the poem 'Stone Court' describes the strange shaped rocks and the layout of the stones of the Lung-an Temple in Kyoto. Dai Tian says he has written twenty poems about Kyoto, the remaining nine unpublished poems will be published at a later date. When the poem 'Stone Court' was translated into English in 1975 by Nancy Chang Ing, the Chinese title was then changed to 'Stone Garden' (*Shi Yuan*). (82) However, the third and final stanza of the poem 'Stone Court' is in great contrast to the quiet air of 'Ten Poems on Kyoto'. It is full of satire. The following is Nancy Chang Ing's translation:

Though walls
surround
your unsubmissive

spirit
by the small pavilion
clatter of pattens
from all sides
gazing at the beasts
the beastlike
tourists.

'Stone Court' strongly ridicules the tourists. The hustling tourists, come from all sides, gazing at the beastlike tourists. The tourists are described as hustling and beastlike. This is certainly a great contrast to the serene mood as portrayed in 'Ten Poems on Kyoto'. The powerful description of the figure of the tourists as beasts is a modernist image, the same technique can also be found in the 6th poem in 'Ten Poems on Kyoto'. In the 6th poem 'The Morning Verandah', a great commotion is caused by the laughter of the flowers. However, the readers also have to distinguish between the serene realm of commotion as stirred up by the laughter of flowers, from the bustling and hustling state of the beastlike tourists.

'A Child's Fable No.1' and 'Oh! I am a Bird'

The theme of Chineseness in Dai Tian's 2nd stage of poetry writing also denotes memories of childhood scenes in China and homesick thoughts about the homeland from exile in Hong Kong. In the poem 'A Child's Fable No.1' (83), the ditty conjures up Chinese children of the past and brings back memories of one's own childhood in China. The poem is translated by Nancy Chang Ing:

Those mountains sitting there, row by row
so very lovable
When hungry
they'll eat the cotton-candy clouds
the biscuit moon
only the sun too hot
for them to touch

But at times there are no white clouds
and no moon
then they're bored
so linking hands
they play
and sing:

rock
 rock
 rock
rock to grandma's bridge.

The ditty 'Rock/rock/rock/rock to grandma's bridge' is one of the most traditional and popular lullabies for Chinese infants and children. The same ditty is again used in Dai Tian's fable 'Paper Boat' (*Zhichuan*) written in the 80s. A traditional lullaby is very nostalgic for any person living overseas or in exile. When one is detached from and rejected by the homeland one can bring back the sweet and innocent memories of childhood. Recalling the innocence of childhood is very often a way of hiding from the setbacks and despair in the material world. The other ditty Dai Tian employed is 'the man who rode on a bamboo horse' in the poem '*Huadiao*'. These ditties are used as a symbol of a continuing Chinese cultural heritage for future Chinese generations who live overseas. The other poem that demonstrates a strong sense of Chineseness is 'Oh! I am a Bird'. (84) The poem was printed on a double page spread in the form of a soaring bird in Ming Pao Monthly in 1970. The Hong Kong identity of this poem will be further discussed in the next chapter. The 1st stanza of the poem denotes the tiredness of a bird, which has no way out, from China:

Oh, I am a bird
Apparently I'm an elegant circumspection
I am a form
Containing zero content
I am the kind of frost
That only has memory
And the memory contains only the North
And the North only has
What does not have anything—
That kind of long sigh across the sky
That kind of tired
Feathered wings
That kind of smell of earth
Oh! I am a bird
I am a
Dwelling
Without roof-top
I am
Kitchen smoke
Without chimney

The bird comes from the North, i.e. China. The bird only remembers North, but these memories of the North are only of the frost, the sigh, the tired wings and the smell of the earth. A dwelling 'without roof-top' is just like a wisp of 'kitchen smoke/without chimney'. The metaphor is so appropriate and expressive that one can really feel the desolation of the tired bird. The tired bird is used here as a metaphor for the rejected exiles living in Hong Kong, a British colony, who are tired birds without a home, just like a wisp of 'kitchen smoke/without chimney'. Dai Tian's poem 'Oh! I am a Bird' also reminds readers of patriotism, but patriotism without any means of expression. He wrote the poem as a patriotic Chinese exile living in the British colony of Hong Kong in 1970. The poem does not contain any dogma or slogan, instead it is carefully carved and the sentiment is restrained. The theme of Chineseness continues to flow in the 3rd stage of Dai Tian's poetry writing which I shall discuss in later paragraphs.

Chinese Arts and Artists: 'Impression on the Painting "Chant while Walking of the Song and Yuan Periods"', 'Dance by the Cloud Gate Dance Troupe' and 'Zhu Ming'

This group of poems, which also contribute to the theme of Chineseness, allows more room to the appreciation of Chinese arts and artists. Under the theme Chineseness, Dai Tian also describes Chinese painting, contemporary dance and sculpture in his poems. These art forms, with the others, can be seen as the fundamental elements in Dai Tian's philosophical concept of cultural China of the next stage. The interpretation of Chinese paintings inspires and influences Dai Tian's writings like 'Portraits of the Eight Eccentrics' (*Baguai tu*) and 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' in the next stage. The 1st stanza of the poem 'Impression on the Painting "Chant while Walking of the Song & Yuan Periods"' reads:

The ancients have chanted
 Bequeathed
 These mountains and these waters
 Dark green in Song Dynasty
 Lofty
 Beyond the battles of the Yuan Dynasty (85)

Dai Tian is absorbed in the cultural heritage of Chinese painting. Dynasties may be replaced, heroes buried, but not the landscapes and the cultural inheritance bequeathed by the artists. In the 2nd stanza, Dai Tian emerges into the boundless space between

mountains and waters. He is amazed at how the artist can plot and paint the mountains and waters in a palm's size. In the painting, Dai Tian can imagine and relive in the scenery the life styles of the ancient people. Since the poem is about the reading of a painting, the alienation effect actively reminds readers of the reality of the Song and Yuan periods scenery which differs from that of the present. Apart from the natural scenery, there is also a man, the 3rd stanza reads:

There is also the human world
Stupidly the reed
Entangled
A boat as light as a leaf
All the blooming flowers
Drunk and
In need of someone's support

From a bird's view of the mountains and waters, Dai Tian comes closer into a minute description of the reed, the boat and the flower. The technique resembles panning from wide angle to close up in filming. Once again, the image of the drunken flowers, like the 'complete commotion' of the flowers in the poem 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' discussed earlier, is vivid. Yet, the drunken mood of the flowers is an inversion of the image in Xin Qiji's (1140-1207) *ci* poem 'Tune: "The Moon over the West River"—Written at Random' (*Xijiang yue*). The 2nd stanza of Xin Qiji's *ci* poem, as translated by Xu Yuanzhong, reads:

Drunken last night beneath a pine-tree,
I asked if it liked me so drunk.
Afraid it would bend to try to raise me,
'Be off!' I said and pushed back its trunk. (86)

After the imagined drunkenness of the flowers, Dai Tian completes the reading and appreciation of the painting in a serene tranquillity. The 4th and final stanza reads:

These are rivers and lakes
Mountains
That endured thousand frosts
Facing
The leisurely
Water
Emerald:
Water in the mountain
Mountain in the water
Only the voice
Sloughed off

The old tune
Like a piece of plain silk
Floating

One thinks of the appreciation of a picture as a passive aesthetic activity. However, Dai Tian is able to express the relationship between time, distance, shape, colour, light, sound and movement from his interpretation of the painting. From battle grounds to the human world, the poem ends with the familiar tune of the cicada: 'Only the voice/Sloughed off/The old tune', but the sound transforms into the essence of the painting, floating in history like a plain silk. 'A piece of plain silk' is also used to represent the painting in which colour, sound and movement can be seen and heard. The painting represents an artistic vision of reality. The world thus recreated being sublime, the paintings inspire lofty thoughts and sentiments. By viewing a painting, the onlooker can share with the artist a deep understanding of life and the world. The history of paintings can reveal and demonstrate the aesthetic, spiritual and moral essence of the Chinese way of life.

Apart from poems about paintings, Dai Tian also writes about modern dance. 'Dance by the Cloud Gate Dance Troupe' was written in 1975 paying tribute to Dai Tian's friend Lin Huaimin. (87) Lin was a journalist turned novelist, poet, and then modern dancer and choreographer. The 'Cloud Gate Dance Troupe' was founded by Lin in Taiwan in 1973. 'Cloud Gate' was the earliest dance theatre in the era of Huang Di in ancient Chinese history. The aim of the dance troupe is to create contemporary repertoires through the revival and re-creation of Chinese cultural heritage. The poem consists of seven titled episodes: 'Scenery' (*Fengjing*), 'Heavenly Rules and Conscience' (*Tiandao liangxin*), 'Bride Awaiting Marriage' (*Daijianiang*), 'Blindness' (*Mang*), 'Han Shi Festival' (*Han shi*), 'Xu Xian' (*Xu Xian*) and 'Nei Zha' (*Nei Zha*).

The dance drama choreographed by Lin Huaimin is based on The Legend of the White Snake (*Baishhe zhuan*). The 1st episode 'Scenery' concentrates on the parting scene in a quiet mood between Lady White and Xu Xian. The colour setting for the 2nd episode 'Heavenly Rules & Human Mind' is red. As the title suggests, the theme of the dance is righteousness. The 3rd episode 'Bride awaiting Marriage' reads:

Butterfly lost amid flower bush
It merely is happiness
Yet there is wind

It merely is worry
Yet there are flowers

It merely is blurred
Yet there is colour

Butterfly lost amid flower bush
(Can butterfly spare with flower bush?)

This episode denotes the confused state of mind of a bride awaiting marriage. The excitement at the prospect of eternal happiness, and the worry and confusion about the future are all mixed up. Thus, the movements of the bride awaiting marriage resemble the butterfly lost amid the flower bush, the episode reflects the undulating and romantic mood of the dance to great effect. 'Butterflies lingering over flowers' have been a traditional image frequently used by Chinese classical writers to denote love and courtship. Here, Dai Tian again proves how he can develop and recreate traditional imagery with fresh and sharp applications. The 4th episode 'Blindness' is the scene about the killing of Lady White, the snake. The 5th episode 'Han Shi Festival' is about the different worlds of the living and the dead. '*Han shi*' is two days before '*Qing ming*' (Pure Brightness, the 5th solar term) which is one of the 24 divisions of the solar year in the Chinese traditional calendar. '*Han shi*' festival is to mark the loyalty of the patriots who did not surrender upon the change of Dynasties and were burnt to death in the Jin Dynasty. In order to commemorate these patriots, no fire will be lighted on the day of '*Han shi*'. The seasonal division '*Qing ming*' and the '*Han shi*' festivals hint at Xu Xian's remembering the white snake. The 6th episode 'Xu Xian' is the climax of the poem cycle:

In the place where flowers bloom
Tradition has made a turn
Happy land
Under the umbrella
Behind the pagoda
After all, mountain in mountain, water in water
The road is Lin Huaimin

This episode pays tribute to Lin Huaimin. Dai Tian first points out the revitalizing efforts of Lin in choreographing modern dance using the rich tradition of Chinese literature. The 'umbrella' relates to the parting scene in the 1st episode, when Lady White first encountered the scholar Xu Xian, on a bridge and borrowed his umbrella in occasional rain. The 'pagoda' relates to the persecution of Lady White in the 2nd episode. The originality of Lady White being a snake is discovered by the monk, who tried to capture and imprison her under the pagoda. Dai Tian praises Lin Huaimin for resurrecting the role of Xu Xian on stage. Deng Kunyan made a similar comment when Cloud Gate

Dance Troupe performed the repertory A Dream of the Red Mansions by Cao Xueqin in Hong Kong in 1994. Deng Kunyan compliments Lin Huaimin by stating that: “[Jia] Baoyu is [Lin] Huaimin, and Huaimin is Baoyu.” (88)

The 7th episode is called ‘Nei Zha’. Nei Zha, as mentioned in the Ming Dynasty fiction The Romance of the Conferment of Gods (*Fengshen yanyi*), is a fairy god in the Dynasty of Western Zhou (c. 11th century—771 BC). (89) This last episode denotes the blood relationship between parents and children and the chain of reproduction of human beings in history. The last two lines of the poem read:

You are the history of man
Man of history

Dai Tian praises Lin Huaimin’s effort to recreate the history of man, and Lin’s ideal of revitalising the classical Chinese repertoire. Lin has a vision to promote the essence of Chinese culture in the form of contemporary dance to the world, the theme of Chineseness is central in all the repertoire of Lin’s works. The continuation and development of Chinese history and civilization are, in the form of poetry writing, also Dai Tian’s most important goals. Lin Huaimin’s dancing was mentioned again in Dai Tian’s poem ‘Because of Nightfall’ (*Zhiyinwei yewan lailin*) written in the 80s. Indeed, the Cloud Gate Dance Troupe, in the past 25 years, has performed in many parts of the world including the PRC.

From painting to modern dance, from modern dance to sculpture, Dai Tian has written a poem cycle of 10 poems, ‘Ju Ming’, about his friend, the sculptor Zhu Ming. (90) The theme of Zhu Ming’s wood carving described in Dai Tian’s poem is based on the models demonstrating tai chi (*tai ji*). Poems No.1 to No.7 describe Zhu Ming’s thought and creative processes in carving the tai chi masters. No.8 is the description of one of the finished sculptures, the poem reads:

That old man
Has a big belly
It is said to contain
Three hundred
Poems
When he knits his eye-brows
It becomes
A scroll of teachings
When he waves his sleeves
People will
Follow

The poem portrays the vivid posture of the learned tai chi master. The Anthology of 300 Tang Poems (*Tangshi sanbaishou*) is a common text among Chinese primary and secondary students. The visual description of the master's big belly which has learned and contains 300 Tang poems is a teasing image. The study, and very often recitation, of the 300 Tang poems is regarded only as the first initiation into Chinese literature. Yet, it seems from the poem that the big belly contains nothing more than the 300 Tang poems. The 300 poems here are not denoting the Book of Songs in the Zhou Dynasty. Dai Tian's portrayal of the tai chi master is of a teasing mood and sheds relevance on contemporary political issues, and it is generally known that Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung, 1893-1976) was a lover of Tang poetry. The carving forcefully conveys the impression that even the slightest movement or gesture by the old man will be imitated spontaneously by his followers. This poem cycle was written in 1980, four years after the death of Chairman Mao. There are well-known incidents from the Cultural Revolution which show that Mao Zedong's teachings were regarded as immortal and invincible, and that Mao's slightest movement and gesture would be followed spontaneously and glorified by the maddened crowd. Although the poem cycle 'Ju Ming' does not directly touch on the theme of politics, this stanza could be regarded as a parody of the 'Greatest Leader' if the social-political background of China in the 70s is taken into consideration. However, Dai Tian may or may not intend to ridicule the 'Greatest Leader' in the poem, but the ambiguity of the imagery allows readers to form their own opinions. Even if there is a snub to the 'Greatest Leader', it is so subtly and naturally done that it can be argued either way by critics. Poem No.9 shows another posture of the tai chi master:

It must be drunken steps
Walking the rope
A strange
Pose
Shaking
Falling and again
Standing

It is imagination
—The growth of
 Feeling
Like flowers
Like grass
Naturally
Natural

'Drunken steps' are a movement in the practice of tai chi. The seemingly impossible but mysterious 'drunken steps' denote the richness and beauty of Chinese martial arts. Poem No. 10 describes the communication between the sculptor and the poet:

Who would have thought that your hands
Were my hands
I take them
And look
They already have
Thousands of years of history

What are you pushing
Things
I'm pushing too
With the same pair of
Hands
With one heart

You and I need not wonder
When you extend a living
Exploration
I shall take off
The dead gloves
For——

What things to push
You and I
Because of the same pair of
Hands

'Push hand' is one of the basic steps in practicing tai chi. Dai Tian uses the image of the hands to represent his own actions and those of Zhu Ming. The hands further indicate the same heart in search of several thousand years of Chinese history. Dai Tian is good at exploring the different facets of his familiar images. Hands are also used in the poem 'This Pair of Hands' (*Zhe yishuang shou*), written in 1983, to denote the 5,000 years of Chinese history. (91) Again, hand is used as the symbol of the source of evil in Dai Tian's poem, 'The Damned Black Hand' (*Tamade heishou*), written in 1989 in condemnation of the Tiananmen Massacre. These two poems will be fully discussed in the next chapter. The theory and practice of tai chi, which originates from Taoism, has been integrated into the Chinese cultural heritage for over 2,500 years. Indeed, tai chi can be regarded as Chinese 'Body poetry'. In short, Dai Tian is trying to show that Chinese civilization is a boundless source to be tapped for artistic endeavors in painting, dance,

sculpture and other art forms. The theme of Chineseness is most explicitly expressed in Dai Tian's poems on Chinese arts and artists.

International Politics: 'Selling of Heads'

Apart from exploring the theme of Chineseness, Dai Tian is also a pacifist. His concern with the welfare and future of human beings is best reflected in his poems under the theme, international politics. Anti-war sentiment can also be traced in Dai Tian's 1st stage of poems. In the poem 'Chattering' (*Bai longmen*), written in 1963 (92), Dai Tian condemned the French colonization of Algeria. The poem 'As the Right' written in 1965 condemned the American involvement in the Vietnam war and glorified 'flower power'. (93) The condemnation of unjust war, invasion and colonialism is most obvious in his 3rd stage of poetry writing which I shall discuss later. In the 2nd stage, the poem 'This is a Rotten Apple' written in 1969 condemns the Russian invasion of Prague. The poem 'A Piece of Diary' written in 1971 describes the civil war between East and West Pakistan. (94) Lastly, the poem 'Selling of Heads' written in 1973 is sub-titled 'Seen in Indo-China Peninsular'. The poem reads:

That man sold
His head to the water-melon
Hawker

Like a water-melon
The man's head
Was chopped
Into two halves

One half of
The man's head
Was overgrown with
Flies

The other half of
The man's head
Was soaked with blood
And just happened to
Hold up
My chin (95)

The symbolic imagery of a human head being messed up like a water-melon is horrendous. It seems as if the poem intends to say that what happened in Indochina was that the American Government meddled in the civil wars between South and North Vietnam. The American Government is like the water-melon hawker buying and selling the worthless lives as cheaply as water melons. The heads of the Vietnamese are chopped into two halves just like water melons. Since Dai Tian was then working for the American Government in Hong Kong, there is a guilty feeling that he was also assisting war crimes. The final stanza describes the nightmare and imaginative punishment that the poet is subjected to: 'The other half of/The man's head/Was soaked with blood/And just happened to/Hold up/My chin'. Dai Tian cannot evade the moral responsibility of the intellectual to condemn unjust war and killings. The poem 'Selling of Heads' is entirely devoted to anti-war feeling and sentiment, the other poems quoted above also contain elements of rebellion in lines and fragments. This proves that Dai Tian is concerned with current affairs and international politics and follows them closely. Dai Tian is sympathetic to people who suffer as a result of civil wars, invasion, coercion, natural disasters and poverty, he always writes about, and speaks for, these underprivileged people.

Time and Life: 'A Sprinting Zebra', 'This is a Rotten Apple', 'The Kite', 'Debate on Rugged Mountain', 'To A Mountaineer' and 'The Fossil Says'

Apart from the themes of Chineseness and international politics, Dai Tian's poems of this stage reflect on various issues to do with time and life. This wide range of interests gave Dai Tian the liberty to experiment with writing. Readers will see how Dai Tian explores his favourite images, and how Taoist and Buddhist thinking are becoming more apparent in his poetry. The techniques of the metaphysic and surrealist poets are also clearly demonstrated in these poems. I shall begin with the poem 'A Sprinting Zebra' written in 1969. The poem reads:

I say: Days are a sprinting zebra
Day
Is always mixed up with
Night
Darkness
Will never conquer
Emptiness

If: Moving
Is a dying pain
If
No matter how long the day is
The night is the same
Then, zebra
Then, white and black images
Just as they start sprinting
Just as they start to inter-change
Will be
A kind of barrier
Cordoning off yesterday's glory

Then hooves like wind
Then
Grey is the only colour
Vast and hazy
Is the scenery of all things
No more sharp knife
That can cut apart
Black and
White
Because days are
A
Sprinting zebra

(At this time my pupils
Dark and turning
Also dissolved
In the whiteness) (96)

The poem, bringing out the parallel imagery of the days and a sprinting zebra, both engaged in the never-ending chasing between black and white, is typical of a technique often employed by the metaphysical poets. The parallel imagery fully demonstrates Dai Tian's wit and intuition. He symbolizes the days as a running zebra. The days and nights are engaging in a never ending battle. Grey is the resulting colour from the battling of black and white. Grey is 'vast and hazy' and grey is 'a kind of barrier/cordoning off yesterday's glory'. In the poem 'To A Mountaineer' written in 1977 (97), Dai Tian describes grey as: 'Is Autumn with its fierce burning wood/Are fleeting vocal cords/Is the past/Is grey/Are the unrecorded disturbances'. The latter poem clearly demonstrates the grief engendered by the Cultural Revolution just ended in 1976. Furthermore, from 1949 to the late 70s, Chinese people were commonly dressed in a monotone colour, mainly in grey. There was a general impression among people living outside the 'Bamboo curtain' that China was a country without colour before the 70s. This description of the grey

colour can actually be seen as the worldview of Dai Tian at the time. Grey is the colour between black and white, it usually describes an unclear situation or subject, often with no distinct limits, guiding principles or identifiable characteristics.

The binary process dividing the world into two halves is recorded as early as in Taoist writings, the concept of 'yin' and 'yang', being two opposite and complementary principles in nature, as the two creative forces of the universe. In this context, when Dai Tian divides the world into two parts, i.e. 'black' and 'white', this is an obvious influence from the philosophy of Taoism. This binary division of substance is also found in Dai Tian's poems 'Debate on Rugged Mountain' and 'To a Mountaineer' which I shall discuss later. Huang Weiliang criticized 'A Sprinting Zebra' for having spectacular lines but not hanging together. (98) Contrary to Huang Weiliang's criticism, I would like to argue that the poem 'A Sprinting Zebra' contains a high degree of unity. Although Dai Tian has not explored further into the philosophy of the two parts of the world, the vivid image of the zebra is well applied to denote the interchange of days and nights. The complementary, yet indistinguishable nature of day and night, black and white, demonstrates the philosophy of Taoism in the poem. At the end of the poem, Dai Tian cannot wait to express his basic belief in the writing process, and puts his remarks in brackets. This alienating effect draws the attention of the readers from the zebra to the poet, for the 'Dark and turning' pupils of the poet are 'Also dissolved/In the whiteness'. The bracketed remark expresses strongly Dai Tian's basic worldview that everything is grey to a greater or lesser extent.

The poem, 'This is a Rotten Apple', written in 1969, not only exhibits Dai Tian's technique in surrealist writing by describing the world as a rotten apple, it also further demonstrates the link between Dai Tian and Bian Zhilin. The poem is written in a discursive manner:

This is a rotten apple
I won't eat it
Why?
Don't you know
Firstly it doesn't look nice
Secondly its heart is rotten
Thirdly.....
Don't just pick bones
However, you must also know
Yourself
Anyway I won't eat it
Can you give

Any other reason

This is easy
Like—Say:
Someone has taken
A bite in it
Some bird has been
Pecking and pecking at it
Hence the scar here
The hole there

And it looks like
Russian tanks have
Fiercely
Crushed it

And it looks just like
A deserted corpse
Left behind
Besides the Capricious River

And.....

You are too excited
I am giving my reasons
You are playing with words
Don't accuse good people
Don't think things
Astray
What does that mean?
It should be all right
To tell you
Then say it
You listen:
This is not any apple
This is a
Picture of the earth
Taken from a spaceship (99)

The poem wittily associates the rotten apple with the appearance of the globe. The poem starts with a relaxed rhythm which seems like a fairy tale, it goes on and turns into a discursive format characteristic of Dai Tian's poetry. And under multileveled associations, a technique used by symbolists, Dai Tian provides readers with enough freedom to guess at the meaning of the 'rotten apple'. The poem is inspired by the scientific pictures sent back to the earth by orbiting space ships. It was written in April 1969, a few months before the first successful landing on the moon by the American astronauts of the Apollo program on 20th July 1969. Dai Tian ends the riddle with an unexpected comic effect. There is also a serious political engagement in the poem. Dai

Tian included on purpose a stanza condemning the Russian tanks invading Prague in 1968. In the next stanza, Dai Tian jumps back to the old battle ground of ancient China. The Capricious River (*Wuding he*), has its source in Inner Mongolia. Dai Tian's stanza imitates the poem of the Tang Dynasty poet Chen Tao (cir. 750). The last two lines of Chen Tao's *jueju* read:

Pity for the corpses lying besides the Capricious River,
They are still in the dreams of their sweet hearts. (100)

The stanza on the Chinese battle ground balances the stanza on the invasion by the Soviet tanks of Czechoslovakia. The killings have never stopped in the East and the West, in the past and the present. These two stanzas increase the surrealist effect of the poem. The riddle of the rotten apple is already obscure, when the readers are further led to the marks of Russian tanks. And then the horizon is switched from present day Russia to the ancient battle grounds in China. The coverage of time and space is immense, and the need to solve the riddle of the rotten apple is intensified. The alienation effect and surrealistic comparison have been made the most of by Dai Tian in this poem. And the discursive format is also meticulously arranged to portray the logic of the illogical argument. The first line of the last stanza 'And.....' is emboldened in the Chinese text. According to the logical sequence of the speaking order, this line should be spoken by the second person. Since this was merely a printing error in the Chinese text, in my translation text the line is not emboldened. The poem 'This is a Rotten Apple' also bears the marks of Bian Zhilin's 'Contrast' (*Duizhao*), which I shall discuss later under the heading '*Bian Zhilin and Dai Tian*'.

Dai Tian clearly demonstrates his ability to develop new ideas and associations using familiar themes and images. Stone has been one of Dai Tian's favourite images, as are seed, sand, mountain, rotten apple, emerald sphere and the globe. Bird is another image that Dai Tian applies with virtuosity. The poem 'I'm a Bird' is a typical example which I shall discuss in the next chapter. Now, I would like to explore the image of the bird in the poem 'The Kite':

There is a sky like that
There is a bottle of blue ink spilled
There is a piece of torn paper
To let a bird fly

It begins with the sound of fluttering

Then movement
 At last, the serenity of melting snow
 —In the place that is called
 The sky
 My heart
 Taking off its feathers like a bird
 It is in the winds and in the clouds
 A tumbling down
 Kite (101)

Dai Tian tries to employ the multileveled association between the bird, my heart and the kite. Although the poem is full of symbolic imaginings, Dai Tian has managed to make a clear correlation between the three objects. Before I venture further into 'The Kite', I have to point out that the poem also shares the mood of Bian Zhilin's poem 'City in Spring'. The themes of uprootedness and isolation are obvious in the following excerpt translated by Bian Zhilin himself:

.....
 Sad, sad,
 really sad to see the child imitating the old man,
 young as he is, flying kites on a rubbish-mound,
 he also hums the threadbare tune "On recalling the Past....."
 Sad, sad, to hear a city of hoary trees
 crying vainly
 crying, crying, crying,
 homeward? where? homeward? where?
 Ancient capital, ancient capital, what can I do for you?

I am a kite already severed from the string,
 having stumbled on you, how could I not cling
 on your dear willow-branches? You'll be my home, you'll be my tomb.....(102)

The ultimate desire of the bird in Bian Zhilin's poem 'City in Spring' is for its country and its home, the city being described is Beijing, the capital city of China. The theme of Chineseness is so subtly implanted in Dai Tian's poem, 'The Kite', that the unity of the poem is maintained. The poem was written in the Chinese city of Hong Kong, under British colonial rule. The mood of desperation and fatality of the kite is well controlled and not exhibiting any kind of sentimentalism. If readers compare this subtlety to the two explicit stanzas of the 'Russian tanks' and 'a deserted corpse' in the poem 'This is a Rotten Apple', they will find that the mood is completely different. 'The Kite' is very depressed and desolate. Despite the fresh image of a bird flying from a piece of torn paper due to the spillage of the blue ink bottle, the bird with the shredded feather is then

related to the tumbling kite. The piece of torn paper is something of no value, this corresponds to the image of the bird with a shredded feather. Bian Zhilin's falling kite can still cling 'on your dear willow-branches? You'll be my home, you'll be my tomb.....'. But Dai Tian's falling kite has nowhere to go, the strain of uprootedness and isolation is more apparent. The central theme of the despair of the heart is swallowed up by technical preoccupation in the poem 'The Kite'. The employment of images such as a sky spilled from a bottle of ink, and a bird flying from a piece of torn paper has subordinated the ideas of uprootedness and isolation. 'The Kite' bears the marks of the symbolist described by Lloyd Haft as follows:

Symbolist poetry is an art in which the ideas or literal statements expressed in the poem become, in a sense, subordinate to the very words and forms of the formulations themselves. It is a poetry which is difficult to explain or interpret to non-enthusiasts. The very concept of its 'theme' or 'content' tends to be swallowed up in a technical preoccupation with the intuitive or suggestive effects of language itself, whether achieved through the associative interrelations of the individual words or through the auditory, musical qualities of each phrase, line, and stanza. (103)

Apart from 'The Story of the Stone', Dai Tian's other poem collected in The Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature is 'Debate on Rugged Mountain'. The poem was written in 1976 with a postscript and translated by Diana Yue:

They say Rugged Mountain is in the north
But in the south
In the south, too, there is
A mountain that is ever so rugged
You say on the top of the mountain
Stands a camellia tree
And he says the grassy slopes are
Encircled by frills of clouds and fog

Of course, there are also clear streams
That warrant our careful study
And stony crags
That deserve a decent trimming

But the problem is
What is a mountain
And, according to you, ultimately,
Does it exist or not

What is the rationale
Is it there or not there
Is it noun or is it

Real substance

When formally the debate was over
He shows us the mountain haze
And when substance-wise the debate was over
You look into emptiness

They say Rugged Mountain is in the north
But in the south
In the south, too, there is
A mountain that is ever so rugged.

Postscript: One day in a certain month, I met my old friend Nonesuch. We talked first about Zen, and then about names. After 'Zen' and 'Names', we talked about almost anything, drifting along and spitting out words almost amounting to madness, feeling we were ever so right and everybody else was shit, and that as big as the whole earth was it was no more than a tiny mustard seed! Oh what a show of scholarly conceit and subjectivity peculiar to us 'scholar-officials'! Having got home, I had a few cups of booze, and, uh-oh, I began to understand. So here I wrote down this 'rhyme nonsensical' as a joke about myself and also to record the incident. Call it debate or what not, it's really just trouble created out of nowhere by a bunch of stinking old literati, a game of words and nothing more! Nothing more! (104)

This poem has two important characteristics of Dai Tian's writing style. The first is the discursive format that is often employed by Dai Tian, as we have seen in the poem 'This is a Rotten Apple'. The other underlying characteristic is the influence of Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism. The effect of traditional Chinese philosophical thinking on Dai Tian's poetry is self-explanatory in the postscript to the poem. Zen is a branch of Buddhism, and names is an elementary topic in Taoism. (105) Confucianism is being influenced by 'a show of scholarly conceit and subjectivity peculiar to us "scholar-officials."' And the debate is taking place in a Mountain, the centre of Taoist teachings. This is best explained by the translator Diana Yue's note:

Rugged Mountain—The original is Goulou Shan, also pronounced as Julu Shan. This mountain is situated in Hunan Province and is the main peak of the Heng Range, one of the centres of Taoism in China. The peak is famous as the site of an ancient stone stele said to be erected by the mythological emperor Yu. The words Goulou do not carry any meaning. The translator is tempted to translate them as guru, to give them an association with ancient wisdom. But as the words are used adjectivally in line four of the poem a safer translation would be rugged. Rugged probably has some visual and phonetic similarity with goulou, impressionistically speaking. (106)

Dai Tian, in an essay written in the 70s, ridiculed Mark Twain (1835-1910) who mistakenly said melons grow on trees. (107) He elaborates further the 'scholarly conceit

and subjectivity' of the intellectuals by the illustration of the Mexican jumping beans. How can the bean jump? Intellectuals begin to argue whether it is a plant or an animal, yin or yang, or due to the inheritance of genes, and eventually they conclude that it is God's creation. At the end, Dai Tian tells the readers that Mexican beans can jump because they have got parasites inside their pods. Dai Tian uses this example to criticize the empty talk and conceptual arguments of the intellectuals. This comment of Dai Tian's complements his postscript in the poem 'Debate on Rugged Mountain'. Self-mockery and cynicism can also be regarded as characteristic of Dai Tian's style in this stage. The poem 'Statue' written in 1977 mocks the intellectuals by making a face in the shadow, without mouth, eyes, ears and nose. (108) Intellectuals are being mocked as timid and irresponsible. I shall reiterate this topic in the next chapter.

The binary division of the Rugged Mountain in the north and the south is typical as we have seen in the poem 'A Sprinting Zebra'. This technique also applies to the poem 'To A Mountaineer' written in 1977:

This mountain scene cutting across divides me into two
Without any teeth marks
Not to mention blood

On the waves of the mountain
My hair grew white
Faintly remembering the desperate shout to ascend
Stuck in the aging throat
Groaning

In the far far away valley
Still vibrates
A monotonous syllable
Life
In the company of silence

Is Autumn with its fierce burning wood
Are fleeting vocal cords
Is the past
Is grey
Are the unrecorded disturbances

This mountain scene cutting across divides me into two
Without any teeth marks
Not to mention blood (109)

The mountain shade divides the mountaineer into two natural parts. There are no traces of teeth marks or blood. The utterance of the monosyllable 'life' (*sheng*) is accompanied

by deep silence. The past is grey and 'the disturbances not on the record'. 'Grey' is a reiteration of the poem 'A Sprinting Zebra'. And 'This mountain scene cutting across divides me into two' is the same underlying binary philosophy like 'days and nights' in the poem 'A Sprinting Zebra', and the 'rugged mountain in the north and in the south' in the poem 'Debate on Rugged Mountain'. The poem 'To A Mountaineer' is a historical record of time and life. It is not surprising that the image stone is recapitulated in the form of mountain. Moreover, the stone image is also used explicitly in the poem 'The Fossil Says' written in 1979:

In my throat still remain some single syllables
It is not fear, nor suspicion
But simple sentiment
Representing: How do you do

As for the depth and void in my eye sockets
They feel cold now
But once they were two torches
Guarding the earth

You touch my knuckles, like plant
No more traces of blood, no more sharp nails
Only stretching and squirming
To catch something: Blooming

My bones are remains of the road: My sole
Is the road roller: Millions of years
In weight; although you can't find them again
You are in fact walking in my footsteps (110)

Dai Tian adopts the form of a fossil, and conveys its good wishes as guardians of the earth for millions of years. Dai Tian successfully brings life back to the fossil by putting some single syllables in its throat. The description of the fossil is detailed: the eye sockets, knuckles, traces of blood, sharp nails and the movement to snatch blooming flowers. The weight of the footsteps is heavy because of the weight of millions of years of footsteps. Everyone is treading the same path without knowing it. This is a beautifully written poem with the vivid employment of the image of the stone. This image is used in different ways in Dai Tian's poems. When one tries to compare its use in various poems, one often finds unexpected delights in the fresh application of the image. 'But simple sentiment/Representing: How do you do' sums up Dai Tian's basic belief in life.

Summing up 2nd Stage

The theme of Chineseness is most representative, as demonstrated in the poems 'Ten Poems on Kyoto', in this stage. The pursuit of the reminiscences of the Tang capital Chang'an in present day Kyoto can be traced through the poems of Su Manshu, Bian Zhilin and Dai Tian. 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' is the climax in Dai Tian's poetry writing. The poem cycle creates a serene realm of quietness full of Oriental philosophical aesthetics. Patterns, colour, smell and time and movement are all depicted in the poem cycle. The poem 'Stone Court' is written in contrast to the serene mood as portrayed in 'Ten Poems on Kyoto'. The theme of Chineseness in this stage, also denotes memories of childhood scenes in China, by employing the ditty 'Rock/rock/rock/rock to grandma's bridge', in the poem 'A Child's Fable No.1'; and homesick thoughts about the homeland from exile in Hong Kong, in the poem 'Oh! I am a Bird'. Chinese arts and artists: the painting of 'Chant while Walking of the Song and Yuan Periods', the contemporary dance by Lin Huaimin's Cloud Gate Dance Troupe, the sculpture tai chi by Zhu Ming, all contributed to the richness of the theme Chineseness.

The theme international politics is a bit thin in this stage. However, it fully demonstrates the consistence of Dai Tian's concern with world affairs throughout his three stages of poetry writing. The poem 'Selling of Heads', describing the civil war between East and West Pakistan in 1971, is sympathetic to the people who suffer as a result of war. The image of the water-melon, which symbolizes the human head, will be employed again in the 3rd stage.

Dai Tian has written many beautiful poems in this period under the theme time and life: 'A Sprinting Zebra', 'This is a Rotten Apple', 'The Kite', 'Debate on Rugged Mountain', 'To A Mountaineer' and 'The Fossil Says' are those remarkable ones. Dai Tian tries to blend Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism into his poems, a characteristic which is more apparent in the 3rd stage of his poetry writing. Self-mockery and cynicism can be strongly felt in poems 'Debate on Rugged Mountain', 'Statue' and 'The Story of the Stone'. Parallel imagery, stream of consciousness, interior monologue multileveled associations, binary division, alienation, discursive format and the inter-relationship between the images stone-mountain-fossil, are being employed and discussed.

THE 3RD STAGE: 1981-1990

There are about 100 poems published in this period. Most of the 100 poems written in or after 1981 were published in Dai Tian's 2nd collection of poems Research of the Stone. Sections 1, 3 and 5 are concerned with Chineseness, section 2 is fables, section 4 is on international politics and section 6 on research of the stone. (111)

The year 1980 was a quiet one in Dai Tian's poetry writing, very few poems were published. The only published poem I can find is 'Two Glasses of Wine' (*Liangbei jiu*) written in 3rd September 1980. (112) The poem records the events of a day out with friends to Sai Kung (*Xi Gong*) in the New Territories, Hong Kong. One of the reasons to divide Dai Tian's work into his 3rd stage from the year 1981 is that 1981 marks a new era in Dai Tian's poetry writing, because in that year he visited China. The visit brings back lots of memories and intimate feelings of the past and present. The death of one's father, Dai Tian's father died around 1981, will often have a strong emotional and psychological effect on one's life. This trip certainly revived Dai Tian's anti-Japanese militarism feelings arising from the experiences of the anti-Japanese war during his childhood. 1981 is also the year when the British and Chinese Governments began initial contacts on the future of Hong Kong. The 1997 problem concerns the livelihood and welfare of millions of Hong Kong people and Dai Tian is one among the millions.

It is difficult to define and label Dai Tian's poems in this stage exactly. Cynicism and self-mockery become less dominant during this stage. Though the imagery of stone is still Dai Tian's favourite, the Yangtze River has become a strong symbol in Dai Tian's anti-Japanese militarism poems. Some of his lines and the structure of his poetry still demonstrate the influence by Bian Zhilin. I would like to divide Dai Tian's poetry of this stage into four themes: Chineseness, cultural China, international politics and fables.

Chineseness, Cultural China, International Politics and Fables

The theme of Chineseness becomes more imminent and prevalent in this 3rd stage. The landscape and daily life of the Chinese people is more frequently touched on in Dai Tian's poetry of this stage. These episodes mainly come from Dai Tian's childhood experiences and his personal encounters when visiting China. The death of Dai Tian's father

inevitably stirred up his emotions during the war years. After a span of 31 years, Dai Tian visited China in 1981. The visit had an immediate influence on his poetry writing. I shall discuss the poems 'Condolence to An Era—In Commemoration of Father' (*Zhuidao yige shidai*), and the poem cycles 'Light Touches on Beijing' (*Danxie Beijing*) and 'Sketches on Beijing' (*Beijing lingmo*).

This period when Dai Tian writes about cultural China is another period of experiment for Dai Tian's poetry. The term Chineseness signifies in a very general way a sense of being Chinese, as defined in the 2nd stage of Dai Tian's poetry. Cultural China is a philosophical concept relating to China in terms of its past history, civilization, culture, philosophy and religion. Emphasis is placed on the cultural aspects such as literature, philosophy, arts, music, painting, calligraphy, dance, drama, opera, film, sculpture, architecture, porcelain, costumes and other art forms. The structures of these poems are strictly regulated. The development of this concept is even more important and urgent for overseas Chinese immigrants and exiles. By constructing a cultural China they can avoid identification with a particular Chinese regime in political reality, i.e. PRC or ROC. Political identification and alienation pose a dilemma for many overseas Chinese intellectuals, therefore unification under the ideal of a cultural China seems to be a rational and possible way out. Hence, cultural nationalism will become the focal point of Chinese identity, and not mere patriotism. The revival of Chinese nationalism and Neo-Confucianism are among the more important topics pursued in the quest for a cultural China. The Princeton Chinese Society and the Harvard Confucian Society were regarded as two of the forerunners in the promotion of cultural China. (113) Dai Tian said he was less compulsive in his writings during this stage. He had the urge to write more poems, to venture into history and to re-construct a better order in Chinese culture. He intends to use the past to disparage the present. The poems 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions', published in 1985 is representative of the period. To term Dai Tian as a neoclassicist in this 3rd stage is obviously too narrow. He tries to apply meticulous techniques and present concentrated images and historical events in a compact and structured format. Although the poems are called 'imitation', they are merely a parade of historical facts and events deconstructed in a contemporary context. The main purpose of Dai Tian's poetry during this period is to blend the best of the old in Chinese culture with that of the new to create a new cultural China.

The theme international politics becomes more explicit throughout Dai Tian's 3rd stage of poetry writing. Dai Tian clearly demonstrates his desire to embrace and criticize current affairs happening around the world. He severely condemns autocracy, the apartheid movement, and the political alliance between the leaders of the first world countries and the Western allies. The poem 'Portraits of Moustache Fleas' (*Xuzaozi zaoxiang*) will be discussed in this context.

The theme fables includes 24 poems, I shall discuss the poems 'Autumn' (*Qiu*), 'Teeth' (*Yachi*), 'Moonlight in the Drawer' (*Choutili de yueguang*) and 'Blessing' (*Zhufu*) below.

Since 1985, Dai Tian has concentrated on his research and the construction of the ideal cultural China.

Chineseness: 'Condolence to An Era—In Commemoration of Father', 'Light Touches on Beijing' and 'Sketches on Beijing'

The two characteristics of the theme Chineseness in this stage are the symbol of the Yangtze River employed to represent the Chinese territory and civilization, and the general impression Dai Tian had of China after his visit in 1981. The 2nd collection of Dai Tian's poems, Research of the Stone, begins with the poem 'Condolence to An Era—In Commemoration of Father' written in 1982. (114) This is the only poem Dai Tian dedicated to the memory of his father. The poem reads:

Those days of whipping mountains and fondling white clouds
Where have they gone now

Even if the tears of the Yangtze
Are wrung dry
It cannot stop the Yellow River from shouting

The blood of the Chinese nation
Was forged into a skeleton of steel
Erecting on the big earth
A roaming backbone

Eight years of heroics
Followed two thousand years of China's aroused pulse
Every person is a piano keyboard
The sound may here fade
But elsewhere will sound

The anxiety of the mountains by day
And the torches of eyes
After a long sleepless night

The torch may be scarred now
Worries wrapped up into
Fancy dresses
But when the eye-lights wither one by one
All the zithers on foreheads
With their strings
Will still urge on the combat horses
To kill the devils
The road is three thousand miles
The home country of mine for several decades

Perhaps people will look up to their ancestors
Rugged foreheads
And their posture with elegant hair
Like strangers
Like pedestrians
Like tourists sight-seeing
Like.....

Memory is so crisp
But history is like a mountain
Submerging

The poem begins with the lofty image of a hero 'whipping mountains and fondling white clouds'. 'Whipping mountains' symbolizes the heroic aspiration and passion of the warriors, while 'fondling white clouds' reflects the leisurely mood of peaceful years. The contradictory elements increase the tension in the description of the heroes. In the poem, Dai Tian pays tribute to his father, a Chinese citizen who contributed his life for the territorial independence and welfare of the country. Moreover, the poem is concerned with the inheritance of Chinese civilization. The heroic actions of people like Dai Tian's father act as an inspiration to Dai Tian and all Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese militarism. The war years made a deep impression on Dai Tian's youthful development, years in which Dai Tian moved with his father's army along the battle grounds south of the Yangtze River. The Yangtze River is employed as a symbol to represent the long and rich civilization and cultural heritage of China. It contains happiness and sadness, but most important of all it brings back memories. The last stanza of the poem: 'Memory is so crisp/But history is like a mountain/Submerging', is powerful and awakening. Dai Tian further denotes the war years against the Japanese invasion in the poem 'Pick up the Pen of Yangtze River' (*Tiqi Changjiang de bi*) written in 1982.

(115) The sub-title of the poem is marked 'Mixed memories of the eight years war of resistance', in the poem Dai Tian pays tribute to the ancestors who fought bravely against Japanese encroachment during the 2nd World War. The poem 'Four Poems on Yangtze River' (*Changjiang sitie*) written in 1985 describes the rich cultural heritage rendered by the great River. (116) Indeed, in the poem 'Incomplete Manuscripts of 1959' written in 1959, the Yangtze River is an important symbol. Throughout the different stages of Dai Tian's poetry writing, the consistent application of the same image has been developed, modified and enriched, although the symbolic connotation of the Yangtze River remains the same.

The poems about the war years and the death of Dai Tian's father bring to a close Dai Tian's writing about his earlier life. The opportunity of seeing China again, which was described as a country behind the iron curtain in the years 1949 to the late 70s, allows Dai Tian direct contact with China and Chinese people. This opportunity provides a realistic and different approach to Dai Tian's poetry writing on the theme of Chineseness. When Dai Tian visited China in 1981, he described the intense excitement and timidity he experienced when checking in at Chinese customs as being like passing through the eye of the needle. In the poem 'Through the Needle-eye of the Customs' (*Chuanguo haiguan de zhenyan*), the image of 'passing through the eye of the needle' is used to denote his skepticism and uncertainty about the first official delegation of so-called Hong Kong 'free' writers behind the iron curtain. (117) The first five of these poems, when published in 1981, were grouped under the title 'Light Touches on Beijing'. (118) The sub-title marks 'The Scenes of 1981'. The 1st poem 'Lady Buying Water-melon' (*Mai xigua de daniang*) reads:

This lady
Fumbling the water-melons
Like fumbling
A daily growing
Belly

—This child:
If it's good,
It's good;
Bad?
Can't be!

This lady
Fumbling the water-melon
Proudly
Walks away
Walks into the cool, and the sweet

Despite his skepticism about Chinese politics and his excitement at returning to visit China, Dai Tian tries to record 'The Scenes of 1981' in China factually and plainly as what he perceived and felt. He writes about the daily lives of the capital city, though lightly and superficially. This poem conveys the cautious nature and contentment of a Beijing lady when buying a water melon. The simple account shows an immense contentment and self-satisfaction in the daily life of the common people. The sweetness of the water melon is a metaphor for the healthy growth of the fetus. The subtle wish for a healthy developing China is implicit. Readers will find that the image of water melon is here used in a bright and positive manner. The 2nd poem 'A Pot of Tomato' (*Yipan xihongshi*) is also an observation made from the viewpoint of an outsider. Dai Tian describes the scenes of summer in Beijing in 1981. The tomato season adds life and colour to the otherwise dull and monotone scenes of the narrow *hutongs* and main roads in the capital city. The technique is plain and descriptive, the poem remains a factual record of what is being perceived. The 3rd poem 'A View of The Great Wall' (*Changcheng yijing*) reads:

He just opened his eyes widely
Beyond the border
The tiniest
Dust particle
He scrutinized

(Child:
Take a picture of daddy;
But don't let
Daddy's head
Disappear;
With mummy,
And elder sister.)

His eyes still wide open
He only sees
Behind daddy, mummy and elder sister
The Great Wall
Greater than great

Finally he closes his eyes
(Click)
In his heart
Mountains are conquered
Heaven and earth are united

Dai Tian likes to employ children in his poems, he frequently uses the words and actions of children to illustrate his feelings. In the eyes of children, everything becomes simple and naïve. The Great Wall remains a symbol of China, yet Dai Tian has lived outside the Great Wall for so many years. He can only put words in the mouth of the child to express his loss: 'In his heart/Mountains are conquered/Heaven and earth are united'. The sentiments surrounding the lengthy years of separation are carefully controlled by the application of alienation technique. The eyes are wide open looking greedily beyond the border, yet the sentiment could only be buried in the heart. The treatment of the sense of conscious isolation from the intellectual life in 'A View of Great Wall' is similar to Bian Zhilin's poem 'Atop the Ruins' (*Deng Cheng*) written in 1931. (119) The 4th poem 'A Cookshop on 40th Hutong East' (*Dong sishitiao yi fanzhuang*) reads:

"Comrade,
Please...."

"No hurry,
Wait....."

The old suspended fan turned on laboriously
The temperature seemed to have risen
Above thirty-six degrees again

"Comrade,
Please...."

"Wait a while,
I'm hot!"

The young girl fans leisurely
Cold wind blows upon her face
We seem to cool down as well

"Comrade,
Please...."

"What's the rush?
I'll be right there!"

When will the suspended fan stop?
Summer comes
Can Autumn be far behind?

“Comrade,
Please....”

“Coming,
Yes!”

When will the girl provide some service?
Let’s first get refreshed
It’s so hot!

“Comrade,
Please....”

“We only have this:
Take it or leave it!”

Is the above typical of state run business in China in 1981? Dai Tian tries not to be judgmental, but records the conversation factually. It was politically correct to address people as ‘comrade’ in PRC after 1949, the atmosphere of a sexless society was still predominantly felt in Mainland China in the early 80s. This is the first frustrating and unpleasant encounter depicted in Dai Tian’s poems during his visit to China. Dai Tian tries to portray the working attitude of the ‘comrades’ in a state run cookshop. The lack of enthusiasm of the ‘comrades’ and the lack of choice in the menus expose the social and economic problems China was facing in 1981. The lines ‘Summer comes/Can Autumn be far behind?’ is a variation of Percy Bysshe Shelley’s ‘Ode to the West Wind’: ‘The trumpet of a prophecy! O Wind,/If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?’ (120)

The 5th poem ‘Ancient Cypress of the Heavenly Altar’ (*Tiantan gubai*) reads:

The old gentleman hung up
His bird-cage
Suddenly the oriole
Infringed on the ancient cypress
Its echoes loud and deep
Fresh and cool
In this early morning

And the cicada
Interrupted
High-pitch speakers
Gossiping

The dark green ancient cypress
Retaliated
With lengthy silence

This stretch of ancient cypress
Clear and bright
Makes young men and women
Old people and children
Weave under its feet
The beautiful earth
And elegant ideals

The description of the cypress and oriole recalls the imagery used in Du Fu's poem 'The Temple of the Prime Minister of Shu' (*Shu xiang*). Du Fu's first four lines of the poem as translated by Wu Juntao read:

Where to find the deceased Prime Minister's temple?
Outside Chengdu, under the cypresses' arch ample,
The grass round the steps reflects the colour of spring,
The oriole amid the leaves vainly sings its strain. (121)

The poem cycle 'Light Touches on Beijing' gives the readers a general impression of Beijing city in 1981. The scenes at the Great Wall and the Heavenly Altar remain the same through generations, but the regimes and the people are forever changing. Watermelons and tomatoes add colour and material wealth to the society as a whole, but the experiences at a cookshop are discouraging. Another poem cycle 'Sketches on Beijing' published in 1982 is similar in theme and technique to the suite 'Light Touches on Beijing'. (122) The 'Sketches on Beijing' consists of three poems. 'By the Art Museum' (*Meishuguan zhipang*) describing a senior citizen playing Chinese chess by the side of the Art Museum. From the patterns of the Chinese chess board, Dai Tian narrates the past difficult years of the country. Again, this is an image from Du Fu's poem 'Reflections in the Autumn, Eight Poems, No.2' (*Qiuxing bashou*), the beginning two lines of Du Fu's poem as translated by Wu Juntao read:

I hear that Chang-an is like a game of chess,
Events occurred within the century are a mess. (123)

The poem 'On the City's Circular Line' (*Huancheng xianshang*) records the chatting of passengers on the issue of the brain drain from China. And Dai Tian, in his mind, answers that he is now coming back. The poem 'The Girl in Blue' (*Lanyi guniang*) slightly penetrates into the area of politics:

The girl tailored a piece
Of sky blue
Dressing her body in
The elegance of the Autumn sky

And she is holding
A brightly coloured umbrella
Near the corner of the age old wall
Carrying out some liberalization

The girl walks to the ancient palace
It's a bit modern
Will not someone frown upon it
And smooth over the contradiction?

When Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) resumed his political power in 1978 after the tragic Cultural Revolution, there were still sporadic political movements in China. Dai Tian tries to demonstrate his skepticism concerning political openness and aura of the regime. Dai Tian suggests that no matter how natural 'The Girl in Blue', she still exists in a politicised climate where a clamp down on political freedom can occur at anytime. All in all, as the title suggests these poems are only 'light touches' and 'sketches' on Beijing, Dai Tian tries to keep a true record of what he saw in 1981. He tries to build up a full picture of Chineseness through brief observation and fragmented descriptions. Apart from the above mentioned poems and 'Great Wall—The Ladder' (*Changcheng zheba tizi*), 'On the South and North sides of Mountain Jing' (*Jingshan nanbei*) and 'Selling Peaches' (*Mai tao*) (124), Dai Tian has not produced any poems as a result of his direct contact with PRC. However, this rarity of his direct contact with PRC has enriched Dai Tian's poetry in the theme of Chineseness. From 1985 onwards, Dai Tian is preoccupied with his pursuit of cultural China.

Cultural China: 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'

There is an urgency, especially among overseas Chinese intellectuals, to look for a cultural China. In an interview in August 1985, Dai Tian spoke of his intention of making 'spiritual communications with Chinese culture':

My writings are not purely for myself. If it is said to account for the whole nation, I'm afraid I mightn't have that quality and quantity. Frankly speaking, I have nothing to account for the nation. Why do I write more and with seriousness recently? It is

due to the encouragement of friends. Perhaps, when I grow older I may lose the potential of creativity, therefore, I've to compete with time. I'm writing more now, and with consciousness. It is not fear, there is nothing to fear for. It is something uncontrollable, especially when awakened from dreams in mid-night, there is a need in the mind to initiate spiritual communications with Chinese culture. The feeble anticipation when awakened from dreams in mid-night is to link up with the sentiment of the Chinese nation. In a nutshell, there is an unwillingness to give up, together with the unbearable thoughts on Chinese culture, therefore I've to write. There is the unbearable sentiment to stand idly by, because we are Chinese. (125)

Zhou Liangpei (1933-) described the above statement by Dai Tian as a declaration of an overseas Chinese writer finding his roots. (126) Through the poems 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions', Dai Tian re-examines myriad aspects of Chinese history, civilization, culture and literature. Dai Tian's earlier poems, like 'Portraits of the Eight Eccentrics' (*Baguaitu*) written in 1982, 'An Account of Viewing' (*Guanjing ji*) written in 1984, and 'Ink Plays' (*Mo xi*) written in 1985, are inspired by an appreciation and interpretation of Chinese painting, calligraphy and festival parades. (127) These poems can be regarded as trial runs preceding the publication of 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'.

The theme imitation of the ancients (*ni gu*) can be traced back to Lu Ji (AD 261-301) of the Jin Dynasty. (128) Many followers of Lu Ji adapted the theme in successive generations, —Tao Yuanming, who wrote nine poems under the title 'Imitation of the Ancients', is the most famous of these. When Lafcadio Hearn wrote his folk stories in 'Some Chinese Ghosts', he also compared his work to Sir Walter Scott's (1771-1832) 'Essay on Imitation of Ancient Ballads'. (129) This demonstrates that the same thinking on imitation of the genre of ancient ballads is prevalent in the East and the West. 'Ballad' is here translated to describe a different Chinese genre. Ballad as a genre has existed since the period of ancient *yuefu* in Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220). Both Du Fu and Li Bai wrote many poems in this genre. The ballad form is not as strict as The Book of Songs or the Tang poems, it permits a wider content. Dai Tian used a more regulated and compact form, as compared to his other poems, in the writing of 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. Basically, he is still mastering the poems with his modernist technique. (130)

In 1985, Dai Tian said that he wanted to create at least twenty poems under the title 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. However, only eight poems under the title have been published so far. The 1st poem reads (131):

Sorry to say that Sima Qian is being neglected (132)
 A visit to Mount Tai with twisted roots and gnarled branches
 Just let footsteps write down history sonorously
 Echoing the solemn countenance of remote ancestors
 Their forceful inspiration of reprimanding the sky
 Fumbling down like a waterfall into the heart's grief
 Halting, always lingering like mountain mist
 In the place of silence combing the traces of
 Seemingly the never parting generation of emperors
 Only when birds return crying across the vault of heaven (133)
 Then, a drop of cool dew was torn out
 Like Du Fu's spirit congealed there
 A thousand years ago

Hand in hand with the blue sky stopped at the Unfinished Pavilion
 Leaning on the stoutness borrowed from the Mount of Pine Views
 As lofty and ancient as Cang Jie creating characters
 Proudly erected high as sky, deep as abyss
 Joint into the competitive temperaments and wonderful histories
 With the times of the three kings and five emperors (134)
 Breathing softly, inquiring
 The rare pines and ancient cypresses in deep and serious mood
 Burst out in high notes the tunes of ten thousand miles
 Describing in full details the various repertoires
 Layers of cloud unrestrained like backdrop
 Revealing in piles the expressions of China
 Magnificently viewed by the North Foundation Stone

The poems in the cycle 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' intend to re-enact the life and adventures of Du Fu. Based on the eventful but unfulfilled life of Du Fu, Dai Tian tries to re-establish the identity of a cultural China. Du Fu is generally regarded by critics as the greatest poet of China, with whom none but Qu Yuan can compare. Du Fu was a native of present day Henan. He was a prodigy and was able to write poems at the age of seven, but failed in all government examinations. (135) The poem begins when Du Fu first failed the public examination and toured Shandong Province. He was then 26 years old. Dai Tian recalls Du Fu's life cycle from youth to old age. He quotes Du Fu's poem, 'Looking at Mount Tai' (*Wang yue*), in Du Fu's poem, as translated by Wu Juntao, Du Fu adores the grandiose Mount Tai: 'All beauties on it the Creator bestows;/Its peaks screen daylight and cast long shadows.' (136) The spirit of Sima Qian and Du Fu are highly esteemed in Dai Tian's lines: 'Like Du Fu's spirit congealed there/A thousand years ago'. Sima Qian was born in about 140 BC., and Du Fu was born in the year 712, the great historian and the great poet were approximately a thousand years apart. Sima Qian is mentioned in the first line of the poem, because in the Records of the Historian, Mount

Tai was mentioned repeatedly. In ancient times, the summit of Mount Tai was a sacred place for the emperors to make imperial sacrifices to heaven and earth. It was 'an imperial ritual conducted by the emperor and his subjects for the purpose of consolidating the mandate of heaven and establishing the cosmological justification for his regency'. (137) The beginning line is unorthodox and contains Dai Tian's style of wit: 'Sorry to say that Sima Qian is being neglected'. Readers will see many examples of well-known poets, historians, writers and others, like Sima Qian and Cang Jie, being only mentioned briefly in the poem cycle. The life of Du Fu is the main theme of the poems 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions', the rest are all complementary materials. Dai Tian tries to take up Du Fu's grand posture in denouncing existing evils and wishing for a better life for all. 'Unfinished Pavilion', 'Mount of Pine Views' and 'North Foundation Stone' are all scenic spots on Mount Tai.

The 2nd poem of 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' also describes Du Fu's journeys in the Shandong area. The feeling of solitude when going up the gate tower, and the appreciation of a hermit's retreat in Du Fu's poems 'On the Gate Tower of Gun' (*Deng Gunzhou chenglou*) (138) and 'Inscribing for Zhang's Recess No.1' (*Ti Zhangshi yinju*) (139) are conveyed. Kong Shangren (1648-1718) and his work Peach Blossom Fan (*Taohuashan*) are also mentioned. Kong Shangren built houses and a pavilion on the site according to the poems of Du Fu. Readers will also find two lines of Zheng Chouyu's poem 'Error' (*Cuowu*): 'The tack-tack sound of my horse hooves is a beautiful error/I am not a home-comer, but a passer-by.....' (140) are rewritten in Dai Tian's poem as: 'The tack-tack sound of the horse hooves/Left behind the spontaneous sorrow of the youth'. In this poem, Dai Tian tries to describe the beauty and solitude of the scenery and also the leisurely life of a hermit.

The 3rd poem in 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' is a continuation of the first two poems. The poem describes the serene beauty of the South Lake in the City of Ren, and also the memories of the companionship between Du Fu and Li Bai. The poetic content of two of Du Fu's poems 'Tour the South Lake with Chief Clerk Xu of City Ren' (*Yu Rencheng Xuzhubu you nanchi*) (141) and 'To Li Bai' (*Zeng Li Bai*) (142) are used in Dai Tian's poem. South Lake and *Taibai* House are places Du Fu and Li Bai both visited at different times. *Taibai* House was renamed after Li Bai went drinking there. Dai Tian's poem denotes the companionship of the two great poets and the unfulfilled ideals of the poets to serve the country.

The 4th poem in 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' describes the drinking banquet of Li Yong (Li Beihai) at the *Lixia* Pavilion in Shandong in the 4th year of *Tian Bao* (745) in the Tang Dynasty. Li Yong was a patriotic official, then governor of North Sea County, but was accused and sentenced to death two years after this famous literary meeting. Li Yong appreciated Du Fu's poetry, though 34 years his senior, and befriended Du Fu who was at the time 35. Du Fu accompanied Li Yong to the banquet. Poets like Li Bai and Gao Shi (702?-765) also visited Li Yong at around this period. Dai Tian's poem is based on Du Fu's poem 'Accompanying Li Beihai Banqueting at Lixia Kiosk' (*Pei Li Beihai yan Lixiating*). (143) Dai Tian also invited Li Bai, Pu Songling (1640-1715) and Liu E to the party in his poem. Li Bai was a dear friend of Du Fu, Pu Songling, author of *Strange Tales of Liao-zhai* (*Liaozhai zhiyi*), was fond of reading Du Fu's poems, and that Liu E's *Travel of Lao Can* (*Laocan youji*) described in detail the scenery routes and spots of Shandong Province, including the present site of Lixia Pavilion. According to Huang Jichi, two lines used by Dai Tian, 'Lotus flower on four sides have four kinds of opinion/Willow on three sides have various comparisons', have a similar structural pattern to that of Yu Guangzhong's poems in *Associations of the Lotus* (*Lian de lianxiang*, 1964). (144) In this poem, Dai Tian tries to depict the grand party hosted by Li Yong and attended by poets and scholars. The banquet seems to be an everlasting event, the moon is still hanging there and the discussions continue until the present day.

The 5th poem of 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' describes the remains of the multicoloured porcelain found in Henan Province. (145) Du Fu was born in Henan which was famous for production of multicoloured porcelain during the Tang Dynasty. Among the remains, one piece is marked 'Multicoloured pillow belonging to the Du family'. Dai Tian associates this with the search for the probable remains of Du Fu's family heritage. The multicoloured Tang porcelain contains 'black', 'tea-leaf fragments', 'brownish yellow', 'moon-white' and 'sky-blue' colours denoting the richness of Chinese culture. The term 'literature of the wounded' (*shanghen wenxue*) (146), which describes the literary style flourishing after the Cultural Revolution in 1976, acknowledging the destruction and suffering and lawlessness of the Cultural Revolution, is used in Dai Tian's poem to disparage the present by extolling the past.

The 6th poem is the last in the first part of the cycle. (147) In it, Dai Tian quotes Du Fu's poems, including 'Coming Across Li Guinian in Jiangnan' (*Jiangnan feng Li Guinian*),

which was written a few months before his death in the year 770. (148) Du Fu's poem describes extreme changes in circumstances, the difference between the past and the present, prosperity and desolation. The unpredictable meeting and parting of old friends injects happiness and sorrow in life. Dai Tian's poem contains intense and concentrated images of people, events and literary works. The poem reads:

A line connected from the station sighing and grieving
Features in town heartbroken receiving the foreign sands in the 3rd month
Perhaps, among the red mansions and high lofts the old elders were not there
Among red peach and willow green where are the new youths (149)
Tracing the memory of emerald tiles and golden stalks inside the Jian Chun Gate
But there is the fear mountains and rivers are impotent, and cannot uphold glories of
the embroidered household
The sun and moon are dim, kingly aura diminished gradually from the carved beams
(150)

In Courtier Cui Jiu's grand rooms, Li Guinian's songs sung increasingly dismal
In Upper Purity Palace, Wu Daozi's brush is overridden with sorrow
Only in the sounds of hooves bloomed mournful morning flowers
White bones supporting each other have no leisure to lean over the balcony to
read the tales of floating clouds (151)
Pairs and pairs of withered eyes are playing a series of endgames
Ignoring the three cups of wine of Emperor Yao abdicating his throne to Shun

From Emperor Cheng of the Zhou onwards, could it be just a wall of cursive
calligraphy by Zhang Xu (152)
Pei Min dancing with his sword awakened pillows of golden millet dream
At the Naked Bath Pavilion one still hears the palace women holding oars inviting
the cool breeze (153)

In a split second Cao Zijian loses his way and direction (154)
Yuan Haowen with tearful eyes plays the zither and discourses on the hemp-reeden
soil (155)

Du Muzhi asked in pain how could the Han Dynasty be preserved with the clique
imprisonment? (156)

The seven scholars have gone, even the seven sages' pure talk is useless (157)
Although Emperor Sui Yang moved over stability and prosperity
People were punished and executed when opposing to higher tax
Every year revolving lanterns are shifting like a sprinting horse on the bridge
Let the 'Five Sighs Song' comment and explain the hundred repertoires old and new
(158)

Checking through Xu Shen's Analytical Dictionary of Characters human disasters
only are seen (159)

The time span in the poem is diachronic. It spans the ancient period of Emperors Yao (CIRC. 2297 BC), Shun (CIRC. 2179 BC), Cheng of Zhou (CIRC. 1063 BC) and Cao Zijian (Cao Zhi, 192-232) to Sui Yang (581-618), poets and artists from Han Dynasty to

Yuan Dynasty. The events cover the Han Dynasty to present day Hong Kong. The term 'stability and prosperity' is a motto used during the negotiation of the future of Hong Kong upon the expiry of The Treaty of Nanking. Dai Tian recalls the succession of dynasties in ancient times, with so many partisan and sectarian disasters, to denote the difficulties of Hong Kong being handed over to a Communist regime. Poets mentioned in the poem include Liang Hong, Cao Zijian, the seven scholars and seven sages, Du Fu, Du Muzhi (Du Mu, 803-852) and Yuan Haowen (Yuan Yishan, 1190-1257). Painters and calligraphers include Wu Daozi, Wang Xizhi (321-379, alt. 303-361) and Zhang Xu, musicians like Li Guinian, sword players like Pei Min, and lexicographer Xu Shen (circa 30-124) are also mentioned. In Dai Tian's poem, Du Fu's poems are quoted extensively and often in antithesis: 'New youths' contrasts with 'old elders', 'red peach' to 'willow green', 'emerald tiles' to 'golden stalks', 'the mountains and rivers are impotent' to 'the sun and moon are dim', 'cannot uphold glories of the embroider household' to 'kingly aura diminished gradually from the carved beams'. The mood of the poem is controlled and discouraging. The ancient glories of the palace buildings are dilapidated, liveliness of the people are full of heartbroken features. The dismal singing of the maestro musician Li Guinian, who used to entertain in the courts in former days, now lived a vagrant life in *Jiangnan*, describes the floating and capricious nature of pomposity and power. The singing of Li Guinian is used in inversion in Dai Tian's poem. Apart from the quotations from Du Fu's poems, Dai Tian uses the works of Liang Hong, Cao Zijian, Du Muzhi and Yuan Haowen to describe the disastrous results of partisan and factional conflicts in Chinese history. The falling down of Luoyang, the capital of Eastern Han Dynasty and the birth place of Du Fu (he lived in Jian Chun Gate in his childhood), is described in detail to illustrate the fate of the dynasties. The poem ends with the first lexicographer in Chinese history, but it is a downbeat conclusion: Checking through Xu Shen's Analytical Dictionary of Characters (*Shuowen jiezi*), human disasters only are seen. In the poem, Dai Tian tries to contrast the lasting nature of Chinese arts and culture with the transitoriness of past political regimes. There are so many direct and indirect references to people and events threaded through thousands of years that readers have to stand back to gain a full understanding of the poem. This alienation effect in return provides the reader with greater freedom to interpret the 'human disasters' in Chinese history.

No.7 in the cycle describes the rich heritage of stone sculptures and calligraphy inscriptions on the Dragon Gate carved during the Three Kingdoms Period (220-280).

The poem further describes the vanity of enthroning Wu Zetian as the 1st Empress in China, with the words:

Among the empty sky rain and flower pouring down spontaneously
All the heavenly dancing music becomes props of hiding and sweet-talk
The comparison in Sutra of Dharma and Flower is not a model play
Hundreds and thousands of gods never accompanied the Emperors and Empress to
burn incense

Inside the lotus cave surely there will be someone sitting quietly under the tree
Thinking process turned into kalpa listening attentively to my Buddha's preaching
(160)

Falling flower-rain are dedicated inscriptions to the making of sculptures
The scholarly calligraphic tablets interlocked the broken strata in China
Coming from Dragon Gate, writings shoulder the past and the present (161)
Moonlit trees exchange looks with pure shadows, how many rounds are not
dust and sand

Longing for autumn waters and glassy abode from the virtuous kingdom (162)
Who knows the Denunciation Against Empress Wu cannot urge the lady to give way
(163)

Asking to no avail which family is now ruling the region

Knowing nothing about the purified abode (164)

The Sutra of Great Cloud is however a falsified approved guidelines (165)
Zhou Dynasty is heavenly wish, Empress Wu shall master the living world (166)

Maitreya is born, Buddhist chants and petals falling continuously (167)

Face-powder money temporarily covering up the tempting vamp
The magnificent Vairocana Buddha magically chiseled stood on the wall (168)

Imitating the same pose but the same they will be vanished (169)

Only the chisel leaves over the wonderful affinity without any vanity of fame

The evils of the North Gate Scholars will be ploughed away (170)

Holding the breath and wearing ornaments cannot redeem the three plagues of
fire, wind and water (171)

The Buddhist teaching of non-constancy does not care about the gilt and immortal
bodies (172)

Accomplishment, permanence, decay and emptiness at the end bewilders the
flashing eyes (173)

Left behind a stroke of gold outlining the autumnal trees in the dusky hills

In the footnotes to the poem, Dai Tian states that there were more than 3,600 inscribed tablets left behind from the Dragon Gate, and these are classics of Chinese calligraphy. Dai Tian also points out that the gilt colour of the magnificent Buddha was peeling off, with only an inconspicuous stroke remaining on the left eye-brow. The poem contrasts the impermanence of politics in history, with the eternal value of art and culture. All the sculptures and inscriptions were done by anonymous artists of their time, their style and techniques forming part of the national treasure, while the image of the autocratic Empress Wu has vanished and been forgotten as time goes by. The Sutra of Great Cloud

was falsified to announce the birth of Maitreya, i.e. Empress Wu, to master the living world. The terms 'model play' and 'approved guidelines' used in the poem were also used during the Cultural Revolution. The poem parodies of Jiang Qing (1913-1991) likening her to Empress Wu, the tempting vamp, since the '8 model plays' were the only ones authorized by Jiang Qing during the Cultural Revolution. Also Jiang Qing had tried to enthrone herself during the frenzy of the Cultural Revolution. The same image is again used to ridicule Jiang Qing in the poem, 'Comments and Remarks on Cultural Revolution No.8'. Readers will notice the overwhelming use of Buddhist terms in this poem when compared to the earlier six poems in the cycle.

No. 8 in the cycle also relates to Empress Wu. The poem describes how Empress Wu ordered all the flowers to bloom for her appreciation, and all the flowers obeyed except the peony which was subsequently exiled to Luoyang (174). Du Fu lived in Luoyang during his childhood and revisited the place on many occasions during later life. Dai Tian tends to play with words and displays his knowledge by fitting the names of ten different species of peony into his poem. Dai Tian praises the disgraced peony for its straight and righteous character, and compares this with the righteousness of those people who will not bend their principles in times of adversity. The literary banquet held by Wang Xizhi, the Saint of Chinese calligraphy, and Shen Deqian (1675-1769), a victim of the literary inquisition, are also mentioned in the poem.

The poem cycle 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' is to help rebuild a cultural China. The poems are written using 'detailed strokes' (*gongbi*), which are equivalent to the techniques of traditional Chinese realistic painting characterized by fine brushwork and close attention to detail. The intent of Dai Tian's poem cycle is to use the past to disparage the present by mirroring the harsh life of the great poet Du Fu. The ups and downs of Du Fu's life correspond to the ups and downs of present day China.

After the first four poems of the cycle were published, Huang Jichi wrote a critique in which he said that Dai Tian's basic thinking in the poems belonged to Confucianism, but there was also the underlying philosophy of Taoism. (175) It is true that poems No.1 to No.6 refer to the life and thoughts of Du Fu. Du Fu is a follower of the Confucianist doctrines of patriotic service and sympathy with the hardship of peoples' lives. Readers should note the influence of Confucianism in Dai Tian's poetry in the 3rd stage. Confucianism has become one of the most prominent elements in his construction of cultural China. Dai Tian also wanders in the mountains and waters in the historical

scenes, and this open approach to nature and detachment from politics is near to Taoist thinking. However, in poem No.7 one can detect references to Buddhism. My point is that Dai Tian is trying to blend Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism in his poems. In 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions', Dai Tian is trying to build a cultural China, but he is also subtly disparaging the present by extolling the past. Poets and scholars of the past are being employed to demonstrate their patriotism and invaluable writings, they are not to be found to day, but the numerous killings, imprisonment and sectarian conflicts have not been changed in Chinese history.

Huang Jundong (1934-) has said that Dai Tian's 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' poems are easily misunderstood by young readers, because they do not have enough experience and knowledge of Chinese culture. (176) Huang Jundong further pointed out that Dai Tian was disappointed with the politics of China in the 80s, yet he was also dissatisfied with some of the Chinese literary tradition. He, therefore, mingled artistic technique, real politics, historical characters and life-changing events to write the poems 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. The poems were written in an abstruse and obscure style with rich imagery in order to convey the ideal mood and historical content. I would argue that these 8 poems are important experimental works, yet Dai Tian is still experiencing difficulty in selecting the most appropriate and exemplary incidents and quotations. Each of the poems has a different balance and weight of theme materials, for example, the 1st and 6th poem as discussed above demonstrate the different intensity of quotations and number of personalities. Each of the 8 published poems contains two stanzas and each stanza consists of 13 lines, except the 2nd stanza of poem No.6 which has only 12 lines. This regulated and uniform structure requires Dai Tian to focus on the images he uses, the poems have to be very precise and highly condensed in their compact form. In many cases, each line of the poem contains either a literary event, quotation, ancient character, or cultural reference. This intensity of images is more difficult to express in a lyrical or multi-stanza format. There are some fragmented descriptions in the poem cycle 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. The poet must have a superb knowledge of Chinese history and culture, and be able to construct the poems in a disciplined manner.

In the cycle, 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions', there are sub-titles for poems No.1 to No.4, but poems No.5 to No.8 are only numbered and have no sub-titles. I would argue that poem No.6 is the most successful poem in the cycle. The numerous

events and people have been brought together to produce a page in the cultural history of China which is the central theme of the poem. At the end, the stunning effects of 'human disasters' compels the reader to re-evaluate the future prospects of Chinese history and culture based on the experience of the past. Poems No.5 and No.8 are less successful. Dai Tian tries to blend the five colours of Tang porcelain into poem No.5, in the same way he employs the ten species of peony in poem No.8. This inclusion of sets of terms or names sometimes fails to work effectively and can render the poem dense and impenetrable.

Dai Tian's style in the pursuit of cultural China is very different to that of Yu Guangzhong's search for history and culture. (177) Yu Guangzhong wrote about the poets Li Bai, Du Fu and Su Dongpo, in each poem he mainly focused on one individual poet and usually used more than two regulated stanzas. Yu Guangzhong's poetic language is lyrical and without massive concentration of literary images and quotations, while Dai Tian's disciplined and abstruse structure with intensive literary images and quotations is near to classical in the poems, 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'.

Dai Tian has suspended writing 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions', but he regards this as an unfinished job. There are a number of reasons for this stoppage. In fact, every image, line and construction is the result of much thought and reasoning. Every word and line has been measured and weighed, and subjected to careful study and refinement. Dai Tian has said that maybe his facility with language is inadequate, there are too many images and quotations so that not everyone is able to appreciate his poetry. Few people have read Peach Blossom Fan by Kong Shangren, and not every reader would understand the frustration of Sima Qian. Indeed, many readers would not be interested in historical events and cultural criticism, development and heritage. The poem cycle is intended to criticize the Cultural Revolution, and is concerned with Chinese culture, the technique and strategy in cultural studies. It is Dai Tian's aim to interpret and construct a cultural China through the composition, 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. He also tries to disparage the present by extolling the past in political developments in writing the poem cycle. However, I believe these 8 poems are only an initial contribution to the theme cultural China which is a grand endeavour. It is difficult at this stage to decide whether 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' is a success or a failure without reading the complete poem cycle.

International Politics: 'Portraits of Moustache Fleas'

International politics is another theme in Dai Tian's poetry in the 3rd stage. As has already been described, during the 1st and 2nd stages of Dai Tian's poetry, he was very concerned about current affairs and political events worldwide. In the 3rd stage, there are 7 poems directly dealing with the theme and collected in section 4 of *Research of the Stone*. (178) The 1st and most representative poem is 'Portraits of Moustache Fleas' written in 1985 which reads:

Inside Karl Marx's moustache
The fleas of power are hidden
The bald head of Lenin is hatched
Covered up is Tolstoy
Crying out loud for a bit of humanity

The moustache sores of Stalin spread everywhere
Red spots grow all the way to Siberia
Inciting guerrilla warfare in the ravines
Riots in the cities
Irrational behavior fervent like wild fire

Cruelty ferments in the dark
Alarms are raised everywhere under broad day light
Just one Lysenko can make history
Stop, the 'Sword' of Zhdanov
Has shattered how many loving embraces

Khrushchev freed the bound feet
Shrieking off bolt after bolt of history of blood and tears
Intertwined with the Ural Mountains
The long 'Sighs' of the Volga River boatmen
Is the only high note of Soviet style Socialism

How can one relaxed breathe stop evil thoughts
Under the baton of Brezhnev D flat minor is played
Troops can be sent to trample other peoples' countries
Tanks can threaten neighbouring sovereignties
And a magical game of nuclear blackmail can be played

Andropov has an indistinct appearance
Chernenko has even less of a face
They are all beard fleas on Karl Marx's cheeks
One day the true face of these cannibals will be unveiled
For the people of the world to grind their teeth in hatred (179)

The poem is a political and power history of the Soviet Union. In it, Dai Tian clearly reveals his anticommunist stand. All the political leaders and followers of the Soviet Union are condemned for spreading evil in the world. The glamour of political leaders from Lenin (1870-1924) to Chernenko (1911-1985) gradually fades. Lysenko (1898-1976) is condemned for his maverick ideas and damaging influence on Soviet biology, while Zhdanov (1986-1948) is responsible for the purges of intellectuals. The invasions by the Soviet Union of Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979 are condemned. The only people and places to be remembered with gratitude are Tolstoy (1828-1910), the Ural Mountains, the boatsmen of River Volga and the musicians. The symbol of the fleas under the moustache of Karl Marx (1818-1883) is wittily employed to belittle the political leaders. Although many names are used, the fluency of the poem is not affected. On the contrary, it clearly describes the cruel inheritance of communism.

The poem 'Hammer and Sickle' (*Liandao yu tiechui*), also condemns communism. The poem depicts the treacherous power struggles within the Soviet hierarchy and the 'harvest' of heads of the common people. The poem 'General and Prisoner' (*Jiangjun he qiutu*) describes the military rule of Chile under Augusto Pinochet (1915-). The poem 'Political Linguistics' (*Zhengzhi yuyanxue*) describes the trouble in Nicaragua during the 80s. Dai Tian condemns the USA's policing role which stirred up the killing between the Contras and the Sandinista National Liberation Front. In the poem 'Language in Varied Form' (*Bianti de yuyan*), Dai Tian describes the paradox of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. The hypocrisy of the American and British Governments in supporting the apartheid movement in the Republic of South Africa is severely renounced by Dai Tian. In the poem 'Chanting of World Affairs' (*Shishi yin*), Pieter Willem Botha (1916-), who declared the state of emergency in the Republic of South Africa in 1985, is described as a murderer. Moreover, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl are all condemned by Dai Tian as keen supporters and allies of Botha. The transliteration of the beverage 'martini' is again used in the poem, as it was used in the poem 'Composition' written in 1960 in Taiwan. In the poem 'Because of Night Fall' (*Zhi yinwei yewan lailin*), Dai Tian dreams of a peaceful retreat from the busy and commercial life of Hong Kong. He dreams of places in China, Taiwan, New York, Paris, London, Athens and Rome. The green tea of Fujian, the dance of Lin Huaimin and the image of the snake are also employed in the poem. The techniques of interior monologue and stream of consciousness are used to describe the inner frustration and thirst for spiritual liberation of

the poet. The poem 'A Glass of Milk and A Glass of Milk' (*Yibei niunai he yibei niunai*) written on the 9th September 1986 describes the aftermath of the disastrous nuclear reactor explosion in Chernobyl in 1986. The explosion caused the deaths of 31 at the time and a further 270 deaths later, and increased the levels of radioactivity in many parts of the world. Dai Tian tries to prove the dialectic relationship between a glass of milk from Chernobyl in the Ukraine to a glass of milk in Shenzhen, China. As readers can see from the above, Dai Tian pays great attention to the theme, international politics. He is sympathetic to those people suffering from war, suppression, poverty and human disasters, and anxious to speak out on their sufferings.

Fables: 'Autumn', 'Teeth', 'Moonlight in the Drawer' and 'Blessing'

Around 1985, Dai Tian published 24 fables for his young acquaintance Lin Zaishan. (180) These fables are written for adults. (181) In a note to the last poem, 'Blessing', Dai Tian stated that he intended to write 100 fables, but that only 23 had been published. (182) This must either be a misprint or a miscalculation, since in fact 24 fables have been published. The 1st poem 'Autumn' reads:

Washing desperately with washing liquid
Gradually the scorching heat of summer fades
Gradually breeze after breeze is washed out
Gradually a spotless blue sky appears

We can play children's game on this large screen
We can switch on imagination and liberate our mind and thoughts
We can go to the countryside and visit the streams
We can go to the highest peaks and try the azure blue

This is a light-hearted poem, written in everyday language. The image of washing the hot summer sky with washing liquid is a witty one. Though the ending is a bit banal, as a whole the poem is pleasing. The 2nd poem 'Teeth' demonstrates once again the recurrence of one of Dai Tian's favourite images, the water-melon. The poem reads:

When eating water-melon we can see the teeth
Biting forth bloody dilapidated ruins
Carried into dreams it scares us so that we shout

Although we have a nanny to comfort us
When we see the adults eating water-melon again
We turn our heads and don't dare to think of it again

This is a crisp poem describing the plainness and naïvety of children's perception. Children usually will not make horrendous associations unless they have had dreadful experiences, therefore I agree with Dai Tian that this fable is intended for adults. The image of the water melon represents the horrific experiences of war and killing. The same horrific image has appeared in Dai Tian's earlier poem 'Selling of Heads' written in 1973, while the image of the water melon recurs in a sweet context in the poem, 'Lady buying Water-melon', written in 1981. The selection and buying of a water melon can be a metaphor for the happiness of a pregnant woman in Beijing, yet the eating of a water-melon can be a horrific picture in the context of the warring states of Indochina. The teeth biting into the water melon as if they were biting into dilapidated ruins dripping with blood is an adult image. One can see from these descriptions of ordinary daily routines, how easily Dai Tian can inject the anti-war ideas and politics into his images. The poem 'Paper Boat' is an extension of the poem 'Two Fables, No.1' (*Tonghua erze*) written in 1963, in which the nursery rhyme 'rock/rock/rock/rock to grandma's bridge' in identical format is used as a linking up stanza. In the poem 'Paper Boat', the paper boat apart from rowing to grandma's bridge also witnesses the famine in the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia caused by droughts in 1982 and 1984. This further demonstrates Dai Tian's concern with the welfare of the people at large. The poem 'Moonlight in the Drawer' further reveals the subtleness and tenacity of Dai Tian's poetry:

This night someone takes out moonlight from the drawer
And from letters and regards from afar someone can see
Tranquil thoughts and warm wishes
The moon is perhaps not brightest at home, but in the heart

Reunion is a sweet dream that everyone dreams
But when the moon is full, will someone still wait at the door
Will someone still stretch out the hand, to touch the moon in the water
If everyone has lost the sentiment of the swallow

The 'moon' becomes an intermediary in this poem. Human beings can only touch and communicate through the moon in the water. The mood of unspeakable pain of loss and impotence is strongly felt in the poem. However, Dai Tian is not entirely pessimistic

about life, the brightness of the moon is always with the person wherever he is. This is the essence of a cultural China in the mind of the poet, one which will not be hampered by the geographical restriction of the politically correct home country. Again, the familiar symbol of the swallow reminds one of Dai Tian's earliest poem, 'The Chirps of the Swallows'. I shall also compare Dai Tian's poem 'Moonlight in the Drawer' to Bian Zhilin's 'The Composition of Distances' in later paragraphs.

The last poem I would like to discuss in the theme fable is 'Blessing' which reads:

The most tender place needs the padding of stability
A stable place needs love and concern
Silent Night needs to cut open the heart
Let the blood flow to the far far away horizon

The poem typifies Dai Tian's sincere wishes for peace in the world. On Christmas eve Dai Tian wishes that 'Blessing' can reach to the far far away horizon. The literal meaning of the line 'Let the blood flow to the far far away horizon' is a wish for the disappearance of blood and cruelty in this world. The poem is inspired by the song '7 O'clock News/Silent Night' sung by Simon and Garfunkel. The peaceful tune of Silent Night is sung with the disturbing background of news broadcasting of the Vietnam war and social chaos on Christmas eve. Victoria Kingston had the following description of the song:

The album closes with '7 O'clock News/Silent Night' in which the sweet harmony of the Christmas carol is gradually drowned out by the newsreader with a typical list of horrors—murder, demonstrations, and the death of Comedian Lenny Bruce from an overdose of narcotics. (183)

War is contrasted with peace creating a confused and provocative mental state of mind on the eve of Christmas. The intimate touches and natural flow of passion is the essence of Dai Tian's fables. His appreciation of nature and observation of current affairs enrich the building up of daily images with sharpness and ferocity.

Bian Zhilin and Dai Tian

In the first stage of Dai Tian's poetry writing, the influence of Bian Zhilin on Dai Tian's poems is explicit. Dai Tian and Bian Zhilian are very similar not only in respect of their use of words and images, but they are also close in the way they write poetry. They both

have 'the solitude, the occasional ferocity, the gentleness and the delicacy of the old poets.' (184) Born in 1910, Bian Zhilin was one of the major metaphysical poets in the 1930s in China. Bian dedicated his best collection of poems *Poems of Ten Years (1930-1939)* (*Shinian shicao*) (185) to his teacher, the major romantic poet Xu Zhimo (1897-1931). Bian Zhilin first acquired a name for himself for translating the works of Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), Paul Verlaine (1844-1896), Henri Francois Joseph de Regniwe (1864-1936), Paul Valery (1871-1945) and Paul Eluard, all of them major symbolist or surrealist French poets. Dai Tian was also fanatical about those French poets when he was young, and he even wrote poems in French. When the Japanese invasion began in 1937, Bian Zhilin switched to the English poets like W.B. Yeats (1865-1939), T.S. Eliot and W.H. Auden (1907-1973). However, as Hsu Kai-yu (Xu Jieyu, 1922-1982) concluded: 'one of the most promising modern Chinese poets, Pien Chih-lin has been writing very little since the end of the war.' (186)

It may simply be a coincidence that Nanlaiyan, the pen-name Dai Tian first used in Mauritius, appears in one of Bian Zhilin's poems, 'The Migration of Birds' (*Houniao wenti*), written in 1937, the year Dai Tian was born. Yet, the theme is very similar to Dai Tian's poem, 'The Chirps of Swallows'. The lines of enjambment in 'The Migration of Birds', translated by Bian Zhilin himself, read:

Let the three or four hawks, paper-swallows, paper-cocks
all soar to greet the wild geese from the South? (187)

'The wild geese from the South' in Chinese is 'Nanlaiyan'. A more obvious example of Bian Zhilin's influence on Dai Tian's poetry is found in 'Composition' (*Zuopin*) written in 1960. The end of the first stanza of Dai Tian's poem reads:

To research the philosophy of a falling leaf alone on the highest terrace

The beginning lines of Bian Zhilin's 1935 poem, 'The Composition of Distances' (*Juli de zuzhi*) in his own translation read:

When I dream of reading alone on the highest terrace
'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' (188)

This is not just the repetition of an identical phrase, but an imitation of the very idea and structure of the poem. The venue is the highest terrace, which has a symbolic meaning in Chinese of looking out over the country recalling past and present events with deep

feeling, and wishing it peace and prosperity. The symbol of climbing terraces bears a great similarity to Du Fu's famous poem 'On the Tower' (*Deng lou*). The first two lines of Du Fu's poem (as translated by Wu Juntao) read: 'The blossoms, swaying near the tower, touch my feelings;/On high I see all around there are wailings and killings.' (189) Here, Du Fu's sympathy for the country and its people is associated with the blooming flowers, Bian Zhilin's thoughts are occupied by reading The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, while Dai Tian is engaged in philosophizing about a falling leaf. Each poet uses the image of the highest terrace in his own way, yet their thoughts and sympathies are both with the historical encounters and the fate of the people. This can be seen as the beginning of Dai Tian's employment of sophisticated images similar to those seen in Bian Zhilin's poems.

During the 2nd stage of Dai Tian's poetry writing, he has interpreted and employed the same imagery used by Bian Zhilin, and even imitates his philosophical thinking and symbolic techniques. Dai Tian's poem 'This is a Rotten Apple' is greatly influenced by Bian Zhilin's 'Contrast' (*Duizhao*) written in 1933-34. The 1st stanza of Bian's poem which is translated by Hsu Kai-yu reads:

Assuming myself a philosopher, I
Find comfort in a rotten apple on the wayside;
Only after the earth has rotted, mankind emerges as parasites
Learn then from the distant pagoda; you stand alone on the mountain gazing at the
sunset (190)

Between Bian Zhilin's poem in the 30s describing the philosophical relationship between a rotten apple on the wayside and the earth, and Dai Tian's poem inspired by the pictures sent back from the space ship denoting the relationship between the rotten apple and the earth, there is a span of more than thirty years, but the theme remains the same. It is an exploration of the relationship between time and life. As I have earlier discussed, Dai Tian's poem 'The Kite' also demonstrates the themes of uprootedness and isolation comparable to Bian Zhilin's poem 'City of Spring'.

In the 3rd stage, the basic structure of Dai Tian's poem 'Moonlight in the Drawer' is based on Bian Zhilin's 'The Composition of Distances' written in 1935. (191) Both poems begin with a parallel image of two friends thinking of each other while far apart. The syntax of Dai Tian's first two lines is a varied form of the 3rd and last lines in Bian Zhilin's poem. Another of Dai Tian's poems 'An Account of Viewing', also has traces of

Bian Zhilin. (192) It was written on 16th October 1984 on behalf of Dai Tian's friends who viewed the National Celebration Parade on 1st October 1984 in Tiananmen. The first line of Dai Tian's poem 'I stand on the Gate Tower Viewing the Parade' (*Wo zhanzai chenglou guan huijing*) is a variation and adaptation of the 1st line of Bian Zhilin's poem 'Fragment' (*Duanzhang*) written in 1934. (193) Bian Zhilin's line as translated by himself reads: 'You take in the view from the bridge' (*Ni zhanzai qiaoshang kan fengjing*) Except that the subject is changed from 'You' to 'I', the number of characters, sentence structure and cadence of the two lines are identical. In Dai Tian's poem of five stanzas, this first line is repeated twice in the beginning of the 3rd and 5th stanzas. The traces of Bian Zhilin's style and language on Dai Tian's poetry are most conspicuous before 1985.

To conclude Bian Zhilin's influence on Dai Tian's poetry writing, I would like to point out another secret bond between Bian Zhilin and Dai Tian. They both have hardly written any love poems. Bian Zhilin said: 'When I first encountered Wen Yiduo, he praised me that among young poets I did not write love poems.' (194) Bian Zhilin further explained that in principle he did not oppose other people engaging in writing love poems, and sometimes he did appreciate other people's love poems. But Bian Zhilin was scared to reveal to readers the most inner feelings of his private life. When I interviewed Dai Tian in Hong Kong (195), he confessed to me that the poem 'The Face of Meizi' (*Meizi de lian*) may be regarded as the only obscure love poem he has ever written. (196)

Summary of Chapter 3

To summarize Dai Tian's poetry in this chapter, I would like to say that the theme Chineseness is the most consistent one. Dai Tian can be regarded as a patriotic poet in respect of China and the Chinese people, but not a particular regime. This theme of Chineseness began from his student years in Taiwan during the 1st stage of his poetry writing, the sentiments of this period are more nostalgic. The climax of this theme is represented by his poem cycle 'Ten Poems on Kyoto', of the 2nd stage, written in 1967. The serene mood and philosophical approach of the successful poem cycle 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' are unmatched by Dai Tian's other poems. Memories of childhood scenes in China, and Chinese arts and artists are also written about in this period. After his visit to China in 1981, and the death of his father around 1981, Dai Tian denotes his childhood experiences and his personal impressions of visiting China in 'Condolence to An Era—In Commemoration of Father', and the poem cycles 'Light Touches on Beijing' and 'Sketches on Beijing'. Building up on the theme of Chineseness, it leads to the pursuit of the theme cultural China in the 3rd stage. To rebuild an ideal China without the restriction of geographical boundaries is a contemporary topic among overseas Chinese. The 8 poems 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions', published in 1985, are representative works. The theme international politics can be traced throughout the three stages, but with most emphasis in the third stage. Dai Tian's pursuit in the theme time and life, in the 2nd stage, is to promote peace and fairness in the world. Fables, written in the 2nd and 3rd stages, are for 'adult children' in which naivety and sympathy are vigorously demonstrated.

Among the many familiar images like bone, hand wind, cloud, sky, mountain, water, bird, kite, seed, apple, water melon and others used by Dai Tian, his favourites are Yangtze River, stone and bird. The association and development between images, seed-stone-statue-mountain-fossil, wild goose-swallow-bustard-bird-kite-dragon bird, will be further discussed in chapter 4. The recurrence and development of these images is characteristic of Dai Tian's poetry.

Readers can also see the influence of modernism and existentialism in Dai Tian's works in the 60s, and symbolism in the 70s. Decadence, nihilism, cynicism and self-mockery are Dai Tian's prevailing styles in the 60s and 70s. The techniques of stream of

consciousness, alienation, interior monologue, parallel imagery, multileveled association, binary division and discursive format can be found in different stages.

The influence of Bian Zhilin's poems on Dai Tian is most obvious, among other poets, throughout the three stages. From the imitation of an identical line, as shown in the 1st stage, to the imitation of the philosophical thinking process, as in the poem 'This is a Rotten Apple', readers can find that Bian Zhilin's footprints are evident in Dai Tian's poetry writing. Classical and contemporary Chinese poets, e.g. Tao Yuanming, Li Bai, Du Fu, Liu Zongyuan, Zhu Ziqing and Mao Zedong are often quoted in Dai Tian's poetry of the three stages. However, classical Chinese literature, particularly Tang poetry, and annotated writings of the Song and Yuan Dynasty writers have attracted Dai Tian's attention increasingly since 1985. I would like to sum up by saying that Confucianism has become the basic thought in Dai Tian's 3rd stage of poetry writing, as shown in his admiration for and imitation of Du Fu. However, the underlying influences of Taoism and Buddhism are also apparent.

Dai Tian is vehemently opposed to Japanese militarism, he also makes known his hatred for autocratic and Communist regimes. The hypocrisy and international chauvinism of the capitalist powers is also condemned by Dai Tian. The 'consciousness of misery' prevails in the 2nd and 3rd stages of Dai Tian's poems. The subtlety of the heart is important in Dai Tian's poetry and should not be missed by Chinese readers. It symbolizes the Confucian ideal of serving one's country whenever possible, and speaks for those underprivileged people who suffer as a result of civil wars, invasion, coercion, natural disasters and poverty. It is this sincere passion that makes Dai Tian equal to the traditional patriotic poets, and his dedication to serving his country and people makes him truly great. This is one of the reasons why I value Dai Tian's poetry higher than that of his contemporary Hong Kong poets.

Throughout Dai Tian's writing career, he was first benefited, as a budding poet, when studying in Taiwan between the years 1957-1961. He acquainted his literary circle from the publications of the Literary Review and the Modern Literature. As discussed in chapter 2, most of Dai Tian's literary companions of this period have, within no time, become well-known writers, poets, scholars and critics. Settling down in Hong Kong in 1961 gives Dai Tian an unique opportunity to write on marginality, from the margin. The segregation experienced from the ruling of British colonialism, the shame of earning a living in an American Government organization, the desperation about the autocratic

government in the Mainland, all contributed to and enriched Dai Tian's poetry writing. The scholarship awarded to Dai Tian, to study for two years in the Iowa Poetry Workshop in 1967, is crucial to his transformation into a major poet. The time and leisure enabled Dai Tian to visit Kyoto and write the beautiful poem cycle 'Ten Poems on Kyoto', the climax of Dai Tian's poetry writing. The experiences in Iowa also initiated Dai Tian to organize the first contemporary poetry workshop in Hong Kong. The political movements and campaigns in the PRC since 1949, particularly the Cultural Revolution, disheartened many overseas Chinese; therefore, the pursuit of a cultural China has become a possible way out for overseas intellectuals. From 1985 onwards, Dai Tian committed himself to the building up of a cultural China, the poem cycle 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' being an important composition in this context. The tragic events of the Tiananmen Massacre in 1989, again, upset and hurt the feelings of many overseas Chinese; Dai Tian has also written poems condemning the massacre. After the handing over of Hong Kong to the PRC in July 1997, it is unlikely that Dai Tian will stay in Hong Kong and continue his poetry writing condemning the autocratic PRC Government. However, this thesis will only include the study of Dai Tian's poetry up to the year 1990. I shall discuss the poetry of Dai Tian as a representative of Hong Kong poets, and his other themes of anti-colonialism, periphery, Cultural Revolution and Tiananmen Massacre in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Dai Tian: A Hong Kong Poet

In this chapter, I shall first introduce the colonial scenes of Hong Kong which are relevant to a discussion of Dai Tian's poetry. I will argue that Dai Tian is a major Hong Kong poet in that he writes about the colonial history of Hong Kong on the periphery of China, Taiwan and United Kingdom. The following poems will be taken as support for my argument: 'The Story of the Stone', 'Snake' (*She*), 'The Scenes of 1971', 'Broken Thoughts on 1997', 'The New Year Couplet' (*Huichun*), 'Oh! I am a Bird', 'This Pair of Hands', 'Comments & Remarks on Cultural Revolution' and 'Time Train' (*Shijian lieche*). 'The Story of the Stone' is the most important poem in Dai Tian's theme of anti-colonialism. I will try to analyse the poem from the perspectives of intertextuality and deconstruction. 'Snake' is another important poem that bears the obvious influence of T. S. Eliot. The related imageries of stone/stone statue, snake, small boy and bird in the poems will also be closely examined. Before I venture into Dai Tian's poems on Hong Kong, I shall begin with a brief introduction concerning the colonial rule of the British in Hong Kong.

British Colonial Rule in Hong Kong

Hong Kong, a British colony since 1842, was virtually governed by the Governor appointed by the Queen's Government through a form of mechanics called 'administrative absorption of politics'. The British colonial government never attempted to follow Western democratic models. It tried from the very beginning to adopt a unique brand of politics of its own. This 'government by discussion' is best described by G. B. Endacott:

An examination of the working of the Hong Kong constitution shows interested opinion is consulted continuously prior to any important government decision.....the general public at large is invited to express its views. Indeed, consultation as practiced by the Government is so extensive that the term 'government by discussion' aptly describes one of its leading characteristics. (1)

The Governor was assisted by the Executive Council and the Legislative Council, however, the Governor had supreme power to over-rule the Councils. The first Chinese,

Ng Choy (Dr. Wu Ting-fang) was appointed to the Legislative Council in February 1880. After some 46 years, Shouson Chow (Zhou Shouchen) was appointed as the first Chinese member of the Executive Council in 1926. These Chinese people represented the interest of a specific class:

Among the Chinese Unofficial Members, prior to 1964, over 90% are from 'established rich' families and are among the small circle of elite in the Chinese community. After the mid-1960s, another category of persons has been rising - the 'new rich' representing the ever-increasing industrial forces. And among the non-Chinese Unofficial Members, about 75% are chief executives or managing directors of commanding economic institutions. (2)

The appointment of Chinese to the two Councils were not made on personal grounds, nor was it the grand idea of one particular colonial official. It grew out of a need to cope with the problem of legitimacy in a colony of over 95% Chinese population:

It was evident that political consideration also came in, viz., to pacify anti-British sentiment in China and further encourage the loyalty of local Chinese towards Hong Kong. (3)

In the early 60s, Hong Kong was still a city struggling to thrive. Financial and telecommunication infrastructure had not been built up. Most people led routine, quiet and stable lives. But from the 60s onwards, Hong Kong went through many phases of transformation and the poverty line between 1963-64 and 1973-74 was greatly lowered:

Households under the poverty line fell from 35% in the sixties to 3.5% in the seventies. In terms of population, the fall was from 40% to 4.7%.....Per capita GDP at current prices went up from an average of \$203 per month during 1963-64, at an average of \$654 in 1973-74, more than a threefold increase. Poverty incomes, on the other hand, only about doubled between the two dates. (4)

Since 1960, Hong Kong has always maintained a surplus budget and the surplus was ever increasing. (5) Indeed, Hong Kong was a world miracle of economic success due to the changes in the infrastructures of Western countries, and its entrepreneurship and hard working labor force. Hong Kong was just one big bazaar:

I was repeatedly told by many Chinese students at the University of Hong Kong that the purpose of Hong Kong is to make money. Hong Kong has no other public, moral, intellectual, artistic, cultural, or ethical purpose as a society of individuals. It is just one big bazaar. It is not uncommon for articulate student radicals to forget their radical aspirations shortly after finding well-paid jobs on graduation. The only reward for successful political activity is an unpaid seat on the relatively unimportant Urban Council. (6)

Life under colonial rule had a lot of traumas and nightmares, yet very few people doubted the legitimacy of British rule. As Alvin Rabushka further pointed out:

What is Britain's moral responsibility to the people of Hong Kong? With some exceptions, it has been British policy neither to hold back any territory that wished to become independent nor to push any territory faster that it wished to go. But Hong Kong has no referendum or electoral machinery by which Her Majesty's Government can assess the wishes of the majority of the people. Still, I do not know a single knowledgeable analyst of Hong Kong who argues that a majority want an end to colonial government. (7)

The above analyst is basically correct up to the signing of the draft agreement on the future of Hong Kong by the Chinese and British Governments on 26.9.1984. However, it is debatable whether the majority of Hong Kong people would still have welcomed British colonial rule after the expiry of the treaties. Different opinion polls indicated opposite findings. Nationalism and patriotism certainly played a major part in the minds of the overwhelmingly indigenous Chinese population in Hong Kong. As far as many Chinese people were concerned, if Hong Kong was destined to be a colony in the future, being a Chinese colony might not be any worse than being a British colony. In the course of historical events, sentiment sometimes overruled rationality. Although the majority of the Chinese population living in Hong Kong did not believe in communism and were greatly worried by it, yet the termination of British colonial rule beyond 1997 was inevitable. Before the beginning of the Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong on 24th September 1982, the views of Hong Kong citizens had not been officially consulted, and the possibility of a referendum was ruled out on 15th March 1983. The future of Hong Kong was decided by both the PRC and British Governments, the people of Hong Kong actually had no participation in the negotiation process. Opinion polls of the people of Hong Kong were only used as bargaining power whenever necessary. Indeed, the British Government, then under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, had the unrealistic dream of introducing democratic changes in Hong Kong overnight:

I purposed that in the absence of progress in the talks we should now develop the democratic structure in Hong Kong as though it were our aim to achieve independence or self-government within a short period as we had done with Singapore.....We might also consider using referenda as an accepted institution there.....By now (14th October 1983: author's note) I had abandoned any hope of turning Hong Kong into a self-governing territory. (8)

Given the political situation in which Hong Kong was surviving under the shadow of the PRC in the 80s, the possibility of independence or self-government for Hong Kong after 1997 was impossible. It was not the moral responsibility of the colonial government to enlighten its people. Little was done to promote democracy in Hong Kong before 1984, not even after the unrest in May 1967. From the late 50s to 80s, an English woman, Elsie Elliott, tried her best to promote and protect civil rights at the grass roots level. (9) Elsie Elliot was then popular and beloved by the poor and underprivileged people, treated with suspicion and disbelief by her fellow British people. While in the late 60s, nationalism and xenophobia were still to a great extent dormant in the minds of the majority of Hong Kong people, worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreign powers was part of the reality of daily life. However, 1984 to 30th June 1997 was the closing chapter for British colonial rule in Hong Kong. Below, I shall discuss the importance of Dai Tian's poems in promoting anti-colonialism in the late 60s in Hong Kong. Dai Tian was the first poet to attack colonialism in Hong Kong and touched on the issue of 1997 in a straightforward manner in his poetry.

Anti-Colonialism: 'The Story of the Stone'

On graduation from National Taiwan University, Dai Tian came and settled in Hong Kong in 1961. Hong Kong has become an inseparable part of his life. In his poems written in 1963, Dai Tian tried to describe the city life of Hong Kong with his surrealist strokes. In the poem 'Looking Horizontally' (10), Dai Tian describes the repetitiousness and boring nature of a female factory worker's job. He further laments the illiteracy of the city. Dai Tian describes the rays of the sun as being like the graceful movements of the colourful butterfly, in between huge blocks of industrial buildings, fluttering into the crowd who can not write and read.

In another poem 'Chattering' (11), Dai Tian describes the decadence and triviality of the scenes in a kind of topless bar. The American Government was involved in the Vietnam war between the years 1961-1973, therefore a large number of American militia spent their swift vacations in Hong Kong. The red light business including the topless bars was becoming very prosperous along the waterfront in Wanchai and Tsimshatsui districts in the colony. Apart from criticizing the American involvement in Vietnam, Dai Tian also

severely reprimands the French for stirring up troubles in Algeria. Dai Tian weaves the images of the swinging naked breasts of the bar-maids, the Paris boutique, chewing gum, armchair revolutionary remarks, sex, smoking and drinking into a fantastic dream night, sinking like the setting sun. From these two early poems, one can see that Dai Tian is observant and critical of the banality and superficiality of life in Hong Kong.

Before 1969, few poets touched on the theme of anti-colonialism. Wucius Wong published the poem 'Spring 1957, Hong Kong' (*Yijiuwuqi nian chun Xianggang*) in Literary Current in 1957. The poem touched on the mundane life in the colony, but there is no strong element of anti-colonialism. (12) When Kunnan wrote the poem '*Qi xiang*' (Direction of the Flag) in 1963 (13), its essence contained more nostalgia for China and disillusion with city life in Hong Kong rather than any direct condemnation of colonialism. At the age of 32, Dai Tian wrote one of his most acclaimed poems, 'The Story of the Stone' on 22nd October 1969 (14), a poem which made him the most talked about poet in Hong Kong. During the period of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, riots also broke out in Hong Kong in May 1967 organized by the extreme leftists. (15) In the late sixties, Hong Kong people were still alienated by politics and skeptical about Communism. Dai Tian struck directly into the heart of existence — Hong Kong is a colony. Dai Tian is the first poet who blatantly denounced the colonial nature of Hong Kong. The poem 'The Story of the Stone' was written in seven stanzas each with eight lines. The poem is translated by Diana Yu:

The time was 1969
The place, a certain colony
The character, I
The event:
Sudden
Birth and growth
Of a piece of stone
In my heart

It was a kind of
Night that didn't have an evening
It was a kind of
Decision
Of having to pull the brakes
It was a grain of sand
That exists
Nowhere in the eye

The fear people have
For a seed

Is that it might die
And, for a dream,
That it might be broken
And, for a stone,
That it just might keep on
Growing

If the mighty Mount Tai
Should find its place in the pupil
Then all its verdure
And colossal strength
Would become
In an instant
A mere
Emerald sphere

If the Great River
Should creep and surge
In the veins
Then, ah, all manner of fish therein
Would no longer
Be free
But would just
Freeze there

And so, like veins on a leaf,
The hand
Is gnawed
By a little bug
And so voices
Become unfamiliar
Like cries that come
From the other side of the river

A Child
Comes along
And spits
Phlegm
On my face
And says:
"Never have I seen
Such an ugly stone statue" (16)

Diana Yu's translation of 'The Story of the Stone' on the whole is an accurate and fluent one. However, I shall stick to my translation of the 3rd and the 5th stanzas as discussed under the topic *New Voices* in the last chapter, the 5th stanza is quoted below:

If inside the blood vessels
Hides

A huge river
Oh! Yellow River carp and Yangtze pike
All stopped
— Wandering
All are frozen
There

I believe my translation, by referring to essentially Chinese elements such as Yellow River carp (*Huanghe li*) and Yangtze pike (*Changjiang ji*) brings out the full symbolic representation of Chinese history and culture. This emphasis on Chineseness adds weight to the contrast with the colonial lives in Hong Kong, which Dai Tian wishes to compare in the poem 'The Story of the Stone'.

Enlightenment is the most important underlying philosophy of the poem. As a piece of stone is growing within the body, the feeling of a human being is diminishing. Eventually this will turn into a most ugly stone statue, one of those statues erected by the British Imperialists and Colonists in the buildings, gardens and squares of Hong Kong. This ugliness is only blatantly despised by a naïve, small and instinctive child who spits on the faces of the statues of those kings and queens. The stone image also has a secondary meaning. When we are looking at the distant Mount Tai, it looks like a jade stone, beautiful, cool and tranquil. The Motherland was so near yet so far, so pretty yet so cold-blooded, strangled in class hatred. The poet disapproves of colonialism in Hong Kong, he also resists the strange voice from the opposite side of the river. The multiple images are meticulous and natural. The form is mature, terse and unique. The language is precise, simple and penetrative. The richness of self mockery and cynicism in the poem is characteristic of Dai Tian's style. Not many Hong Kong poets are willing to make themselves the subject of mockery and cynicism. Even if they are willing to, they lack Dai Tian's sharpness and penetration in employing images. The above paraphrase arises from a traditional approach of reading and searching for the unity and harmony of the poem. I shall try to decode the poem from an intertextual and deconstructivist perspective in the following paragraphs.

The concept of intertextuality originates from the Russian formalist Mikhail Bakhtin. He conceptualises 'the "literary word" as an intersection of textual surfaces rather than a point (fixed meaning), as a dialogue among several writings: that of the writer, the addressee (or the character), and the contemporary or earlier cultural context.' (17) The French word 'intertextualité' (intertextuality) was first introduced by Julia Kristeva (1941-) and met with immediate success. (18) The essence of the concept is to examine the relationship between texts. According to Roland Barthes, text is a methodological field, it is plural and is not thought of as an object that can be computed. (19) Intertextuality has two important implications, firstly it is the employment of materials in the literary works, and secondly the method of devices in individual works. One text has to be compared to the other text diachronically and synchronically, and to be examined within the wider scope of its social and cultural background in order to signify its connotative meaning. Julia Kristeva said:

The text is defined as a trans-linguistic apparatus that redistributes the order of language by relating communicative speech, which aims to inform directly, to different kinds of anterior or synchronic utterances. (20)

I shall compare the text of works with the same title, The Story of the Stone by Cao Xueqin, 'The Story of the Stone' by Dai Tian and Luo Fu to bring out the enriched context of Dai Tian's poem. Again, Roland Barthes pointed out that the role of the title has not been well studied:

The function of the title is to mark the beginning of the text, that is, to constitute the text as a commodity. Every title thus has several simultaneous meanings, including at least these two: (1) what it says linked to the contingency of what follows it; (2) the announcement itself that a piece of literature (which means, in fact, a commodity) is going to follow; in other words, the title always has a double function; enunciating and deictic. (21)

Cao Xueqin's A Dream of Red Mansions is also called The Story of the Stone. (22) In the notes on the use of The Story of the Stone and chapter 1, Cao Xueqin has written the introduction of the story as inscribed on the stone. The stone was the only one remaining from the 36,501 stones made by Nü Wa to repair the sky. This can be seen as a basic frame for the story's structure. The frame in the frame is about the pompous, aristocratic

and extravagant family lives of the Jia family, and falling apart and total destruction of these greedy, decadent and sadistic life styles. In Chapter 66, someone tells the hero frankly:

The only clean things in that East Mansion of yours are those two stone lions at the gate. (23)

The suggestion is that pomp and extravagance cannot be maintained forever. It is obvious that the theme of enlightenment in Cao Xueqin's A Dream of Red Mansions has influenced greatly in Dai Tians prose and poetry writings. As we have earlier discussed in chapter 2, Dai Tian's column writings had adopted the names '*butiantan*' and '*butianji*' respectively, and his poem 'The Story of the Stone' is an allusion and imitation of Cao Xueqin's A Dream of Red Mansions.

The techniques of intertextuality include allusion, imitation, quotation, parody, adaptation and pastiche. Although the genres are different, readers will find that the allusion and imitation suggested by the title 'The Story of the Stone' in Dai Tian's poetry demonstrates the similarity of connotation. Dai Tian's ugly statue can be interpreted as the only clean thing like the stone lions in A Dream of Red Mansions. The ugly stone statue in Dai Tian's poem is a double image, when it is associated with the poet himself it suggests self-mockery, and when associated with the colonial kings and queens it is cynical. The two pieces of work are both stories inscribed on the stone. Both the fiction and the poem have the structure of a frame in a frame. In Dai Tian's poem, China is the underlying context for the basic frame, i.e. the description of colonial lives in Hong Kong. Cao Xueqin's fiction has enriched Dai Tian's theme diachronically by implying that all selfish, decadent and sadistic things cannot last forever, and that colonialism cannot last in Hong Kong forever either.

Dai Tian's contemporary Luo Fu wrote the poem 'The Story of the Stone' echoing Dai Tian's poem written in 1973 in Taiwan. This can be seen as a grafting of Dai Tian's poem. Luo Fu's poem reads:

So it says
You're only a piece of stone
Growing silently from inside
Your skeleton has hardened and become voiceless

So it says
Idiotically you
Lie down naked on the roadside

Waiting quietly
The saliva on the face
Dried up by the wind (24)

Apart from imitating the title, Luo Fu also turns his text into a pastiche of Dai Tian's 'The Story of the Stone'. Luo Fu's poem is even more self-mocking, however the hardened skeleton implies that the poet is aware and will not surrender to colonial rule in Hong Kong, and the image of the saliva on the face dried up by the wind is much more self-mocking and cynical than Dai Tian's original poem. However, Luo Fu wrote the poem in 1973 when Taiwan was still under martial law, he was not free to describe the full picture of colonialism in Hong Kong and the passionate love for Mainland China. The PRC took up its seat in the United Nations again in 1971, and the ROC was under increasing diplomatic pressure. It is a sensitive subject for Taiwan to discuss the colonial status of Hong Kong, because the unification of China is an intricate and complex issue. Taiwan itself was a colony of the Dutch and Japanese, but the de-colonization of Hong Kong would mean the immediate return of Hong Kong to Mainland China and not to Taiwan. Self-evidently, speaking of the love for, and a return to, the history and civilization of China by describing Mainland China as the motherland was unthinkable at the time. Dai Tian's earlier text enriches the connotation of Luo Fu's poem that he cannot explicitly denote because of the political environment in which he is writing. Therefore, the image of the clean stone which symbolises the pursuit of Chinese culture and the struggle inherent in life under colonialism in Hong Kong in the two poems are related synchronically. From the above comparison of Cao Xueqin's The Story of the Stone, and Dai Tian and Luo Fu's 'The Story of the Stone', it can be seen that, in this case, intertextuality can reveal more correlation between texts of contemporary writings, that is to say, it functions better in a synchronic frame than in a diachronic frame. The bond between contemporary writings, in terms of political, cultural and social aspects, is often stronger than those of different periods.

The stone and jade relation is another similarity between Cao Xueqin's fiction and Dai Tian's poem. In Dai Tian's poem, 'A mere/Emerald sphere' refers to the jade in the shape of the sphere which denotes the grandeur of Mount Tai. Mount Tai is a symbol for China. Stone is a hard substance, formed from mineral and earth material. It can also mean any small, hard seed, as for example, a date's pit. Jade has the qualities of purity and tenacity. The different qualities of stone and jade give rise to problems of interpretation and contradiction:

The jade/stone interplay brings to the fore the deep structural contradiction inherent in Pao-yu's [Baoyu] personality. I argue that the interest of his characterization lies less in the symbolism of Chen-Chia Pao-yu (real & unreal precious jade), a device external to the development of his subjectivity, than in the portrayal of a subject that contains a reversible internal double—namely, jade-as-stone. Indeed, once our hero assumes the form of a handsome young man and attains the momentum of dynamic personality development that resists the instant return to his mythical origin (i.e., stone), we witness the ceaseless process of disintegration and reconstruction evoked by the tensions that the unstable stone-jade affiliation is capable of arousing. (25)

Cao Xueqin's fiction begins with the remaining large block of stone left behind by Nü Wa after repairing the sky, the stone is transformed by the Buddhist and Taoist immortals into a piece of precious jade and brought to the mundane world. The precious jade is the symbol of the handsome young man Baoyu who is given the family name of 'Jia', which symbolizes 'falseness' in the story. (In Chinese, the written form of 'Jia' as a surname is different to its homonym 'jia' which literally means falseness.) This contradiction adds tension and complexity to the development of the story, but in order to appreciate the story one must be aware that Jia Baoyu has initially been transformed from a stone. Although Dai Tian's poem does not explicitly begin with the legend of Nü Wa, his pastiche of the structure of Cao Xueqin's novel could render the legend of Nü Wa implicit in the poem. The development of the image of stone in Dai Tian's poem can be seen as graduating through the following spectrum: a piece of stone/a grain of sand/a seed/a mere emerald sphere/an ugly stone statue. The stone/jade relationship is one of contrast: the stone is tiny, negligible, crude, worthless, ugly and shameful, while jade is like Mount Tai, verdure with colossal strength. The jade or grandeur of Mount Tai is what the poet longs for, but he is tied to the piece of stone which represents the colony of Hong Kong in 1969. In Cao Xueqin's fiction, the creations of the immortals, Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu, are two young rebels who stubbornly oppose old traditions:

Baoyu dislikes mixing with the literati and refuses to write *bagu* essays, but enjoys the company of women and sympathizes with maidservants in his house. Daiyu resembles him. And because the two young people both hate feudal oppression and long for freedom to develop their individuality, a true love springs up between them. (26)

Is Dai Tian's poem not touched by the theme of enlightenment, the awakening from dreams to experience the taboo of colonialism and the cry for freedom and individualism? The 5th stanza of Dai Tian's poem is most explicit: 'If inside the blood vessels/Hides/A

huge river/Oh! Yellow River carp and Yangtze pike/All stopped/—Wandering/All are frozen/There'. The hatred of colonial oppression and yearning for freedom in Dai Tian's poem find echoes in the characters of Cao Xueqin's fiction. Jia Baoyu was transformed from a large block of stone, and Dai Tian transforms himself into an ugly stone statue, from the theory of intertextuality, can we not say that Dai Tian is Jia Baoyu?

Deconstruction

Deconstruction, Jacques Derrida's (1930-) strategy of analysis, includes a search for metaphysical presuppositions in the text, an analysis of what is explicitly excluded and its relation to what is included. It is also the study of the strategy the author adopts in order to make his or her points. The principles take the form of directives or guidelines for deconstruction for the following purposes:

- 1) to reveal the economy of the written text;
- 2) to show the relationship between metaphysics and non-metaphysics;
- 3) to reveal the relationship between what a writer commands and does not command of the patterns of language that he/she uses;
- 4) to show the relation between the declared (thematized) and the described (unthematized) levels of the text. (27)

Derrida suggests that in order to establish the real connotation of a text one must choose different interpretations, and that is not possible simply to choose between trying to establish the original meaning of an author on the one hand, or to interpret the text purely from the creative experience of the reader on the other. What deconstruction proposes is not an end to distinctions, but the provision of further connections, correlation and contexts for the text. Derrida declared that context is boundless:

But total context is unmasterable, both in principle and in practice. Meaning is context-bound, but context is boundless. Derrida declares, "This is my starting point: no meaning can be determined out of context, but no context permits saturation. What I am referring to here is not richness of substances, semantic fertility, but rather structure, the structure of the remnant or of iteration." (28)

Readers have already seen how intertextuality expands upon the title and textual connotation of Dai Tian's 'The Story of the Stone'. Deconstructing Dai Tian's 'The Story of the Stone' releases further meanings in the text. The poem is thus revealed as incomplete, displaying omissions which it cannot describe. Indeed, the poem can no

longer be restricted to a single, harmonious and authoritative reading. The description of colonialism in Hong Kong on the one hand and the pursuit of Chineseness on the other is not coherent nor do the themes run in parallel. The declared or referential signification is the colonization of Hong Kong, whereas the described or rhetorical level is the magnificent scenes and strange voices of Mainland China. The readers will find that no absolute choice of priority is possible, there is a discrepancy and undecidedness between anti-colonialism and Chineseness.

'The Story of the Stone' is full of contradiction. Dai Tian has made it explicit that the poem is written in 1969 in the colony of Hong Kong. The stone seems to be a unique and unified image, but why does Dai Tian identify himself with the stone and subject himself to cynical self-mockery? The image does not just relate to the immense and unspeakable pain of an intellectual living in the colony of Hong Kong. It is more than nostalgic and nationalistic. Dai Tian was then working at USIS, part of the American Embassy establishment in Hong Kong. He was the chief editor of the World Today Press which is part of USIS, part of his job was to promote American culture and literature to Chinese people. Dai Tian himself had translated Katherine Anne Porter and Saul Bellow, two contemporary American writers, into Chinese. (29) While his poem 'The Story of the Stone' condemns British colonial rule in Hong Kong, he himself is working for the biggest capitalist Government in the world—the American Government. What a conflicting message to the people of Hong Kong! One can then understand the rationale behind the self-mocking image of 'Never have I seen/Such an ugly stone statue'. The complex psychology of the author can only be detected by deconstructing the poem. This is the same for the author's feelings about China which I shall discuss below.

In the poem, China is represented by the colossal Mount Tai, the Great River and its look of a hand-shaped leaf on the world map, a recurring image of the mountain, river and plant that is often found in Dai Tian's poetry. But the sentiment towards China is constrained and overwhelmingly pessimistic. 'It was a kind of/Night that didn't have an evening/It was a kind of/Decision/Of having to pull the brakes'. This metaphysical presupposition is further described as 'The fear people have/For a seed/Is that it might die/And, for a dream,/That it might be broken/And, for a stone,/That it just might keep on/Growing?'. This description of China is not parallel to the theme of anti-colonialism in Hong Kong, otherwise it would be the yearning for the reunion of Hong Kong and China. The verdure and colossal Mount Tai are transformed into a mere emerald sphere in an

instant which finds its place in the pupil of an eye. Like the Great River, all the living souls, in the form of all manner of fish therein, are no longer free and would just freeze there. And China, 'And so, like veins on a leaf,/The hand/Is gnawed/By a little bug/And voices/Become unfamiliar/Like cries that come/From the other side of the river'. If readers try to decode the poem 'The Story of the Stone' in a logical way, they will certainly be confused by the contradictions contained in the poem. Dai Tian lives, and enjoys a better material life in Hong Kong despite British colonial rule, while his spiritual pursuit for a cultural China is overshadowed by fear and skepticism about the Communist regime. From the deconstructionist approach, the meaning of the poem is context-bound, but the context is boundless, readers can then pose two further questions about Dai Tian's poem: Firstly, where will Hong Kong go? And secondly where will China go?

If Dai Tian's poem is examined in fragments, one can understand even more. 'The time was 1969', why is 1969 of particular importance to Dai Tian's poem? He had just completed his Iowa international writing program in 1968, and started a poetry writing workshop in Hong Kong for young poetry enthusiasts. The unrest in 1967 was over and no imminent social or students' movements or protests were in process. 1969 was the 50th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, a Chinese intellectual revolution and anti-imperialist movement in pursuit of democracy and science. (30) The May 4th movement must have touched Dai Tian deeply. In an article 'The Story of May 4th' written in 1979, the 60th anniversary of the May 4th movement, Dai Tian sighed that no one remembers the importance of this historical date. The 60th anniversary of May 4th was not mentioned in any editorials in Hong Kong newspapers. (31) Couldn't readers see this anniversary as a symbol of enlightenment and rebellion against colonialism? 'The place, a certain colony', if decoded in the context of the poem, means Hong Kong. The poem explicitly describes scenes of Hong Kong as a colony in 1969. What kind of colony is Hong Kong? A British colony ceded from the Chinese in 1842. What happened in 1842? The opium war between China and Great Britain, in which China was subsequently defeated and humiliated. From 1842 to 1969 is 128 years, but no one could possibly predict what would happen in the remaining 28 years up to 1997. It seems the history of Hong Kong is in the middle of nowhere. The phrase 'borrowed place living on borrowed time' coined by Han Suyin in 1959 has been quoted frequently in later years. (32)

The above is the basic contextual structure of the poem. 'The character, I'; why has Dai Tian put himself into an anti-colonial poem? As I have discussed earlier this is possibly

the conflict of Dai Tian's ego. He can not stand the stench and decadence of colonialism, yet he can do nothing to improve the situation. He himself is even one of the elements helping to sustain colonialism in Hong Kong. Although he was not working under the Hong Kong Government, he was working for the closest ally of the British Government—the American Government. Cynicism and self-mockery are most vigorously projected in the final stanza of the poem: 'A Child/Comes along/And spits/Phlegm/On my face/And says: "Never have I seen/Such an ugly stone statue"'. There is not a single word in the poem that explicitly condemns colonialism, yet the message is powerful and clear to readers. The image of the stone in the poem contains contradictory qualities: the poet is trying to raise people's awareness of the evils of colonialism, but at the same time there is uncertainty as to whether anything can be achieved. The attempt to enlighten readers is like a grain of sand that has no actual existence, a seed that might die, and a dream that might be broken. But the horrendous fact is that the stone (i.e. Hong Kong under colonial rule) may just keep on growing. A grain of sand in the eye is irritating, the continuous growth of the stone is, then, a disease. Why 'It was a kind of/Night that did not have an evening'? Why 'It was a kind of/Decision/Of having to pull the brakes'? Why 'Oh! Yellow River carp and Yangtze pike/All stopped/— Wandering/All are frozen/There'? Why 'And so, like veins on a leaf,/The hand/Is gnawed/By a little bug'? Why 'And so voices/Become unfamiliar/Like cries that come/From the other side of the river'? As I have discussed earlier, the symbols of the mountain, river and begonia leaf symbolizing China are often employed in Dai Tian's poems, the cries from the other side of the river add weight and synchronic meaning to the poem. 1969 was the heat of the Cultural Revolution in China. Bound corpses killed in partisan fighting were found floating daily into Hong Kong in the Shenzhen River. The slogans and chanting of the Cultural Revolution were of course unfamiliar, alien, horrific and traumatic to the majority of Hong Kong people living on the opposite side of the river.

After deconstruction, one can see that Dai Tian's poem, 'The Story of the Stone', was written in a painful state of mind. It was written under British colonial rule in Hong Kong, the year of the 50th anniversary of the patriotic May 4th Movement, and at the time when the horrendous Cultural Revolution was taking place in Mainland China. Dai Tian, indeed, is a conscientious intellectual trying to express his intricate and unspeakable sadness for the people of Hong Kong.

'The Waste Land' and 'The Snake': T.S. Eliot and Dai Tian

I would like to discuss firstly the influence of T.S. Eliot on Chinese poets like Bian Zhilin and Dai Tian before the detailed analysis of Dai Tian's poem, 'The Snake'. (33)

Bian Zhilin was deeply interested in Eliot's poetry and literary criticism. In May 1934 he published a Chinese translation of Eliot's essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'. Lloyd Haft has the following observation:

As Pien was later to relate, he felt a strong personal response to this famous statement of Eliot's views on poetry. In Eliot's essay, poetry was described as anything but a direct transcription of individual or social experience. It was, rather, "a concentration, and a new thing resulting from the concentration, of a very great number of experiences which to the practical and active person would not seem to be experiences at all". (34)

As was shown in the last chapter, Bian Zhilin has influenced Dai Tian, and it will not be surprising to find a bond between T. S. Eliot, Bian Zhilin and Dai Tian. I shall point out the influence on Dai Tian's poem, 'The Snake' of Eliot's most famous modernist poem, 'The Waste Land'. (35) 'The Waste Land' was published in the October issue of Criterion in 1922. Ezra Pound regarded the poem as a landmark of modern experiment:

Pound was able to say, on July 9, 1922, writing to his old teacher at the University of Pennsylvania, Felix E. Schelling, "Eliot's Waste Land is I think the justification of the 'movement', of our modern experiment, since 1900." (36)

Eliot wrote his poem in 1921 at the age of 33, while Dai Tian wrote his poem in 1970 also at the age of 33. There are certain examples which illustrate 'The Waste Land's' influence on 'The Snake', but whether Dai Tian intended to compete with Eliot by writing at the same age of 33 or not, is unclear. One thing for sure is that Dai Tian's poem 'The Snake' is an important experimental long poem in epic style describing the historical background and city lives of Hong Kong. In Dai Tian's essay written in the late 70s, he admitted that he was in ambitious pursuit of 'cultural glory' when writing 'The Snake'. (37)

Eliot's poem is in 5 stanzas of 434 lines, Dai Tian's poem is in three parts of 355 lines. Eliot quotes from 35 writers' works and employs 7 languages. Dai Tian has not quoted this extensively and only uses one French word *cul de sac*. I would like to suggest that Dai Tian's 'The Snake' is inspired by T.S. Eliot, the theme of both poems is the rejection

of an alien world of industrial urbanization, recurrently signified in images of decadence, disease, death, lust and immorality. Eliot quotes the Sibyl of Cumae from the Roman satirist Petronius Arbiter's (circa. 1st century AD) Satyricon under the poem title. The Sibyl said that what she wants is death. This reappears in Dai Tian's poem as: 'Ah, father and mother/Ah, freedom/I must kill myself/Lie down and lie down/The method/My desire/Is death'. This is of course not a coincidence. The other obvious theme in both poems is sex. Helen Vendler says flatly that "'The Waste Land" is obsessed with sex.' (38) The title of Dai Tian's poem, 'The Snake' can be seen as a symbol for temptation in the bible, and the long and slender shape of the snake often connotes sex in Western literature. In the poem, apart from the repeated description of the sex organ of the small boy, there is also the following explicit description: 'In the thorny bush/In women's/Silent/Mouth/In jungle and weedy/Area/Bleeding/But not crying/Busy in closing the door/Busy in sucking/Action/From my wound/There is rebirth'. However, in demonstrating the similarities between the concept and theme of the poems 'The Waste Land' and 'The Snake', I only intend to establish the influence of Eliot on Dai Tian. I shall not attempt to compare the two poems in greater detail. Apart from the distinct difference in language and archetype, Eliot's poem is based on Western civilization from the perspective of London in 1921, while Dai Tian's is based on Chinese history with a setting of the city of Hong Kong in 1970. Dai Tian's metaphysical thinking is undoubtedly influenced by Eliot, but in 'The Snake', the context materials are taken from China and Hong Kong. The structure of the poem is also crafted by Dai Tian himself. There is further difficulty in making a comparison between the two poets, taking into consideration the fact that when Eliot was writing his poem at 33 he was on the brink of a nervous breakdown, while Dai Tian at the age of 33 was enjoying a comparatively stable and comfortable life style. The main objective of this section is, however, to demonstrate the elements of 'anti-colonialism' and 'city life' of Hong Kong in 'The Snake'.

The long poem 'The Snake' was written between 2nd July to 5th August 1970 in Hong Kong. Dai Tian wrote under the title that it was about Hong Kong in 1970. The realist approach to the life of Hong Kong is reflected in Dai Tian's philosophy of recording life in the colony at a certain time in a certain place. This is the most ambitious and experimental epic poem written by Dai Tian about Hong Kong. Under the poem title, Dai Tian further alienates the reader by introducing the meaning of 'snake' from the dictionary. Firstly, the snake is a legless reptile, long and slender which grows throughout its life. Periodically, snakes shed their skin in one piece. Secondly, when the word snake

is used as a reduplication in '*sheshe*', it means cosy and comfortable which is a quotation from the Book of Songs. (39) The long poem is composed of 3 parts. The 1st part 'Time' has 108 lines. The 2nd part 'Soul' has 170 lines, while the 3rd and final part 'Flesh' has 77 lines. Before I venture into a detailed examination of 'The Snake', I would like to discuss the multi-leveled images of the snake. Firstly, the poet is a part of the snake, therefore the poet is the snake. The opening 4 lines of the long poem read as follows:

I am part of the snake
A part of me
Is snake
I am a snake

The phrase 'I am a snake' is reiterated 4 times and forms the basic linking up pattern of the poem. Another link intertwined with 'I am a snake' is the poet and the parents. The expression 'Ah, father and mother' is repeated 8 times in the poem. Just as 'I' means the 'snake', also 'I' can mean 'parents' or Chinese history. The long, twisting snake represents the long, eventful Chinese history. The first part of 'The Snake' begins with a description of the chain of historical events in China, all the dynasties from Tang (pre 16th century BC) to The Republic of China in 1911 are paraded chronologically. The winding road of Chinese history is described in the first part as:

Ah, your winding road
Ah, your winding
World view

From here the reader will experience another juxtaposition of the role of 'I' being transformed into Hong Kong. The line 'My shame' has been repeated 7 times in the same context of the shameful history of Hong Kong. This denotes the shameful history and humiliation of the defeat of the opium war and the cession of Hong Kong in the 21st year of Daoguang, i.e. AD 1841:

Occasionally she
Raises her bent
Head
Staring at me
With a look
From the 21st year of Daoguang
Ah, father and mother
My shame

The look in the eyes of the old woman from the year of Daoguang tortures and disturbs the poet—Hong Kong is such a difficult historic knot to untangle:

I am a solution
Difficult to solve
Which ought to be
Solved
But cannot be solved
Yet must be solved

If I = Hong Kong and I = China, then Hong Kong = China. The multi-leveled relationship of the imagery of the snake can be demonstrated as follows:

I = Snake
I = Father and mother (parents)
I = Chinese history (China)
I = Hong Kong
Therefore: I = Snake = Parents = China = Hong Kong

The symbol of the snake has multiple meanings as demonstrated above, it indicates that Hong Kong is an integral part of China. China is the snake and Hong Kong is part of the snake.

The poem is divided into three parts. The first part is 'Time'. Dai Tian tries to link up Chinese history starting from the ancient dynasties up to the Republic of China. After the reign of Republic of China, Dai Tian uses ellipsis dots to denote the future historical lineage of dynasties. It appears that Dai Tian is in a dilemma over choosing between ROC or PRC after 1949. The coexistence of two Chinese Governments not only coerced Hong Kong into marginality, but also created an identity crisis for all overseas Chinese. Before the handing over of Hong Kong to Mainland China in 1997, the majority of Hong Kong people could be rightly regarded as overseas Chinese. The implication of the poem is that Dai Tian does not regard the PRC as the only official Chinese government in 1970. Arguably, this is a sign of anti-communism. Indeed, the term 'China' is now more frequently used by overseas Chinese to denote China in the cultural sense, rather than the political. From the Qin and Han dynasties, Dai Tian mentions the shrewd and intelligent Prime Minister Zhuge Liang of Shu (221-263) who correctly predicted the division of the country into three parts. Emperors of the Song and Yuan Dynasty are also mentioned. The first two lines of the last emperor of Southern Tang (937-975), Li Yu's (937-978) *ci* poem "Tune: "The Beautiful Lady Yu"" is quoted:

When will there be no more an autumn moon and spring time flowers
For me who had so many memorable hours? (40)

Chairman Mao's *ci* poem describing the emperors of the Qin, Han, Tang, Song and Yuan dynasties is also included. Indeed, his *ci* poem 'Snow' (*Xue*) describing the 1st emperor of the Yuan Dynasty as an uncultivated warrior is quoted in inversion by Dai Tian. Mao's *ci* poem, on Genghis Khan, is translated by Nancy T. Lin as follows:

And Genghis Khan,
Proudest at one time as Heaven's son,
Know only bending the bow at the big eagle. (41)

Dai Tian's four lines on Genghis Khan, in a positive manner, read as follows:

The 1st Emperor of Yuan
Conquered the Central Plain
Bending the bow and shot down
The big eagle

The same technique of inversion is used by Eliot in the opening line of 'The Waste Land', where he refers to Geoffrey Chaucer's (1340?-1400) 'Canterbury Tales'. Chaucer's lines read: 'When in April the sweet showers fall/And pierce the drought of March to the root, and all/The veins are bathed in liquor of such power/As brings about the engendering of the flower'. (42) In contrast, Eliot writes: 'April is the cruellest month, breeding/Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing/Memory and desire, stirring/Dull roots with spring rain./Winter kept us warm, covering/Earth in forgetful snow, feeding/A little life with dried tubers.'

Dai Tian applies lively images in describing the snake; this symbol of the remnants of Chinese history is like: the fern that grows on the mountain path after rain; a relief sculpture with broken arms; the decayed tooth of the small brother of the Zhang family; the snakes chopped into sections in the snake restaurant. It is impossible to look back into history:

Looking back
Is a kind of
Impossible
Impossibility
Is a kind of
Half dying
Because the pain is because I am a part of the snake
Because a part of me
Is snake

I'm snake
So, happiness
Can't be retrieved
That year
So, happiness
Becomes the snake skin
Becomes
The corpse of yesterday
Becomes
Another
I

According to 'The Snake', Hong Kong's history is so dreadful that it corrupts the moral fabric of all its citizens, including the poet himself. Moreover, there is nothing in its cultural or political history to remember with pride. The city of Hong Kong is full of meaningless tunes, even the tradition of the Ghost festival on the first day of July in the Chinese calendar and the fairy tales in operas have been repeated so often they have become banal. Dai Tian then reports to the parents that life in Hong Kong is an empty mountain, an echo, mist without mist, desert in the desert. Indeed, Dai Tian concludes the first part 'Time' on a note of shame:

I am a
Revolving lantern
Only a shadow
Father and mother
I'm a
Revolving lantern
Only a shadow
I am
What is lying
By your side
Shame

The first part, 'Time', is full of pain and shame, from the twisted and winding history of China to the mundane lives of Hong Kong. Hong Kong is on the fringe of China. Hong Kong is the deserted orphan, and China represents father and mother. A lot of folklore and images are used to emphasise the existence of the shadows and parents. 'Parents', here also has a double meaning, one of which obviously is the Motherland which overshadows Hong Kong.

The second part is the 'Soul'. It begins with the melancholic description of the suffering old woman in the 21st year of Daoguang in the Qing dynasty, the year the British defeated China in the infamous opium war:

But that old woman
In the picture
Weathered
By war and war and war
Like a sculpture
Her expression
Still bowing her head
Counting
One by one
The rosary beads
Occasionally she
Raises her bent
Head
Staring at me
With a look
From the 21st year of Daoguang
Ah, father and mother
My shame

Once again, the shame of history is recalled. The year 1841 calls up painful memories still buried deep in the hearts of the Chinese people. The opium war is a source of pain. The bowed heads recall the shame, Dai Tian then symbolizes the feeling of shame with different images. Shame is like the bench in the public gardens where any person can rest their backsides, it is like the seesaw that goes up and down all the time and people cannot sit tight, it is like the paper cutting lessons in art classes and the paper-made people have no faces. History is like turning off the water tap symbolizing the cutting off of Hong Kong from Chinese history. The poem then describes modern scenes of waiting in the colony, queuing to be born, queuing for housing, queuing for queuing. There are also references to popular culture: the Chinese film, 'Blind angle' (*Sijiao*) by Zhang Che, and the French film 'Cul de Sac' (1966) by Polish director Roman Polanski (1933-) are used to summon up the sensation of modernity. Zhang Che's film is about the lives and encounters of the working class in Hong Kong in the 60s, and Polanski's film, as the title 'Cul de Sac' suggests, probes into solitude and human relationships in the 60s. The sex, gambling and lustful life style of the city are satirized. Hong Kong people are compared to the Londoners of Eliot's 'The Waste Land' who are described as: 'Londoners have no knowledge of thought, or of feeling; they are "gnomes", except that they dig in "brick and stone and steel".' (43) The poem then describes the prisoners of war in the concentration

camp following the Japanese invasion of Hong Kong during the 2nd World War. The literal Chinese translation of the English public notices 'Pedestrians cross from here' and 'Stop when the red light is on' are also ridiculed. (44) The inappropriateness of Chinese translation is often used to parody the supremacy of English as the only official language, showing that the proper use of Chinese is of little relevance in Hong Kong. This is followed by Dai Tian's favourite image of the small boy taking out his reproductive organ, like taking out a weapon, and shooting into the sky in the shape of an arc. The image is playful but self-mocking, the action of the small boy representing the contempt and fury buried inside the heart of the poet. The second part ends with the desire to die—a kind of protest at the mundane and humiliating life in the colony of Hong Kong in 1970. This seems to be the only rational choice in the process of peeling away all the shame in order to enjoy a rebirth and new identity.

The third part is the 'Body'. Dai Tian tries to solve the insolvable. The various stages in the metamorphosis of the snake are used to show the hope and desire for re-birth. But the poet can find not the melting snow, the germinating seed or a bundle of keys, only death:

When spring
Opens
Its greenish eyes
Desire is no longer a
Streamlet
No longer underground water no longer
Melted
Snow
No longer the blistering sound
Of a budding
Seed
No longer a bundle of keys
But only
Death
But only
History
But only
A process of
Currying favours

Colonial life in Hong Kong is described in the poem as an intolerable torture. The only means of facing history is to revenge it with death. From the death and rebirth of human beings, in the form of the metamorphosis of a snake, the poet is drunk with nostalgia. He sighs and calls for his parents:

Ah, father and mother
I took out, took out
My sex organ
Like that small boy
Forcibly
Pulled back the foreskin
Revealing
The glans penis
Fuck

The poem clearly demonstrates the masculine identity of the poet repeatedly. The male sex organ is employed as the strongest symbol in protesting the unfair and unjust reality and treatment of Chinese people in the colony. Arthur Brittan explains the prevalence of the belief in the norm of male dominance in sex:

Heterosexuality provides men with a set of already formulated scripts and norms about the 'rightness' of the act of penetration. The scripts may vary from class to class, culture to culture, but they all give the penis a special status. Most men learn that they are expected to be the sexual initiators, that their desires are explosive and powerful. (45)

The irony in Dai Tian's frequent use of the male sex organ as a symbol is that it is not being used for penetration or to demonstrate explosive and powerful sexual desires, but as a futile protest against colonialism. The poem ends on a high note which strikes into the deepest soul of the reader. The seriousness and self mockery of the poet himself reflects the pain deep inside his body and soul. The richness of images and myriad of symbols parodying the fast tempo lifestyle in Hong Kong are so enlightening that they make this poem one of Dai Tian's masterpieces.

'The Scenes of 1971': Anti-Colonialism and Anti-Commercialism

Another long poem 'The Scenes of 1971' written in 1971 can be seen as a sequel to the poem 'The Snake'. 'The Scenes of 1971' consists of two parts with a total length of 269 lines. The 1st part is 'Decayed' and the 2nd part 'Awakening'. This poem also consists of short lines with an average of 5 characters per line. The theme contains elements of anti-colonialism, but even more the description of city life in Hong Kong in 1971 is used to convey the poet's anti-commercialist feelings towards the colony. 'The Snake' is a poem

with death as the ultimate destiny, but in 'The Scenes of 1971' there is an air of hope for the continuation of Chinese culture.

The 1st part 'Decayed' consists of 132 lines. Dai Tian begins the poem by denouncing the greedy and cunning opium traders, because it was as a result of the opium war that Hong Kong was ceded to the British in 1842:

In the opium trader's
Cunning
And avaricious
Trickeries
They exist
They are following
A long since faded
Tune
Like a top
That is spinning
For the sake of
Them
Forgetting their names

Dai Tian then describes the people living in the colony as aborted babies, cut off from their motherland. They turn off history just as simply as turning off a tap. 'Turning off the tap' is a repetition of the image used in 'The Snake'. The people here put their hearts into a meat blender and believe in a strange kind of philosophy. All in all, Dai Tian describes the people of Hong Kong as a species without a sense or knowledge of Chinese history. No one knows about patriots like Wen Tianxiang and Qiu Jin. Dai Tian then describes the behavior and habits of the Hong Kong people in greater detail. There are the people who are fond of the medals conferred by the rulers of the British Empire, those who print all their titles on their calling cards, those occupied by lust and entrapped by sexual transactions, those who love the noisy and meaningless popular songs, those who resemble the lifeless porcelain exhibits in the museum. They live in a growing silence, unable to express their feelings:

They are a
Shape
Becoming more gigantic
The nearer it approaches death
Their eyes
Are a dried well
Their
Body
Is a dry bloody

Scar

The ending of this part corresponds to the ending of the 2nd part, 'The Soul', of the poem 'The Snake'. All are doomed to die. The 2nd part, 'Awakening', consists of 137 lines. Dai Tian begins with a description of the hypocrisy and emptiness of the lives of the Hong Kong people:

They walk on the cross
Link up with cross
And link up with
the cross's
Painful
Road
Seeing a pile of garbage
And a heap of garbage
Seeing inside the garbage
The blissfulness
On the mask
Already torn apart
By a certain kind of people

Dai Tian often satirises the behaviour of intellectuals. In this poem he describes the intellectuals as wanting to use the bloody coloured Japanese flags on their blackened cheeks as make up. The bloody Japanese flags remind readers of the occupation of Hong Kong by the Japanese in the 2nd World War. The same image of the mask is later quoted in Dai Tian's essay 'The Cloth-hanger' (*Yijia*). (46) The people who live in the artificial city of Hong Kong desire Coca-Cola and the nose of Charlie Chaplin (1889-1977), but no one cares about Liu Zongyuan, Confucius, Zhuang Zi and Jesus Christ. However, in the middle of the 2nd part of the poem, Dai Tian injects a new mood of hope and warmth. There are tears, warmth and the doves:

They have also become
As many
Moving
Trees
Wherever they go
They bring green—

Dai Tian then describes the process of cultural heritage in terms of the continuation of trees and fire. 'The heritage of fuel and wood' (*xinhuo xiangchuan*) is a classical Chinese proverb denoting the torch of learning being passed on from teacher to student and from generation to generation:

Behind those ropes
The eyes
And among them their
Eyes
Wet
They are also passed on
A match burns up
There is another one
On two sides of the rope
A kind of crying
Is twisted into a
Larger
Rope

The image of passing on the fire by the movement of the eyes reminds the reader of the same image in the 1st poem of 'Ten Poems on Kyoto'. On both sides of the rope is a political reality literally symbolizing Chinese people living on both sides of the river. People will not forget their own Chinese identity, and despite the political barriers between Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, the Chinese people are linked up heart with heart as 'on two sides of the rope'. Peace is Dai Tian's ultimate wish. The poem ends as follows:

Because what they tread on are
The past and the present
And the future footsteps
Because what they flow in is
Yesterday's, to-day's and to-morrow's
Blood
Because they have become
A tree
Standing on the frost
On the river stream
On the snow
White doves
One by one
Among
Them
Inside
Them

In the poem, Dai Tian mentions a philosopher king, religious God, patriot, poet and artist from the East and the West like Confucius, Zhuang Zi, Liu Zongyuan, Wen Tianxiang, Qiu Jin, Jesus Christ and Charlie Chaplin, representing the continuation and inheritance of human civilization. However, all these important figures in history are discarded with

ignorance and vulgarity by the people of Hong Kong in the scenes of 1971, the general public is only fascinated and entrapped by triviality and banality in life. The purpose of life and serious thinking is replaced by the pursuit and enjoyment of momentary, physical and material pleasure. The condemnation of commercialism is obvious with the publicity of 'Kinnings' tissue paper, a popular brand of tissue paper which was frequently advertised in the 70s in Hong Kong. The tissue paper is employed, in Dai Tian's poem, to clean up the aftermath of sexual transactions with aged prostitutes. Another parody is the blind adoration of popular brand names of Italian sports wear. People are attracted by the packaging and advertising of these trendy commodities rather than by their substance. Brand name means expensive price and in turn represents higher taste in a community which adores materialism. This is why people have all their qualifications and posts advertised on their calling cards boastfully and unashamedly. Lastly, it is a condemnation of capitalism and commercialism represented by the international enterprises like Coca-Cola:

Seeing that woman
Into her breast they have injected
Tasty and pleasurable
Lust

The 3rd line of the quotation 'Tasty and pleasurable' is doubly ambiguous. It can be used as an adjective denoting physical and pleasurable enjoyment. In the Chinese transcription '*Kekou kele*' can be the brand name of Coca-Cola. Coca-Cola has often been used as an example of imperialist or capitalistic invasion of the economy and culture of second and third world countries by America. The use of Coca-Cola in Dai Tian's poem denotes commercialized and sensual lust. The image is further enhanced with the use of the two bloody Japanese flags as make-up on the blackened cheeks of the so-called intellectuals. In 'The Scenes of 1971', Dai Tian illustrates many examples of the emptiness and shamefulness of life in Hong Kong in 1971. He condemns not only colonialism, but also commercialism.

1997: 'Broken Thoughts on 1997' and 'The New Year Couplet'

In 1982, the Chinese and British Governments began their negotiation on the future of Hong Kong:

Formal negotiations about their lease were initiated by Britain in 1982, in full awareness of the fact that China held ultimate sovereignty over the New Territories and claimed sovereignty over the whole of Hong Kong. Cottrell shows that Margaret Thatcher had initially hoped to rely on 'the British understanding of international law' and validity of the old treaties to negotiate an extension of the lease over the New Territories as an extreme bargaining position, but this was brusquely refused from the outset. Thus, a total arrangement for Hong Kong 1997 came to be insisted upon by China, relying on the view that Hong Kong had been taken away illegally by the British. (47)

It would have been unthinkable for any Chinese national to agree to an extension of the lease of Hong Kong based on the old and unequal treaties. Hong Kong was destined to be returned to 'China' in 1997 as the final chapter in a story beginning with the infamous opium war. Again, Dai Tian was the first Hong Kong writer to touch on the topic of 1997 in prose and poetry. Dai Tian's first series of political fables '1997: A Tale of Four Cities' was published in Pai Shing Semi-monthly as early as 1st January 1982. (48)

The poem 'Broken Thoughts on 1997' written at 3 am on 28th April 1984 clearly reveals Dai Tian's worries about the changes facing Hong Kong as 1997 approached. This is a subtle poem, it describes the invaluable national treasures and Chinese civilization in the form of the dragon bird implanted like a fossil in the broken stratum which is the brief history of Hong Kong. All these would become the objects of archeologists with anxious eyes in the years to come. The poem reads:

Seemingly memories of the fault have been cut open recently
Giant time at last being squeezed into
Solid like Han Dynasty white jade

Inside it
Flies the dragon bird cut out in mid-air
Embroidered sleeves floating, waist bending
Flourishes of the Han palace
Sleeping on the flowery pattern:
Dream of the yellow millet

A corpse of hope still flapping its wings
Touching a gleam of blue sky
Uttering low and tender groans like thin silk
The jade dancer moulds the seemingly hollow thread of
Gold plated feeling
Into the cool and undependable present
Moon white, sky blue, fowls, beasts
Crisp and colourful images like a porcelain-mould leaving
Nothing but a beach of solitude when it awakes

The revolving stillness and stillness revolving
Watch: Feathers of the dragon bird still moistened with
Dimly glittering crystals
A dripping tear can't be dried and dried without wiping
Returned to earth the grace and elegance
Fragments and sparks of the dance kilned into spots and circles
With lines of black glazed inscriptions
Catching many pairs of eye-sights in eagerness
Left to descendants for research and archaeology

Dai Tian will have definitely supported the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, it is unlikely in view of my interpretation of the poem above that he would have accepted the extension of the humiliation and colonialism which Hong Kong has suffered since the Opium War. Yet the imminent threat of destruction of the existing infrastructure and culture of Hong Kong is a constant source of pain for the poet. Dai Tian symbolized Hong Kong as the beautiful white jade of the Han Dynasty. The dragon bird is a legendary bird symbolizing the rarity and preciousness of Hong Kong. The 156 years of colonial rule in Hong Kong is just a flash in the stream of history. It is just like the dream of the yellow millet—everything will remain the same after awakening from the dream. (The Dream of the Yellow Millet (*Huangliang meng*) was a Tang dynasty story. A poor scholar met a sage who gave him a pillow to sleep on. Sleeping on it, the scholar dreamt of a prosperous career and a happy marriage. However, when he awoke from the dream, the meal of the yellow millet was still uncooked and his hopes unrealised. (49) This reference parodies the vain illusions of Hong Kong which enjoys such an enviable prosperity, yet remains a colony. The dream of the yellow millet is a symbol for the cession of Hong Kong to the British in 1842, and the longed for imminent return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, which is so far no more than a dream.) Dai Tian composed 'Broken Thoughts on 1997' from the view point of a third person, the subject 'I' is omitted. The mood of the poem is controlled and alienated. Time and place are described in the form of jade, mould, floating sleeves, waist bending, dance, porcelain and inscriptions. The poem 'Broken Thoughts on 1997' does not struggle against the return of Hong Kong to China, the message is non-resistant. However, terms like squeezed, waist bending, dream of the yellow millet, a corpse of hope, low and tender groan, nothing but solitude, dimly glittering crystals and a dripping tear are full of sighs and dejection. The return of the graceful and elegant tear to the earth is full of passion. This denotes the repayment of birth, upbringing and debts to the parental body, which can be seen in the classic examples of the legendary Nei Zha and in A Dream of the Red

Mansions. (50) Dai Tian tries to predict, in the poem, the future of Hong Kong. Hong Kong will be of great historical importance, but only in respect of its past. Hong Kong will be 'Catching many pairs of eye-sights in eagerness/Left to descendants for research and archaeology'.

'The New Year Couplet'

The poem 'The New Year Couplet' was also written in 1984. Dai Tian begins the poem by quoting the reign of Daoguang, the reign in which Hong Kong was ceded to the British. The reign of Daoguang is used repeatedly in Dai Tian's poems like 'The Snake' and 'The Scenes of 1971' to commemorate a shameful page of Chinese history. In the past, Hong Kong citizens were often labelled and referred to as orphans of China. Ironically, once it was decided in the 80s that Hong Kong was to be handed back to Mainland China in 1997 upon the expiry of the unequal treaty, Hong Kong is described as a vagrant son returning to the bosom of the kind and benevolent Motherland. To part with the familiar modes of living and the capitalist systems of Hong Kong poses an uncertain threat for the prosperity and stability of its people beyond 1997. The 21st year of Daoguang and the year Guihai marks symbolically the beginning and end of the colonial era in Hong Kong. In the year Guihai, i.e. 1983 in the Western calendar, Hong Kong's fate was decided between the British and Chinese Governments. The frustration and worries of the citizens of Hong Kong is understandable:

On the high terrace, a full glass of sunset
Spilled the worries of 1997
The wild geese passed by, adding
Few more sadness, it is only
Purplish red as drunk, evening haze as tides

On the high terrace, this time in 1984, Dai Tian is not 'to research the philosophy of a falling leaf alone'. A full glass of sunset denotes the end of British colonial rule in the colony. This is an ironic reference to the British claim that the sun never sets on the British Empire. Dai Tian, in the postscript, said that there are no migratory birds and wild geese in Hong Kong. The use of migratory birds and wild geese is only intended to project the alienated political atmosphere of Hong Kong. The image of the wild geese is used to describe the mass exodus of refugees from Mainland China to Hong Kong since

1842, but the sad thing is that the migratory wild geese have no date for a return to a democratic and free Mainland. The grand developments of Hong Kong in the past years may not be able to prosper in the future. People are genuinely worried about their future and it will be extremely sad to leave Hong Kong. Dai Tian further compares Hong Kong to a fruitful tree that attracts bees and butterflies. The fruitful tree represents the economic miracle and success of Hong Kong, while the bees and butterflies symbolize investors and fortune seekers attracted to Hong Kong. Hong Kong is regarded as the pearl of the East, a goose that lays golden eggs:

Take it easy! Hundred years of tree
Slender and stout, attracting bees and butterflies
And knows about axing, and
Winter's broken strings and autumn's solitude
Anyway, still persist to grow and compete

The parting grievances are plain as a dream. Parting is described in the poem as raindrops from a roof, each drop has its own momentum. Some people will thread them together as a rainbow deep in the clouds, but a rainbow is just like a fantastic dream. The hundred years old fruitful tree will be subjected to axing. Good wishes for the future of Hong Kong are also expressed in the poem. Dai Tian reiterates that there are people who will witness and record the changes of Hong Kong with genuine and true brushstrokes.

The periphery or margin in literature is often used to reflect political reality. Hong Kong is often described as an aborted fetus or deserted orphan outside the Motherland of Mainland China. Dai Tian has vividly described the loss of being cut apart from the Motherland in his essay 'The Severing of the Umbilical Cord' (*Geduan le de qidai*). (51) The PRC again repeated its stance on the sovereignty of Hong Kong in the United Nations on regaining its seat in 1971. The Chinese foreign minister Huang Hua formally wrote to the United Nations Special Committee on the Declaration on Decolonization to remove Hong Kong and Macau from its decolonization agenda:

The question of Hong Kong and Macao belong in the category of questions resulting from the series of unequal treaties which the imperialists imposed on China. Hong Kong and Macao are part of Chinese territory occupied by the British and Portuguese authorities. The settlement of the question of Hong Kong and Macao is entirely within China's sovereign right and does not at all fall under the ordinary category of colonial territories. Consequently, they should not be included in the list of colonial territories covered by the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. With regard to the questions of Hong Kong and Macao, the Chinese government has consistently held that they should be settled in an appropriate way when conditions are ripe. (52)

The Chinese prime minister Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai, 1898-1976) made this stand more explicit when interviewed by The Times correspondent, Louis Heren, in October 1972. Zhou said:

The Soviet Union has tried to provoke China into taking it back by force, but China would not be provoked over Macau or Hong Kong. It would eventually call for negotiations. In a changing world this matter would have to be settled, but it did not have to be considered now. The treaty expires in 1997. (53)

Hong Kong nevertheless remained a British colony up until 30th June 1997. Hong Kong literature is regarded as a branch of Chinese literature, but is treated with some suspicion as a species grown in foreign and capitalist soil. In the late 19th century, Huang Zunxian (1848-1905), who was a Counsellor in the Chinese Consulate in London, wrote a *jue ju* on 'Hong Kong'. The poem was translated by T.C. Lai (Lai Tianchang):

The sun and sea here
Are the same sun and sea
As in of the time of Yao and Xia.

The people are appalled
Like those in the days of Han.
Looking down from the terrace
I see the soil is the same—
But I miss the yellow dragon
Striding across the streaming flag. (54)

Huang Zunxian's poem laments the loss of Hong Kong from the Qing dynasty to the British, but the people and earth were not detached from the Mainland, only the flag was changed. Wen Yiduo's poems on Hong Kong and Kowloon were more explicit and probably the first of their kind to describe Hong Kong as peripheral to China. The poems were written in 1925 and translated by Zhu Zhiyu. The poem 'Hong Kong' reads:

Like the yellow panther guarding the gates of the imperial palace
Oh, Mother! My post is a strategic one, yet my status so humble.
The ferocious Sea Lion presses upon my body,
Devouring my flesh and bones and warming itself on my blood.
Oh, Mother! I wail and cry, yet you hear me not.
Oh, Mother! Quick! Let me hide in your embrace!
Mother! I want to come back, Mother! (55)

It was a passionate poem appealing to Hong Kong people to return to the Mother, i.e. China. Nevertheless, the poem recalls the cession of Hong Kong and its precarious position under the tyranny of the Sea Lion. The poem 'Kowloon' further denotes the marginality of Hong Kong to China:

While big brother Hong Kong tells of his sufferings
Mother, have you forgotten your little daughter Kowloon?
Since I married that Demon King who rules the sea,
I've been tossed upon endless waves of tears
Mother, I count the days until our joyous reunion
Yet fear my hope is only a dream.
Mother! I want to come back, Mother!

The poems are entitled 'The Song of Seven Sons' (*Qizi zhi ge*) which denotes the seven most prominent places ceded or leased by force by China to the foreign powers. The seven places are Macao, Weihaiwei, Canton Bay, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Kowloon and Lüshun Dalian. (56) Wen Yiduo wrote these poems when China was facing internal and external unrest. The poems on Hong Kong and Kowloon were not written in Hong Kong. Wen wrote them in order to arouse the patriotism of the Chinese people. Hong Kong is compared to a little daughter married to the Demon King. Hong Kong is detached and marginalized. Wen Yiduo did not write the poem with the mind-set of a

Hong Kong person. He sympathized with and lamented for the shameful and difficult lives lived under foreign powers. Wen regarded China as the centre when he composed the poems 'The Song of Seven Sons', and the seven places as detached parts of China.

Research into the history and development of Hong Kong literature by Mainland scholars only began in the early 80s when the future of Hong Kong was tabled for negotiation. It appears that political motives preceded literary ones in the decision to include Hong Kong literature within the scope of Chinese literature. In fact, the literary theories and political movements of the PRC from 1949 up to the present do not have a predominant influence on the development of literature in Hong Kong. Likewise, there is not much room either for the dominance of Taiwanese literature in Hong Kong, although writers like Li Ao (1935-) and Qiong Yao (1938-) were popular among intellectuals and the public in the 60s. (57) The Taiwan government's activities in Hong Kong since 1949 have been carefully monitored by the Hong Kong government:

Communists are free to set up schools, organize trade unions, publish newspapers and distribute propaganda; so long as they keep within the law, the authorities have no objection. But officials of the Taiwan government are not permitted to enter the colony; and in 1973, Kuomintang supporters were forbidden to fly Nationalist flags on the Lion Rock on the 'Double Tenth'—10th October, the Republic of China's national day—though this had been permitted in previous years. (58)

As mentioned earlier in chapter 1, there has always been a misconception that the development of modern poetry in Hong Kong in the 50s and 60s was influenced by Taiwan, and that Hong Kong literature is only a sub-branch of Chinese literature. These beliefs have arisen mainly because Hong Kong was treated as peripheral to the PRC and Taiwan. Being a British colony, Hong Kong unquestionably remains marginal to Great Britain. After the dramatic immigration restrictions of the 60s against non-white migrants to Britain, the UK Parliament passed the Immigration Act 1971 in order to curb further the flux of immigrants into the country. Indeed, with the introduction of the British Nationality Act 1981, Hong Kong people were treated differently to the white population dependencies of Gibraltar and the Falklands. Prakash Shah had the following observation:

By 1983, when the Sino-British negotiations about the future of Hong Kong were beginning to show some results, Britain had already legally distanced itself from its people by creating new forms of British citizenship which were virtually meaningless in terms of immigration rights. By the early 1980s the legal marginalisation of Hong Kong residents was complete. (59)

Few people will argue about the marginality of Hong Kong to Great Britain, its sole importance lay in its profitability. But Hong Kong's relationship to the PRC and Taiwan is more complex; it is in close proximity to them geographically and they are a major influence on Hong Kong, yet Hong Kong is still not of central importance to them. Hong Kong is a city with a Chinese population of nearly 7 million in 1997, a vibrant and prosperous commercial port, and a bridge between the PRC and Taiwan and most of the overseas Chinese population. Michelle Yeh has described how the marginalization of poetry by commercialism is more acute in developing regions like Taiwan and China:

For the poet, marginalization results in a profound sense of loss and alienation—loss of traditional status and alienation from the dominant social discourse. In Taiwan and China, where society is increasingly commercialized and consumer-oriented, the continued marginalization of poetry is probably inevitable and irreversible. (60)

Yeh's analysis is probably correct as regards poetry development in Mainland China, but faces extreme difficulty in resolving the argument between the Modernists and Nativists in Taiwan in the 50s to 70s. John Balcom has the following observations:

The marginalization thesis works best in the case of the *menglong* poets and in discussing women poets; but it actually is a hindrance when trying to understand Taiwan Modernism and Nativism.....There seem to be a number of questionable assumptions, which may be difficult to support, such as: It is clear that the modernists did not abjectly serve the KMT propaganda machine but does that necessarily make them marginal? Can the Taiwan modernists really be considered marginal? Were the modernists out to subvert the KMT? Did the modernists really create an alternative discourse to resist that of the KMT government? (61)

I agree with John Balcom that the modernists in Taiwan in the 50s to 70s constituted the literary main-stream. The modernists sheltered behind escapism and anti-Communism, while the nativists were marginalized and even imprisoned. For example, Chen Yingzhen (1937-) was imprisoned from 1968 to 1975 for allegedly reading restricted publications, and Wang Tuo (1944-) was imprisoned in 1979 to 1983 due to the 'Gaoxiong Incident'. (62) However, Yeh's concept of marginalization could also be appropriately applied to the poets of Hong Kong. Geographically, Hong Kong is linked to the PRC which sustains a different political ideology. Politically, until 1st July 1997, Hong Kong was a British colony with a government which had no intention of promoting modern Chinese poetry. And demographically, Hong Kong has experienced a steady brain drain to all parts of the world, with incessant replenishment by Mainland Chinese people. After the

June 4th Tiananmen Massacre, Hong Kong was regarded by the PRC as a counter-revolutionary base for those who wished the PRC to undergo a 'peaceful evolution' towards a more Westernised democracy. (63) However, being on the periphery is not without its advantages in the process of poetry writing, as Yeh again pointed out:

Marginality, as we have also seen, is not without its rhetorical, as well as ideological, advantages. The autonomy that comes with marginality leaves poets alone to search for their own rules, thus not only making experimentation possible but also ensuring the intellectual and artistic distance necessary for engaging in a truly critical dialogue with the dominant society. (64)

Dai Tian's poems written in Hong Kong, the periphery of Mainland China, Taiwan and Great Britain, are always focused on the vast territory and history of the Mainland. His poems written on the margin are full of nostalgia, patriotism, and criticism. If Dai Tian were not living in Hong Kong, he would not be able to write in the same context and style. I shall demonstrate these characteristics of Dai Tian's poems using the following examples: 'Oh! I am a Bird', 'This Pair of Hands', 'Comments & Remarks on Cultural Revolution', 'The Damned Black Hand' and 'Time Train'.

Periphery: 'Oh! I am a Bird'

The poem 'Oh! I am a Bird' was written on 16th March 1970 in Hong Kong. The poem is varied and elaborate in content and form. Patriotism is mingled with nostalgia and existentialism. The style and form is circular and panoramic. The impression that the poem is written from the bird's point of view is conveyed by arranging the Chinese characters in the shape of a bird. (65) In the poem, Dai Tian aptly applies the bird as the subject, and the sky of the city is the background for the bird. The poem reads:

Oh, I am a bird
Apparently I'm an elegant circumspection
I am a form
Containing zero content
I am the kind of frost
That only has memory
And the memory contains only the North
And the North only has
What does not have anything—
That kind of long sigh across the sky
That kind of tired

Feathered wings
That kind of smell of earth
Oh! I am a bird
I am a
Dwelling
Without roof-top
I am
Kitchen smoke
Without chimney

I watch numerous tombstones
Erected on the ground below
Erected are rectangular
Square
And even shapeless
So-called cities
—There
Lies buried people's
Bits of something
And
Not really anything
I also see
Amid the tombstones
Existing
A kind of living
Death
Also the rats
Squealing
Truth
Inside their holes

Oh! I am a bird
I am a swoop that cannot kill
I am a kind of
Educated barbarian
A kind of
Tailored primitiveness
I am even a piece of
Falling leaf
That falls
Without wind
Oh! I am a bird
I am a
Hunger
I am a posture—
Wanting to express
Yet being expressed
I am the
Silence of a mute—
With so many

Words with no way out

The poem tells us about the misery of a bird which has wonderful style, but a zero content. A bird with the memory of the North, but the North is full of frost. The panoramic view is full of tombstones. There is no place for the bird to rest, the bird is like the silence of a dumb person having no outlets for speech. Apart from the aesthetic beauty and deep passion of the poem, it is important that Dai Tian uses Hong Kong as a focal point for the creation of the poem. The city of Hong Kong as described by Dai Tian is a kind of living death, a theme often employed by the existentialists and appearing in Dai Tian's poem 'The Snake' as well as Eliot's 'The Waste Land'. Again, the description of the regular and irregular shaped mansions in the so called city of Hong Kong also bears the shadow of Eliot's London in 'The Waste Land'. The city is buried with the rats in their holes who believe they are squealing the truth. The contempt for city life in Hong Kong is demonstrated to the utmost by Dai Tian. In the poem 'Oh! I am a Bird', Dai Tian vividly describes the flight of the bird in desperate pursuit of something, against the limiting background of the city of Hong Kong. The visual impact of printing the poem in the shape of the Chinese character 'hill' (*shan*) denoting the maneuvers of the bird over the rugged shaped city is striking. Geographically, the Kowloon Peninsula is surrounded by the huge Tai Mo Shan (*Dawu shan*) and the Pat Sin Range (*Baxian ling*) in the north, while the Hong Kong Island is dominated by the Victoria Peak. A tired bird will experience the physical difficulty of flying over the huge mountains. Moreover, readers can see that the bird is bound within the limits of city life in Hong Kong, a bustling city with skyscrapers, erected like rectangular and square tombstones. However, Hong Kong is such a commercialized city with little ideal, in the poem, Dai Tian satirized the intellectuals as the rats squealing the truth inside their holes. The bird lingers and circles over the heart of Hong Kong, conveying the fringe view and passion of the poet through the bird's eyes in the poem. But in the bird's memory, there are only the memories of the North, i.e. Mainland China. However, the city of Hong Kong is only peripheral to Mainland China, 'And the North only has/What does not have anything—'. The bird is confined within the limits of Hong Kong, and Hong Kong is only on the periphery of China. One can detect the immense desperation and sadness in the bird as well as in the poet. Although Hong Kong is on the periphery of China, Dai Tian's poem starts in Hong Kong and looks towards Mainland China symbolising the poet's detachment and rational observation. The mood and sentiment of the poet, similar in Dai Tian's poems of the

same period: 'The Snake' written in 1970 and 'The Scenes of 1971' written in 1971, is a representation of alienation and suffocation experienced by those awakened souls in Hong Kong.

The Wild Goose, the Swallow, the Bustard, the Bird and the Dragon Bird

As mentioned above, stone is one of Dai Tian's favourite images. The bird is another one. Below, I shall try to illustrate the use of the image of the bird in different periods of Dai Tian's poetry in order to show the changes in mood and sentiment, and their relationship to Hong Kong.

At the age of 19, when Dai Tian was in Mauritius, he wrote the poem 'The Chirps of the Swallows' using the pen name 'Wild goose coming to the South'. The poem was published in Hong Kong in October 1956. Wild geese and swallows are migratory birds. In the poem, Dai Tian conveys a strong sense of nostalgia. However, the emphasis is on the young exiles, and the tone is full of adventure and challenge: 'Who has never spread the wings of youth/like swallows passing through the cold currents of living?/It is true that human beings are rushing about like migrant birds,/only for adapting oneself to the life outside.' This is only the first taste of exile experienced by the swallows and the wild geese from the North, they are still hopeful and wish that: 'One day the brutal bustards would be chased out,/we will re-build our new home on the embroidered vertex embracing the wind.' Here, the bustards, are representation of the enemy and the Communist regime in PRC. The overall mood of the poem is positive and forward looking. After a span of 28 years, the image of the wild geese is again used in the poem, 'The New Year Couplet', but this time the mood is not nostalgic, but sad and full of the yearning for escape. Dai Tian was in Hong Kong when he wrote this poem in 1984, a Hong Kong due to be taken back again by Mainland China in 1997. The wish expressed by 'We will re-build our new home on the embroidered vertex embracing the wind' is completely gone, instead it is replaced by the aura of defeatism: 'On the high terrace, a full glass of sunset/Spilled the worries of 1997/The wild geese passed by, adding/Few more sadness, it is only/Purplish red as drunk, evening haze as tides'. Here, Dai Tian does not identify himself with the wild geese as he did in the poem written at the age of 19. He points out in a footnote that there are no migratory birds like wild geese in Hong

Kong, and this alienation effect reminds readers that it is only politics that creates so many separations and exiles. In the poet's mind at the age of 19, the image of the wild goose is a youthful and positive one. At the age of 47, after so many futile endeavors, the image has become a worrisome and dispiriting one.

At the age of 33, when Dai Tian wrote the poem 'Oh! I am a Bird', the image is of a tired bird:

'Apparently I am an elegant circumspection'
'I am a form/Containing zero content'
'I am the kind of frost/That only has memory/And the memory contains only the
North/And the North only has/What does not have anything—'
'That kind of long sigh across the sky'
'That kind of tired/Feathered wings'
'That kind of smell of earth'
'Dwelling/Without roof-top'
'Kitchen smoke/Without chimney'
'I am a swoop that can not kill'
'I am a kind of/Educated barbarian'
'A kind of/Tailored primitiveness'
'I am even a piece of/Falling leaf/That falls/Without wind'
'I am a/Hunger'
'I am a posture—/Wanting to express/Yet being expressed'
'I am the/Silence of a mute—/With so many/Words with no way out'

The above images are nostalgic, but many of them are also depressed and frustrated. The bird is still wandering and lingering around the periphery of the city searching for an outlet: 'Silent of a mute—/With so many/Words with no way out'. Although the bird is dejected, it has not given up completely, it still tries with its tired body to find: 'That kind of smell of earth'. The depressing image of the bird is similar to the one used in the poem, 'The Kite'. The bird in 'The Kite' has a shredded feather invented from a piece of torn paper. The bird eventually tumbles down like a kite with a broken line. The image of the bird itself is neutral without the connotations of the migratory birds like the swallows and wild geese, or those of the legendary dragon bird.

The legendary dragon bird is used in the poem 'Broken Thoughts on 1997' written in 1984 to denote Hong Kong's spectacular past and the poet's fears for Hong Kong in the year 1997. Hence, the dragon bird symbolizes the rich and historical development of Hong Kong in a mere century and a half: 'Inside it/Flies the dragon bird cut out in mid-air/Embroidered sleeves floating, waist bending/Flourishes of the Han palace/Sleeping on the flowery pattern:/Dream of the yellow millet'. The dragon bird represents the grandeur

and pomposity of Hong Kong's past, which yet seems only to exist in legend. It is like the dream of the yellow millet as mentioned above. Dai Tian further describes the dragon bird as having a deep passion and conscience, repaying the universe for its birth and upbringing: 'Feathers of the dragon bird still moistened with/Dimly glittering crystals/A dripping tear can't be dried and dried without wiping/Returned to earth the grace and elegance'. This can be seen as meaning that no matter how the PRC regime treats Hong Kong after 30th June 1997, the people of Hong Kong would like to repay all their gratitude to the Motherland. Like the dragon bird, the people of Hong Kong will be remembered for their happiness and sadness endured during the colonial years.

From the above examples, it can be seen that the image of the bird has been used in different ways and eras. From the nostalgia of the early years to the searching for an identity on the periphery, the image of the bird eventually becomes an exhibit in a museum: 'Catching many pairs of eye-sight in eagerness/Left to descendants for research and archaeology'. The use of the bird as an image demonstrated the completed life cycle of the poet Dai Tian as a voluntary exile, it also symbolizes the closing chapter of the history of Hong Kong's colonial days.

Circular Form: 'Oh! I am a Bird'

The circular form has been widely used by modern Chinese poets since 1917. This form, in which the same lines, image or motif are repeated at the beginning and end of the poem, is not commonly found in classical poetry. Both Wen Yiduo and Xu Zhimo have tried to enrich and expand the new forms of poetry by experimenting with the models of sonnet and free verse from the West. The circular form may have been first experimented by Kang Baiqing (1896-1945) and Zhu Xiang (1904-1933). Michelle Yeh first defined circular structure as:

By circular structure I am referring to poems in which the beginning and ending contain the same image or motif, which appears nowhere else. By definition, this form excludes refrains that often appear at the opening and the end but also in other parts of a poem. The circular structure describes a pattern of return or a configuration of symmetry. (66)

Indeed, where the poem consists of only one stanza, the circular structure will tend to employ the repetition of a similar or identical line or lines. Whereas in the case of a poem with multi-stanzas, the first and the last stanza in the circular structure are most likely to

use a similar or identical image. This is by no means a rigid rule, but it is a fact that within a poem of a single stanza, the application of the same lines creates a recapitulative and rhythmic effect, and a better result is achieved, as in the case of a multi-stanza poem, by not just repeating the same lines but by repeating the same image or motif. An example of a successful circular structure is Xu Zhimo's 'Second Farewell to Cambridge' (*Zaibie Kangqiao*), written in 1928. The effect is achieved not by repeating identical lines but by a slight variation of the same image and motif. The first stanza as translated by Michelle Yeh reads:

Softly I am leaving,
As I softly came;
I wave my hand in gentle farewell,
To the clouds in the western sky. (67)

Xu Zhimo uses the reduplication of '*qingqing*' (softly) twice to convey his deep feelings on leaving Cambridge. The romantic poet says farewell to the clouds in the western sky signifying his return to the orient, and his contented attitude to leaving with memories in his heart. Xu Zhimo then describes the silence and scenery along the River Cam. He does not describe any human activities, but it seems the river is full of songs and the sound of people's footsteps. Xu tries to describe the quietness of the River, but it seems that all the summer insects and shining stars are bidding farewell to the Chinese minstrel. In the 7th and final stanza, he once again repeats the image and motif of the beginning stanza in the same form with a slightly altered expression. The final stanza as translated by Yeh reads:

Quietly I am leaving,
As I quietly came;
I raise my sleeve and wave,
Without taking away a whiff of cloud.

Xu Zhimo here twice employs the reduplication word '*qiaoqiao*' (quietly) which has the same stress and recapitulative effect as '*qingqing*'. The final stanza corresponds to the opening one in several ways. Firstly, the four lines are arranged the same way, and the reduplication words appear in the same relative places. Secondly, the content of the last stanza responds to the opening stanza 'I wave my hand in gentle farewell/To the clouds in the western sky' with 'I raise my sleeve and wave,/Without taking away a whiff of cloud.' Lastly, the first and last stanzas describe the mood and wishes of the poet, while the other

five stanzas concern the scenery of the River Cam. Yeh further elaborates on the uniqueness of the circular structure when employed in modern Chinese poetry:

The circular structure is a unique yet radical way of concluding a poem for two reasons. First, it purposely defies the sense of finality by returning to the beginning of the poem, thus, at least in theory, recreating the experience of the poetic process all over again. Second, the circular structure literally twists the poem around, for poetry (with the exception of conscious imitation and approximation of spatial art in the twentieth century) is essentially a temporal or linear art form, like music. The usual linear process of the poem, therefore, is drastically modified by circling back to the beginning of the process. (68)

This well describes the circulatory and aerial movements of the bird in Dai Tian's poem 'Oh! I am a Bird'. The poem contains three stanzas, the first and final stanzas describing the psychological state of the bird, while the second stanza is a systematic and panoramic picture of the lives of the living dead in the concrete forest of colonial Hong Kong. The images of the bird described by Dai Tian in the 1st stanza reads as follows:

'Apparently I am an elegant circumspection'
'I am a form/Containing zero content'
'I am the kind of frost/That only has memory/And the memory contains only the
North/And the North only has/What does not have anything—'
'That kind of long sigh across the sky'
'That kind of tired/Feathered wings'
'That kind of smell of earth'
'Dwelling/Without roof-top'
'Kitchen smoke/Without chimney'

The above eight images describe the weary bird with memories of the Motherland. The bird from the North is just a format with zero content, carrying the frosty breath from the North of the earth. 'Dwelling/Without roof-top' denotes the lack of a sense of belonging in the colony, while 'Kitchen smoke/Without chimney' gives no warmth to the life of the bird. The line 'Oh! I am a bird' is employed in the 1st and 14th lines of the first stanza. I do not regard the repetition of the line 'Oh! I am a bird' as a pure refrain, rather the whole stanza is a single image of the bird. The poem is a regular one which contains 20 lines in each of the 3 stanzas. The bird in the final stanza is described thus:

'I am a swoop that can not kill'
'I am a kind of/Educated barbarian'
'A kind of/Tailored primitiveness'
'I'm even a piece of/Falling leaf/That falls/Without wind'
'I am a/Hunger'

'I am a posture—/Wanting to express/Yet being expressed'
'I am the/Silence of a mute—/With so many/Words with no way out'

This stanza responds coherently to the first stanza. The circling of the bird within the confines of Hong Kong but always looking to the North has become a habit. The nothingness of the bird is contrasted with educated barbarian, tailored primitiveness and hunger. In grief, 'I am the/Silence of a mute—/With so many/Words with no way out'. Sadly, it is a piece of 'Falling leaf/That falls/Without wind', individuality and independence are not possible. The line 'Oh! I am a bird' is employed in the 1st and 13th lines of the final stanza. 'By circling back to the beginning of the process', the same motif of separation from the North and the search for identity is repeated in the final stanza to re-emphasise the fruitless and solitary maneuvers of the weary bird. In contrast, the next poem, 'This Pair of Hands', is composed with six refrains rather than a circular structure.

Dai Wangshu and Dai Tian: 'With My Maimed Hand' and 'This Pair of Hands'

Dai Wangshu, a symbolist in his early poems written in the 30s, is regarded by some Hong Kong critics as a Hong Kong poet. Indeed, Dai stayed in Hong Kong most of the time from May 1938 to 11th March 1949. He was imprisoned by the Japanese invasion army for three months in 1941-42, and in the spring of 1942, together with Ye Lingfeng (1905-1975), he worked in a publishing company under Japanese administration. After the surrender of the Japanese, it was alleged in 1946 by 21 writers that Dai had been working for the Japanese. (69) It is reasonable to include Dai in the category of Hong Kong poet, but it is more fair to call him a Chinese poet. I shall try to demonstrate the difference in attitude of Dai Wangshu and Dai Tian in two poems with similar themes and imagery. In Dai Wangshu's poem 'With My Maimed Hand' (*Wo yong cansun de shouzhang*) written in July 1942 about the war, Dai Wangshu speaks for the whole of China. Hong Kong was a safe haven for him. The poem as translated by Michelle Yeh reads:

With my maimed hand
I feel the vast land:
This corner is reduced to ashes;
That corner is nothing but blood and mud.
This lake must be my hometown—
I can feel the coolness of the reeds by the water.
(In spring, flowers make a brocade screen on the bank;

Delicate willow twigs, breaking, scent the air.)
 I touch the cool reeds and waters;
 The snowcapped peaks of the Changbai chill me to the bone.
 The gritty water of the Yellow River slips through my fingers;
 The rice paddies in the south—where young sprouts
 Were so tender—now just have weeds,
 and the litchi flowers languish in loneliness.
 Farther south still, I dip in the bitter water of
 The South China Sea, where no fishing boats sail.
 My invisible hand travels across the vast land,
 Its fingers stained with blood and mud, its palm dirty.
 Only that distant corner is still whole—
 Warm, bright, strong, and vital—
 I caress it with my maimed hand
 As if touching my love's soft hair or a sucking baby's fingers.
 I concentrate all my strength in my hand
 And press it there with all my love and hope,
 For only there can we see the sunshine and the spring
 That chase darkness away and bring new life;
 For only there do we not live like stock animals
 And die like ants—there, in our eternal China. (70)

Dai Wangshu wrote the poem during the 2nd World War when Japan was invading China, and he was kept a prisoner in Hong Kong under Japanese occupation. In Dai Wangshu's heart, China is his hometown, the Changbai Mountain, Yellow River and South China Sea are images representing from north to south the torturous and burnt territories under Japanese invasion. However, Dai Wangshu when writing this poem treats Hong Kong not as a peripheral to China, but as part of China. There was also a political dilemma for Dai Wangshu in 1942, because there was only one legitimate Chinese government ruled by the Kuomintang in the Mainland, but the Communists based in Yan'an were becoming stronger and appealed strongly to the intellectuals. 'Only that distant corner is still whole—/Warm, bright, strong, and vital—'. That distant corner was the war time capital Chongqing in Sichuan province of China in 1937-46, or the base of the Communists in Yan'an, or the eternal China as expressed at the end of Dai Wangshu's poem. The four corners represent the complete territory of China. In the poem 'With My Maimed Hand', Dai Wangshu acts as a spokesman for the whole of the Chinese people. The mood was determined, positive and embraced China.

Dai Tian published the poem 'This Pair of Hands' in Ming Pao Monthly in 1983. The poem is not included in his three collections of poems. It reads:

This pair of hands
Resembles two roads
Resembles a
Choice
That decided the vision

This pair of hands
Always stretches towards the Five Mountains
On Hua Mountain
Elegant
On the south of Tai Mountain
Touching grandeur
And then to Heng Mountain
Cannot withhold
Hesitance
On Heng Mountain
Looking north
A piece of wintry snow
The Central Mountain is stately
Guarding the country's territory

This pair of hands
Distributes into the great river
Finding
Tiny as the beard
The sources
From Tanggula
Holding the dribbling
Stories
Telling us
The familiar
Five thousand years
Tradition
The unrestrained
Roaring

This pair of hands
Felt
The cracks of the earth
And chains of
Crystallized
Tears
But can't twist with the fingers
A bit of
Zen
Coolly it seems
With sympathy
Wouldn't retrieve the lost memory
From the far
Far away

This pair of hands
Suddenly looked like the flower bush
Withered
The blossoms
No vigour can be found (71)

Dai Tian's 'This Pair of Hands' has 'Feeling/The cracks of the earth/And chains of/Crystallized/Tears', in imitation of Dai Wangshu's ashes, blood and mud in 'With My Maimed Hand'. Five Mountains is equivalent to Dai Wangshu's Changbai Mountain, Tanggula to Yellow River, all denote the essence of Chineseness. The function of the pair of hands to denote the history of China and the passion of the poet is the same, but the identity and standpoint of the poets are miles apart. Dai Tian wrote the poem in 1983, 41 years after Dai Wangshu wrote his poem. Hong Kong was not at war in 1983, but facing its historical turning point of return to China in 1997. Dai Wangshu was very much a visitor passing the war in Hong Kong and he eventually returned to Mainland China to meet his untimely death, whereas in 1983, Dai Tian had been living in Hong Kong for 22 years. Moreover, in 1983, there are two Chinese governments in real terms. Dai Tian encompasses the 5,000 years of civilization, the river and the mountains of a cultural China in his poem. He does not state any political preference for a Chinese regime in his poem. The same political dilemma was also posed to Dai Wangshu in 1942. Dai Wangshu did not reveal his political preference in his poem, all his sincere wishes are for victory against the Japanese invasion. Patriotism precedes party politics, and the pursuit of an eternal China is the central theme of his poem. Dai Wangshu was writing his poem on the geographical margin of China, but his heart was at the centre of China. Within the context of the poem, Dai Wangshu is more a Chinese poet than a Hong Kong poet. Dai Tian's poem was written on the geographical, political and literary margin of China. He is dejected, detached, skeptical, hesitant, repressed and discouraged. The six refrains employed in the poem serve to stress the climax in the ending: 'This pair of hands/Suddenly looked like the flower bush/Withered/The blossoms/No vigour can be found'. The poem was written from the standpoint of a Hong Kong Chinese looking north. Dai Wangshu's optimism in 'Only that distant corner is still whole—/Warm, bright, strong, and vital—' cannot be found in Dai Tian's poem. Instead, there is the pessimistic 'Withered/The blossoms/No vigour can be found'. Dai Tian's detached attitude to the centre of Mainland China is obvious in 'This Pair of Hands'. Therefore, I would argue that, based on the evidence of this poem when compared to Dai Wangshu's

'With My Maimed Hand', it is fairer to say that Dai Tian is more a Hong Kong poet than a Chinese poet.

Criticism: 'Comments and Remarks on Cultural Revolution'

The 26 poem cycle, 'Comments and Remarks on Cultural Revolution' written by Dai Tian after the Cultural Revolution in the early 80s, fully demonstrates Dai Tian's 'consciousness of misery' (*youhuan yishi*) towards China. (72) This is a tradition that intellectuals have moral duties according to Confucius' philosophy, and this is reflected in poets like Qu Yuan, Tao Yuanming, Li Bai, Du Fu, Lu You, Xin Qiji, Wen Tianxiang and many others. The tragic Cultural Revolution was a complicated and disastrous period in contemporary Chinese history. Dai Tian's poems by no means show all the twists and turns of the period. The poems were not written in chronological order describing a sequence of events, but the 26 episodes all condemn the fascist power struggle in the name of the Cultural Revolution. Dai Tian's poetry records the reality of history at the centre from the perspective of the margin. Writers and poets in the PRC still cannot openly criticize the plots of Mao Tse-tung and the Cultural Revolution, the whole fault is borne by the denounced 'Gang of Four' publicly. (73) Only writers from Hong Kong and overseas can criticize the Cultural Revolution freely without the fear of political repercussions. Dai Tian, in his poem cycle, has severely criticized the acts of the tragic movement. Poem No. 1 of 'Comments and Remarks on Cultural Revolution' reads:

Boisterous roars still high in the sky
Some of the revelers have already fallen in the dust
Supposedly to retrieve the incessant praises
But repentance had already staunched the arid throats

PS: Both Mao Tse-tung and Lin Biao had on many occasions reviewed the 'Red guards', but in an instant those 'most supportive' youths were incriminated as 'counterrevolutionary'! (74)

The first poem describes the cunning and mercilessness of politics and that of the political leaders. The satire is focused on the comradeship and treachery of Mao Tse-tung and Lin Biao. The sympathy lies with the 'Red guards', those frenetic youths first stirred up and then immediately incriminated. All promises were made to be broken. None of Mao Tse-tung's words could be trusted. From the Hundred Flowers Movement to the Cultural

Revolution, it was just like a game of chess masterminded by Mao himself and no one else. 'Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. (75) Poem No.26 reads:

Round up the feudal fascists
Round up the ideological fascists
Learn to apply the dictatorship of the fascists
What a great strategic plan

PS: 'Round up criticise' (*zuzhi pipan*) was the 'essence' of movements on the Mainland during the last 30 years, reaching a peak during the 'Cultural Revolution'.

'Round up criticise' as a means of eradicating the opposition was prevalent in all strata of society and fields of study, 'touching the deepest side of human being's souls'. It was used together with 'Six Clauses of Public Security' (*Gongan liutiao*) during the 'Cultural Revolution', employing the name of 'dictatorship' to purge, suppress and plot against people. 'Noble music was discarded, banality was booming', 'means were venomous and harsh, black and white were turned upside down', these were no different to the acts of fascists!

Unlike public criticism or self-criticism, round up criticism came from the Communist Party, everyone was vulnerable before the Party except Chairman Mao. 'Six Clauses of Public Security' was adopted by the Central Committee on 13th January 1967. From then on confessions could be induced by coercion, deceit and guess work. Jiang Qing and her cronies proclaimed that: 'Any false attacking or slandering of our great leader Chairman Mao or his comrade-in-arms Lin Biao, is now to be considered counter-revolutionary behavior'. (76) Dai Tian's final judgment on the Cultural Revolution was that it was Fascist and lawless.

All 26 poems have 4 lines, each with an average length of 10 characters. The poems do not rhyme, and further remarks in the form of postscripts appear in 15 of the poems. In these 15 postscripts, Dai Tian has used 5 exclamation marks and 1 question mark. There is great sympathy in Dai Tian's poem cycle for all those who fell victim of the Cultural Revolution. Moreover, Dai Tian tries to demonstrate the historical responsibilities of those most devilish culprits: Mao Tse-tung, Lin Biao and his clique, Jiang Qing, the 'Gang of Four' and their followers. The Cultural Revolution was one of the worst disasters in Chinese history and had nothing to do with culture, except that intellectuals were the most vulnerable prey of the so called revolution. Dai Tian's 'Comments and Remarks on Cultural Revolution' proves the purpose and importance of a poet on the margins of China. Even after the Cultural Revolution, poets in the PRC like Ye Wenfu could not

enjoy freedom of expression (77), nor did Bei Dao and his generation, best known as the poets of 'obscure poetry'. The fear of censorship and sheer suffering in Mainland China were such that Bonnie McDougall had the following observation on Bei Dao's poetry:

His recognition of sufferings is so acute and so painful that the only way he can contain it is by transforming it into art and thereby distancing it. The so-called obscurity or bizarreness of his writing is therefore not simply adopted for reasons of expedience but is an instinct for the preservation of his rationality. In other words, his verse is not obscure just because of fear of censorship but because the pain caused by all forms of oppression is so intense that conventional epithets are too shallow to express it. (78)

Although the policies of Mao were repealed by the Chinese Communist Central Party in 1981, and Jiang Zemin further reiterated in Deng Xiaoping's eulogy that Deng had completely discarded the Cultural Revolution (79), it would be naïve to believe that there is now freedom of speech and publishing within the arena of politics in Mainland China. It would be extremely sad if not a single dissenting voice could be heard in Hong Kong after the handing over of sovereignty on 30th June 1997.

June 4th Tiananmen Massacre: 'The Damned Black Hand' and 'Time Train'

The Tiananmen Massacre of the student protesters demonstrating against corruption and for political reform was one of the darkest pages in the history of the Chinese Communist regime. 1989 is the 70th anniversary of the patriotic May Fourth Movement. It was the first time that tanks and soldiers were ordered to open fire on peaceful citizens in the capital. The massacre aroused world condemnation of the brutality of the Communist regime. The Hong Kong people, on the margin of China, were inflamed to mass protest against the Communist regime. The Hong Kong Alliance for a Democratic China was formed on 4th June 1989. At the peak of the protests, it was estimated that some 1.5 million Hong Kong citizens demonstrated on a single day. (80) Dai Tian, as a patriotic Hong Kong Chinese, condemned the Tiananmen Massacre unreservedly. His poem 'The Damned Black Hand' written on 11th June 1989 reads:

The so called Socialism with Chinese characteristics is so damned superior
Democracy is centralized by the handfuls who controlled the army and the Party
Freedom reveals only the wills and feelings of the fatuous patriarches

Economic reform is blatantly stolen from that of capitalism
Political reform resolutely builds the communistic arch of chastity
What they do is stealthy doings for face saving
All sentences are shits and all the words are lies
Carrying out all the wrong doings in the dark the heart is the blackest
Stretching the dimmed, little and incorrect black hand
To oppose vainly in blood the great heart and grand ideal of millions of people (81)

The use of the image of the damned black hand which has committed the most severe and unforgivable crimes is intended to condemn most strongly those responsible for the June 4th massacre. The image of the hand is not the one full of sympathy and hope in Dai Wangshu's 'With My Maimed Hand', nor is it the hesitant and passionate one of Dai Tian's 'This Pair of Hands'. The damned black hand is to be condemned by the people and by history. In the 8th line of the poem, Dai Tian uses the Chinese character 'black' (*hei*) 7 times to stress the evil nature of the massacre. The degree of hatred and scorn is boundless towards the establishment and hierarchy of the inhumane Communist regime in China. Dai Tian wrote the poem on 11th June 1989, just seven days after the Tiananmen Massacre. In Chinese tradition, the first 7th day in the cycle of 49 days is the most important date to pay sacrifice to the dead. It is believed that the spirits of the dead will return home on the 7th night of their death. Dai Tian had not experienced personally the devilish night in Tiananmen Square, and in this poem he does not actually describe any scenes or details of the massacre. The poem was written in the first instance for public recitation in Taiwan, therefore the lines are more like slogans designed for political denunciation. However, the image of the hand is employed sharply to denote the merciless and treacherous minds of the handful who control the army and the Party in Communist China.

The poem 'Time Train' written on 10th January 1990 reads: (82)

Looking back is a never stopping
Time train
At the station of incidents it carries
Lots of beauty and evil
Lots of happiness and sorrow
Lots of blood

This train does not know
Where it goes
Like a riddle the future journey
Reflects all kinds of memories
Some are tears

Some are sighs

It cannot possibly stop
To adjust the constantly moving
Past, present and future
Linking up scenes
Only the heart is segregated
Into squares

This is such a queer
Montage
The tragic turn of Tiananmen
Is the joyful celebration of East and West Berlin
China and Romania
Where grief and joy crosscut

Sometimes dissolving, sometimes overlapping
It cannot fade out and fade in
Always it is cut-in
That blood-dyed gallantry (83)
That nothingness (84)
That groaning, shouting

'People will never forget' (85)
This train full of
Thoughts and sentiment thick as blood
Left behind by yesterday and culminating from to-day
The germinating seeds of to-morrow
The ever-living flower

This poem written seven months after the poem 'The Damned Black Hand' is more artistically crafted and the image coherently expressed. The train is running through the different stops of history. The beauty and happiness of the pursuit of freedom and democracy is quenched by evil, sorrow and lots of blood. But the time train cannot stop progressing, hence the joyful celebration of East and West Berlin, and the overthrow of the dictatorship in Romania become other sub-stations of history. Tiananmen, songs like 'Blood-dyed Gallantry' and 'Nothingness', and the slogan 'People will never forget' are applied in the poem to denote the events which took place on June 4th 1989. The poem is constructed like the process of film making, filming terms like linking up, segregation, montage, crosscut, dissolve, overlap, fade in, fade out and cut-in are meticulously employed with the movement of the time train. The image of germinating seeds, which is often compared to the growing of grains in pebbles and stones, was used in one of Dai Tian's earliest works, 'Incomplete Manuscript of 1959'. 'The germinating seeds of to-

morrow/'The ever-living flower' is Dai Tian's ultimate wish revived from the bloodshed of the past. To conclude his poem, Dai Tian shares the same sentiment and motive as Dai Wangshu, Dai Wangshu calls for an eternal China, while Dai Tian calls for the ever-living flower. And flower here symbolizes China. If Dai Tian does not live in Hong Kong or at least live outside Mainland China, because he is supportive of, and sympathetic to the democratic student's movement, he will not be allowed to compose such poems as 'The Damned Black Hand' and 'Time Train' which unmistakably glorify the movement and condemn the Communist regime. Dai Tian is a Hong Kong poet living on the margins of China.

Summary of Chapter 4

In this chapter, I have taken the opium war in 1841, the Cultural Revolution in 1966-1975, the city life of Hong Kong in the 60s and 70s, the Tiananmen Massacre in 1989 and the return of Hong Kong to Mainland China in 1997, as the dominating issues in Dai Tian's representation as a Hong Kong poet. Dai Tian, according to my argument, is representative of Hong Kong poets in many ways. He has lived in Hong Kong for over 30 years since 1961 and the majority of his Chinese poems were written in Hong Kong. His poems demonstrate the mentality of a Chinese intellectual living in Hong Kong. The complex passion and sentiment towards China and Hong Kong are explicitly shown in his poetry as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. References to the opium war and the years 1841 and 1842 are employed repeatedly in the poems 'The Snake' and 'The Scenes of 1971'. The colonial nature of Hong Kong is demonstrated in the poems 'The Story of the Stone', 'Oh! I am a Bird', 'Broken Thoughts on 1997' and 'The New Year Couplet'.

The colonial nature of Hong Kong and its peripheral status to Mainland China is described in the poem 'Oh! I am a Bird'. The bureaucratic 'government by discussion' and 'administration absorption' of the Hong Kong Government has encouraged Hong Kong people to be apolitical throughout the past 156 years. Hong Kong's existence on the margins of Mainland China, Taiwan and United Kingdom has made Hong Kong a solitary and alienated orphan in Chinese literary history. From the edge, Dai Tian has raised his voice speaking for the people. The tired image of the bird in the poem 'Oh! I am a Bird', is compared to the images of the wild geese and the dragon bird in Dai Tian's

other poems. The employment of the circular form is also discussed. Dai Tian's poem 'This Pair of Hands' has been compared to Dai Wangshu's 'With my Maimed Hand' demonstrating the different standpoints of the poets in the context of marginality. The poem cycle 'Comments and Remarks on Cultural Revolution' further reveals Dai Tian's moral obligation to comment and remark on historical events, this has been a tradition of intellectuals in China since the days of Confucius, Sima Qian and Du Fu. The Tiananmen Massacre is another example of tragedy in contemporary Chinese history. Dai Tian inherits and fulfills his moral duties as a witness of Chinese history. He has been able to comment on the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Massacre in poetry because he lives on the political fringe of China.

In the 60s and 70s, Dai Tian was a bearer of enlightenment. He tried to awaken the community to the restraints and injustice inherent in colonialism. He tried to elevate banality from the city life of capitalism and commercialism to an enriched cultural and liberal mode of life. Dai Tian also embraced the difficulties and disasters experienced by people in other parts of the world. The quest for the meaning of existence and individuality is explicit. From the 80s onwards, the consciousness of misery is the theme of Dai Tian's pursuit. The search for identity is overlapped by the reconstruction of Cultural China. The poems 'Comments and Remarks on Cultural Revolution', 'The Damned Black Hand' and 'Time Train' will most likely become an indictment on Dai Tian's counter-revolutionary activities towards the Chinese Communist Party. If Dai Tian continues to write on similar themes and styles in Hong Kong after 30th June 1997, he will definitely be persecuted. From 1st July 1997 onwards, the status of Hong Kong in respect to China, Taiwan and Great Britain has been greatly changed. From then on, Hong Kong will not be the same.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In the conclusion, I shall begin with the friendship of Dai Tian and his contemporary poets in Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas. Then I shall discuss the role of Dai Tian as a Hong Kong poet and his influence on Hong Kong contemporary poets. To sum up the thesis, I shall explore Dai Tian's future plans for writing and where he will settle down after 1997. The itinerant life of Dai Tian living in China, Mauritius, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Canada is to reflect the fate of many overseas Chinese intellectuals in the past sixty years.

Friendship Among Poets

Dai Tian first became acquainted with budding writers and poets when studying in Taiwan. Writers and critics like Liu Shaoming, Bai Xianyong, Ye Weilian, Chen Ruoxi, Li Oufan, Wang Wenxing, Ye Shan and many others have become major figures in contemporary Chinese literary history. Many established Taiwan poets of the 50s, like Luo Fu, Yu Guangzhong, Ya Xian, Zheng Chouyu and others, are also friends of Dai Tian's. Luo Fu's poem 'The Story of the Stone' which is a response to Dai Tian's poem of the same title, was mentioned in the last chapter. Zheng Chouyu, a lyrical poet, wrote a cycle of 7 poems on Hong Kong in 1984. The first poem 'Wine Kiosk' (*Jiuting*) was dedicated to Dai Tian. The poem reads:

Except for Dai Tian
Well-lit mountain of eight thousand feet had little purpose
Hundred storeys of wine kiosk also had little purpose
It was only for Dai Tian
That the mountain became brighter in ascending
That the wine kiosk elevated among its kinds loftily into sky
So, wasn't that piece of sky exactly a small green hat
For the drinkers
Exhilaratingly
Wearing?

Everything was for
Dai Tian, circumnavigated from four seas and three mountains
From the clear Iowa River
To the high water Mississippi

From the flood-tided Hong Kong
To the tearful eyes of old friends
All were wine
On the night
For a dozen times the tavern owner ordered us to leave
The lit mountain faded gradually and mansions like ships lost in the mist
Dai Tian then arose from laughter
Following him we staggeringly revolve into
Another basement tavern on the other corner of the Island. (1)

The poem fully demonstrates the popularity Dai Tian enjoys among his fellow poets. In fact, Dai Tian was the coordinator for many cultural activities in Hong Kong. He acted as host whenever his friends came from Taiwan, the USA and other parts of the world. In the last four lines of the 1st stanza, Zheng Chouyu plays with Dai Tian's name to symbolize a green hat to be put on by drinkers. The character 'dai' can be used as a surname or as a verb which literally means 'putting on'. The last stanza recapitulates the purpose of the poem which describes a happy encounter of old friends. Dai Tian went to the Iowa International Writing Program in 1967. Zheng Chouyu attended the same program in 1968 and lived in the USA thereafter. In the postscript of another poem by Zheng Chouyu, 'The Source of Mississippi' (*Mixixibi yuantou*), he describes the happy hours with Dai Tian, Li Oufan and Zhang Cuo during the 'Chinese Weekend' organized by the Iowa International Writing Program in the summer of 1979. They went boating and drinking on the Mississippi at Davenport. (2) Apart from meeting in 1984 in Hong Kong, the Iowa companions met again in Hong Kong in December 1991 as panelists for the 1st Hong Kong Literature Biennial Awards. Those present included Nie Hualing, Zheng Chouyu, Ye Weilian, Li Oufan, Yang Mu and others. Dai Tian also called this a meeting of 'Iowa in Hong Kong' (*Xianggang de Aihehua*). (3) Zheng Chouyu described the reunion of old friends in Hong Kong as a confluence to the Hong River [i.e. Hong Kong] by tributaries. The tributaries are their varied and scattered life journeys in different parts of the world. However, I would point out that the reunion of these overseas Chinese writers in colonial Hong Kong conveys a strong sense of voluntary exile.

A good friend of Dai Tian, Zhang Mo, himself a major poet in Taiwan, has used the pen-names of 72 Taiwan poets to make a humorous correlation. In his article 'If Poets Venture in Business' (*Ruguo shiren xiahai*) written in 1994, he teasingly suggests that the best business Dai Tian could run was a 'Dai Tian Umbrella Shop' (*Dai Tian sandian*).

(4) Since Mainland China opened up to a market economy in 1979, the term ‘leaping into the sea’ (*xiahai*) literally meant going into business. The name ‘Dai Tian’ has the literal meaning of covering the sky, therefore the most appropriate business for someone with the name of ‘Dai Tian’ is selling umbrellas.

When the Korean poet Xu Shixu (1933-) visited Hong Kong in 1987, he wrote a poem, ‘A Tree of Wind on the Street–To Dai Tian’ (*Jieshang de yikefeng–gei Dai Tian*), dedicated to Dai Tian. The poem describes their rambling in the streets of Hong Kong, after drinking in the small hours, through the endless stream of pedestrians. The poem shows the friendship of the poets and the strong feelings produced by the chance reunion and parting. (5) When Fang Ludi, a Hong Kong poet and one of Dai Tian’s contemporaries, met Dai Tian at the zebra crossing in King’s Road (*Yinghuang dao*), Hong Kong Island where many newspaper offices are located, on a hot summer evening in 1995, he wrote a poem dedicated to Dai Tian. (6) In the poem, Fang describes Dai Tian and himself as passers-by in this great era. The encountering of the poets at the zebra crossing will remind readers of the image of the zebra in Dai Tian’s poem ‘A Sprinting Zebra’.

In Hong Kong, Dai Tian is popular in literary circles, including Jin Yong, Hu Juren, Huang Jundong, Cai Yanpei, Li Yi, Lin Shanmu (Lin Hangzhi, 1940), Li Yinghao, Gu Zhaoshen, Guan Mengnan, Li Guowei and many others. Although Dai Tian has not written a poem for any particular poet or literary friend, he has mentioned most of his literary activities and encounters in the ‘weekly accounts’ (*meizhou jishi*) in his column in Economic Journal Daily, and readers can accordingly find out the movement of writers and literary activities from Dai Tian’s column.

Dai Tian: Poetics and Hong Kong

The diversity of Dai Tian’s poetry includes the main themes of Chineseness, Chinese arts and artists, city life in Hong Kong, international politics, time and life, fables, cultural China, anti-colonialism, Hong Kong 1997, Tiananmen Massacre and marginality. The themes, together with Dai Tian’s writing style, are influenced by symbolism, existentialism, modernism, nihilism, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism; and Dai Tian’s unique employment of parallel imagery, multi-leveled association, internal monologue, discursive format, binary division, stream of consciousness and alienation, and his

development of images like stone, jade stone, seed, sand, fossil, statue, mountain, goose, bird, swallow, dragon bird, kite, river, wine, sprinting zebra, rotten apple, water melon and many others, all contribute to the richness and vividness of his poetry. Dai Tian's poetry also demonstrates the role and characteristics of Hong Kong as a multi-cultural city. The above characteristics and style of Dai Tian's poetry render it most difficult for other people to imitate. As I have discussed in chapter 3, Dai Tian's early poetry in the 50s to 60s is most apparently influenced by the Chinese poet Bian Zhilin, yet Dai Tian has formulated his own writing style from the serene beauty of 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' written in 1967, to the cynical and self-mocking 'The Story of the Stone' written in 1969, and then has transformed from cynicism and self-mockery to the serious pursuit of cultural China in 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' written in 1985. Dai Tian is indeed a poet of constant change and incessant growth as evidenced by the developing images of the bird and the stone in his poetry.

In chapter 4, I have tried to establish Dai Tian as a major Hong Kong poet. He is a representative of Hong Kong poets because he has lived in Hong Kong since 1961, he writes his poetry in Chinese, and the themes of his poetry are related to the important historical development of the colony. The themes of anti-colonialism, city life in Hong Kong Hong Kong 1997, Tiananmen Massacre and marginality are all important to the history of Hong Kong. As I argued in chapter 4, Dai Tian is one of the first Hong Kong writers who touched on the above themes. He lives up to his ideal of the Chinese intellectual who respects, loves, inherits and revitalizes Chinese culture. In his poetry, Dai Tian pays tribute to Chinese people and its culture, but not to a particular regime. He explicitly showed his wrath against, and condemnation of Japanese militarism, the torturing Communist regimes of the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries, and the fascist acts of the Cultural Revolution and Tiananmen Massacre. People, history, civilization, philosophy, culture and art are Dai Tian's main concerns in life. Dai Tian is patriotic, but not a 'nationalist' in the narrow sense. When he lives in Hong Kong, he writes about Hong Kong as a member of the community. He comments on, and criticizes, political events in Mainland China from the margins. Above the employment of pure poetics, Dai Tian always has the consciousness of misery in his heart. He was born during the Japanese war in 1937, and has drifted through life with no permanent abode. He always tries to speak up for those who are suffering from war, political incriminations, purges and suppressions in his poetry. This aloofness and the rare quality of loving

mankind as a whole elevates Dai Tian above his contemporary Hong Kong poets. Below, I shall discuss Dai Tian's influences on other Hong Kong poets.

Dai Tian: Influences on Hong Kong Poets

As early as the 70s, Dai Tian already had high regard for Xi Xi's writings and greeted her as the only Hong Kong writer. I would argue that in this Dai Tian is being too modest. In my opinion, Liu Yichang and Dai Tian are examples of Hong Kong writers who matured much earlier than Xi Xi. Liu Yichang is a successful fiction writer and novelist, while Dai Tian is a major poet. Xi Xi's lyrical poetry conveys a sense of simplicity and often contains tunes and elements of children's fables. In some of Xi Xi's poems, the employment of imagery, the musicality and alienation effect is similar to that of Dai Tian's poetry. This is obvious in Xi Xi's poems 'Fast Food Restaurant' (*Kuaican dian*), 'Could I Say' (*Kebu keyi shuo*) and 'Gravel' (*Lishi*). (7) In 'Fast Food Restaurant', the basic sound units of the poem are composed of 2 and 3 character words, a pattern Dai Tian had experimented with in his poem 'The Snake' in 1970. The kaleidoscopic scenes inside the fast food restaurant resemble the scenes described in Dai Tian's poem 'Scenes of 1971'. In the poem 'Gravel', the image of the personification of the coarse face of a nameless and mouthless stone in the Gobi Desert is an imitation of Dai Tian's 'The Story of the Stone'. The technique of employing bracketed lines in 'Gravel' to produce an alienation effect was also tried by Dai Tian in early poems like '*Hua diao*' written in 1963. Gu Cangwu's poem, 'News Commentary' (*Xinwen pinglun*) published in 1975, describes the life of the lower stratum Hong Kong people in a typhoon disaster. The theme and the epic style of Gu's poem bear the marks of Dai Tian's poems 'The Snake' and 'The Scenes of 1971' (8) In another of Gu's poems, 'On Top of the Victoria Peak, At the Bottom of Victoria Peak' (*Taipingshan shang, Taipingshan xia*), written in 1980, the reign of Daoguang was mentioned denoting the opium war and the colonial history of Hong Kong. (9) This image and description was explored by Dai Tian in his poem 'The Snake'. Guan Mengnan's belief that poetry should have both political consciousness and artistic merit is shared by Dai Tian. (10) When Guan published his poetry magazine Poetry Workshop in 1994, it bore the same name as the 'poetry workshop' run by Dai Tian and Gu Cangwu in 1968. Li Guowei was a young talent who refused to continue his university education. Li's poems are inspired by natural scenery and personal encounters. The use of natural

images and daily experiences in poetry is also characteristic of Dai Tian's poetry, but Li's passion for writing about personal experiences is his own. Li's untimely death has curtailed his further contribution to Hong Kong poetry. (11) The theme of Zhong Lingling's poetry which concentrates on political events in China is very much inspired by Dai Tian's poems. The mood and poetry format of Zhong's 'My Magnificence was in 1919' (*Wo de canlan zai Yijiu yijiu*) is near to Dai Tian's 'The Story of the Stone'. (12) Both Li Guowei and Zhong Lingling were members of the poetry workshop initiated by Dai Tian in 1968. Ye Si's poetry written in the 70s describes city lives in Hong Kong as do Dai Tian's poems of the early 70s such as 'The Scenes of 1971'. (13) Ye Si's later poems about Hong Kong are collected, in 'Images of Hong Kong' (*Xingxiang Xianggang*), in *City at the End of Time*. (14) Dai Tian's idea of writing a poem about meeting Li Bai, Bai Juyi (772-846) and Su Dongpo and having conversations with the poets can be seen in Ye Si's recent poem 'At the Temple of the Three Su's' (*Sansuci tiwen*), as can Dai Tian's disparagement of the present by reference to the past in between the dialogues. Ye Si's poem reads: 'Another? Well, OK, but only so that I may ask you/about your statue out front. Does it meet too neatly current/fashion in politics? And what about the common calligraphy and paintings/billboarding your life? I see—you don't care even to respond.' (15) He Furen's excursion in cultural China in his poetry also reflects the images of Dai Tian's 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. (16) Qi Ling's ideology in poetry is also influenced by Dai Tian's poetry. Qi Ling's poems like 'After the Children's Fun Day in Lam Tin' (*Lantian ertong qunleri zhihou*), 'Wrath' (*Fennu*) and 'On Chung Ying Street' (*Zhong Ying jieshang*) which strongly reject colonialism in Hong Kong were also inspired by Dai Tian's 'The Story of the Stone'. (17) A younger poet, Xiao Xi, had written a poem 'The Story of the Stone' in 1995. The employment of the stone image in the poem is clearly a reference to Dai Tian's poem of the same title. (18)

The above younger Hong Kong poets who have been influenced by Dai Tian in one way or another are only the more conspicuous examples. Dai Tian's style has changed throughout the years, and most of the above younger poets have also developed their own style and characteristics. There was a saying that Dai Tian did not join any party, society or school throughout his literary career. (19) It is certainly true that Dai Tian did not promote any particular school of poetry of his own, not even with the poetry writing workshop he organized himself. However, Dai Tian's encounters with numerous literary circles, his participation in the Hong Kong Arts and Literature Association, his

involvement in the publication of Modern Literature, Pan Ku Magazine, Octagon and Unitas, can be seen as group or society activities. Unlike Yu Guangzhong, Dai Tian did not have any followers and admirers forming a school under his banner. It was partly because Yu Guangzhong had lectured for 10 years in the Chinese University of Hong Kong, that many of Yu's students and young poets imitated and copied his style. These young poets imitated the poetry structure, sentence structure and also imagery of Yu's poetry, and informally united themselves under the banner of 'School of Yu' (*Yu pai*). The most explicit examples can be found in the early poems of Huang Guobin, Hu Yanqing, Chen Dejian, Wang Lianghe and many others. (20) In my interview with Hu Juren in 1992 in Hong Kong, Hu Juren said that Yu Guangzhong's sentiment as expressed in his poetry was artificial and that Yu's poems were inferior to those of Dai Tian. Hu Juren said:

Dai Tian's language is refined and natural. Yu Guangzhong's language is refined, but it is inferior when compared with Dai Tian's. It is not unusual for a modern poet returning to classical Chinese poetry in the later stage of their life. Dai Tian transformed and applied the essence of classical Chinese poetry into the imageries of his modern poems. His poems are terse in expression, clear and lucid in rhythm. The turning point in Dai Tian's poetry writing is 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' written in 1967. The feature of Dai Tian's poetry is his ability to apply current and political issues into his writings. (21)

Dai Tian is one of the most long-standing and diverse poets in Hong Kong. His forty years of poetry writing (1957–1997) is the product of a Chinese intellectual living outside Mainland China. Furthermore, Dai Tian's poetry contains happiness and sadness concerning the changes in political and social life in China and in Hong Kong. Indeed, Dai Tian himself is a bridge providing access to his successors in modern poetry writing in Hong Kong.

Plan for Future Writings

The long poem 'Glassy Marble' that Dai Tian began to compose in 1982 is still unpublished. He has not completed his poem cycle of 20 poems on 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. He has so far published 8 poems of the cycle but these are not included in his three volumes of poetry. In 1991, Dai Tian published the poem 'Yellow Dust' (*Huangchen*) which is identical in line structure to 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. However, Dai Tian said in the postscript that 'Yellow Dust' should not be regarded as part of that poem cycle, and that he will one day complete and publish the remaining 12 poems of the cycle. (22) I expect that the completion of the cycle will be a major writing program for Dai Tian after 1997 in his pursuit of a cultural China

Dai Tian has thought about writing a poem about meeting Li Bai, Bai Juyi and Su Dongpo when touring the West Lake in a dream, putting ancient people into the present environment, and modern people back into an ancient context. The difference in time, space and ideology would produce a great sentimental, cultural and psychological tension. The style of poetry will be lyrical and the tune much more playful. Dai Tian said the poem can create characters similar to A Dream of the Red Mansions with those handsome men and beautiful ladies who behaved naively and naturally. For example, Su Dongpo can ask Dai Tian: 'Does Hong Kong still have the dish called meat of Dongpo [*Dongporou*]?' Dai Tian can reply: 'The hot pot in Tianxiang restaurant [*Tianxiang lou*] is really nice.' One characteristic of this poem is the mixing up of classical and modern Chinese. For example, Dai Tian addressing Bai Juyi would say: 'Bai Juyi, I'm going to deconstruct you.' Then Bai Juyi would inquire in classical Chinese: 'What do you mean?' (*He suo wei hu?*) Together, these ancient and modern poets can discuss serious literature as well as popular writing. Dai Tian said that he therefore has to study very diligently, not just reading poetry, but also philosophy and many other subjects. After digesting all this learning, Dai Tian has to disseminate it systematically in his creative writing to form an integral part of his cultural China.

Critics like Huang Jundong have said that 'Ten Poems on Kyoto' is the climax of Dai Tian's poetry, and that there has not been a second climax thereafter. Huang has said that Dai Tian's interests by 1985 had turned to prose and occasional essays. During my interview with Huang Jundong on 15th January 1992 in Hong Kong, Huang had this comment on Dai Tian's course of poetry writing:

First of all, Dai Tian is getting older. And his interests have already shifted to culture, commentary, history and politics. The strength of poetry in expressing the arguments of the above fields will be inadequate. If Dai Tian is to continue his creative writing, he certainly will go for other genres but not poetry. Dai Tian may compose one or two poems occasionally, but not in large volumes. (23)

However, Dai Tian has demonstrated his persistence in poetry writing in the last 40 years, and poetry has become his craft and career. When a new era like 1997 and the millennium comes, every Hong Kong citizen including Dai Tian will be facing a new environment and challenges. Any imminent changes will surely provide food and inspiration for Dai Tian's poetry. If Dai Tian is to emigrate to Canada after July 1997, at the age of 60, will he reach another climax in his Chinese poetry writing on foreign soil? I believe that Dai Tian will continue his pursuit of a cultural China in his poetry after July 1997, as is the duty and responsibility of a Chinese intellectual. (24) There is an urgent need for overseas Chinese to rebuild a cultural China, for China lives in their minds forever. And indeed, many of these overseas Chinese can only live in a cultural China.

Apart from his poetry, Dai Tian is also writing a novel called Dinosaur (*Konglong*). In transliteration, 'konglong' could have the literal meaning of 'scared of the dragon'. Dragon is usually used as a symbol representing Chinese people and civilization. 'Kong' (scare, horror) and 'Kong' (a surname) are pronounced the same in Mandarin, and in Cantonese it also has the same pronunciation as in 'hung' (scare, horror) and 'Hung' (a surname). 'Kong' when used as a surname is inevitably related to Confucius. It is generally held that the thousands of years of Chinese culture have been greatly dominated by the teachings of Confucianism. Dai Tian's novel *Konglong* will describe the psychological effect on the people of Hong Kong in the run-up to 1997. Dai Tian says he has already written about 30,000 words as a prelude to the novel which can be read as an independent chapter. The novel *Konglong* will bear the hallmark of two Qing Dynasty novels, Strange Events of the Last Twenty Years by Wu Jianren (1866-1910) and The Bureaucrats by Li Boyuan (1867-1906), but Dai Tian's novel will not be a satirical one. Unlike the style of The Scholars (*Rulin waishi*) by Wu Jingzi (1701-1754), Dai Tian's novel will be near to the taste and style of Fortress Besieged (*Weicheng*) by Qian Zhongshu (1910-1998). But it is not the same as Fortress Besieged which is satirical and fictitious, Dai Tian's novel is based on real people and events happening in Hong Kong. Dai Tian will apply an objective view to the manners of Hong Kong people reacting to the situations in Hong Kong in the run-up to 1997. In the novel, a lot of Hong Kong

intellectuals like Si Wei, Jin Yong, Hu Juren, Lin Shanmu and many others will be included. (25) Dai Tian tries to employ the sounds and intonation of the Cantonese dialect to describe the sounds of Hong Kong. Dai Tian also tries to deconstruct the element of time in his novel. In order to expose the state of mind of contemporary Hong Kong intellectuals, the scenes can abruptly shift back to the Opium war and patriotism, and then suddenly turn towards the era of 1997 and the disputes between the British and Chinese Governments. The concept of time will be confusing, but the ideas are all related to current issues happening as a result of the existence of 'konglong'. It is a true story applying the viewpoint of scattered perspectives. Dinosaurs are extinct, but live on people's minds. Dai Tian had said that if he cannot finish the novel *Konglong* before 1997, he will not have the freedom to continue writing it in Hong Kong even if he decides to stay behind after July 1997.

Marginality: A Citizen of the World

In chapter 4, I have argued about the importance of Hong Kong as peripheral to Mainland China, Taiwan and the United Kingdom. Dai Tian has written a large number of poems and prose about the political, historical and social lives of China and Hong Kong. He has condemned British colonialism in Hong Kong in his poem 'The Story of the Stone'. The social lives of Hong Kong are reflected in poems like 'The Snake' and 'The Scenes of 1971'. The worries concerning the future of Hong Kong can be found in his poem 'Broken Thoughts on 1997'. The severe criticism of the horrendous Cultural Revolution is found in the poem cycle 'Comments and Remarks on Cultural Revolution', while the pain and horror of the Tiananmen massacre can be found in the poems 'The Damned Black Hand' and 'Time Train'. All these poems were written by Dai Tian in Hong Kong. However, now that July 1997 has come, Dai Tian will not be able to continue his role as a Hong Kong poet on the margins of China criticizing the Mainland Chinese Government. Hong Kong will remain peripheral to Mainland China in geographical terms, but politically Hong Kong will be an integral part of Mainland China. At the same time, the relationship between Hong Kong and Taiwan and the United Kingdom will depend on the policy and strategy of the Mainland Chinese Government. Hong Kong will not be the same Hong Kong after July 1997.

In the concluding paragraph of his book, Mark Roberti cast a pessimistic view on the future development of Hong Kong as an international financial and commercial centre:

Virtually all major regional operations in Hong Kong have looked at, or are beginning to look at, moving out of Hong Kong. Most have found it better in the short term to remain there, but after 1997, there is likely to be a slow but steady-and quiet-exodus of regional operations to other cities within the Asia-Pacific region. Within twenty years of 1997, Hong Kong could well be almost exclusively a Chinese financial and commercial center. (26)

This can be seen as a typical view of an American journalist on the financial and commercial future of Hong Kong. Hong Kong culture and literature do not appear on the agenda when discussing the future of Hong Kong. Once again, Hong Kong is regarded as a place of no importance in culture and literature. Another British journalist, Bernard Levin, has a much more grim view on the future of Hong Kong:

The Hong Kong I loved so dearly will soon be lost-to a regime which murders more than 2,000 of its citizens a year.....China has nothing that could be called laws; for the slightest dissent, the dissenter finds himself in the notorious labor camps, never to return. (27)

Bernard Levin has, however, ceased to worry about his good friends in Hong Kong because all of them have obtained foreign passports. (28)

Yu Yingshi, a well-known Chinese Professor in Princeton University, who has lived in the USA longer than he has lived in China had the following thoughts and feelings on China:

But sorry to say, from sub-consciousness to consciousness, up to now I still regard myself as 'Chinese'. Then, I gradually understand: From the beginning, 'Chinese' is a cultural concept, and not a political concept. My 'cultural identity' always belongs to China, not to the West, although I also very much appreciate the elegance of Western culture. (29)

Yu Yingshi's view can best represent those Chinese intellectuals who have resided overseas for a considerable period. Du Yunxie, a major Chinese poet, had his views on marginality when visiting the USA in 1996. The first 7 lines of his 44 line poem 'The Feeling of Rambling on St. Diego Seaside' (*Manbu Shengdiege haibian yougan*) reads:

We are standing on, the margin of the continent
Also the margin of the vast sea
It is the margin of America
And flushes the China tides on
The margin of the Pacific Ocean
It is the margin of bustling and competition
It is also an awakening place on the margin of solitude (30)

Du Yunxie argues that there are many margins in the world, but marginality itself can also become mainstream. The most courageous endeavour is to turn marginality into mainstream. Du finally wishes that on the new and vast continent, there will be no further differentiation of margins. This can be seen as the view of a Chinese poet living in Beijing. However, the annihilation of marginality can only be possible in the metaphysical world of a cultural China. In reality, the present revival of nationalism in Mainland China is actually targeted against America. Liang Bingjun, a Hong Kong scholar and poet, has this view on the future of Chinese culture:

There are actually many 'Chinas' in our minds, including the many different Chinese cultures developed in different Chinese communities, as well as the "Chinas" we have created through the reading of past works. For those who love to talk about the Chinese culture all the time, I think it is necessary for them to be able to accommodate all these in their discussions; otherwise the concept of the Chinese culture will only be limited to a description of something homogeneous and monolithic, something exclusive, narrow, unenergetic, and on its way out. (31)

While Dai Tian has never lived permanently in any country, he has spent more than half his present life in Hong Kong. What will Dai Tian think of his future abode? Dai Tian proclaimed himself a citizen of the world in his column in 1996 as follows:

Someone talked about the beauty of the picture of the globe taken from the space, I only view it as a rotten apple. However, up to the present moment, human beings still only have this globe. Globe is the 'home', human beings still cannot reside in other planets in permanence. Therefore, it shall be seen that human beings, the globe itself and those affiliated to the globe, have an inter-relationship, from birth to death. Indeed, the globe is the home country for human beings, human being's home. (32)

The image of the globe as a rotten apple has actually been applied in Dai Tian's poem 'This is a Rotten Apple' written in 1969. Dai Tian is optimistic and broad-minded in proclaiming himself a citizen of the world, although this does not necessarily contradict his pursuit of a 'Cultural China'. However, Dai Tian will be a much happier citizen of the

world if he can choose his favourite places to stay and travel, for he has been residing in Hong Kong for more than 30 years. Indeed, Dai Tian's itinerant life can be seen as the fate of an overseas Chinese intellectual of the past 60 years, born in China in 1937, raised in Mauritius from 1950-1957, studied in Taiwan from 1957-1961, settled in Hong Kong from 1961-1997, and living in Canada from 1997 onwards?

I would like to quote the lines from 'Great Rats, Great Rats' (*Shuoshu*) in The Book of Songs to conclude this thesis. 'Now we shall leave this land/For a happier one —' (*Shijiang quru, shibi letu*). (33) Hopefully, Dai Tian will be able to construct and rebuild a cultural China for all the overseas Chinese living on this globe.

Footnotes: Chapter 1

1. Guan Mengnan, 'Dai Tian-A Sober Voice' (*Dai Tian-yige qingxing de shengyin*), in Ming Pao, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, 23.1.1998, p.E4
2. Zheng Shusen, 'The Definition of Hong Kong Literature' in From Modern to Contemporary, Taipei: San Min, February 1994, p56
3. Huang Weiliang, Xianggang wenxue chutan, Hong Kong: Wah Hon Publishing Co. 1988, p.16
4. Zheng Shusen, 'The Definition of Hong Kong Literature' in From Modern to Contemporary, Taipei: San Min, February 1994, pp.53-56
5. Lü Shang, 'Political Taboo on Brief Biography of Hong Kong Literature Writers', in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong, Vol.373, January 1997, p.98
6. Liu Yichang ed., 'Preface', Brief Biography of Hong Kong Literature Writers, Hong Kong: Urban Council Public Libraries, August 1996, p. iii
7. Ibid. (6)
8. It was largely through Robert Simpson's efforts that the English Department of the University of Hong Kong was created and developed. His poem 'Camp-Hong Kong Volunteers' was published in Renditions (Special Issue: Hong Kong) Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Spring & Autumn 1988, Numbers 29 & 30, pp.69-70
9. Edmund Charles Blunden was educated at Oxford, he lived and taught in Japan in the 1920s and late 1940s. His poems on Hong Kong were collected in A Hong Kong House, London: Collins, 1962
10. Joyce Hsia & T.C. Lai compiled, Hong Kong: Images on Shifting Waters: An Anthology, Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1977, 150p.
11. Zheng Shusen, 'The Vision of Marginality' (*Bianyuan de shiye*), in Su Yeh Literature, Hong Kong: Su Yeh Publications, November 1991, p.18
12. Peter Bradshaw, 'Missing the Mo juste', in Evening Standard, London: 10.4.1995, p.29
13. Maxine Hong Kingston was born in Stockton, California. Her fiction The Woman Warrior—Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts won the National Book Critics Circle Awards in USA. The Woman Warrior was published in the UK by Allen Lane, 1977, her other fiction 'China Men' was published in the UK by Picador.
14. Amy Tan was born in Oakland, California after her parents immigrated from Shanghai in 1949. She has published Joy Luck Club (1989), The Kitchen God's Wife (1991) and The Hundred Secret Senses (1997).
15. Xia Ji'an, 'Hong Kong—1950', in Literary Review, Taipei, 20.8.1958, Vol.4, Issue 6, pp.7-14, the poem was not published until persuaded by Chen Shixiang, Xia Zhiqing & Ye Weilian after 8 years.
16. Zheng Chouyu, 'Hong Kong Collections', Shihua shana, Hong Kong: Joint Publication, October 1985, pp.129-141
17. The three collections of poems are Sirius (Tianlangxing, 1976), Tug of War with Eternity (Yu yongheng bahe, 1979) and Kannon Bodhisattva across the Sea (Geshui guanyin, 1983)
18. 'About the Author', in Yu Kwang-chung, The Night Watchman (Shouye ren, 1958-1992), a bilingual selection of poems, Taipei: Chiu Ko, October 1992, p.1
19. Yu, Kwang-chung, trans. & ed. New Chinese Poetry. Taipei: Heritage Press, 1960.
20. Yip, Wai-lim, selected & trans. Modern Chinese Poetry: Twenty Poets from the Republic of China 1955-1965. Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1970.

21. Angela Yung Palandri, edited & trans. Modern Verse from Taiwan. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California, 1972, 207p. Dominic Cheung had translated the 'Selection from Contemporary Chinese Poetry' in 1977, in Yip Wai-lim edit. 'Chinese Arts & Literature: A Survey of Recent Trends', in Occasional Papers/Reprints Series in Contemporary Asian Studies. No.9, Maryland: School of Law, University of Maryland, 1977, pp.69-105. Dominic Cheung also edited & translated The Isle full of Noises: Modern Chinese Poetry from Taiwan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987, 265p. Recent works will include Joseph Allen, trans. & commentary, Forbidden Games & Video Poems: The Poetry of Yang Mu & Lo Ch'ing. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993, 433p.
22. Chen Bingliang, Exploration & Appreciation in Hong Kong Literature, (Xianggang wenxue tanshang), Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (HK) Co. Ltd., December 1991, preface, p. iii
23. William Frederick Mayers, ed. Treaties between The Empire of China and Foreign Powers, Shanghai: North-China Herald Office, 1902, pp.1-3
24. Gene Gleason, Hong Kong, London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1964, p.22
25. Nigel Cameron, An Illustrated History of Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991, p.58
26. Ibid. (23), pp.8-9
27. Ibid. (23), p.258
28. British Parliamentary papers, China, Vol. 24, Correspondence, dispatches, reports, ordinances, memoranda & other papers relating to the affairs of Hong Kong (1846-60), Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971, pp.12-17
29. Renu Daryanani/Government Information Services ed., Hong Kong 1995, Hong Kong: Government Information Services, 1995, p.102, 443, 478-479
30. The World Bank: World Development Report 1993, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p.239
31. Time Magazine, 12.11.1993, p.25
32. A Draft Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Future of Hong Kong, London: Her Majesty's Government, 26.9.1984, 46 pages
33. Wu Zhongxian, 'Critical Theory on the Economic Development of Hong Kong' (Xianggang jingji fazhan de pipan lilun), in Our Work's Not in Finished (Dazhi weijing), Hong Kong: Wu Ye Lirong, February 1997, pp.27-57. Wu Zhongxian was a revolutionist, writer and editor. He was the first in Hong Kong to organize a student demonstration and strike against the bureaucracy of the Chu Hoi College in 1969. In 1973, Wu founded the Revolutionary Marxist Alliance which was affiliated to the Fourth International. He was the key initiator of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China in the small hours of June 4th 1989
34. Lennox A. Mills, British Rule in Eastern Asia: A Study of Contemporary Government and Economic Development in British Malaya and Hong Kong, London: Oxford University Press, 1942, p.375
35. Lynn Pan, Sons of the Yellow Emperor: The Story of the Overseas Chinese, London: Secker and Warburg, 1990, p.373
36. Rey Chow, Writing Diaspora, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993, p.21
37. Sun Yat-sen, 'Address to the Students of Hong Kong University', in Renditions, Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Special Issue: Hong Kong, No.29 & 30, 1988, p.42

38. Xie Changqing, Brief History of Hong Kong New Literature (*Xianggang xinwenxue jianshi*), Guangzhou: Ji'nan daxue chubanshe, 1990, p.69. Xu Dishan, a scholar and short story writer, was then the first Professor in Chinese at the University of Hong Kong. Chen Hengzhe, Ye Lingfeng and Lou Shiyu were prose and story writers, Ouyang Yuqian a dramatist, Lu Danlin a journalist and prose writer, Liu Simu a journalist, poet and prose writer, Dai Wangshu a poet, Cai Chusheng a screenplay writer and director.
39. Liu Denghan, 'Hong Kong Poetry Forum & Poets in the 50s & 60s' (*Wuliushi niandai de Xianggang shitan he shiren*), in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, February 1997, No.146, pp.26-30
40. Henry J. Lethbridge, 'Hong Kong under Japanese Occupation: Changes in Social Structure', in I. C. Jarvie et al., ed., Hong Kong: A Society in Transition, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, p.100, p.115
41. Ibid. (25), p.264
42. Ibid. (25), p.280
43. Lu Weiluan ed., The Sorrows of Hong Kong (*Xianggang de youyu*), Hong Kong: Wah Fung Bookstore, 1983, Preface, p.1. Lu Weiluan was among the first to collect, research and publish in the field of Hong Kong literature. A graduate of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1964, Lu is a lecturer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.
44. Jean-Francois Destexhe & Derek Gobel, 'The effects of the impending transfer of power on the economy and people of Hong Kong', in Werner Menski ed., Coping With 1997: The reaction of the Hong Kong people to the transfer of power, Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 1995, pp.132-137
45. Xie Changqing, Brief History of Hong Kong New Literature, Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 1990, p.1
46. Luo Fu (1921-), Roaming Around Hong Kong Literature (*Xianggang wenhua manyou*), Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, July 1993, pp.13-14. Luo Fu, the pen-name of Luo Chengxun, other pen-names included Si Wei, Liu Su, Luo Sifu and others. Former chief editor of the New Evening Post in Hong Kong. He was lured to Beijing on 1.5.1982 for trial for spying for the American Government. He was sentenced to ten years of house imprisonment and released to return to Hong Kong on the Chinese New Year's eve in 1993.
47. Li Ruiteng, 'Preface to the "Hong Kong Literature Special Issue"' (*Xiezai 'Xianggang wenxue teji' zhiqian*), in Wenxun yuekan (Literary Correspondences Monthly), Taipei: Wenxun yuekan zazhishe, October 1985, No.20, pp.18-21
48. Liu Yichang, 'The Origin of Hong Kong Literature' (*Xianggang wenxue de qidian*), in Today Literary Magazine, Issue Feature: Hong Kong Culture (*Jintian*), Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, Issue No.1, Spring 1995, pp.81-83. Liu Yichang graduated from St. John's University in Shanghai in 1941, a prolific scholar, story writer and journalist. He founded the Hong Kong Literature Monthly (*Xianggang wenxue yuekan*) in 1985 which is still in print to this day.
49. Wang Tao worked in *Mohai shugan*, a Shanghai publishing house run by British Missionaries for 13 years. He assisted W.H. Medhurst to translate the Bible into Chinese. Wang fled to Hong Kong in 1863 because he was wanted by the Qing Government for his early connections with the Tai Ping rebellion. He lived in Hong Kong for 12 years and returned to Shanghai in 1897. See also, Wang Tao, *My Sojourn in Hong Kong: excerpts*, Yang Qinghua trans., in Renditions, *ibid.* (37), pp.37-41
50. Bernard Mellor, The University of Hong Kong: An Informal History, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1980, pp.75-76

51. Ibid. (50), p.82
52. Companion was edited by Zhang Zhilu (1903-1956), its published articles included the works of Shen Congwen. The magazine survived less than a year.
53. Wu Baling, 'Arts & Literature in Hong Kong' (*Xianggang de wenyi*), in Lu Weiluan ed., The Sorrows of Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Wah Fung Bookstore, 1983, pp.23-27
54. Luo Fu, *Xianggang wenhua manyou*, Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, July 1993, pp.93-102. Luo Fu gave a brief account of literary activities between the 20s and 40s in the book.
55. Ibid. (43), pp.3-22, 55-62
56. Michelle Yeh, Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992, p.31
57. Lu Weiluan, 'Lonely Mountain Flowers Blooming for Ten Miles—Xiao Hung in Hong Kong' (*Shili shanhua jimohung—Xiao Hung zai Xianggang*), in Literary Marks of Hong Kong (*Xianggang wenzong*), Hong Kong, October 1987, pp.162-170. According to Lu, half of Xiao Hung's ashes was buried near St. Stephen's Girls' School in Hong Kong.
58. Hu Guoxian, 'Fifty Years of Hong Kong New Poetry' (*Xianggang xinshi wushinian*), in Shi Bi-Monthly, Hong Kong: Shi Bi-Monthly Publication, January 1997, No.32, p.106
59. Liu Yichang ed., Brief Biographies of Hong Kong Literature Writers, Hong Kong: Urban Council Public Libraries, August 1996, pp.60-61, 109-112
60. Shaw said: "Steep yourselves in all the revolutionary books,.....Go up to your neck in communism because if you do not begin to be a revolutionist at the age of twenty then at fifty you will be a most impossible old fossil. If you are a red revolutionary at the age of twenty you have some chance of being up to date when you are forty!" Ibid. (50), p.84
61. Ya Xian, Research on New Chinese Poetry (*Zhongguo xinshi yanjiu*), Taiwan: Hong Fan shudian, 1982, p.8
62. For more information on the development of Hong Kong literary publications in the 50s to 70s, see also Huang Aoyun (1938-), 'From Refugee Literature to Hong Kong Literature' (*Cong nanmin wenxue dao Xianggang wenxue*), in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, February 1990, No.62, pp.4-14
63. Liu Yichang, 'Hong Kong Literature in the Early 50s' (*Wushi niandai chuji de Xianggang wenxue*), in Chen Bingliang ed., Exploration and Appreciation on Hong Kong Literature (*Xianggang wenxue tanshang*), Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. Ltd., 1991, pp.1-14
64. Ibid. (58), pp.106-108
65. Leung Ping-kwan, 'Modern Hong Kong Poetry: Negotiation of Cultures and the Search for Identity', in Modern Chinese Literature, Boulder: Department of East Asian Languages and Literature, University of Boulder, Fall 1996, Vol.9, No.2, p.224
66. Ibid. (63), p.12
67. Ibid. (58), p.107
68. Kang Fu ed., 'Interviewing Xi Xi' (*Xi Xi fangwenji*), in Compass (*Luopan*), Hong Kong: Compass editorial board, 1.12.1976, No.1, p.8
69. Ma Boliang, a native of Zhongshan Prefecture Guangdong Province, was born overseas. Ma published his 1st collection of poems in Shanghai at the age of 12. At the age of 15, Ma was the editor of the anti-Japanese magazine Literary Tide Monthly (*Wenchao yuekan*). Ma graduated from St. John University in Shanghai and later went to America from Hong Kong in 1963. His first collection of later poems in Ronald Mar: 30 Poems in America (*Meizhou sanshixian*) was published in Taipei by Epoch Poetry Society, 1976, 106p. The 2nd collection The Drifters who Burnt the

- Lutes (*Fenqin de langzi*) was published in Hong Kong by Su Yeh Publications, 1982, 78p.
70. Zhang Mo, 'Interviewing Ma Lang before the Gusty Rain' (*Fengyu qianxi fang Ma Lang*), in Wenxun yuekan, Taipei: Wenxun yuekan zazhishe, October 1985, No.20, pp.77-88.
 71. Ibid. (58), p.109
 72. Hu Guoxian, 'From 'Literary Associations' to 'Poetry Associations' (*Cong 'wenshe' dao 'shishe'*), in Hong Kong Literature Monthly, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, March 1989, Vol. 51, p.50
 73. Ibid. (72), pp.49-52
 74. Wu Xuanren, editor and poet, was appointed by the Urban Council, Hong Kong Government as resident writer 1996-97 to research and compile a history of the literary associations in the 60s & 70s for publication.
 75. The Stylistic Poetry Page had published only 2 issues. In 1967, the Stylistic Poetry Page was incorporated into the magazine Pan gu for continual publication, and edited by Dai Tian and Wen Jianliu.
 76. Gu Cangwu, 'Literature & Art and Pan Ku' (*Pan gu yu wenyi*) in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, January 1986, No.13, p.91
 77. Other publications founded in the 60s which also published modern poetry include the following: Nanyang Literary (*Nanyang wenyi*, 1961), Literary Quarterly (*Wenyiji*, 1962), Literary (*Wen yi*, 1962), South Swallow (*Nan yan*, 1963), Companion (*Ban lu*, 1963), Literary Companion (*Wenyi banli*, 1966) Sea Light Literary (*Haiguang wenyi*, 1966), Ming Pao Monthly (*Mingbao yuekan*, 1966), Zhongbao Weekly (*Zhongbao zhoukan*, 1967) and Youth Today (*Shidai qingnian*, 1969). See, Luo Zhun (1931-), Foot-Prints of Hong Kong Culture (*Xianggang wenhua jiaoyin*), Hong Kong: Tian Di, 1994, pp.11-27
 78. Yip Wai-lim, selected & trans., Modern Chinese Poetry: Twenty Poets from the Republic of China 1955-1965, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1970, pp.140-145
 79. Lau Siu-kai, Society and Politics in Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1984, pp.5-13
 80. The 70s (*Qiling niandai*) is different to The Seventies (*Qishi niandai*). The latter, renamed The Nineties (*Jiushi niandai*) in the eighties, was founded by Li Yi in 1970.
 81. Chen Dejin, 'On the Situation of Hong Kong Literature' (*Yetan Xianggang wenxue de chujing*), in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, March 1992, Vol. 87, p.14
 82. 'Editor's post-script' (*Bian hou*), in Compass, Hong Kong: Compass Editorial Board, December 1976, No.1, p.62
 83. Other publications founded in the 70s included The Perspective (*Nanbeiji* 1971), Oceanic Literature (*Haiyang wenyi*, 1972), Four Seasons (*Si ji*, 1972), Literary Forest (*Wen lin*, 1972), The Thumb Weekly (*Damuzi zhoubao*, 1975), Hong Kong Times Poetry Page (*Xianggang shibao shiye*, 1975), Arts and Literature (*Wenxue yu meishu*, 1976), Octagon (*Bafang*, 1978) and Style (*Feng ge*, 1978). Ibid. (58), p.113
 84. Hong Qingtian, poet and political commentator, was born in China and came to Hong Kong at the age of about 10. He graduated from Hong Kong University in 1975.
 85. Liu Kunyi, 'The 12 Years of "Youth Literary Awards"' (*Qingnian wenxuejiang' de shiernian*), in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, January 1985, No.1, pp.93-95
 86. Xianggang wenyi, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Young Writers' Association, July 1985, No.5, pp.103-104

87. Lu Weiluan, 'Several Problems on the Research of Hong Kong Literature' (*Xianggang wenxue yanjiu de jige wenti*), in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, December 1988, No.48, p.14
88. Huang Weiliang, Initial Exploration in Hong Kong Literature (*Xianggang wenxue chutan*), Hong Kong: Wah Hon Publishing Co., 1988, p.321
89. Wenxun yuekan, Taipei: Wenxun yuekan zazhishe, October 1985, No.20, pp.18-141
90. Xiao Si, 'Table of 20 Years of Hong Kong Literary Activities' (*Ershinian Xianggang wenyi huodongbiao*), in Unitas, Taipei: Unitas, August 1992, No.94, pp.41-45
91. Renditions, Hong Kong: Research Centre for Translation, Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Spring & Autumn 1988, No.29 & 30, Special Issue: Hong Kong, 356p
92. Li Huachuan, 'Minor Criticism on Initial Exploration in Hong Kong Literature', (*Xiaoping Xianggang wenxue chutan*), in Reader's Companion—A Book Review Monthly, (*Duzhe liangyou*), Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., July 1985, Vol.3, No.1, p.90
93. Ibid. (88), pp.76-77, 80-81
94. Ibid. (88), p.53
95. Xu Diqiang, 'On Su Yeh Literature' (*Guanyu Su ye wenxue*) in Wenyi zazhi jikan, Hong Kong: Wenyi Publishing Co., September 1983, No.7, pp.42-43
96. Chen Dejin, 'On *Xin sui shikan*' (*Tan Xin sui shikan*), in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, January 1986, No.13, pp.102-103
97. Wu Meijun, 'One-ninth Story of One-ninth Poetry' (*Jiufenyi jiu fen zhiyi de gushi*), in Shi Bimonthly (*Shi shuangyuekan*), Hong Kong: October 1992, No.20, pp.40-41
98. Ibid. (58), p.116
99. Ibid. (58), pp.115-117
100. Luo Fu, 'Merchants are writers?' (*Shangjia jiushi zuojia?*), in Sing Tao Daily European Edition, London: Sing Tao Daily, 24-25.7.1993, p.7
101. Xie Chengqing, Brief History of Hong Kong New Literature (*Xianggang xinwenxue jianshi*), Guangzhou: Ji'nan daxue chubanshe, 1990, 186p
102. Wang Jiancong, *Xianggang wenxueshi*, Nanchang: Baihuazhou wenyi chubanshe, 1995. Wang Jiancong is Associate Professor at Zhongshan University and a researcher into Hong Kong literature.
103. Wang Jiancong, 20th Century Hong Kong Literature, Ji'nan: Shandong Education Publishing Society, 1996
104. 'Special Issue: Hong Kong Literature' (*Xianggang wenxue zhuanhao*), in Unitas. A Literary Monthly, (*Lianhe wenxue*), Taipei: Unitas, August 1992, No.94, pp.2-177.
105. 'Issue Feature: Hong Kong Culture' (*Xianggang wenhua zhuanji*), in Today Literary Magazine, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1995, No.28, pp.71-257
106. House program, The 1st Hong Kong Chinese Literature Biennial Awards Prize Presentation and Seminar, Hong Kong: Urban Council Library, 21.12.1991, p.3
107. Liu Yichang ed., Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, February 1997, No.146, inside front and back covers.
108. Lin Li'an ed., Poetics, Hong Kong: Zhonghua Poetry Society, December 1993, No.1, 4p.
109. Dai Tian, 'The Territory of Flies & Crows—Accounts of Events of the Week' (*Cangying yaque zhi jing*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong: Economic Journal, 23.10.1994, p.11, Poetry Workshop was edited by Guan Mengnan.
110. Ibid. (58), p.118
111. Leung Ping-kwan, 'Modern Hong Kong Poetry: Negotiation of Centres and the Search for Identity', in Modern Chinese Literature, Boulder: Department of East

- Asian Languages & Literature, University of Colorado at Boulder, Fall 1996, Vol.9, No.2, pp.221-245
- 112.Wang Yu (1939-), Haiwai huaren zuojia shixuan, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. (H.K.) Ltd., 1983
- 113.Fei Ma (1936-) was a researcher at the National Research Institute in the USA. Zhang Cuo taught at the University of Southern California. Ye Weilian taught at the University of California, San Diego. Yang Mu taught at the University of Washington. Zheng Chouyu taught at Yale University and Cheng Bukui (1948-) taught at New York City Pace University.
- 114.Chen Dejin & Yao Xueli ed., Xianggang dangdai shixuan, Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1989, 508p.
- 115.Poems of Qiu Gangjian and Ai Shi and others could be found in 70s Biweekly, 1.2.1971, Issue 17, pp.21-24, Poems of Wu Qian and others could be found in Morning Bell, Hong Kong: The Lutheran Church-Hong Kong Synod, June 1978, No.43, pp.28-29
- 116.Ibid. (114), p.9, pp.30-32, p.267
- 117.Michelle Yeh ed. & trans., Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992, 245p.
- 118.Chen Yuxian, 'Old Friend & William Hung' (Hong Ye yu guyou), in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong: Ming Pao Co. Ltd., December 1987, Vol.264, p.103
- 119.Zhang Cuo, 'Golden Tears' (Huangjinlei), Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., 1895, see biography of writer, p.139
- 120.Pang Bingjun, John Minford & Sean Golden ed. & trans., 100 Modern Chinese Poems, Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1987, see biographical notes, pp.330-346 Also see, Tang Xiaodu & Wang Jiabin ed., Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Experimental Poetry (Zhongguo dangdai shiyan shixuan), Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, June 1987, p.50 & p.139
- 121.Yang Mu & Zheng Shusen ed., Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry, Taipei: Hongfan shudian, 1989, 901p.
- 122.Andrew Parkin ed., From the Bluest Part of the Harbour: Poems from Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1995, 147p. Andrew Parkin, a poet himself, is Professor of English at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- 123.Lin Huanzhang, Index of New Poetry in the Last 30 years (Jin sanshinian xinshi shumu), Taipei: Shuping shumu chubanshe, 1976, pp.107-113
- 124.Goh Thean Chye, Modern Chinese Poetry: A Bibliography 1917-1949 (Zhongguo xinshiji zongmu), Kuala Lumpur: Department of Chinese Studies, University of Malaya, 1980, pp.89-96
- 125.In Taiwan, there were 469 individual collection of poetry published between the years 1949-1975, an average of about 17 published per year. Ibid. (123), pp.27-52
- 126.Dai Tian, Debate on Rugged Mountain (DTR), Taipei: Yuanjing, July 1980, 181p.
- 127.Dai Tian, The Research of the Stone (DTS), Taipei: Dongdai, February 1987, 191p.
- 128.Dai Tian, An Anthology of Dai Tian's Poetry (DTA), Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 1987, 135p.

Footnotes: Chapter 2

1. Interview with Dai Tian on 9.1.1992 in Hong Kong. Unpublished work.
2. Japanese troops marched to Guiyang from Xianggui, captured Dushan on 5.12.1944, but the Kuomintang army recovered Dushan on 8.12.1944.
3. Dai Yi's name is not among the list of 13,000 senior commanders of the Kuomintang army. See, Wang Fumin ed., The Biographies of Kuomintang Army Officers (*Minkuo junrenzhi*) Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe, October 1992.
4. In December 1949, Indonesia gained complete independence from the Dutch. In 1950, there were 50,000 overseas Chinese students in Indonesia. There were 250,000 children in Chinese schools, about 150,000 had Indonesian citizenship. See, Liao Jianyu (Liau-w Kian-djoe, 1941-), Indonesia Chinese: Society & Civilization (*Yinni huaren wenhua yu shehui*), Singapore: Asia Research Society, February 1993, p.64
5. Rhoads Murphey, East Asia—A New History, New York: Addison Wesley Longman Inc., 1996, p.443. Quoted as follows: "Then in 1965, a group of junior officers assassinated 6 senior generals in an attempted coup, claiming Sukarno's leadership. The coup was officially interpreted as a Communist plot to seize power, although the evidence for that is poor. It was quickly suppressed by the army under General Suharto, and the army then went on to wipe out the Communist party and all who were suspected of sympathy with it, aided by bands of youths and local mobs. The victims included many thousand of Chinese, who were suspected because China had gone Communist, but were also turned on as target for long-standing ethnic resentment against them as alien exploiters. In this horrendous blood bath, probably at least half a million unresisting people were killed, some say a million. Sukarno was forced into retirement, and General Suharto took over."
6. I do not know where Dai Yi went after leaving Indonesia in 1965. Dai Tian's poem 'Condolence to An Era—In Commemoration of Father' (*Zhuidao yige shidai-jinian fuqin*) was written in 1982, in DTS, p. 3-5
7. According to Dai Tian's column, his mother's health was deteriorating in 1993. Dai Tian was telephoned by his 10th uncle who flew from Mauritius to see Li Bixia in the United States. Dai Tian's uncle was a well-known medical practitioner in Mauritius, therefore his judgment on the health condition of Dai Tian's mother worried Dai Tian. See, Dai Tian, 'The Phenomenon of Cultural Fault' (*Wenhua duanceng xianxiang*), in Economic Journal Daily (*Xin Bao*) Hong Kong, 17.10.1993
8. Dai Tian, 'A Life that Owes Nothing—Eulogy to Mother' (*Wutuo wuqian de yisheng—daonian muqin*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong, 20.2.1997, p.25
9. In around 1990, Dai Tian received a letter from Mainland China. The sender claimed to be his elder brother. The sender said that he had read an introduction of Dai Tian in Hong Kong Literature with his photograph, and learnt that Dai Tian was brought up in Mauritius. Dai Tian didn't know how to reply. Because the sender was so bold to write a letter, there might be a certain validity to his claim. Dai Tian was scared that he might find out something that he did not really want to know. With hindsight, he said that this would not have mattered at all. After some delay, the letter was misplaced, rendering it impossible to contact the sender. And the sender of the letter did not write again. Between the inception of Hong Kong Literature in 1985 and 1990, articles and photographs on Dai Tian have appeared at least 4 times. See Issue No.1, January 1985, p.48 & 51, No.8, August 1985, p.54-55, No.29, May 1987, inside front-cover, No.41, May 1988, inside back-cover.
10. In my interview with Dai Tian, he did not dispute that he was born in 1937. All the books, articles and introductions concerned with Dai Tian state that he was born in

1937. However, Dai Tian's 1st essay collection (Tai Tien, Occasional Essays (Wumingji) (DTO) Hong Kong: Union Press, September, 1970, 189p.), and Liu Yichang's Brief Biographies of Hong Kong Literature Writers (published in 1996), both claimed Dai Tian was born in 1938.
11. Li An, Wen Tianxiang shiji kao (Examination of Wen Tianxiang's Historical Events), Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1972, p.222. Wen Tianxiang was the Prime Minister of the Southern Song Dynasty, these words were written before his execution by the Yuan conquerors.
 12. The date of the speech was 3.7.1943. See, Zhang Qijun ed., 'Speech on the Enshi Military Evaluation Conference' (Enshi junshi jiantao huiyi xunci), in Complete Works on the Late President Chiang Kai-shek (Xian zongtong Jianggong quanji). Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua daixue, April 1984, Vo.2, p.1689
 13. Tai Tien (Dai Tian), 'That Earliest Snow' (Na zuichu de xue), in DTO, pp.105-107
 14. Tai Tien, 'Passing-by Singapore in 1950' (Yijiuwuling nian luguo Xingjiapo), in DTO, pp.111-113
 15. *Ibid.* (14). In 1949, there were two companies providing ships from Hong Kong to South African ports on a monthly and 2 monthly schedules. It took about 23-30 days to arrive at the first port on the South African coast. See, Hong Kong Annual Report 1949, Hong Kong : Hong Kong Government, March 1950, p.111. Java was one of the companies providing ocean transport to South Africa and South America. See Wu Baling ed., Hong Kong Year Book (Xianggang nianjian), Hong Kong: Wah Kiu Yat Po Ltd., February 1951, Section (A), p.82
 16. The Hutchison Encyclopedia, Oxford: Helicon Publishing, 1995, p.673
 17. Interview with Ray C.F. Foo-Kune (Hu Qingfang, 1930s-), a Mauritius Chinese who worked as a scientist in London, on 12.10.1995. Also interview with Li Chigang, a Chinese chess master in London. Li was a playmate of Dai Tian's in Mauritius.
 18. Dai Tian, 'Dodo the Bird' (Dudu zhezhong niao), 'Caught the Dodo' (Zhuodao liao dudu niao), in Dodo the Bird (Dudu zhezhong niao) (DTD) Hong Kong: Su Yeh, December 1980, pp.39-40, pp.41-42.
 19. Tai Tien, 'A Humid Afternoon' (Yige chaoshi de xiawu), in DTO, pp.123-125
 20. Tai Tien, 'At the Year of Seventeen' (Shiqisui de nayinian), in DTO, pp.117-119
 21. Yu Yushu was born in Hong Kong, he studied Chinese language and literature at National Taiwan University from 1956. Yu was the chairman of the 34th Chinese P.E.N. Hong Kong branch in 1989
 22. The Oceanic Poetry was an internal publication of National Taiwan University, first published in May 1957 and then to be published in each academic term. Also see, Yu Yushu, 'New Poetry & I' (Xinshi yu wo), in The Lonely Stars (Jimo de xingqun), Hong Kong: Highland Press, November 1978, p.148
 23. Bai Xianyong, 'A Review & Looking Forward on Modern Literature' (Xiandai wenxue wenxue de huigu yu qianzhan), in Modern Literature, Taipei: Xiandai wenxue zashishe, July 1977, resume publication, issue1, pp.9-9-38
 24. Dai Tian, 'A Blink of Eyes' (Zhayan jianshi), in Modern Literature, Taipei: Xiandai wenxue zashishe, November 1980, resume publication, Issue 12, pp.17-18
 25. Chen Xiumei, 'Uncle Qinzhi', in Literary Review, Taipei: Literary Review Society, Vol.4, No.1, March 1958, pp.66-86
 26. Li Ao first studied history at National Taiwan University, a prolific and controversial writer. Li Ao was imprisoned in 1972-76 and 1981-82 because of his writings. See, 'Li Ao approaching 50' (Li Ao wushi zaiwang), in The Nineties, Hong Kong: The Nineties, March 1985, No.182, pp.65-80. Li Yuanzhe graduated from National Taiwan University in 1959, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1986 and appointed Head of the Central Research Academy in Taiwan in 1994. Li Oufan

graduated from National Taiwan University, and obtained his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1970. Critic and theorist in modern Chinese literature, Li Oufan is now a Professor at Harvard, and better known as Leo Ou-fan Lee.

27. Dai Tian, 'Things Perceived Under the Eyes', in Literary Review, Taipei: Literary Review Society, July 1959, Vol.6, No.5, p.46
28. Dai Tian, 'Fupen zhinei heyizhi' (What to Do With a Toppled Tub), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong, 24.7.1991. Dai Tian said he shortened Sima Qian's phrase 'Fupen heyi zaitian', from the Records of the Historians, which meant that 'an overthrown tub couldn't contain the sky' into his pen-name 'Dai Tian'. Although after more than 10 years, he found out that the character 'zai' had an equivalent use and meaning with 'dai' in the ancient text. Dai Tian was never sure of the exacting meaning and implication of his pen-name when it was first used. Also see, Notes and Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics: The Book of Rites (Shisanjing zhushu: liji), Kyoto: Zhongwen chubanshe, May 1974, Vol. 4, p.2,703
29. Dai Tian, 'Feiyi bugong weiming' (Not Employing Anti-Communist as a Name), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong, 23.7.1991. It so happened that as a historical coincidence the eras of the 50s, 60s and 70s were a period of cold-wars and isolation against the Communist bloc of countries. As a result, some critics thought that Dai Tian must be an anti-Communist fighter using the pen-name 'Dai Tian' to connote the inherent meaning of 'anti-Communist'.
30. Tai Tien, 'A Happy & Free Holiday' (Yige kuaile xiaoyao de jiaqi), in DTO, pp.126-128
31. Tai Tien, 'Died in USA' (Sizai USA), 'The Gate of Darkness' (Heian de zhamen), in DTO, pp.138-140, pp.151-153. Also see, Hsia Tsi-an, The Gate of Darkness-Studies on the Leftist Literary Movement in China, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968, 266p.
32. Tai Tien, 'To Albert Schweitzer' (Zhi Shihuaice), in DTO, pp.141-143
33. 'To the Readers' (Gei duzhe), in Pan Ku Magazine, Hong Kong: Pan Ku She, 20.7.1968, Issue 15, inside front cover.
34. De la Démocratie en Amérique (Democracy in America), by Alexis Tocqueville (1805-1859), French historian & political scientist. He became a lawyer in 1825 and in 1831 went to the USA to report on the prison system. On his return, he published a penetrating political study Democracy in America in 1835.
35. Tai Tien, 'After "Self-alienation"' (Ziwo geli' zhihou), in DTO, pp.100-102
36. Both Selection of Katherine Anne Porter's Short Stories & Henderson the Rain King were published by World-today Press, the dates of publication unknown. Also see, Dai Tian, in Brief Biographies of Hong Kong Literature Writers, Liu Yichang ed., Hong Kong: Urban Council Public Libraries, August 1996, pp.880-881
37. Tai Tien, 'In the Slightly Cold Morning' (Zai qingchen de weihanzhong), 'A Humid Afternoon', 'On the Moon Without Chang'E' (Zai meiyou Chang'e de yueqiu shang), 'On Robert Frost' (Fuluo Site ci gong), 'Dubliner and Taiwanese' (Taipeiren he Dubailinren), 'The Existence of Cesare Pavese' (Baweisi de cunzai), in DTO, pp.120-122, pp.123-125, pp.129-131, pp.154-156, pp.157-159, pp.163-165
38. Absconder of the United Front (Lianzhen Taobing), 'Where Will the Hong Kong Defend Diayutai Movement Go?' (Xianggang baodia yundong wang neliqu?), in The 70's Biweekly (Qiling niandai), Hong Kong: Qiling niandai, Reformed issue, n.d., pp.41-43
39. Lin Huangzhang, Sanshinian xinshi shumu, Taipei: Shuping shumu chubanshe, 1976, p.117
40. Hu Guoxian, 'Fifty Years of Hong Kong New Poetry' in Shi Bi-Monthly, Hong Kong: Shi Bi-Monthly Publication, January 1997, No.32, p.106

41. Gu Cangwu, in Brief Biographies of Hong Kong Literature Writers, Li Yichang ed., Hong Kong: Urban Council Public Libraries, August 1996, pp.221-222
42. 'On "Make Chinese an Official Language"' (*Guanyu lie zhongwen wei guanfang yuwen*), Pan Ku Magazine, Hong Kong: Pan Ku she, 20.5.1968, No.13, inside front cover.
43. Gustav Mahler composed 'The Song of the Earth' (Das Lied von der Erde) in South Tyrol in 1908. He was inspired by the translation of classical Chinese poems by Hans Bethge. See Joseph Machlis, Introduction to Contemporary Music, New York. London: Norton, 1979, pp.65-69
44. Tai Tien, 'In the Slightly Cold Morning', 'High tide, Low tide' (*Chaozhang, chaotui*), in DTO, pp.120-122, pp.135-137
45. Tai Tien, Occasional Essays (Wumingji) (DTO) Hong Kong: Union Press, September, 1970, 189p
46. Dai Tian, 'On the Death of Yukio Mishima' in The Perspective, Hong Kong: Longmen wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1.1.1971, Vol.1, No.1, p.15
47. Dai Tian, 'Fish Write "Poetry" in Clear Water', in The Perspective, 8.1.1971, Vol.1, No.2, p.7
48. Dai Tian, 'My Nose', in The Perspective, 15.1.1971, Vol.1, No.3, p.8
49. Dai Tian, 'The Feelings of Vegetation', in The Perspective, 22.1.1971, Vol.1, No.4, p.6
50. Dai Tian quoted Leon Slawecki's article 'Coolies Chinois L'expedition de 1895' in Bulletin de Madagascar which was published in French. I have not read that article, but a similar argument can be found in Leon Slawecki's book French Policy Towards the Chinese in Madagascar, Connecticut: The Shoe String Press, 1971, pp.83-84
51. Dai Tian, 'The Article on "Coolies"', in The Perspective, 5.2.1971, Vol.1, No.5, p.9
52. Dai Tian, 'Inside the Warm Blanket in Winter', in The Perspective, 12.2.1971, Vol.1, No.6, p.6
53. Dai Tian, 'A Piece of Diary', in The Perspective, 16.3.1972, No.22, p.12, also in DTR, pp.119-120
54. Ibid. (1)
55. Dai Tian, 'What Kind of Sphere' (*Shenmeyang de kongjian*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong: Economic Journal Daily, 20.8.1994. 'Feeling on Jurgen Habermas's visit to Hong Kong' (*Wen Habeimasi fanggang yougan*), in Economic Journal Daily, 17.5.1996, p.31. Li Oufan's argument was based on the theory of 'public sphere' by the German philosopher and sociologist Jurgen Habermas. Also see, Ruan Xinbang, 'From Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action to Witness the Withering of "Public Sphere" in Hong Kong' (*Cong Habeimasi de goutong xingdonglun kan Xianggang 'gonggong kongjian' de weisuo*), in Hong Kong Economic Journal Monthly, Hong Kong: Economic Journal Daily Co. Ltd., July 1996, No.232, pp.26-31
56. Rosemary Leung was a graduate in history from the University of Hong Kong, and a senior lecturer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Very little is known about Dai Tian's wife.
57. Bafang wenyi congkan, Hong Kong: Bafang, 1.9.1979, No.1, 319p.
58. Yan Huo (1947-), 'People for the 3rd Category of Contact' (*Jinxing disanlei jiechu de ren*), in Contemporary Chinese Writers (Dangdai Zhongguo zuojia fengmao), Hong Kong: Zhaoming chubanshe, May 1980, pp.227-255. Also see, Ye Si, 'Irregular in Words, Variance in Poetry-Post script of "China Weekend"' (*Cenci de zi, bu huayi de shi-'Zhongguo zhoumo' houji*), in City & Books (Shu yu chengshi), Hong Kong: Xiangjiang, October 1985, pp.275-288
59. Dai Tian, Dodo the Bird (Dudu zhezhong niao), DTD, 148p.

60. Dai Tian, 'The Story of May 4th', in DTD, pp.128-129
61. Dai Tian, Section 5, in DTD, pp.137-148
62. Dai Tian, 'What is love what is sentiment' (*Shenmeai shenmeqing*), in DTD, pp.143-144
63. Xiao Si, 'Table of 20 Years of Hong Kong Literary Activities' (*Ershinian Xianggang wenyi huodongbiao*), in Unitas, Taipei: Unitas, August 1992, No.94, pp.41-45
64. Dai Tian, 'Eating of Worm', 'Vending of Dreams', 'Case of the Mysterious Corpses', in Pai Shing Semi-monthly, Hong Kong: Pai Shing Semi-monthly, 12.6.1981, No.2, p.57; 16.7.1981, No.4, p.59; 1.10.1981, No.9, p.62
65. Dai Tian, 'Pose', in DTD, pp.179-180
66. Chen Xueluo, 'A Tale of Four Cities: London, Taipei, Beijing & Hong Kong', in Pai Shing Semi-monthly, Hong Kong: Pai Shing Semi-monthly, 1.1.1982, No.15, p.47; 16.1.1982, No.16, p.37; 16.2.1982, No.18, p.60; 1.3.1982, No.19, p.48
67. Li Ming, O.B.E., had been the Director of Information Services of the Hong Kong Government, Director of the Publishing Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and Commissioner of Translation at the United Nations Secretariat.
68. Unitas, Taipei: Unitas, November 1984, No.1, editorial page.
69. Ye Hui (1952-), 'The Obscure Voice' (*Yinhui de shengyin*), in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, August 1985, No.8, pp.54-55
70. From the letter of Yan Zhanmin, 21.3.1997
71. 'Special Issue: Singapore Literary Camp' (*Teji: Xinjiapo wenyiyi*), in The Nineties, Hong Kong: Going Fine Ltd., July 1987, No.210, pp.94-106
72. Du Jian ed., 'Interview with Dai Tian' (*Fangwen Dai Tian*), in Reader's Companion—A Book-review Monthly (*Duzhe liangyou*), Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., December 1985, No.18, pp.49-57
73. Zhao Weimin, 'What Seemed to be Ordinary is Most Spectacular' (*Kanshi xunchang zui qijue*), in Lianhe bao, Taipei: Lianhe bao, 29.1.1991, p.25
74. 'Chengru rongyi que jianxin' comes from the commentary on a chrysanthemum poem: 'They were tears in the eyes, blood in the heart, what looked to be easily done is in fact the most difficult' (*'shi yanzhonglei, shi xinzhongxie, chengru rongyi que jianxin'*), in Han Ziyun, Stories of the Flowers in the Ocean (*Haishanghua liezhuan*), Taipei: Guangya, March 1984, p.511
75. Dai Tian, 'Settle Down and Get On with One's Pursuit is to Handle the Problems of Real Life' (*Anshen liming jiushi chuli xianshi shenghuo de wenti*), interviewed by Kong Zhao, in Ming Pao, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, 28.6.1991
76. Dai Tian, 'Wonder & Concern' (*Guanhuai yu jingshi*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong, 22.2.1992, 'Hong Kong Week' was organized by Hong Kong student unions of Boston University, Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology starting from 21.2.1992.
77. Dai Tian, 'Wish to See Everybody' (*Yizhong zhengyu xiangjian*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong, 17.7.1994
78. Dai Tian, 'Wang Tingzhi's Vegetarian Shop' (*Wang Tingzhi sushi*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong, 7.8.1994
79. Dai Tian, 'The So-called Correct Way & Source—Accounts of Events in the Week' (*Suowei zhenglü, yuantou—yizhoulai jishi*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong, 21.8.1994
80. Dai Tian, 'Reunion of the Clan—An Account of the Week' (*Yi zuren zhi huanju—yizhou jishi*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong: 22.3.1997, p.21
81. Guan Mengnan, 'Dai Tian—A Sober Voice' (*Dai Tian-yige qingxing de shengyin*), in Ming Pao, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, 23.1.1998, p.E4

Footnotes: Chapter 3

1. Based on an interview with Dai Tian by the author in Hong Kong, 9 1.1992, unpublished.
2. Du Jian, 'Interview with Dai Tian', in Reader's Companion—A Book-review Monthly, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., No. 18, December 1985, pp.49-57
3. Liang Bingjun was the convenor of the 'Dai Tian Poetry Recitation' held on 30 6 1985. See, Ye Hui (1952-), 'The Obscure Voice' (*Yinhui de shengyin*) in Hong Kong Literature Monthly, Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Literary Press, No.8, 5 8 1985, pp.54-55
4. Wang Jiancong, 20th Century Hong Kong Literature, China: Shandong Education Publishing Society, 1996, pp.98-101
5. Austin Coates, Myself A Mandarin, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1995, p1
6. The official census in 1931 recorded a total population of 849,751 in Hong Kong. The estimated population in 1941 was 1,600,000. In 1947, it was 1,800,000 and in April 1950 2,360,000. In 1950, there were 14,500 European and American permanent residents. The total revenues of the year 1950 was HK\$ 38,817,596. At the end of 1955, the population was estimated to be 2,400,000. However, the industrial and commercial activities increased tremendously throughout these years. In 1952-3, the total revenue was HK\$ 484,590,446 with a surplus of HK\$ 72,840,788, in 1953-4, the total revenue was HK\$ 396,881,967 with a surplus of HK\$ 41,474,196, in 1954-5, the total revenue was HK\$ 434,452,321 with a surplus of HK\$ 61,108,712. In Hong Kong Colonial Reports 1950, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951, pp.19-29 and Hong Kong Colonial Reports 1955, London: H.M.S.O., 1956, P.41
7. Ly Tio Fane points out that the reason for the rapid growth of the Chinese population in Mauritius during the Second World War was due to the Japanese closure of all Chinese ports in China, and the cessation of movement between Mauritius and China. From the sixties onwards, fewer Mauritius Chinese have tended to retain their Chinese nationality. See, Huguette Ly Tio-Fane Pineo, Chinese Diaspora in Western Indian Ocean, Editions de l'Ocean Indien/Chinese Catholic Mission, 1985, p.103
8. China Weekly, Hong Kong: China Weekly Society, Vol.16, Issue 4 (No.199), 22.10.1956, p.2
9. Lloyd Haft, Pien Chih-Lin—A Study in Modern Chinese Poetry, Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson - USA: Foris Publications, 1983, p.30
10. Michel Hockx, A Snowy Morning—Eight Chinese Poets on the Road to Modernity, Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1994, p.124
11. A. Poulin, Jr. (1938-), Contemporary American Poetry, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1991, p.657
12. I. A. Richards (1893-1979) Principles of Literary Criticism, New York: Harcourt, Brace Inc., 1925, p.130
13. Li Kuang, the pen-name of Zheng Jianbai, he uses the pen-name Baimu to publish his prose writings. A history graduate from the Zhongshan University in Guangdong Province, he fled to Hong Kong after 1949 and taught at the Zhongzheng Middle School at no.96, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong throughout the fifties. His poems and prose were very popular among students and young people at the time. According to Lo W.W. (Luo Huirong, 1940-), one of Li Kuang's student at the Zhongzheng school, Li Kuang was very popular among young readers. Lo and his classmates also said farewell to Li Kuang when he moved to Singapore in 1958. Lo later graduated from Taiwan Normal University and is now the proprietor of the Ying Hwa

- Bookstore in Gerrard Street, London Chinatown. Also see Fong Ludi (1940-), 'Poem to Commemorate the 1st Anniversary of the Death of the Poet Li Kuang' (*Shiren Li Kuang shishi zhounian ji*) in Hong Kong Literature Monthly, Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Literary Press, No.108, 1 12.1993, p.91
14. Li Kuang, The Chirps of Swallows, Hong Kong: Highland Press, October 1961, pp.13-15, the 1st edition was published by Ren Ren chubanshe, 1952.
 15. Xu Xu, a graduate of Beijing University, was a prolific novelist. He also published 9 volumes of poetry from 1948 to 1977 in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei. See Memorial Essays on Xu Xu (Xu Xu jinin wenji), Hong Kong: Chinese Language Society, Baptist College, 1981. Li Su, a graduate of Yenching University, had published 3 collections of poems. The best known collection is Faraway Eden (Yuanle yidian) Hong Kong: Highland Press, 1957
 16. Fei Ming, 'Xinshi yinggai shi ziyoushi' (New Poetry shall be Free Verse) in Tan xin shi, Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1984, p.26
 17. Leo Ou-fan Lee, 'The Solitary Traveller: Images of the self in Modern Chinese Literature', in Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature, ed. Robert E. Hegel Richard C. Hessney, New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, p.294
 18. Oscar Wilde, 'The Happy Prince', in Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1994, p.271
 19. Yang Mu, 'Short story on Zheng Chouyu' (Zheng Chouyu chuanqi), in Essays on Contemporary Chinese Writers (Zhongguo xiandai zuojia lun) Ye Weilian ed., Taiwan: Lian Jing, April 1977, pp.75-104
 20. Mao Dun (1896-1981), 'Discourse on Bing Xin' (Bing Xin lun), in Hong Qiu, ed., Anthology of Discussion Papers on Modern Poetry (Xiandai shige lunwenxuan), Hong Kong: Bo Wen Bookstore, 1975, pp. 532-562.
 21. Howard Goldblatt and Joseph S.M, Lau, ed., 'Introduction', in The Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995 p. xviii
 22. Nie Hualing, Black, Black, the most Beautiful Color (Heise, heisi, zui meili de yanse), in Overseas Chinese Writers Series, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., September 1983, p.107
 23. A. Poulin, Jr. (1938-), 'The Radical Tradition', in Contemporary American Poetry, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1991, pp.651-670
 24. Qi Bang Yuan (Chi Pang-yuan), An Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Literature, Taiwan: 1949-1974, Vol.1, Poems and Essays, Taiwan: National Institute for Compilation & Translation, 1975, p.3
 25. Ibid. (24), pp.3-4
 26. Ibid. (24), pp.4-5
 27. Liang Bingjun, 'From the Sound of Reminiscences Gradually to the Sound of Modernity' (Cong mianhuai de shengyin li zhujian xiangxian le xiandai de shengyin), preface in The Wastrel Burns his Qin (Fenqin de langzi), by Ma Lang, Hong Kong: Su Ye, June 1982, p.21
 28. Xia Jian, ed., Literary Review, Taipei: Literary Review Society, 20.9.1956, Vol.1 No.1, p.70
 29. Ibid. (22), p.107
 30. Xia Qing graduated from the State University of Colorado in Fort Collins. He worked as an agricultural expert for the United Nations in Latin America
 31. Liang Wenxing, the pen-name of Wu Xinghua. English Professor of Yenching University. He died during the Cultural Revolution at the age of forty-five. After his mangled body had been cremated, his bereaved wife and two little daughters were driven out of their college hostel. "Professor Wu Xinghua, the talented poet and

- multilingual scholar, died of bacillary dysentery after drinking polluted water given to him by a student slave driver who was keeping surveillance over the work gang of professors laboring in the hot sun." See, Wu Ningkun (1920-), A Single Tear, London, Sydney, Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993, p.357
32. Edward Mansfield Gunn, Jr., Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai & Peking (1937-1945), New York: Columbia University Press, 1980, p.194
 33. Bai Xianyong, 'A Review & Looking Forward on the Modern Literature', (*Xiandai wenxue de huigu yu qianzhan*), in Modern Literature, Taipei: Xiandao wenxue zazhishe, July 1977, resume publication, Issue 1, pp.9-21
 34. Dai Tian, 'A Blink of Eyes' (*Zhayanjian shi*), in Modern Literature, Taipei: Xiandao wenxue zazhishe, November 1980, resume publication, issue 12, p.17
 35. Lau Shaoming, 'Preface', in Modern Literature, Taipei: Xiandao wenxue zazhishe, Issue 1, 5.3.1960, p.2
 36. Yu Guangzhong, trans. & ed. New Chinese Poetry, Taipei: Heritage Press, 1960
 37. Nancy Chang Ing was a graduate of English Literature from West China Union University in Chengtu in 1943. She herself is also a fiction and poetry writer.
 38. Nancy Chang Ing, 'Introduction' in New Voices, Nancy Chang Ing trans. & ed., Taipei: Heritage Press, December 1961, p. iv
 39. Ibid. (38), p.50
 40. Nancy Chang Ing, trans. & ed., New Voices, San Francisco: Chinese material Center Inc. 1980, Second ed., p. viii. The only author left out from the 2nd edition was the poet Xiu Tao
 41. Ibid. (38), pp.47-48
 42. Li Qing-zhao, 'Tune: "Slow, Slow Tune"', in 100 Tang & Song Ci Poems, ed. & trans. Xu Yuan-zhong, Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1990, pp.148-151
 43. John Turner, 'Introduction' in, A Golden Treasury of Chinese Poetry, Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1976
 44. Dai Tian, 'Impromptu', in Literary Review, Vol.6, No.6, 20.8.1959, p.65
 45. Dai Tian, 'Things Perceived Under the Eyes', in Literary Review, Vol. 6, No.5, 20.7.1959, p.46
 46. Dai Tian, 'Cut-outs', in Modern Literature, Taipei, no.7, 15.3.1961, pp.72-72
 47. Ibid. (38), pp.51-51
 48. Burton Raffel, T.S. Eliot, New York: Continuum, 1991, pp.63-64
 49. Roland Barthes, 'Fatigue and Freshness', in Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes, New York: Hill and Wang, 1982, p.89
 50. Dai Tian, 'Incomplete Manuscript of 1959', in DTR, pp.3-4
 51. Dai Tian, 'Self-portrait of A Drinker', in DTR, pp.13-14
 52. Dai Tian, 'Huadio', in DTR, pp.23-27
 53. Xu Hun, 'Evening Prospect from the West Gate Tower of Xianyang', in 100 Tang Poems, ed. & trans., Bruce M. Wilson & Zhang Ting-chen, Hong Kong: Commercial Press, August 1988, p.210
 54. Ya Xian, Luo Fu & Zhang Mo ed., Anthology of Poetry of the 1950s (Liushi niandai shixuan), Taiwan: Ta Yeh, 1961, p.29
 55. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Poems, London: Everyman, 1995, p.206
 56. Dai Tian, DTA, p.84
 57. Lin Huangzhang, Jin sanshinian xinshi shumu, Taipei: Shuping shumu chubanshe, 1976, p.117
 58. Dai Tian, 'Nirvana', in DTR, pp.29-30
 59. Dai Tian, 'That is It', in DTR, p.33
 60. The poem 'On the Summit of the Solitary Peak' has 10 stanzas, each stanza consists of 5 lines. The poem starts by describing the state of meditation into eternity, it is full

- of instant, sheer, cool and heavenly joy. In Chou Meng-tieh, Goddess Incarnate (Haiyuncao), Hong Kong: Culture Book House, 1969, pp.145-149
61. Zhang Mo, Luo Fu and Ya Xian, ed., Anthology of Poetry of the 1960s (Qishi niandai shixuan). Taipei: Ta Yeh, September 1967, p.37
 62. 'Kingdom of the Younger Brother' is a prose poem consists of two uneven episodes. The 1st episode has 16 lines on the printed text, while the 2nd episode has only 2 short lines. The first episode is inter-twined with statements in brackets. In The Anthology of Guan Guan's Poetry (Guan Guan shixuan), Taiwan: Hong Fan shudian, January 1986, pp.47-49
 63. Ya Xian, The Anthology of Ya Xian's Poetry (Ya Xian shixuan), Chengdu: Szechuan wenyi chubanshe, February 1987, p.104
 64. Ibid. (1)
 65. Dai Tian, 'Thoughts from Listening to Buddha', in DTR, pp.37-38
 66. Dai Tian, 'Autumn', in DTR, pp.49-50
 67. Tong Guizhang arr., Complete Works of Song Ci (Quan Songci), Beijing: Zhong Hua Bookstore, December 1980, Vol.1, p.2
 68. Su Manshu, 'Occasional Poem, No.1' in Liu Wuchi, Su Man-shu, New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972, p.131
 69. Bian Zhilin, Poems of Ten Years (Shinian shicao), Hong Kong: Weiming shuwu, n. d. pp.199-210
 70. Dai Tian, 'Ten Poems on Kyoto', in DTR, pp.59-66. Many of the buildings like 'The Court of Light Vertex', 'Twin Cities' and 'The Temple of Solitary Canopy' in Dai Tian's poems have the same Chinese names in Japanese writing. There is also the 'Hall of Poets' inscribing 36 Chinese poets from Tang & Song Dynasties. See, Koshiro Yoshiga & others, Zen Temples in Kyoto—The Thought & History, Kyoto: The Tanko-Shiusha, 1961, pp. 101-283
 71. Dai Tian, 'My Chinese Toon Cottage', in DTD, pp.53-55
 72. Zhuang Zi, 'Discussion on Making All things Equal:', in The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, trans. Burton Watson, New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1968 p.49. Chinese philosophy, Buddhism and literature all play parts in the construction of Japanese courts and gardens in Kyoto in the 17th century. The thought of a free and easy wandering state of mind in Zhuang Zi is being pursued in the quiet realm of the Kyoto architectural buildings.
 73. Yu Guangzhong & others ed., A Comprehensive Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, 1950-70: Poetry Vol.2 (Zhongguo xiandai wenxue daixi: shi), Taipei: The Giant, February 1974, pp.205-216
 74. Luo Fu, 'Death in the Stone Chamber', in Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry, Michelle Yeh ed. & trans., New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992, P.89
 75. Jia Dao's two lines cannot be found in the complete works of Jia Dao. It is generally believed that the two lines were not written by Jia. The anecdote was first recorded under the title 'Jia Wuzhi' ('Jia Dao disobeyed the decree') in He Guangyuan's book Jianjielu (Record of warnings) of the Hou Shu (Later Shu, 919-925) period. It was also recorded in Sui Tang jiahua (Fine Words from the Sui & Tang). in Ci Hai (Dictionary), ed. Shu Xincheng & others, Hong Kong: Zhong Hua, 1992, p.582. The two lines are translated by Pang Bingjun, John Minford with Sean Golden, in 100 Modern Chinese Poems, Pang Bingjun, John Minford with Sean Golden, ed., & trans., Hong Kong: Commercial Press, August 1987, p217.
 76. Dai Tian, 'Gate in the Moonlight', in 100 Modern Chinese Poems, Pang Bingjun, John Minford with Sean Golden ed., & trans., Hong Kong: Commercial Press, August 1987, pp.216-217.

77. Dai Tian, 'How Laughable' (*Qike buxiao hu*), in Economic Journal, Hong Kong: Economic Journal, 6.10.1991
78. Tai Tien, 'The Severing of the Umbilical Cord', in DTO, pp.97-99
79. Lloyd Haft, Pien Chih-lin: A Study in Modern Chinese Poetry, Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson-USA: Foris Publication, 1983, p.37
80. L.N. Ng interviewing Huang Jundong on Dai Tian, in the office of Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong, 15.1.1992, unpublished.
81. Dai Tian, 'Stone Court' in DTR, pp.67-70
82. Dai Tian, 'Stone Garden' in Chinese Pen Quarterly, Nancy Ing Chang trans. & edit., Taipei: Chinese P.E.N. Autumn 1975, 78-80
83. Dai Tian, 'A Child's Fable', *ibid.* (83), p.76
84. Dai Tian. 'Oh! I am a Bird', in DTR, pp.125-128
85. The painting of 'Chant while Walking of the Song and Yuan Periods' cannot be found in Illustrated Catalogue of Selected works of Ancient Chinese Painting & Calligraphy, Huang Ji ed., China: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987, or in Complete Collection of Chinese Arts, Wang Jingxian ed., Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989.
86. Xin Qiji. 'Tune: "The Moon over the West River"—Written at Random' in 100 Tang & Song Ci Poems, Xu Yuan-zhong trans. & edit., Hong Kong: Commercial Press, October 1990, pp.208-209
87. Dai Tian. 'Dance by Cloud Gate Dance Troupes' in DTR, pp.75-81
88. Deng Kunyan, 'Lin Huaimin in A Dream of Red Mansions' (*Hongloumeng li de Lin Huaimin*), in The Nineties, Hong Kong: The Nineties Monthly, July 1994, pp.6-9
89. Xu Zhonglin. 'Nei Zha transformed from the Lotus Flower' (*Nei Zha xian lianhua huashen*), in The Romance of the Conferment of Gods, Hong Kong: Ming Liang Bookstore, n.d. Chapter 14, pp.127-137
90. Dai Tian. 'Zhu Ming' in DTR, pp.83-93
91. Dai Tian. 'This Pair of Hands' in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, July 1983, no.211, p.41
92. Dai Tian. 'Chattering', in DTR, pp.19-22
93. Dai Tian. 'As the Right', in DTR, pp.45-46
94. Dai Tian. 'A Piece of Diary', in DTR, pp.119-120
95. Dai Tian. 'Selling of Heads' in DTR, pp.171-172
96. Dai Tian. 'A Sprinting Zebra', in DTR, pp.97-99
97. Dai Tian. 'To A Mountaineer' in DTR, pp.177-178
98. Huang Weiliang. Xianggang wenxue chutan, Hong Kong: Wah Hon Publishing Co., 1988, pp.80-81
99. Dai Tian. 'This is a Rotten Apple', in DTR, pp.101-103
100. Chen Tao, 'Long Xi hang' (Journey to Long Xi), in Appreciation & Commentary on Tang Poetry—On Both Sides of the River (*Jiangnan jiangbei*), Wu Hongyi ed., Taipei: Long Bridge, 20.12.1976, pp.198-199
101. Dai Tian, 'The Kite', in DTR, pp.105
102. *Ibid.* (79), p.41
103. *Ibid.* (79), p.62
104. Joseph S.M. Lau and Howard Goldblatt ed., The Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995, pp. 551-552
105. 'The Tao that is utterable/Is not the eternal Tao;/The name that is namable/Is not the eternal Name./The Nothingness is the name of the beginning of heaven and earth./The Being (substance) is the name of the mother of all things.', In Lao Zi, The Book of Tao & Teh, Gu Zhengkun trans., Beijing: Peking University Press, 1995, p.59
106. *Ibid.* (104), p.551
107. Dai Tian, 'Melon Grows on Trees', in DTD, pp.91-93

108. Dai Tian, 'Pose', in DTR, pp.179-180
109. Dai Tian, 'To A Mountaineer', in DTR, p.181
110. Dai Tian, 'The Fossil Says', in DTR, p. 181
111. All the dates of writing and publishing of Dai Tian's poems in this collection are deleted. The dates of writing of these poems are found from the original sources where the poems are first published.
112. Dai Tian, 'Two Glasses of Wine', in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong: Ming Pao. October, 1980, Vol.15, no.10, p.68
113. The concept of 'Cultural China' is first promoted by scholars and writers like Yu Yingshi and Dai Tian in the mid 80s. See, 'Special Pages on Chinese Thoughts and Feelings' (Zhongguo qinghuai zhuan), in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, June 1985, Vol.20, No.6 (234), pp.3-14. The Princeton Chinese Society and Harvard Confucian Society recently co-organized a seminar on 'Cultural China' at the Princeton campus on May 4-5, 1994. Participants included Liu Binyan, Yu Yingshi, Perry Link, Li Zehou, Hu Ping, Du Weiming and others. See, Minzhu Zhongguo (Democratic China), Princeton: Minzhu Zhongguo zazhishe, July 1994, No.22, pp.5-33
114. Dai Tian, 'Condolence to An Era--In Commemoration of Father' in DTS, pp.3-5
115. Dai Tian, 'Pick up the Pen of Yangtze River' in DTS, pp.19-22
116. Dai Tian, 'Four Poems on Yangtze River', in DTS, pp.23-27
117. Dai Tian, 'Through the Needle-eye of Customs' in DTS, pp. 85-88
118. Dai Tian, 'Light Touches on Beijing', in DTS, pp.89-94, 100-104
119. Ibid. (79), p.51
120. Percy Bysshe Shelly (1792-1822), 'Ode to the West Wind', in A Book of English Poetry, collected by G.B. Harrison, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965, pp.303-305
121. Du Fu, 'The Temple of the Prime Minister of Shu', in Tu Fu, trans. Wu Juntao, Shaanxi: Shaanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1985, pp.164-165
122. Dai Tian, 'Sketches on Beijing', in DTS, pp.105-110
123. Du Fu, 'Reflections in the Autumn, Eight Poems' No.4, ibid. (121), pp.278-280
124. Dai Tian, 'Great Wall--The Ladder', 'On the South and North sides of Mountain Jing' & 'Selling Peaches' in DTS, pp.95-99, 111-116
125. Du Jian, 'Interview with Dai Tian, in Reader's Companion--A Book-review Monthly, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., No.18, December 1985, pp.49-57
126. Zhou Liangpei, 'Epilogue' in DTA, p.133
127. 'Portraits of the Eight Eccentrics' and 'Ink Plays' are not collected in Dai Tian's collection of poems. 'Ink Plays' is published in Ming Pao Monthly, August 1985, No.236, pp.10-11, 'An Account of Viewing' can be found in DTS, pp.35-38
128. David R. Knechtges, Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982, Vol.1, p.2
129. Lafcadio Hearn wrote: 'In preparing the legends, I sought especially for weird beauty; and I could not forget this striking observation in Sir Walter Scott's 'Essay on Imitation of the Ancient Ballad'. The supernatural, though appealing to certain powerful emotions very widely and deeply sown amongst the human race, is, nevertheless, a spring which is peculiarly apt to lose its elasticity by being too much pressed upon.'" Lafcadio Hearn, Some Chinese Ghosts, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1887, Preface, p.1
130. The first four poems of the 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' were published simultaneously in Taiwan and Hong Kong in 1985. However, the title used in Hong Kong is 'Imitation on Ancient Excursions', and the one used in Taiwan is 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. As readers will find when examining

the poems closely, it is more appropriate to call the cycle 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions'. This is what Dai Tian did when the latter four poems were published.

131. Dai Tian, 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions No.1-4', in United Daily News (Lianhe ribao) Taiwan: United Press, 1985
132. Sima Qian was born in about 140 B.C. His father was the court astrologer and historian, Sima Qian succeeded him to this post. His Records of the Historian is the first general Chinese history. See, Herbert A Giles, A History of Chinese Literature. London: William Heinemann, 1900, pp.102-108
133. This line comes from Du Fu's poem 'Looking at Mountain Tai': 'The home-coming birds would lure my staring eye', as translated by Wu Juntao. *Ibid.*, (121), pp.2-3
134. The three kings lived in the Chinese mythical history. They were born 550,000 years after Pan Gu. The King of Heaven and the King of Earth each lived 18,000 years of age, the King of Men lived 15,600 years. The five emperors existed in the legendary period between 23 to 27 B.C. See, Bai Yang, An Outline History of Chinese (Zhongguoren shigang), Taipei: Xingguang chubanshe, Vol.1, pp.56-77
135. Feng Yuanjun (1900-1974), An Outline History of Classical Chinese Literature, Yang Xianyi & Gladys Yang trans., Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., 1988, p.53
136. Du Fu, 'Looking at Mountain Tai'. *Ibid.*, (121), pp.2-3
137. Wang Jing, The Story of Stone: Intertextuality, Ancient Chinese Stone Lore, and the Stone Symbolism of Dream of the Red Chamber, Water Margin & The Journey to the West, Durham & London: Duke University press, 1992, p.66
138. Du Fu, 'On the Gate Tower of Gun', in Detailed Remarks of Du Shaoling's Poems (Du Shaoling ji xiangzhu) remarks by Qiu Zhaoao Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, September 1974, Vol.1, pp.3-5
139. Du Fu, 'Inscribing for Zhang's Recess'. *Ibid.*, (121), pp.5-7
140. Zheng Chouyu, 'Error', in Anthology of Zheng Chouyu's Poems (Zheng Chouyu shi xuanji) Taiwan: Zhiwen chubanshe, 1977, p.115
141. Du Fu, 'Tour the South Lake with Chief Clerk Xu of City Ren'. *Ibid.*, (121), p9
142. Du Fu, 'To Li Bai'. *Ibid.*, (121), pp. 24-26
143. Du Fu, 'Accompanying Li Beihai Banqueting at Lixia Kiosk'. *Ibid.*, (121), pp.21-22
144. Huang Jichi, 'Postscript: On Dai Tian's recent writing "Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions" and Others' (*Houji: du Dai Tian jinzuo ni ganggu hang ji qita*) in DTS, p.186. Huang Jichi wrote to me saying that Yu Guangzhong had tried to combine the classical and contemporary quotations to formulate some of his poetry structure since the publication of Associations of the Lotus. 20.3.1997, letter unpublished.
145. Dai Tian, 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions No.5', in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, No.241, January 1986, p.57
146. The official term 'new wave literature' (*chaotao wenxue*), is more popularly known as 'literature of the wounded' (*shanghen wenxue*) after the story The Wounded (Shanghen) by Lu Xinhua (1954-). See Bennett Lee, 'Introduction', in The Wounded—New Stories of the Cultural Revolution 77-78, Hong Kong: Joint Publications, 1979, p.3
147. Dai Tian, 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions' No.6, 7 & 8, in Ming Pao Monthly, No.250, October 1986, pp.47-48
148. Du Fu, 'Coming Across Li Guinian in Jiangnan'. *Ibid.*, (138), Vol.23, pp.77-78
149. The 'old elders' and the 'new youths' come from Du Fu's poem 'Stating Thoughts on the Upper River' (*Shangshui qianhuai*). *Ibid.*, (138), Vol.22, pp.23-24, also see (154).

150. 'Emerald tiles' and 'golden stalks' come from Du Fu's poem 'Pay Homage to the Temple of the Ancestral Emperor at the North of Luo Yang City in a Winter Day' (*Dongri Luocheng bei ye Xuanyuan huangdi miao*), while 'But there is the fear mountains and rivers are impotent, and cannot uphold glories of embroidered household' and 'The sun and moon are dim, kingly aura diminished gradually from the carved beams' are quoted in inversions from the same poem. *Ibid.*, (138), Vol.2, pp.51-54
151. The 'floating cloud' is used to denote the writing style of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy.
152. The mastery of Zhang Xu's cursive calligraphy is mentioned in several of Du Fu's poems, the most well-known one is 'Ode to the Eight Bacchanals' (*Yinzhong baxian ge*). *Ibid.*, (138), Vol.2, pp.46-49
153. Emperor Ling of Han Dynasty (circa. 168 AD) vested his power with the eunuchs, he built the Naked Bath Pavilion to bathe with the naked courtesans. They played the tune 'zhaoshang' in order to invite the cool breeze. See, Fan Ye, 'Biography of the Late Emperor Ling' (*Kao Lingdi ji*), in *Later History of Han (Hou Hanshu)*, Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1971, chapter 8, pp.327-366. The Yellow Turban Uprising marked the beginning of the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty.
154. Cao Zijian, precocious son of Cao Cao (155-220), was a contemporary of the Seven Poets of the Jian An Period. Cao Zijian is regarded as the best of these poets. The line denotes the life long separation between brothers. See Chen Shou, 'The Book of Wei No.19: Cao Zhi' (*Weishu shijiu: Chensiwang Zhi*), in *History of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo zhi)*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, December 1959, vol.19, pp.557-577. 'Old elders', 'new youths' and 'loses his way and direction' come from Cao Zijian's poem 'Farewall to the Yings, No.1', (*Song Ying shi, qiyi*). See, Ding Ying ed., *Anthology of Chinese Poetry in Past Dynasties (Zhongguo lidai shixuan)*, Taipei: Hong ye shuju, January 1971, pp.224-225
155. Yuan Haowen was the most outstanding poet under the Golden Tartars and the Yuan Dynasty. His poems described the rugged scenery and the hardship of the peasants during the Mongols attacked the Golden Tartars. The line 'So grieved that no picture can be drawn' (*Yipian shangxin hua bucheng*) appeared in several of his poems. See, He Xinhui, *The Research on Yuan Haowen's Poetry and Ci Poems (Yuan Haowen shi ci yanjiu)*, Beijing: Zhongguo funü chubanshe, 1990, pp.31-32. Also see, Tuo Tuo and others, 'Biography No.64: Yuan Haowen' (*Liezhuan di liushisi: Yuan Haowen*), in *The History of Jin (Jin shi)*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, July 1975, vol.126, pp.2,742-2,743. 'With tearful eyes plays the zither' and 'discourses on the hemp-reeden soil' come from Yuan Haowen's poem 'Luoyang' (*Luoyang*). See, *Annotation of Yuan Yishan's Poems (Yuan Yishan shizhu)* in *Essential References of the Four Divisions (Sibu beiyao)*, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, n.d. 'The Miscellaneous Division' (*Jibu*), book 4, vol. 9 p.23. It was recorded in the history of the Jin period that a cruel general used hemp-reeden soil to build the city wall. If an awl could pierce into the city wall for one inch, the workman would be killed and buried with the hemp-reeden soil as materials building the city wall.
156. Du Muzhi was a lesser poet in the Tang Dynasty, he was famous for his *jue ju* in seven words. His comments and articles on current affairs were sympathetic with the poor, his comment on the disastrous conflict of the partisan and factions in Eastern Han Dynasty was used by Dai Tian to disparage the same disaster in the Tang Dynasty. See, Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, 'Biography No.91: Du Mu' (*Liezhuan jiushiyi: Du Mu*), in *The New History of Tang (Xin Tangshu)*, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, February 1975, vol.166, pp.5,093-5,097
157. The 'Seven Scholars of the Chien-An Period', or called the 'Seven Poets of the Jian An Period' was headed by Wang Can (Wang Ts'an, 177-217). These seven poets,

- growing up at the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty, succeed in describing the reality of the society at their time. The 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove', headed by Liu Ling in the 3rd century A.D., were engaged in drinking, Taoism and practising alchemy. These sages distant themselves from politics and engaged in pure talks. Ibid., (132), p.119, pp.125-128
158. 'Five Sighs Song' (*Wuyi ge*) was composed by Liang Hong (dates unknown) in the Eastern Han period. When Liang Hong passed by Luo Yang, he compared the magnificence of the palaces to the difficult life of the commons, the emperor was furious with the poem, and Liang Hong had to change his name and lived in seclusion. See, Ding Ying ed., *Anthology of Chinese Poetry in Past Dynasties (Zhongguo lidai shixuan)*, Taipei: Hong ye shuju, January 1971, p.112
159. *The Analytical Dictionary of Characters* originally had 15 chapters, a total of 10,516 words. Xu Shen was the first Chinese lexicographer and his book is classic in the research of the origin of Chinese characters.
160. 'Kalpa' (*Jiebo*), in Sanskrit, means time. See, *The Grand Dictionary of Buddhist Light (Fuguang daicidian)*, Gaoxiong: Fuguang chubanshe, December 1988, p.2,811
161. There were more than 3,600 stone inscriptions and dedication to pose sculptures from the Dragon Gate Caves, these are the classic examples in Chinese calligraphy.
162. 'Virtuous kingdom' (*Ligou guo*), in Sanskrit is 'Vita-mala', which means away from the dirt of trouble, 'vita-mala' is the adjective for 'dharmacaksu'. Ibid., (160), p.6,716
163. 'Denunciation Against Empress Wu' (*Tao Wu Zhao xi*) was written by Luo Binwang (640?-?), one of the Four Great Poets of Early Tang. He was imprisoned by Empress Wu for criticizing her policies, but Empress Wu highly appreciated his talent in writing the denunciation. See, 'Biography No.126: Luo Binwang' (*Liezhuan yierliu: Luo Binwang*), ibid. (156), Vol.201, pp.5,742-5,743
164. The 'purified abode' (*Sejiujingtian*), in Sanskrit is 'Akanistha', which means the purified abode of the saints. Dai Tian here played with the Chinese words to disparage the falsified acts of Empress Wu to enthrone herself. Ibid., (160), p.1,150
165. *The Sutra of Great Cloud (Taiyunjing)*, in Sanskrit is 'Mahāmegha-Sutra', which contains the methodology of studying to Buddhism. When Wu Zetian changed the reign of Tang to Zhou, she ordered the monks to falsify the *Taiyunjing*, telling the world that she was the new born Buddha to replace the Tang Dynasty. Ibid., (160), p.757, pp.6,422-6,423
166. 'The living world' (*Yanfuti*), in Sanskrit is 'Jambu-dvipa' which means the human world. 'Jambu-dvipa' is the transliteration of 'Jambu-dīpa', jambu = tree and dipa = continent. Ibid., (160), p.6,337
167. When Buddha began to talk about the *Sutra of Dharma and Flower*, he was in a peaceful state of mind, i.e. 'samadhi' in Sanskrit, and flowers were falling from the sky. Ibid., (160), p.580, p.3,699
168. 'Vairocana Buddha' (*Lushena dafu*), in Sanskrit 'Vairocana' means the transfiguration of Buddha's body, to shed light to the mass. Ibid., (160), p.3,858
169. Wu Zetian donated her face-powder money to build the 'Vairocana Buddha', the Buddha was imitating the styles of the Northern Wei Dynasty, in which the whole body of the sculpture was in gilt. See, the 'Original Records No.4: Empress Wu Zetian' (*Benji disi: Zetian shunsheng Wu huanghou*), ibid. (156), Vol.4, pp.81-105. However, the gilt was all peeled off in the course of time, only an inconspicuous stroke was still visible on the left eye socket.
170. In order to divide the power of the Prime Minister, Wu Zetian used some scholars of her own to assist in the daily administration of the country affairs. Those appointed scholars had to wait at the North Gate for their Imperial duties, hence they were

called 'North Gate Scholars'. See, Hara, M., Tan Jishan trans., 'North Gate Scholars' (*Beimen xueshi*), in *Wu Zetian (Wu Zetian)*, Beijing: Zhongguo youyi chubanshe, October 1985, Book 2, pp.284-285. Here, Dai Tian condemned those 'North Gate Scholars' who had become the tool of the regime in supporting falsification, hypocrisy and injustice. The term is also used in Dai Tian's other poems to denounce the followers of Jiang Qing.

171. 'Breath' (*xi*), in Sanskrit is 'Prāna', means the energy of life, expressed by the faculties of speech, sight and hearing. Ibid. (160), p.2,937. 'The fate of destruction' (*huaijie*), in Sanskrit is 'Samvarta-kalpa', is divided in 20 stages. The last kalpa is the destruction of the world, natural disasters in the sequence of fire, water and wind, will follow one another. Ibid. (160), pp.554-555, pp.1,694-1,695. Here, Dai Tian disarranged the sequence as fire, wind and water.
172. 'Non-constancy' (*Wuchang*), in Sanskrit is 'Anitya', which means brief and capricious. Ibid., (160), p.4,531
173. 'Accomplishment, permanence, decay and emptiness' (*Cheng zhu huai kong*), are the four kalpa in Buddhism denoting the basic viewpoint of births, changes and deaths. Ibid., (160), p.2,922
174. Dai Tian, 'Imitation of Ballads on Ancient Excursions No.8', in *Ming Pao Monthly*, No.250, October 1986, p.48
175. Huang Jichi, 'Postscript: On Dai Tian's recent writing 'Imitating the Ballad of Ancient Excursion' and Others' in *DTS*, p.185
176. Huang Jundong, 'On Dai Tian', interviewed by L.N.NG, in the office of Ming Pao Monthly, 15.1.1992, unpublished.
177. Yu Guangzhong's poems like 'The Fleeting of River Xiang—Monologue of Du Fu in the Boat before his Death' (*Xiang shi*), 'Reading Dongpo at Night' (*Yedu Dongpo*), 'Teasing Li Bai' (*Xi Li Bai*), 'Looking for Li Bai' (*Xun Li Bai*) & 'Thinking of Li Bai' (*Nian Li Bai*) can be found in his collection of poems *Kannon Bodhisattva across the Sea, (Geshui guanyin)* Taipei: Hong Fan, 1983, pp.1-14, pp.51-61, Yu Guangzhong has written a postscript in the book on his search of Chinese history and culture.
178. Dai Tian, *DTS*, pp.119-142
179. The title of the poem 'Portraits of Mustache Fleas' is borrowed from the title *Inside & Outside Karl Marx's Mustache (Zai Ma Kesi de huxu congzhong he huxu congwai)*, a collection of prose by Dong Qiao, Hong Kong: Su Yeh, 1982
180. Lin Zaishan is the daughter of Lin Hangzhi who is the proprietor of the *Economic Journal* and *Economic Journal Monthly* in Hong Kong. Lin Zaishan graduated from Cambridge University in the 90s.
181. *Fable for Adults (Chengren de tonghua)* was the title of Xu Xu's essay collection published in 1940. Xu Xu, *Fable for Adults*, Shanghai: Yechuang shuwu, 1940.
182. Dai Tian, 24 Fables are published in *DTS*, pp.41-81
183. Victoria Kingston, *Simon & Garfunkel—The Definite Biography*, London: Pan Books, 1997, p.66. '7 O'clock News/Silent Night', was the last song in Simon & Garfunkel's 3rd album *Parsley Sage Rosemary & Thyme*, CBS, November 1966
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185. Bian Zhilin, *Poems of Ten Years (Shinian shicao)*, Hong Kong: Weiming shuwu, n. d. 216p.
186. Hsu Kai-yu, *Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry*, New York: Doubleday, Garden City, 1963, p.151
187. Ibid. (184), P.89
188. Ibid. (184), p.85
189. Du Fu, 'On the Tower', in *Tu Fu*, trans. Wu Juntao, Shaanxi: Shaanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1985, pp.244-245

- 190.Hsu Kai-yu, Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry, New York: Doubleday, Garden City, 1963, p.159
- 191.Bian Zhilin, 'The Composition of Distances'. *Ibid.*, (69), pp.85-86
- 192.Dai Tian, 'An Account of Viewing' in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, No.227, November 1984, p.31
- 193.Bian Zhilin, 'Fragment'. *Ibid.*, (69), p.33
- 194.Bian Zhilin, The History of Carving Insects (*Diaochong jili*), Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., August 1982, p.7
- 195.*Ibid.*(1)
- 196.Dai Tian, 'The Face of Meizi' in DTR, pp.55-56

Footnotes: Chapter 4

1. G. B. Endacott, Government & People in Hong Kong 1841-1962, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1964, p.229
2. Ambrose Yeo-chi King, 'Administrative absorption of politics in Hong Kong: Emphasis on the grass roots level', in Social life & Development in Hong Kong, Ambrose Y. C. King & Rance P.C. Lee edit., Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1981, pp.131-132
3. T.C. Cheng , 'Chinese Unofficial Members of the Legislative & Executive Councils in Hong Kong up to 1941', in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch, Hong Kong, 1971, pp.7-30
4. Laurence L. C Chan, 'The size & profile of poverty in Hong Kong', in Hong Kong: Dilemmas of growth, edit. Leung Chi-keung, J. W. Cushman, Wang Gunwu, Australia & Hong Kong: Research School of Pacific Studies, Australia National University & the Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1980, p.503
5. By the end of 1960, wages levels were roughly 15% higher than 12 months before, normal daily wages for daily rated workers ranged between \$8-\$21 for skilled workers, \$4.5-\$9 for semi-skilled and \$3-\$7 for the unskilled worker. In 1961, the total population of Hong Kong was 3,133,131, 1,610,650 males and 1,522,481 females. The population in 1962 increased to 3,526,500. For the year 1959-60, the actual revenue was \$664,635,001, the expenditure being \$709,953,996. For the year 1960-61, the actual revenue was \$859,234,131, while expenditure was \$845,297,629. In 1961-62, the actual revenue was \$1,030,447,880, and the expenditure was \$953,205,237. The actual revenue for 1962-63 was \$1,253,064,583 and the expenditure was \$1,113,276,099. And in 1963-64, the actual revenue was \$1,393,871,322 and the expenditure was \$1,295,372,841. In Hong Kong Annual Report, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Press, 1961-1965
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7. Ibid. (6), p.22
8. Margaret Thatcher, The Downing Street Years, London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993, pp.259-262, 488-495
9. see Elsie Elliott, The Avarice Bureaucracy & Corruption of Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Avant Garde Bookshop, 1971 and Crusade for Justice, Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd. n. d.
10. Dai Tian, 'Looking Horizontally', in DTR, pp.15-17
11. Dai Tian, 'Chattering', in DTR, pp.19-21
12. Leung Ping-kwan, Modern Hong Kong Poetry: 'Negotiation of Cultures & the Search of Identity', in Modern Chinese Literature, Boulder: Department of Asian Languages & Literature, University of Colorado at Boulder, Fall 1996, Vol.9 No.2, pp.236-238
13. Kunnan, 'Direction of the Flag', in Cape of Good Hope, Hong Kong: Modern Arts and Literature Association, 20.5.1963, Vol.6, p.3
14. Dai Tian, 'The Story of the Stone', in DTR, pp.107-110
15. The leftists presumed that Hong Kong would surrender following the example of the Portuguese Government giving up Macao under similar circumstances earlier. It was only the decision of Premier Zhou En-Lai that prevented the 'liberation' of Hong Kong.
16. Dai Tian, 'The Story of the Stone', in The Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, pp.550-551

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23. Feng Yuanjun, An Outline History of Classical Chinese Literature, Yang Xianyi & Gladys Yang trans., Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1983, p.107
24. Lo Fu, 'The Story of the Stone', in Monstrous Songs (Mo ge), Taipei: Zhongwai wenxue yuekanshe, National Taiwan University Foreign Language Department, December 1974, pp.160-161
25. Wang Jing, The Story of Stone: Intertextuality, Ancient Chinese Stone Lore, and the Stone Symbolism of Dream of the Red Chamber, Water Margin & The Journey to the West, Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1992, p.173
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31. Dai Tian, 'The Story of May 4th', in DTD, pp.128-129
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33. Dai Tian, 'The Snake', in DTR, pp.129-151
34. Lloyd Haft, Pien Chih-Lin—A Study in Modern Chinese Poetry, Dordrecht - Holland/Cinnaminson - USA: Foris Publications, 1983, p.23
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38. Helen Vendler, Part of Nature, Part of Us, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980, p.85
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44. More examples of fallacy in Chinese & English languages used in Hong Kong can be found in Hugh Baker's 'Dan Ger', in Hong Kong Images, People & Animals, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1990, pp.160-163
45. Arthur Brittan, Masculinity & Power, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, p.62
46. Dai Tian, 'The Cloth-hanger', in DTD, pp.26-29
47. Jean-Francois Destexhe, 'Hong Kong & 1997: The facts', in Coping with 1997—The Reaction of the Hong Kong People to the Transfer of Power, ed. Werner Menski, England: Trentham Books, 1995, p.38
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50. Nei Zha returned his flesh and bone to his father as repayment for the upbringing, *ibid.* Chapter 3, footnote (89). The repayment of tears by the fairy god, who was transformed from a plant, for the debt of watering is the conception of A Dream of the Red Mansions. See, Cao Xueqin. Zhiyanzhai zhongping Shitouji (Comments of the Rogue Chamber on The Story of the Stone). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, December 1973, chapter 1, pp.9-10
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52. Cited from Robert Cottrell, The End of Hong Kong—The Secret Diplomacy of Imperial Retreat, London: John Murray, 1993, p.32
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54. Huang Zunxian, 'Hong Kong', in Renditions—Special Issue: Hong Kong, No.29 & 30, 1988, p.63. Huang Zunxian was a Counsellor in the Chinese Consulate in London between 1890-1892. T.C. Lai, the son of Lai Jixi, was Director of Extra Mural Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong from 1965 until his retirement in 1985.
55. Wen Yiduo, 'Two Poems', in Renditions—Special Issue: Hong Kong, No.29 & 30, 1988, pp.65-66.
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57. Li Ao never completed his studies in universities, he was influenced by Hu Shi advocated for complete Westernization of Chinese culture. A shrewd and prolific writer and imprisoned by Taiwan government in 1971. Qiong Yao was the pen name of Chen Zhe. Born in Sichuan and raised in Taiwan. She wrote more than 40 romantic novels which were best sellers in Taiwan & Hong Kong throughout the 60s & 70s. Her novels became popular in Mainland China in the early 90s.
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62. Chen Yingzhen was born in Taiwan. He first published his short stories in 1959. A strong supporter of the Nativist movement in Taiwan in 1977. Wang Tuo was born in Taiwan. He was once a fisherman and a worker, graduated from Taiwan Normal University in 1968. Wang Tuo first published his short story in 1973. Also see Yu Tiancong (1935-) ed. Anthology of Discussions on Nativist Literature (*Xiangtu wenxue tolunji*), Taipei: Yuan Jing, April, 1978, 850p.
63. 'The 3 Dialogues between Jiang Zemin and Shen Junshan' (*Jiang Zemin yu Shen Junshan de sanci tanhua*), in The Nineties, Hong Kong: Going Fine Ltd., August 1996, No.319, p.88. The talks took place in Beijing between December 1990 to February 1992, the length of the record is about 50,000 words. Also see Xu Jiatur (1915-), 'Trial Discussion on Peaceful Evolution' (*Shilun heping yanjin*), in Memoir of Xu Jiatur in Hong Kong (*Xu Jiatur Xianggang huiyilu*), Taipei: Lianjing, June 1984, pp.518-537.
64. Ibid. (60), p. 1
65. Dai Tian, 'Oh! I am a Bird' in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, No.52, April 1970, pp.34-35
66. Michelle Yeh, Modern Chinese Poetry: Theory & Practice since 1917, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991, p.91
67. Ibid. (60), pp.10-11
68. Ibid. (66), p.92
69. Liu Yichang ed., Brief Biographies of Hong Kong Literature Writers, pp.142-144
70. Dai Wangshu, 'With my Maimed Hand', in Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry, Michelle Yeh ed. & trans., New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1972, pp.35-36. Changbai Mountain is in Liaoning province.
71. Dai Tian, 'This Pair of Hands', in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong, July 1983, No.211, p.41. Taishan Mountain is in Shandong, Hengshan Mountain in Hunan, Huashan Mountain in Shaanxi, Hengshan Mountain in Shanxi and Songshan Mountain in Henan.
72. Dai Tian, 'Comments & Remarks on Cultural Revolution' in DTS, pp.145-157. For more details on the Cultural Revolution, see Yen Chia-chi (Yan Jiaqi) and Kao Kao, The Ten-Year History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, trans. and published in Taipei: Institute of Current Chinese Studies, December 1988
73. 'Gang of Four' is led by Jiang Qing, 3rd wife of Mao Zedong from 1939, Zhang Chunqiao (1917-), Wang Hungwen and Yao Wenyuan (1931-). While in Shanghai in 1963-65, Jiang Qing masterminded the attack on Wu Han that set off the Cultural Revolution. The gang of four attempted to seize power on Mao's death, and were arrested within a month of Mao's death on 6th October 1976. Jiang Qing was sentenced to death penalty with 2 years suspension, she committed suicide after being released for medical treatment in 1984. See The Gang of Four: First Essays After the Fall, ed. Steve S. K. Chin, Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong 1977
74. Starting from August 18th to November 26th 1966, The 'Great Helmsman' Mao Tse-tung and Lin Biao on 8 occasions had viewed in total over 11 million Red guards in Tiananmen Square.
75. English historian John Emerich Edward Dalbert-Acton (1834-1902) wrote to Cambridge University Professor Mandell Creighton in 1870. Lord Acton was a liberal Roman Catholic and a leader of the opposition to the papal dogma of infallibility.

76. Yen Chia-chi and Kao Kao, The Ten-Year History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, trans. and published in Taipei: Institute of Current Chinese Studies, December 1988, pp.361-362
77. Ye Wenfu's poem 'General, Cannot do It Like This' (*Jiangjun, buneng zheyang zuo*) was published in Poetry (Shi kan) N0.8, 1979. Ye was then publicly criticized by Deng Xiaoping. Two of Ye's poems were published in Poetry in February 1985, but little was known about Ye since his disappearance in 1979. See, The Nineties, Hong Kong: Going Fine Ltd., March 1985, No.182, p.11
78. Bei Dao, The August Sleepwalker, trans. & intro., Bonnie S. McDougall, London: Anvil Press, 1988, p.13
79. In Jiang Zemin's eulogy to Deng Xiaoping, See Sing Pao Daily News, Hong Kong: Sing Pao, 26.2.1997, p.A5
80. See 'Special Issue: Beijing Incident—Details of the Massacre', The Nineties, Hong Kong: Going Fine Ltd., 16.6.1989
81. Dai Tian, 'The Damned Black Hand', in A Starless Night in June—an Anthology of Poems, (Suiran naye wuxing) ed. Li Haihua & Li Shujie, Hong Kong: Breakthrough Ltd., May 1990, p.114
82. Dai Tian, 'Time Train' in The Nineties, Hong Kong: Going Fine Ltd., February 1990, No.241, p.20
83. 'Blood-dyed Gallantry' (*Xueran de fengcai*), Music by Su Tie, Words by Chen Zhe, the most popular song sung in the Tiananmen Students' Demonstration in 1989. It is a song originally composed during the war with the Vietnamese in February 1979.
84. 'Nothingness' (*Yiwu suoyou*) is composed in April 1986 by Cui Jian (1961-), his rock and roll concerts held in Beijing in the Chinese New Year on 28-29.1.1990 were generally regarded as a snub to the communist regime after the June 4th massacre in 1989. See, Zhao Jianwei (1957-) Cui Jian—Shouting in Nothingness (Cui Jian—yiwu suoyou de nahan), Beijing: Beijing Normal University Publishing Society, 1992
85. 'People will never forget' (*Renmin buhui wangji*), a slogan used by the Tiananmen Students' Demonstration 1989. A book of the same name is collectively edited by 64 Hong Kong journalists dedicated to the martyrs and dissidents. People will Never Forget (Renmin buhui wangji), Hong Kong: Hong Kong Press Association, September 1989

Footnotes: Chapter 5

1. Zheng Chouyu, 'Wine Kiosk', in Grow Flower in an Instant (*Shihua shana*), Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., October, 1985, pp.129-130
2. Ibid. (1), pp.163-166
3. Dai Tian, 'The Iowa in Hong Kong', in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong: Economic Journal Daily, 29.12.1991
4. Zhang Mo, 'If Poets Venture in Business', in Central Daily News-International Edition, Taipei: Central Daily News, 2.4.1994, p.5
5. Xu Shixu, 'A Tree of Wind on the Street-To Dai Tian', in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, October 1987, No.34, p.49. Xu received his Ph.D., from Taiwan Normal University in 1963, he is now Professor of Chinese at the University of Foreign Languages in Korea.
6. Fang Ludi, 'To Dai Tian' (*Gei Dai Tian*), in Sing Tao Daily, Hong Kong: Sing Tao, 30.11.1995, p.D3, Fang is a journalist and poet.
7. Xi Xi, 'Fast Food Restaurant', 'Could I Say' and 'Gravel', in Chime Stone (*Shi qing*), Hong Kong: Su Yeh, June 1982, pp.2-3, 4-6, 124-127
8. Gu Cangwu, 'News Commentary', in Hong Kong Realist Poetry at the Present (*Cishi cidi Xianggang xieshishi*), Hong Kong: Chuangjian xuehui, 9.8.1975, pp.25-30
9. Gu Cangwu, 'On Top of the Victoria Peak, At the Bottom of Victoria Peak', in Brass Lotus (*Tong lian*), Hong Kong: Su Yeh, December 1980, pp. 68-71
10. Guan Mengnan, 'Poetry Letter' (*Shi jian*), in Qiu Ying shikan, Hong Kong: Qiu Ying shikan Editorial Board, 30.9.1978, No.21, the *shikan* had only 1 page printed on both sides and not numbered.
11. Most of Li Guowei's poems are collected in his book Only This Life (*Zhiyou jinsheng*), Hong Kong: Publications (Holding) Ltd., March 1991, 250p.
12. Zhong Lingling, 'My Magnificence was in 1919', in My Magnificence (*Wo de canlan*), Hong Kong: Su Yeh, March 1979, pp.1-4
13. Liang Bingjun, 'Hong Kong' (*Xianggang*), in The Thunderbolt & the Cicada Song (*Leisheng yu chanming*), Hong Kong: The Thumb Semi-monthly, August 1978, pp.93-132
14. Leung Ping-kwan, 'Images of Hong Kong' (*Xingxiang Xianggang*), in City at the End of Time, Hong Kong: Twilight, 1992, pp.21-47
15. Leung Ping-kwan, 'At the Temple of the Three Su's', in City at the End of Time, Hong Kong: Twilight, 1992, pp.50-51
16. He Furen, Visits of the Dragon (*Long de fangwen*), Hong Kong: Su Yeh, 1979
17. Qi Ling, 'After the Children's Fun Day in Lan Tian', 'Wrath' & 'On Chung Ying Street', in Second Collection of Qi Ling's Poems (*Qi Ling zaiji*), Hong Kong: Potu, February 1989, pp.46-47, 48, 168-169
18. Xiao Xi, 'The Story of the Stone', in Begin from Nativeness: 15 Younger Hong Kong Poets (*Cong bentu chufa: Xianggang qingnian shiren shiwujia*), Hong Kong: Xiangjiang, March 1997, p.26
19. Zhou Liangpe, 'Epilogue' (*Ji hou*), in DTA, pp.131-132
20. Liu Denghan, 'The Poetry Forums and Poets of Hong Kong in the Eras of 70s & 80s' (*Qibashi niandai de Xianggang shitan he shiren*), in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, May 1997, No.149, p.34
21. Hu Juren was interviewed by me on 14.1.1992 in the office of Pai Shing Semi-monthly in Hong Kong. Unpublished work.
22. Dai Tian, 'Yellow Dust', in 'Special Issue: Hong Kong Literature', in Unitas, Taipei: Unitas, August 1992, No.94, p.130

23. Huang Jundong was interviewed by me on 15.1.1992 at the office of Ming Pao Monthly in Hong Kong. Unpublished work.
24. Du Jian, 'Interview with Dai Tian', in Reader's Companion--A Book-review Monthly, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., No.18, December 1985, pp.49-57
25. Jin Yong was most famous for his Chinese martial art fictions, he was founder of Ming Pao. Hu Juren was the chief editor of Ming Pao Monthly and Pai Shing Semi-monthly, a critic. Lin Shanmu was the founder of Economic Journal Daily and Hong Kong Economic Journal Monthly, an economist.
26. Mark Roberti (1961-), The Fall of Hong Kong--China's Triumph & Britain's Betrayal, New York: John Wiley & Son, Inc., 1994, p.331
27. Bernard Levin, in The Times Magazine, London: The Times Magazine, 19.4.1997, Volume 8 Issue 16, p.8
28. Ibid. (27), p.3
29. Yu Yingshi, "Once Lived in This Mountain, Can't Bear to See it"--On my "Chinese Thoughts & Feelings", ("*Chang qiaoju shishan, buren jianer*"--*tan wode "Zhongguo qinghuai"*"), in Ming Pao Monthly, Hong Kong: Ming Pao, June 1985, Vol.20, No.6 (234), p.3-5
30. Du Yunxie, 'The Feeling of Rambling on St. Diego Seaside', in Hong Kong Literature, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literary Press, January 1997, No.145, p.73
31. Ibid. (14), p.163
32. Dai Tian, 'Globe, Home Country for All Human Beings' (*Deqiu, quanrenlei zuguo*), in Economic Journal Daily, Hong Kong; Economic Journal Daily, 29.4.1996, p.30
33. 'Great Rats, Great Rats', translated by Rewi Alley (1897-) in The People Speak Out (Beijing, 1954), book not found. Quoted from Yang Xianyi & Gladys Yang trans., An Outline History of Classical Chinese Literature, Hong Kong: JPC, August 1988, pp8-9

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The Bibliography is in three parts: (1) Works in Chinese by Dai Tian as sole author or translator; (2) Others works in Chinese; and (3) Works in English language.

(1) Works in Chinese by Dai Tian as sole author or translator:

(A) Books and abbreviations

- Dai Tian. trans. 'Bote duanpian xiaoshuoxuan' (Selection of Katherine Porter's Short Stories). Hong Kong: World To-day Press, publishing date unknown.
- . Dai Tian shixuan (An Anthology of Dai Tian's Poetry) (DTA). Chengdu: Sichuan wenui chubanshe, 1987.
- . Dudu zhezhong niao (Dodo the Bird) (DTD). Hong Kong: Su Yeh, December 1980.
- . Goulou shan lunbian (Debate on Rugged Mountain) (DTR). Taipei: Yuan Jing, July 1980.
- . Shitou de yanjiu (Research of the Stone) (DTS). Taiwan, Dong Dai, December 1987, 191p.
- . trans. 'Yuwang Handexun' (Henderson the Rain King) by Saul Bellow. Hong Kong: World To-day Press, publishing date unknown.
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Appendix A gives the Chinese characters of Chinese names rendered in transcription in the thesis. No characters are given for the Chinese poem titles and from the non-Chinese sources.

Appendix B contains the original text of the poems by Dai Tian. They are mostly arranged in chronological order as discussed in the thesis.

APPENDIX A: CHINESE NAMES

Ai Qing	艾青
Ai Shi	癌石
Ai Wu	艾蕪
Ba Jin	巴金
Bai Chongxi	白崇禧
Bai Yang	柏楊
Bai Juyi	白居易
Bai Xianyong	白先勇
Bei Dao	北島
Bi Shuowang	畢朔望
Bian Zhilin (Pien Chih-lin)	卞之琳
Bing Xin	冰心
Cai Chusheng	蔡楚生
Cai Yanpei (Du Hong)	蔡炎培 (杜紅)
Cai Zhifeng	蔡志峰
Cao Cao	曹操
Cao Jie	曹捷
Cao Juren	曹聚仁
Cao Xueqin	曹雪芹
Cao Zijian (Cao Zhi)	曹子健 (曹植)
Chen Bingliang	陳炳良
Chen Canyon	陳殘雲
Chen Dejin	陳德錦
Chen Hengzhe	陳衡哲
Chen Jianhua	陳建華
Chen Jingrong	陳敬容
Chen Rong	譚容
Chen Ruoxi (Chen Xiumei)	陳若曦 (陳秀美)
Chen Shou	陳壽
Chen Tao	陳陶
Chen Yingzhen	陳映真
Chen Yuxian	陳毓賢
Chen Zhe	陳哲
Chen Ziang	陳子昂
Cheng Bukui	程步奎
Chu Ge (Chu Ke)	楚戈

Cui Jian	崔健
Cui Jiu	崔九
Da Huang (Ta Huang)	大荒
Dai Tian, (Chen Xueluo, Dai Chengyi, He Zhen, Leng Jingrui, Nanlaiyan, Tai Tien, Yu Zhihun, Zhong Daoguan)	戴天 (陳雪落、戴成義、何真、 冷靖銳、南來雁、余之魂、 鍾道觀)
Dai Wangshu	戴望舒
Dai Yi	戴毅
Deng Kunyan	登琨艷
Deng Xiaoping	鄧小平
Ding Ying	丁嬰
Dong Qiao	董橋
Du Fu (Tu Fu, Du Shaoling)	杜甫 (杜少陵)
Du Jian	杜漸
Du Mu (Du Muzhi)	杜牧 (杜牧之)
Du Weiming	杜維明
Du Yunxie	杜運燮
Duo Duo	多多
Fan Shanbiao	樊善標
Fan Ye	范曄
Fang Ezhen	方娥真
Fang Ludi	方蘆荻
Fang Si	方思
Fei Ma	非馬
Fei Ming	廢名
Feng Jicai	馮驥才
Feng Yuanjun	馮沅君
Feng Zhi	馮至
Gao Shi	高適
Gao Zhun	高準
Gu Cheng	顧城
Gu Zhaoshen (Gu Cangwu)	古兆申 (古蒼梧)
Gu Zhengkun	辜正坤
Guan Guan (Kuan Kuan)	管管
Guan Mengnan	關夢南
Guo Danian (Shan Mu, Xi Meng)	郭達年 (珊穆、西蒙)
Hai Mian	海綿
Han Yu	韓愈
Han Ziyun	韓子雲
He Da	何達
He Furen	何福仁
He Guangyuan	何光遠

He Qifang	何其芳
He Xinhui	賀新輝
Hong Qingtian	洪清田
Hong Qiu	洪球
Hong Ye (William Hung)	洪業
Hong Ye	紅葉
Hu Guoxian (Woo Kwok-yin, Ji Yun)	胡國賢 (羈魂)
Hu Jinquan (King Hu)	胡金銓
Hu Juren	胡菊人
Hu Ping	胡平
Hu Qingfang (Ray C.F. Foo-kune)	胡清芳
Hu Shi	胡適
Hu Yanqing	胡燕青
Huai Yuan	淮遠
Huang Aoyun	黃傲雲
Huang Chunming	黃春明
Huang Di	黃帝
Huang Guliu	黃谷柳
Huang Guobin (Laurence Wong)	黃國彬
Huang Hua	黃華
Huang Jichi	黃繼持
Huang Jundong	黃俊東
Huang Jinhong	黃錦鉉
Huang Ningying	黃寧嬰
Huang Qi	黃琪
Huang Tianshi	黃天石
Huang Weiliang	黃維樑
Huang Xiang	黃襄
Huang Yong	黃用
Huang Zunxian	黃遵憲
Ji Xian	紀弦
Jia Baoyu (Chia Pau-yu)	賈寶玉
Jia Dao	賈島
Jiang He	江河
Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek)	蔣介石
Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching)	江青
Jiang Zemin	江澤民
Jin Bingxing	金炳興
Jin Daixi (King Tai-hsi)	金戴熹
Jin Jin	金近
Jin Yong (Louis Cha)	金庸
Kang Baiqing	康白情
Kang Fu	康夫

Kao Kao	高臬
Kong Shangren	孔尚任
Kong Zhao	孔昭
Kunnan (Shum Quanan)	崑南 (岑崑南)
Lai Jixi (Lai Tsi-hsi)	賴際熙
Lai Tianchang (T. C. Lai)	賴恬昌
Lao Zi	老子
Li Ao	李敖
Li An	李安
Li Bai	李白
Li Bixia	黎碧霞
Li Boyuan	李伯元
Li Chigang	黎池剛
Li Guinian	李龜年
Li Guowei	李國威
Li Haihua	黎海華
Li Huachuan	李華川
Li Jianxing	李健興
Li Jinfa	李金髮
Li Jinfeng	李金鳳
Li Kuang (Zheng Jianbai, Baimu)	力匡 (鄭健柏、百木)
Li Ming	黎明
Li Oufan (Leo Ou-fan Lee)	李歐梵
Li Ruiteng	李瑞騰
Li Shujie	李淑潔
Li Su	李素
Li Weiling	李維陵
Li Yi	李怡
Li Yinghao	李英豪
Li Yong (Li Beihai)	李邕 (李北海)
Li Yu (Li Houzhu)	李煜 (李後主)
Li Yuanzhe (Lee Yuan-tseh)	李遠哲
Li Zehou	李澤厚
Li Zida (Lai Fat-fu)	黎子達 (黎發夫)
Liang Bingjun (Leung Ping-kwan, Ye Si)	梁秉鈞 (也斯)
Liang Chun'er (Rosemary Leung)	梁椿兒
Liang Hong	梁鴻
Liang Shiqiu	梁實秋
Liang Wenxing (Wu Xinghua)	梁文星 (吳興華)
Liang Xiaobin	梁小斌
Liao Jianyu (Liauw Kian-djoe)	廖建裕
Lin Biao	林彪
Lin Daiyu	林黛玉
Lin Hangzhi (Lin Shanmu)	林行止 (林山木)

Lin Huaimin	林懷民
Lin Huanzhang	林煥彰
Lin Li'an	林力安
Lin Lin	林林
Lin Ling	林冷
Lin Renchao	林仁超
Lin Tongduan (Nancy T. Lin)	林同端
Lin Taiyi	林太乙
Lin Yiliang (Song Qi, Stephen C. Soong)	林以亮 (宋琪)
Lin Yutang	林語堂
Lin Zaishan	林在山
Liu Bannong	劉半農
Liu Binyan	劉賓雁
Liu Denghan	劉登翰
Liu E	劉鶚
Liu Jiaren	劉嘉仁
Liu Kunyi	劉坤儀
Liu Ling	劉伶
Liu Shaoming (Joseph S.M. Lau)	劉紹銘
Liu Sifen	劉斯奮
Liu Simu	劉思慕
Liu Weicheng	劉偉成
Liu Wuji (Liu Wu-chi)	柳無忌
Liu Yichang	劉以鬯
Liu Zongyuan	柳宗元
Lou Qi	樓棲
Lou Shiyi	樓適夷
Lu Danlin	陸丹林
Lu Di	蘆狄
Lu Ji	陸機
Lu Li	魯藜
Lu Li	陸離
Lu Weiluan (Xiao Si)	盧瑋鑾 (小思)
Lu Xinhua	盧新華
Lu Xun	魯迅
Lu Ya	路雅
Lu Yin	盧因
Lu You	陸游
Lü Lun	侶倫
Lü Shang	呂尚
Luo Binwang	駱賓王
Luo Feng	洛楓
Luo Fu (Lo Fu, Luo Chengxun, Si Wei, Liu Su)	羅孚 (羅成勳、絲韋、柳蘇)
Luo Fu	洛夫
Luo Guixiang	羅貴祥

Luo Huirong (W. W. Lo)	羅匯榮
Luo Men	羅門
Luo Qing	羅青
Luo Zhun	羅隼
Luo Zhuoying	羅卓英
Ma Boliang (Ma Lang, Ronald Mar)	馬博良(馬朗)
Ma Jue	馬覺
Mai Ji'an	麥繼安
Mang Ke	芒克
Mao Dun	茅盾
Mao Xiangqing (Timothy Mo)	毛翔青
Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung)	毛澤東
Mei Xin	梅新
Mei Yici (Feuerwerker Yi-tsi Mei)	梅貽慈
Mian Xin	巧心
Miao Qiyuan	繆啓源
Mo Zhaoru	莫昭如
Mu Shi	木石
Nei Zha	哪吒
Nian Xing	念形
Nie Hualing	聶華苓
Nu Wa (Nu Kua)	女媧
Ou Dadian (Ou Ta-tien)	區大典
Ou Waiou	歐外鷗
Ouyang Xiu	歐陽修
Ouyang Yuqian	歐陽予倩
Ouyang Zi	歐陽子
Pan Ling (Lynn Pan)	潘翎
Pang Bingjun	龐秉鈞
Pei Min	裴旻
Pu Songling	蒲松齡
Pu Ti	菩提
Qi Bangyuan (Chi Pang-yuan)	齊邦媛
Qian Zhongshu	錢鍾書
Qin Quan	覃權
Qin Zihao	覃子豪
Qiong Yao	瓊瑤
Qiu Gangjian	邱剛健
Qiu Jin	秋瑾
Qiu Peihua	邱佩華
Qiu Zhaoao	仇兆鰲
Qu Yuan	屈原

Rong Zi	蓉子
Ruan Xinbang	阮新邦
Ruan Zhixiong (Yuen Che-hung, Wu Lu)	阮志雄 (燕露)
Shang Qin	商禽
Shen Congwen	沈從文
Shen Deqian	沈德潛
Shen Junshan	沈君山
Shi Qi	石琪
Shi Shangyong	施傷勇
Shu Ting	舒婷
Shu Xiangcheng	舒巷城
Shu Xincheng	舒新城
Shun	舜
Sima Qian	司馬遷
Sima Changfeng	司馬長風
Sima Zhongyuan	司馬中原
Song Qi	宋祈
Su An	蘇安
Su Dongpo (Su Shi)	蘇東坡 (蘇軾)
Su Manshu	蘇曼殊
Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen, Sun Zhongshan)	孫逸仙 (孫中山)
Tan Enmei (Amy Tan)	譚恩美
Tan Jishan	譚繼山
Tang Guizhang	唐圭璋
Tang Xiaodu	唐曉渡
Tao Yuanming	陶淵明
Tuo Tuo	脫脫
Wang Can (Wang Ts'an)	王粲
Wang Fumin	王俯民
Wang Gengwu (Wang Gunwu)	王賡武
Wang Hungwen	王洪文
Wang Jiancong	王劍叢
Wang Jiabin	王家新
Wang Jingwei	汪精衛
Wang Lianghe	王良和
Wang Meng	王蒙
Wang Renyun	王仁芸
Wang Tao	王韜
Wang Tuo	王拓
Wang Wenxing	王文興
Wang Wuxie (Wucius Wong)	王無邪
Wang Xizhi	王羲之

Wang Yu	王渝
Wang Zhenhe	王禎和
Wen Jianliu	溫健騮
Wen Ming	溫明
Wen Tianxiang	文天祥
Wen Yiduo	聞一多
Wu Baling	吳灞陵
Wu Daozi	吳道子
Wu Hongyi	吳宏一
Wu Jianren	吳趼人
Wu Jingzi	吳敬梓
Wu Juntao	吳鈞陶
Wu Lunan (Stephen Ng, Ng Lui-nam, Qi Ling)	吳呂南 (乞靈)
Wu Meijun	吳美筠
Wu Ningkun	巫寧坤
Wu Qian	燕茜
Wu Qiwei	吳奇偉
Wu Tiancai (Goh Thean Chye)	吳天才
Wu Tingfang (Ng Choy)	伍庭芳 (吳財)
Wu Wangyao	吳望堯
Wu Xuanren	吳萱人
Wu Xubin	吳煦斌
Wu Zetian	武則天
Wu Zhongxian	吳仲賢
Xi Mi (Michelle Yeh)	奚密
Xi Xi	西西
Xia Ji'an (Hsia Tsi-an)	夏濟安
Xia Qing	夏菁
Xia Zhiqing (C. T. Hsia)	夏志清
Xiang Ming	向明
Xiao Hong (Hsiao Hung)	蕭紅
Xiao Qian	蕭乾
Xiao Shan	蕭珊
Xiao Xi	小西
Xiao Xiao	蕭蕭
Xie Changqing	謝常青
Xin Qiji	辛棄疾
Xin Di	辛笛
Xin Yu	辛鬱
Xiong Hong	龔虹
Xiu Shi	秀實
Xiu Tao (Hsiu Tao)	秀陶
Xu Chi	徐遲
Xu Diqiang	許迪鏘

Xu Dishan (Hsu Ti-shan)	許地山
Xu Hun	許渾
Xu Jiatun	許家屯
Xu Jieyu (Hsu Kai-yu)	許介昱
Xu Shen	許慎
Xu Shixu	許世旭
Xu Su	徐速
Xu Xian	許仙
Xu Xu	徐訏
Xu Yuanzhong	許淵仲
Xu Zhimo	徐志摩
Xu Zhonglin	許仲琳
Xun Qing	迅清
Ya Xian	亞弦
Yan Huo	彥火
Yan Jiaqi (Yen Chia-chi)	嚴家祺
Yan Li	嚴力
Yan Zhanmin	顏展民
Yan Zhang Lanxi (Chang-Ing, Nancy)	殷張蘭熙
Yan Zhenqing	顏真卿
Yang Huan	楊奐
Yang Jiguang (Bei Natai)	楊際光 (貝娜苔)
Yang Lian	楊煉
Yang Mu (Ye Shan, C.H. Wang)	楊牧 (葉珊、王靖獻)
Yang Qinghua	楊清華
Yang Xian	楊弦
Yang Xianyi	楊憲益
Yao	堯
Yao Wenyuan	姚文元
Yao Xueli	姚學禮
Ye Lingfeng	葉靈鳳
Ye Weilian (Yip Wai-lim)	葉維廉
Ye Wenfu	葉文福
Yi Jin	易金
Yin Jiang	飲江
Ying Zi (Chen Bingyuan)	櫻子 (陳炳元)
Yu Dan (Diana Yu)	余丹
Yu Guangzhong (Yu Kwang-chung)	余光中
Yu Tiancong	尉天聰
Yu Yingshi	余英時
Yu Yushu	余玉書
Yuan Haowen	元好問
Yuan Shuipai	袁水拍

Zang Kejia	臧克家
Zhai Yongming	翟永明
Zhang Ailing (Eileen Chang)	張愛玲
Zhang Che	張徹
Zhang Chunqiao	張春橋
Zhang Cuo (Ao Ao, Dominic Cheung)	張錯 (翱翱)
Zhang Guoyi	張國毅
Zhang Mo	張默
Zhang Shaobo	張少坡
Zhang Tingchen	張廷琛
Zhang Xu	張旭
Zhang Zhilu	張稚盧
Zhao Jianwei	趙健偉
Zhao Weimin	趙衛民
Zheng Chouyu	鄭愁予
Zheng Jizong	鄭繼宗
Zheng Min	鄭敏
Zheng Shusen (William S. Tay)	鄭樹森
Zhong Dingwen	鍾鼎文
Zhong Guoqiang	鍾國強
Zhong Lingling	鍾玲玲
Zhong Weimin	鍾偉民
Zhong Wenling	鍾文苓
Zhou Cezong (Chow Tse-tsung)	周策縱
Zhou Enlai (Chow Enlai)	周恩來
Zhou Lei (Rey Chow)	周蕾
Zhou Liangpei	周良沛
Zhou Mengdie (Chou Meng-tieh)	周夢蝶
Zhou Shouchen (Shouson Chow)	周壽臣
Zhou Zuoren	周作人
Zhu Ming (Ju Ming)	朱銘
Zhu Xi	朱熹
Zhu Xiang	朱湘
Zhu Zhiyu	朱志瑜
Zhu Ziqing	朱自清
Zhuang Zi (Chuang Tzu, Zhuang Zhou)	莊子 (莊周)
Zhuge Liang	諸葛亮
Zou Difan	鄒荻帆

燕語

有誰人沒有伸展青春的羽翼，
像燕子一樣越過生活的寒流？
是的人類都像季候鳥樣地奔走，
只爲了使自己適應外在的生命。

這樣我們便到了遙遠的海外，
帶著故國的心母親的淚和少女的愛。
長遠的翱翔雖然會使青春衰老，
但我們將不歇地持續下去。

期待與努力是在同一線上的，
時光會讓我們走向要到的地方，
有一日強橫的鷗瑪會被趕走，
在迎風的繡角上重築我們的新居。

'The Chirps of the Swallows' (p.65)

風

—致亞雲

我的心掛在椰樹上 孤立
如初生的 青青的果實
在宇宙的搖籃裏 你的纖手
隱隱 約約 跟隨海潮的旋律
陌生地撫觸生澀的感情
靜靜 輕輕 恰似麋鹿
踏入未知而神奇的土地
亦如心靈的私語 聒聒
卻不露形體 拂過抖動的樹梢
以欲飛 欲舞 欲攀登彩虹
的姿勢 滑入無垢的青空
浮沈於水天一色 你終駐足
休憩在海的寬懷裏尋夢
便無所謂遙遠 距離 耳畔
飛魚掠空而過的聲音 絲絲
刺激起銹色的記憶 和痛苦
——你虔敬的奉獻 祇換來
我的冷眼 一縷柔情 被拒於
堅韌的外殼 於是追尋潮唱
與詩一樣 幽微的韻趣
而我 自貝殼中方知你心意
懷念的激情散入四方——
你在那裏？

你在那裏？

啊此刻！你歸自赤道的軌跡
乘金色的華輿 散播香味
的收穫 以及熟透的季節
在落葉的殘褪中 攬藍天作鏡
我看到昨日驕傲的容顏
罩上幽幽的面紗 是那浮雲
被置於烈日如毀的正午 萬物
靜止 心沉甸甸地脫蒂
落在荒冷的泥中 無從高攀
無從感覺你撫觸的溫柔
一任歲月雕蝕生命的鏤花

'Wind' (p.75)

剪貼

我們不認識我們自己
即使掀開沉重的布幕
向黑衣服板臉孔的神父
卸去面具

荀甫

有時在清晨的微曦裏
一個影子朦朧出現
我們也因為季節的緣故
不願在遺世中佇立
看日出

而夜夜我們哭泣
用沒有淚的淚
追悼一幅畫的消失
然後扭乾情感
掠掛在瞬息的虹中
太陽雖燙過我們
我們的青春仍積聚在
末知之處
重疊著陌生的皺紋
等待記憶伸出雙手

拭去月亮的塵埃

常常當我們穿越十字路
聲音的利刃說是要

剎死很多英勇

偶然也分解和溶化

在腳步和腳步

袒胸露臂的廣告牌間

我們喜歡擁抱蒼穹

感覺遠征的雲駿馬的風

感覺懸崖下的泉湧

一海燃燒的夢

而雙手合攏後

只剩下我們

我們的生活並非真空

牙齒縫裏常磨出

張三李四的戀愛碴子

以及讓妞兒們

滾入霧的眼中

發生化學作用

'Cut-outs' (p.78)

一九五九年殘稿

歌

這兒彎彎那兒兜兜
終於來到崎嶇的絕頂
開了一朵膽怯的
寒風中的花

唱

我是用種子種子是用發芽
發芽是用抽苗抽苗是用
青澀的生長
來抗議的
藍天啊藍天何其高
我終於塑造了一個
完美
一個完美的
屬於我的
小小的世界
——裏面裝著種子

生

(有人說人生好像過一條獨木橋)
我抓著吊橋就像抓著
母親的臍帶
這周圍許多固體的浪濤
披著面紗
逐步走來逐步迫近逐步
把天空擠走
我終於看見了土地
在彼岸
開了第一朵
腳步的花
而且在身上
結看母親留給我的
疤

命

我攤開手掌好比攤開
那張秋海棠的葉子
把命運的秘密公開
這條是黃河充滿激情
那條是長江裝著磅礴
我收起手掌
聽到一聲
骨的呻吟

'Incomplete Manuscript of 1959' (p.80)

花雕

於是便對
另一半的世界

忘然（五柳先生呵！）

只覺得在忘川之畔

約會過騎竹馬底

童年，約會過伊

那充叉的辮子

以及那不曾透熟底

生澀

（站立著如樹

在風中展覽出

所有的弱點

並且招搖）

這罈上嫩嫩走來

絕色的古代

讓那些笑的華卉

不經意地遺落

於裙裾悠悠的山水間

去勾引一隻貪婪底

蝴蝶及一朵栓不住底

放蕩的雲

（它常常和四海做愛

去到睡不著的現代）

甚至，不說也罷

手拉著手兒

去到記不清的年代

彼此互相辨認

昨日腳底下的香港

然後（乾咳一聲）

坐在春景樓頭

典籍一樣地

看鄧排市上

人如蟻聚

有時也得跟隨

野獸的腳步，和

秋雁寫意的長空

去獵取跌宕的恣情

戈壁

高原

駿馬

悲風

追逐

彎弓

哭

伊在月光下

晒太陽的憂鬱

詩意般摺起

歲月疊疊底檀香扇子

（置諸高閣呢

還是拿來搨

摺起來可以讀底

皺紋選集？）

不知怎的

用一束花的手勢

伊插伊自個兒

在蒼苔黃葉地

也許明天

像食屍鳥

啄盡

今日營養過的寓言

而在將來的側面

人說是喝著舊日

題詩述懷

「再來一盃

飲——盡」

不惜和騷貨親嘴
感覺風滿懷抱
而雨滴不來

'Huadiao' (p.84)

圓寂

依稀是一個完整
一個昨日狠狠踐踏過底
沒有衣裳的慾望
不安份的肉體
曾經飛過、跳過
在鐵軌的盡頭哭過
甚至打開過千百扇的門
呼吸過發霉的學問
而今環抱著
「我」和「我」
女人得很，性得很

許是高山
穩穩然，亦如小丘
讓太陽在肩際卸落
血的河流
月要在額間摸索
禪的路
歷史便寫在
我們古典的臉上
當潮起潮落
在眼睛的簷前
滾出關不住的眼睛
仍然戀戀
仍然思凡

'Nirvana' (p.87)

如是觀

一個禪座落在那裏
不爲什麼而座落
在那裏
靜靜的是一個存在
一個存在靜靜的
想不起什麼憂愁
什麼歡忻
也不清楚昨日的明日
明天的昨天
是如何的空虛
便有些兒落寞
有些兒那個
有些兒冷

'That is It' (p.88)

京都十首

坐着青苔

所有的腳步
像雪那樣
溶了
一個眼色
淡淡地
向這邊走來
只是說
坐

蝴蝶

莊周的蝴蝶夢醒了之後還是蝴蝶我也是蝴蝶你也是蝴蝶都從夢中醒來
翩翩飛入伊的眼中繁花滿眶
去採取
甜那

鏡容池

就這麼
輕輕的一抹
風的手
使楊柳綠滴晶莹
使荷花
牽著游魚
到
沒有塵埃的
世界去了

二條城所見

眼睛
走著馬燈
在遠待廊下
春夏
夏夏
也從禿鷹那裏
看松老
雲閑
看虎步的山崖
覺得
一陣昏旋

聚光院

光
聚集在
碑石的額頭
所有死者
自林立的陰影
升起
一縷餘溫仍在的
煙
當生人遠去
青山背後
半空中就停著
沒有聲音的
聲音
一抹而去

既白軒

既白軒的曲徑
停在
桂花樹那裏
一朵朵
早就笑著
並且笑過的
花
從聲音那裏
借來了
整個喧嘩

'Ten Poems on Kyoto' (p.95)

天授庵

那時已經
沒有了
門

陰影
在琉璃瓦下
骷髏般的眼眶
在飛簷
右邊
只有那石砌
石砌的庭階
仍然鑲在
沒有門的
門前

月下門

月下門的雙扉
緊鎖著
松柏的蒼綠
而且推開了
外來的路
沒有人知道
那裏來的足跡
深深地
在簷前
停過

開山堂

開山堂的前庭
犁著
許多方方圓圓
以及直馳而去的
圖形
那些小山
老得睜不開
青苔的眼睛
也不免
與一樣老的
松樹
爭論著方圓
這時直去的形象
已經在
無邊的暮靄裏

孤蓬庵

想見了煙波
瀚渺
末晚：腳步
雞鳴：眼睛
和一去無回的
飄飄的
浪子衣襟
以及
蘆葦蔽道中
幽幽的
神秘

讀「宋元行吟圖」

古人吟詠過的
 留下來的
 這些山這些水
 蒼綠 在宋代
 高遠
 在元代的戰塵之外
 那些遠古的
 聲音
 似乎是靜中的
 霹靂
 遺下了抑揚的
 山脈
 頓挫的河流
 一方手掌的
 天地
 讓高峰
 去到天涯
 流水
 注入眺望的
 眼
 廣廓
 伸展到
 忘川之邊

也有人間
 蘆葦痴痴地
 牽住
 一葉的扁舟
 朵朵春華
 都醉得
 要人來扶
 這是江湖
 歷盡千霜的
 山
 對著
 悠悠的
 水
 綠得一般
 山
 水中水
 水中山
 祇有聲音
 蟬蛻了
 舊調
 素帛那樣
 在飄

'Impression on the Painting "Chant while Walking of the Song and Yuan Periods"' (p. 106)

販頭記

——中南半島所見

那個人把頭
 賣給了賣西瓜的
 小販
 那個人的頭
 西瓜那樣
 給劈成
 兩半
 那個人的頭的
 一半
 長滿了
 蒼蠅
 那個人的頭的
 另一半
 血淋淋的
 正好
 盛住了
 我的下巴

'Selling of Heads' (p. 113)

一匹奔跑的斑馬

我說：日子是一匹奔跑的斑馬
白日
總是間雜著
夜
黑色
始終不曾戰勝
空白
假如說：移動
是一種死亡的痛苦
假如說
不管白日有多長
黑夜也同樣
那麼，斑馬
那麼，白的和黑的形象
在開始奔跑
在開始交替的時刻
就會是
一種欄柵
隔著昨日的燦爛
於是蹄如風
於是
灰是唯一的顏色
迷茫
是一切事物的景致

再沒有疾刀
可以將黑
可以將白
分割
因為日子
是一匹
奔跑的斑馬
(此時我的瞳仁
黑不溜溜的
也溶化在
白兮兮之中)

'A Sprinting Zebra' (p.114)

這是一個爛蘋果

這是一個爛蘋果
我才不要吃
為甚麼？
難道你還不曉得
它第一不好看
第二壞了心
第三……
別儘管挑毛病
也要知道
你自己
總之我是不要吃
說個別的理由
來聽聽
這個容易
譬如如：
它不知給誰
咬了一口
不知給甚麼鳥兒
啄了又啄
這就東一個疤
西一個洞
而且好像
還給蘇聯坦克
狠狠的
輾過
而且正如
棄屍
給冷落了
在無定河邊
而且……
你也太衝動了
我是說理由
你是口兒刁
別冤枉了好人
別想歪了
事情
這是怎麼說？
告訴你罷
也無妨
那麼，說
你聽著：
這不是甚麼蘋果
這是一張
太空船拍回來的
地球照片

'This is a Rotten Apple' (p.116)

風箏

有這樣的天空
有一瓶藍墨水倒瀉了
有一張破紙
要讓鳥兒飛翔
起初是拍翼的聲音
然後是動作
最後，是雪溶的靜默
——在那個叫做天空的
地方
我的心
鳥一樣脫了羽毛
正是風裏雲裏
倒栽下來的
風箏

'The Kite' (p.118)

岫巖山論辯

據說岫巖山在北方
但是南方
南方也有一座
岫巖的山
你說山頭有一株
山茶花
他說草坡上纏繞著
雲霧的帶子
當然還有清溪
需要研究
山岩
應該好好修飾
問題是什麼
是山
你說到底
存在還是不存在

道理是什麼
是有還是沒有
是名詞還是
實質
形式上爭議過了
他拿出山嵐
實質上議論過後
你對著空茫
據說岫巖山在北方
但是南方
南方也有一座
岫巖的山

'Debate on Rugged Mountain' (p.120)

致某爬山家

這橫切過去的山色竟然把我一分爲二
也沒有齒痕
更沒有血
我在山的浪頭
白了頭髮
依稀記得拚命上昇的吶喊
在蒼老的喉頭
哽咽
在遠遠遠遠的幽谷
仍然搏動
一個單調的音節
生
伴著沉寂
其間是樹木熊熊燃燒的秋
是川流滾滾而去的音帶
是過去
是灰
是沒有記錄的煩愁
這橫切過去的山色竟然把我一分爲二
也沒有齒痕
更沒有血

'To A Mountaineer' (p.122)

化石說

我的喉頭仍有一些單音節
不是恐懼、懷疑
而是單純的感情
代表：您好

至於我眼眶的深沉、空無
如今感覺很冷
卻曾是兩道火把
守望著大地

你摸著我的指節，植物一般
再沒有血跡、利甲
只是伸張、蠕動
要捉點什麼：開著花
我的腳骨是路的殘骸：腳板
是壓路機：有千萬年的
重量；雖然你再找不到
卻實在走著我的步子

'The Fossil Says' (p.123)

追悼一個時代

——紀念父親

鞭著群山撫摸著白雲的日子
而今都到哪兒去了
就是把長江的淚水
擰乾了
也止不住黃河的吶喊
中華民族的血液
鍊成了鋼一樣的骨骼
在大地上支起了
沸騰的脊梁
八年長的英勇
接上了二千年華夏
激揚的脈搏
一個人就是一個琴鍵
聲音也許這兒止息
卻在那裏奏鳴著
白日依山的鬱勃
和長夜無眠的
眼炬

這把火炬現在也許結了疤
憂患一重又一重穿上了
彩衣
但在眸花一朵朵衰萎的當兒
額際上那一座座古琴的
弦線
兀自催著戰馬
打鬼子
路有三千里地
家國是數十年來
也許有人會仰望先輩
崎嶇的前額
鬢髮如雲的風致
如陌生人
如行人
如觀光的遊客
如……
記憶竟然那麼脆
歷史卻山一般的
沉

'Condolence to An Era-In Commemoration of Father' (p.127)

買西瓜的大娘

這大娘
摸著西瓜
像摸
日漸大的
肚皮

——這孩子：
是好，
就好；
不好？
不會！

這大娘
摸著西瓜
驕傲地
走了
走入沁涼、甜美

一盆子西紅柿

西紅柿上市了

小胡同

不必栽花

大馬路

添了新彩

槐樹底下

燒著什麼般

滿眼是橙紅蛋綠

滿嘴子笑的花

那就買一盆子

捧著回家

有花又有色

有一貼子田疇

西紅柿上市了

長城一景

他剛剛睜大眼睛

把塞外

最細的一粒

微塵

看個仔細

(孩子：

替爸爸拍個照；

可別把

爸爸的頭

弄丟了；

媽也在一起，

還有姐姐。)

他還是睜大眼睛

只看見

爸、媽、姐身後

長城

長又長

他終於閉上眼睛

(卡嚓一聲)

在心裏

收服了群山

合攏了天地

東四十條一飯莊

「同志，
請……」

「別忙，
等……」

老年吊扇艱辛地轉著
氣溫比三十六度
又似熱了幾分

「同志，
請……」

「待會兒，
我熱！」

年輕姑娘悠悠地揮扇
清風撲著她的臉
我們也似涼了幾分

「同志，
請……」

「急什麼？
就來！」

吊扇到底什麼時候停下來？
夏天到了，
秋天還會遠嗎？

「同志，
請……」

「來了，
你說！」

姑娘到底什麼時候來服務？
先涼一涼嘛，
挺熱的唄！

「同志，
請……」

「只有這些：
吃不吃？」

藍衣姑娘

姑娘裁了一方
天青

把秋空的爽朗
穿在身上

她還撐著
碎花傘

在古舊的牆角
闖一點兒自由化

姑娘走到故宮
有一點兒現代了

怕不有人皺眉
要修飾一下子盾？

'The Girl in Blue' (p.134)

'Light Touches on Beijing' (p.129)

擬訪古行

其一

冷落司馬遷只能說一聲抱歉
造訪盤根糾結的岱宗
讓腳步自己響噹噹地寫史
回應遠祖們沈鬱的神色
先世挺拔刺天的情懷
愁泉般墜入心坎的悲戚
駐足，往往流連如山嵐
於無聲處爬梳一縷縷
欲去還留的綿綿帝裔
只當歸鳥劃空嗚鳴蒼穹
才撕裂出一滴冷露
似乎是杜甫千年之前
積聚在那兒的精魄

攜著碧宇在未了軒停步
仗著對松山借來的堅峭
仿若倉頡造字一般道勁高古
傲立成參天探淵的模樣
合人三皇五帝以來俱存的
競雄氣派和絕奇青史
輕輕地捋口氣，問一聲
松奇柏古就低沈鬱勃
高亢鏗鏘地迸發為萬里曲
寫盡千姿百態的劇目
層雲更放懷像布幕
一疊一疊開啓華夏表情
巍峨給拱北石雅賞

其二

一線牽來的驛樹怨怨又嗟嗟
城中的風物傷心迎接三月胡沙
許是畫閣朱樓已不見舊耆老
紅桃綠柳又幾曾出什麼新少年
建春門內要尋碧瓦金莖的記憶
只怕山河無力，扶不起繡戶風光
日月黯然，雕梁漸漸蛻了王氣
崔九堂前李龜年的歌越唱越啞
上清宮裏吳道子的筆傷了神
惟有蹄聲開出一朵朵斷腸朝花
白骨相撐無暇倚欄讀浮雲記
對對枯眼兀自弈著一局局殘棋
冷落了堯舜揖讓的三杯酒

成周以降莫不是張旭草書一壁
裴旻舞劍挑醒的是一枕枕黃梁
裸游館尚聞宮女執篙楫招風
不旋踵曹子建竟不識阡與陌
元好問借操琴淚縱論蒸土
杜牧之痛問黨錮何能留住漢鼎
七子既矣，七賢清談也無益
隋煬帝雖則遷來安定和繁榮
只因天下人不敢多便加誅懲後
年年橋上晁遊著走馬一盞盞燈
且讓五噫歌為新舊百戲評註
查遍許慎說文解字始終是塵劫

其三

雨眾天華於虛空中一時俱作
諸天伎樂成爲掩袖工譏的道具
法華經譬喻的並不是樣板戲
百萬千神哪曾擁簇帝后上香
蓮花洞裏自有人樹下靜坐
思維作劫波聆聽我佛說法
漫天花雨都請來爲造像題記
內翰書屏貫串華夏的斷層
橫野出伊闕，文墨擔挑古今
月林清影相閱，幾迴不是塵沙
望的是離垢國那秋水琉璃地
又怎知討武壘檄難叫蛾眉讓人
問不出今日域中是誰家天下
色究竟天不知有何究竟
大雲經卻是假的既定方針
寶命乘周，武后當主閻浮提
彌勒佛降生，梵唄落花紛紛
脂粉錢暫且藏起惑主狐媚
盧舍那大佛仗神鑿扶壁而起
依樣的葫蘆那知依樣的滅劫
惟有雕刀留下除去名障的勝緣
北門學士的惡業付與泥犁
脅息穿帶也難贖火風水三災
佛說無常哪管金裝不朽之體
成住壞空到頭來潑眼驚看
只遺一抹金光蘸寫晚山秋樹

鬚蚤子造像

在馬克思的鬚鬚叢中
 藏著權力的蚤子
 變化出列寧的光禿頭顱
 掩蓋了托爾斯泰
 大聲呼籲的一點人道
 斯大林鬚鬚四處蔓延
 紅斑長到遙遠的西伯利亞
 感染了山溝裏打游擊
 城市裏掀暴動的
 狂熱如野火的非理性行為
 暴虐在暗地醞釀而在
 光天白日下狼煙四起
 一個李森科便能叫歷史
 停步；日丹諾夫的「寶劍」
 挑破了多少仁愛的懷抱
 赫魯曉夫將小腳放大了
 脫下了幾許纏住高拉山的
 一疋又一疋血淚交織痛史
 伏爾加船夫的「哎唷」長嘆
 是蘇式社會主義唯一高音
 舒一口氣怎能阻止邪念
 布里茲涅夫演奏降口小調
 不妨出兵蹂躪別人國家
 無礙列車震嚇接壤鄰邦
 玩弄核子詭騙的魔術把戲
 安德羅波夫也許面貌模糊
 切爾寧科更是沒有什麼眉目
 都是馬克思腮下的鬚蚤子
 終有一日會露出吃人的相貌
 叫世界人民恨得咬牙切齒

'Portraits of Moustache Fleas' (p.145)

童話

甲

那些山排排坐在那裏
 很可愛的樣子
 他們餓了
 就吃白雲的棉花糖
 月亮的餅乾
 就是太陽太燙了
 不好下手
 但是有時候沒有白雲
 也沒有月亮
 他們就很無聊
 只好手拉着手
 玩一玩：
 唱一唱：

搖 搖
 搖到外婆橋

乙

一朵花突然笑了
 另外的一朵
 怎麼樣也忍不住
 就只好偷偷的
 對著小草
 笑起來
 這就是為甚麼春天裏呀
 百花香的緣故

'A Child's Fable' (p.104)

秋天

用洗潔精拚命的洗呀洗啊
 漸漸夏日的赤熱退去了
 漸漸洗出了一陣又一陣清涼
 漸漸出現了一張無垢藍天
 我們可以在這大螢光屏上打毛毛蟲
 我們可以按動想象解開心懷
 我們可以走到鄉野探問溪流
 我們可以走到高峰試試湛藍

'Autumn' (p.147)

牙齒

吃西瓜時看得見牙齒
 咬出血淋淋的殘垣敗瓦
 帶到夢裏嚇得我們驚叫
 我們雖有媽媽來安慰
 看見大人又在吃西瓜
 別過頭去不敢再想

'Teeth' (p.147)

抽屜裏的月光

這一夜有人從抽屜拿出月光
也有人從遠方的來信和叮嚀
看到澄明的心思和溫暖的情意
月不一定是故鄉明，它明在心裏
團圓是一個人人都做的美夢
但在月圓時分，仍會有人依門
仍會有人伸出手，去撫摸水月
如果人人都喪失了燕子的感情

祝福

在最溫柔的地方要墊上安定
在安定的地方要愛與關心
在平安夜要把心剖開來
讓血流到遠遠遠遠的地平線

'Blessing' (p.149)

'Moonlight in the Drawer'
(p.148)

石頭記

時間是一九六九年
地點是殖民地
人物是我
事件是
突然
我的心中
生長著
一塊石頭
那是一種
沒有黃昏的夜
那是一種
不得不煞車的
決定
那是一粒砂
不在
眼睛裏
對於種子
人們最怕的
就是死
對於夢

是醒
對於石頭
是不斷的
生長
假如瞳孔裏
有泰山
那些蒼翠
那些雄偉
在雲那之間
都只不過
是一粒
翠玉的球
假如血管裏
潛伏著
大江
啊，黃河鯉長江鯽
都停止了
遨遊
都凍在
那裏

於是葉脈一樣的
手
被一隻小虫
蠶食
於是聲音
陌生得
像隔著河流的
吶喊
有一個小孩
走來
吐一口痰
在我
臉上
並且說：
「我從沒見過
這麼醜的石像」

'The Story of the Stone' (p.160)

蛇

第一部 時間

我是蛇的一部份
我的一部份
是蛇
我是蛇
我看見一條鎖鏈一條
把我縛得緊緊的
鎖鏈
我看見
唐虞夏商周
春秋戰國
我看見秦和漢我看見
諸葛亮
把天下三分
然後是魏晉南北朝然後是
隋唐五代
「春花秋月
何時了
往事知多少？」
趙太祖
在河南開封
又建立了
大宋的王朝
居然
有南有北
元太祖
牧馬中原
彎弓射下了

大鵬
於是明而後
清
清而後中華民國：
啊，你曲折的路
啊，你曲折的
人生觀
是雨後的
山路
是羊齒類的
植物
是斷臂的
浮雕
是張家小弟弟
蛀壞了的
牙
是一節一節
被蛇食店
斬斷的
就要烹製的
蛇
迴首
是一種
不可能的
不可能
是一種

一半的死
因為痛苦是因為我是蛇的一部份
是蛇
我是蛇
所以，快樂
不能追述
當年
所以，快樂
就成了蛇皮
成了
昨日的死屍
成了
另一個
我
有人像解拉鏈那樣
把我的脊椎骨
輕輕的
拉開
有人奏著不再流行的
一點兒也不
熱
一點兒也不冷的
又冷又熱的
打擺子的歌
於是
日夜都是邯鄲會

到處都在
慶孟蘭
有許許多多的
鬼魅
於是沒有
玩蛇者
我已
玩弄
於是，父親和母親
我是一座
空山
我是一個
迴音
我是沒有雲霧的
雲霧
我是沙漠中的
沙漠
我是
走馬燈
只有影子
父親和母親
我是
走馬燈
只有影子
我是
倚在你們
身邊的
羞恥

'The Snake' (p.173)

第二部 靈魂

可是那個老婦人
照片中的
被戰爭和戰爭和戰爭
風化著的
一尊雕像似的
表情
仍然在低頭
數著
一顆一顆的
念珠
她偶然
也抬起沉下去的
頭
用道光二十一年的
眼光
望著我
啊，父親和母親
我的羞恥
是公園裏的
長板凳
是不管什麼人
都可以
擱屁股的
地方
同時，我的羞恥
又是
坐不了人的
翹翹板
上下升呀降的
兩邊搖呀

擺的
我的羞恥
然而早上
在早上
八點零五分鐘
我一打開
水喉
就知道
在滴血的遠方
有人忍著
眼淚
有人刮著幾條所謂鬍子
用剛剛殺過人的
軍刀
有人洗著叫做臉的
臉
用包過死人的
包屍布
有人喝著牛奶
聽見母牛
在他的肚子裏
叫喚著
小牛
我的羞恥
啊，父親和母親
我的羞恥
是
我把水喉
關了

我的羞恥
是
我像勞作課的
剪紙
只有所謂人的
形狀
沒有叫做人的
面目
啊，父親和母親
我是蛇的一部份
我的一部份
是蛇
我是蛇
我抱著一個
大蛋
等待著一聲
驚嘆
我是一個
闊葫蘆
——在大街上
排隊候診的
孕婦
我是魔術師
可以在
空氣和空氣和空氣裏面
擠出麵包
雖然
我沒有
在黑暗中

擠出一點點
白晝的
本事
我出生
排隊
死亡
排隊
住房子
排隊
排隊
排隊
乖乖的
然後
然後
許許小小的道路
然後
是
許許小小的蛇
那淫蕩的
同類
那窺伺在
巨廈之間的
巷弄
張徹的死角
死角的張徹
波蘭斯基
Cul-de-Sac
那 陷落的
現代感
那被人像踩香煙屁股那樣

踩的
孤獨
呸！我有一口痰
要吐
但是那些光（慾的語言
聲光化電
犬馬等等）
在接力
那些字句（肉的語言
火山爆發
銷魂的
尤物）
是空中的
飛人
表演著
驚險
一個影子，走過
絲和它的感覺
是肉的
冷然
是慾的
靜止
於是，父親和母親
我發現
我是集中營的
囚犯
我是集中在
一條不叫做路上的
一個箭嘴上的

第三部 肉體

可憐蟲
「行人由此
路過」
「紅燈光亮
暫止」
但是那個小孩子
皇皇然
掏出他的
生殖器
像掏殺人的利器的
手槍那樣
向著天空
嘩啦嘩啦的
作
弧形的射擊
啊，父親和母親
啊，自由
我必須自殺
用躺下去躺下去的
手段
我的慾望
是死

所以，我的笑
變成了
拙劣的石膏像
我的形體
變成了
囚禁虛無的
牢獄
我是一個難以解決
又不得不
解決
又不能解決
又要解決的
解決
當春天
睜開了
綠色的眼睛
慾望不再是一條
小溪
再不是地下水再不是
已溶的
冰雪
再不是畢剝一聲
要萌芽的
種籽
再不是一串鎖匙
而只是
死

而只是
歷史
而只是
一種鑽營的
過程
在荊棘叢中
在女人的
不說話的
口裏
在沼澤和水草的
地帶
在流血
而不流淚
在忙著關門
忙著吮吸的
動作中
我以傷口
顯示新生
我從快樂的
痛苦中
抽出一把
無知的溫柔
啊，父親和母親
我是蛇的一部份
是蛇

我是蛇
我對著一碗
舊日的
天空
我嘗著
一片
苦澀的
青山
我在喝
我在喝著
當鄉愁
已經變成了
醉酒
當眸子
滿是醉花
啊，父親和母親
我掏出，掏出
生殖器
像那個小孩
狠狠的
翻起包皮
露出了
龜頭
吓

一九七一年所見

上篇、蛙

就是爲了
那一點點的甜
就是爲了他們背後
已經沒有影子
他們前面
也沒有陽光
在白天和黑夜
都冷落了的地
地方
在鴉片販子
狡猾的
而且貪婪的
戲法中
他們存在
他們跟隨著
一隻早就暗啞的
曲子
像陀螺一樣的
爲了他們
自己
旋轉得
忘記了姓氏
所以這裏的人
都是流產的
嬰兒
都沒有

痛苦的源頭
他們關掉歷史
就像關掉
水喉
他們信仰一種
奇怪的
哲學
把一顆心
放在切肉機裏
切碎
他們對於秋風秋雨
不知道
愁在那裏
他們沒有秋瑾
他們不知道
上是日星
下是河嶽
他們只是
一種很特別的
填鴨
在沒有熟透的
黃昏
在月亮
依著窗戶
微笑的
時分
吃著一些勳章

吃著
一點印有人像的
紙張
吃著洩了氣的
乳房
然後用建寧氏
紙巾
抹掉骯髒
拍拍無處安頓的
屁股
去聽那時髦的
歌曲
那漫天的哭
也有人
只願意勞動
嘴吧
在一個模子裏
製造第二個
他
激情像浮沙
快樂就是
槍響之後的
喧嘩
抓著一朵
永遠不在他們手裏
生長的
花

他們只是那種
喜歡在里弄裏
畫一些格子
和飛機
給他們自己遊戲的
大兒童
他們用名詞
支撐著
面子
所以前進
只不過是前進
運動
都註了冊
所以他們穿著
巴黎和羅馬
出現在
高雅的沙龍
他們寫
行書
啊，他們是那麼容易破碎
就像擺在博物館裏的
陶瓷
精緻得
不能一碰
就像一座冰山
在死的

過程之中
仍然留下後患
他們是那種
又柔又軟
又滑的
絲綢
他們是測不準的
天色
是變奏
他們是不斷
壯大的
沉默
是一個
小橋上的
夕陽
是一個
越是接近死亡
越是巨大的
形體
他們的眼睛
是一口枯井
他們的
肉體
是一個血凝的
疤

'The Scenes of 1971' (p.180)

一九七一年所見

下篇、醒

他們走在十字架
接連著十字架
又接連著
十字架的
痛苦的
路上
看見一堆垃圾
和一堆垃圾
看見垃圾裏面
假面具上的
幸福
已經被某一種人
撕掉
看見有人在吐口水
傳達著
一種無聊
無恥的
衝動
所謂繩索在空中
所謂心靈
只有一半
看見那個女的
被人在胸部
注入了
可口可樂的

情慾
也有男人
叫做知識分子的
喜歡化裝
喜歡把
兩面日本旗
一般的
胭脂和血
塗在漆黑的
臉上
喜歡卓別靈的
鼻子
然後倒一點茶
插一枝菊花
寫一些
九曲橋那麼曲折的
文字
乞求一點
陽光
啊，這個城市
這個尼尼微的
複製
他們知道
也許在甚麼陰暗的
角落

有一個孔子
有一個
莊子
有一個猶太人
叫做耶穌
可是這些人
都不肯復活
不肯誕生
甚至也不肯死亡
所以是一個
未知
是一個虛
是一個空
是一個
把聲音寫在雲上的
表演
於是他們停了步
讓久別重逢的
眼淚
那一滴
溫暖
像一隻一隻
翩飛的
白鴿
悠悠地

落在他們
肩上
頓然成了
霜
成了
汨汨的川流
寒江的雪
成了
一個知道
他們也成了
一棵一棵
會移動的
樹
他們去到那裏
便緣到那裏
即使他們走入了
困境
走入了所謂
圈套
那繩索
只是一種徒然的
滿足
他們仍然有根
仍然有
可以彼此相握的

靜默的
和深沉的手
可以仰望
那些星雲的
容顏
去訴說
地上的不忍
而那些繩索後面的
眼睛
他們中的他們的
眼睛
濕漉漉的
也遞了過來
一根火柴熄了
還有一根
在繩索兩邊
一種呼喚
搓成了一條
更大的
繩索
因為他們踏著的
是過去的現在的
將來的腳步
因為他們流著的
是昨天今天明天的

血
因為他們成了
一棵樹
站在霜之上
川流之上
雪之上
白鴿
一隻一隻的
在他們
中間
在他們
裏面

一九九七斷想

斷層的記憶還似剛剛切開
龐大的時間終於被壓縮成
漢白玉一樣的固體

在那裏面

飛著裁在半空的龍雀

舞著翹袖、折腰的

漢宮繁華

枕著花卉紋飾的

黃梁夢

一具希望的屍骸仍自撲翼

撲著一絲青天

發出絹帛般柔細的呻吟

玉舞人將彷彿縷空的

刻花鑲金感覺

塑成冷然無所依的現在

月白、天藍；禽鳥、走獸

瓷一樣脆的彩繪形象

醒來時脫胎般留下一灘枯寂

能轉動的靜止並作靜止的轉動

瞧：龍雀的羽毛兀自沾著

閃爍微明的結晶

一滴抹不乾乾不抹的垂淚

還給大地的瑩潤玲瓏

舞花殘片窸變成斑斑點點

並抹上黑釉的修行銘文

捉住了多少對焦灼眼神

留給後代人研究考古

'Broken Thoughts on 1997' (p.184)

揮春

提起筆有道光年的重量
墨如果不黑，必然是
血醮著淚，還有
辛酸，以及

日日夜夜的攀升和墜落
這一年癸亥，候鳥南翔
一去，仍然是那個霜
一來，卻招致無邊的
閑愁，如葉落
堆成一座秋山的模樣

離別是簷滴，一點是
一個叮嚀，有人小心串起
掛在雲彩的深處
說是變作晴虹，好去
做一場如幻似真的夢
然而且住。種子總是從
無涯的暗黑伸向
高處，枝葉的思想
說著花的語言，根鬚
就好比地下水潛藏著信息

高樓上，滿滿的一杯落日
溢下了一九九七的煩愁
雁陣過處，更增加了
幾分愁緒，就只是
暗紅如醉，暮靄如潮

也罷！百十年的樹木
修長挺立，招來了蜂蝶
也看慣斧伐，與乎
冬的斷弦和秋的家廓
再怎麼，仍然要爭高茁壯
許是海濤，淘盡了辛勤的
塔，信若積木，寄著
童稚的心，在地平線上
在孩子氣的筆觸中
有人寫過閃亮的名字
這是春天。冬日，以及
冰封的歲月，也不管是否
受著自然的召喚，總讓
鳥兒們來唱流水的歌
把這管筆使得酣暢、淋漓

'The New Year Couplet' (p.186)

啊！我是一隻鳥

啊，我是一隻鳥
我是一個看起來很美妙的盤旋
我是一個形式
裝著零的內容
我是一個只有記憶
而記憶只有北方
而北方只有
什麼也沒有的
那種霜
那種劃空的長嘆
那種疲倦的
羽翼
那種泥土的氣息
啊，我是一隻鳥
我是一個
沒有屋頂的
棲息
我是
沒有煙囪的
炊煙

我看見地下
林立著許許多多的碑石
林立著長方形的
四方形的
甚至什麼形狀也不是的
所謂城市
在那裏
埋葬了人的一點什麼
以及
沒有什麼
我又看見
在碑石和碑石之間
存在著
一種活著的
死
也有耗子
吱喳著
真理
在牠們的洞裏

啊，我是一隻鳥
我是一個不會殺戮的衝擊
我是一種
教育過的野蠻
一種
裁剪過的原始
甚至，我也是一片
沒有風
可是會下墜的
落葉
啊，我是一隻鳥
我是一個
饑餓
我是一個要表示什麼
又被什麼表示的
姿勢
我是一個
啞吧的沉默
有許多
沒有出路的話語

'Oh! I am a Bird' (p.105, p.192)

這一對手

這一對手
 好比兩條路
 好比一個
 選擇
 決定了目光
 這一對手
 常伸向五嶽
 在華山
 挺秀
 於泰山之陽
 摸索雄奇
 而去衡山
 忍不住
 猶疑
 至恒山
 北望
 一片雪寒
 中嶽沉沉
 鎮住了邦畿

這一對手
 分流入大江
 探到了
 鬚一般細的
 源流
 在唐古拉
 掬者涓涓的
 故事
 說著我們
 熟悉的
 五千年長
 傳統
 按不住的
 澎湃

這一對手
 撫摸過
 大地的裂痕
 以及串串
 結晶的
 珠淚
 卻捻不出
 一絲的
 禪意
 只像冷然
 去到遠
 遠處
 也不忍心
 收回的遺忘
 這一對手
 忽然像花叢
 枯乾的
 蓓蕾
 找不到燦爛

'This Pair of Hands' (p.202)

文革評註

其一

歡呼的聲音仍自騰向蒼穹
 歡呼者中卻已有人倒入塵埃
 原想收回發出的聲聲歌頌
 但悔恨卻哽住了乾涸喉嚨

其二十六

將封建法西斯組織起來
 將思想法西斯組織起來
 將法西斯專政活學活用
 何等「偉大的戰略部署」

'Comments and Remarks on Cultural
 Revolution' (p.204)

他媽的黑手

所謂中國式社會主義卻也他媽的優越
民主集中在握軍權黨權的一小撮
自由只顯示老朽昏庸者的意志和感覺
經濟改革卻的明明是資本主義漢子
政治改革卻堅持架搭共產的貞潔牌坊
做的盡是死要面子的鬼鬼祟祟勾當
說的句句是胡說八道字字是謊話連篇
趁黑摸黑那用心黑得不能再黑黑黑黑
伸出毫不光明毫不偉大毫不正確的黑手
妄圖以血雨腥風對抗億萬人的壯懷丹心

'The Damned Black Hand' (p.206)

時間列車

回首是一班永不休止的
時間列車
在事件的分站載來
許多美麗與醜惡
許多悲歡
許多血
這班車不知道
往哪兒去
謎一樣的前程
倒映著各種記憶
有的是淚
有的是嘆息
也不可能停下來
調整恆動的
過去與現在與將來
掛接景象
只有心境分割
為一方一方

竟是這麼奇怪的
蒙太奇
天安門的愁苦轉位
是東西柏林的歡欣
中國與羅馬尼亞
悲喜交叉剪接
一時是溶，一時是疊
總不能淡出淡入
總是跳接
那血染的風采
那一無所有
那哽咽、吶喊
「人民永不會忘記！」
這班車滿載著
血一般濃的情思
是昨日遺落今日積聚
明日滋生的種子
是永生的花



'Time Train' (p.207)