

## Dates of Composition and Revision

We have organized the available information on the dates of Segalen into both an index and a chronology. The first section gives the known dates and locations of the drafts and variants in the order in which the poems appear in the collection. Much of this information is uncertain: in many cases a given manuscript page contains multiple dates, but even in cases where changes have been made on that page it cannot be established with certainty which changes were made on which dates. Similarly, there are many cases in which distinguishing different “versions” of the poem is a matter of judgment, such as when interlinear revisions have been made to a draft. We have collated our notes with Doumet’s edition, but we have been more generally more conservative in attributing dates to the texts. The sixteen stèles marked with an asterisk first appeared in the enlarged edition of 1914.

The second section lists drafts in their order of composition. Because of the uncertainty of many of the dates, this section is necessarily thinner, but it does provide some sense of the ebb and flow of Segalen’s work process, when he worked with particular intensity on a given poem, how the writing process might be related to his travels, and so on. In cases where no version number is indicated, we know of only one version of the poem. In cases of multiple versions, we indicate the total number of versions extant and, where possible, where the version in question fits in with the others chronologically. We record where the poem was written (generally Beijing, Tianjin, or Dagu) only when the location is indicated on the manuscript itself. In this section we have also indicated, in addition to the information about the

stèles themselves, several manuscript fragments and drafts for which we have dates.

*Index of Dated Drafts*

南面 Stèles Facing South

So1 “Sans marque de règne”

Seven versions, two dated: 5 November 1910 (Beijing) and 29 April 1911 (Dagu).

So2 “Les Trois Hymnes primitifs”

Two versions, one dated: 22 December 1910.

So3 “Sur un hôte douteux”

Four versions, three dated: 6 November 1910, 17 November 1910 (Beijing), 29 April 1911 (Dagu).

So4 “Eloge d’une vierge occidentale”

Three versions, two dated: 7 September 1911 (Tianjin) and 17 November 1911.

So5 “Religion lumineuse”

Two versions, dated 10 April 1911 and 7 March 1912.

So6 “En l’honneur d’un Sage solitaire”

One version, dated 4 January 1912 (Tianjin).

\*So7 “Les Gens de Mani”

Two undated versions.

\*So8 “Vision pieuse”

Four versions, two dated 17 May 1913.

So9 “Aux dix mille années”

Three versions, dated 2 October 1910, 24 November 1910, and 17 November 1911.

Si0 “Ordre de marche”

Five versions, two dated: 20 November 1911 (Tianjin) and 21 November 1911.

Si1 “Nominations”

Two versions, one dated 19 November 1910.

Si2 “Départ”

Four versions with some combination of the dates 5 January 1911 (Beijing), 23 March 1911 (Dagu), and 6 April 1911 (Dagu).

\*Si3 “Hommage à la raison”

Two versions dated 19 March 1913 (Beijing).

Si4 “Edit funéraire”

Two versions, one dated 15 September 1911 (Tianjin).

S15 “Décret”

Five versions with one or more of these five dates: 22 December 1910 (Beijing), 18 August 1911 (Beijing), 24 August 1911, 11 September 1911 (Tianjin), and 16 January 1912.

北面 Stèles Facing North

S16 “Empreinte”

Eight versions, among which six dates appear: 24 September 1910, 2 October 1910, 5 October 1910, 1 December 1910, 29 April 1911 (Dagu), 8 June 1911 (Tianjin).

S17 “Miroirs”

Three versions, two dated: 4 November 1910 and 25 December 1910.

S18 “Jade faux”

Four versions, one dated 26 October 1911.

S19 “Aux lointains”

Six versions, of which the fifth is dated December 1911.

S20 “A celui-là”

Four versions, two dated: 30 March 1912 and 6 April 1912.

\*S21 “Trahison fidèle”

Seven versions, one dated March 1913, two dated 2 April 1913.

\*S22 “Sans méprise”

Five versions. The first is dated “July 30, 3 in the morning.” Another version, identified by Doumet as the third, is dated “Paris, July 29, 3 in the morning,” 1913.

S23 “Vampire”

Six versions, four dated: 30 May 1911 (Tianjin), 31 May 1911, 8 June 1911, and 19 July 1911.

東面 Oriented Stèles

S24 “Les Cinq Relations”

Two versions, one dated 21 October 1911.

S25 “Pour lui complaire”

Three versions, two dated: 24 December 1910 and 19 March 1911 (Dagu).

S26 “Visage dans les yeux”

Five versions, of which one is dated 13 December 1911 (Tianjin). Another is dated 1–3 December 1911 (Tianjin) but should possibly be read as “13 December” as well.

- S27 “On me dit”  
Three versions, two of which are dated 10 October 1911 (Tianjin).
- S28 “Mon amante a les vertus de l’eau”  
Three versions: the first dated 3 December 1910.
- S29 “Pierre musicale”  
Four versions: one dated 21 March 1911 (Dagu), two others 21–24 March 1911 (Dagu).
- \*S30 “Supplique”  
Eight versions, four dated: 30 May 1913, 31 May 1913, 21 June 1913, 14 November 1913.
- \*S31 “Sœur équivoque”  
Five versions: two dated 24 June 1913, two dated 26 June 1913, one dated 14 November 1913.
- \*S32 “Stèle provisoire”  
Ten versions; none dated, but according to Doumet, correspondence dates them to around 7 April 1913.
- S33 “Eloge de la jeune fille”  
Two versions, one dated 16 January 1912.
- \*S34 “Stèle au désir”  
Three versions, one dated 22 March 1913.
- S35 “Par respect”  
Five versions, three dated: 18 May 1911 (Tianjin), 13 July 1911, 19 July 1911.

## 西面 Occidented Stèles

- S36 “Libation mongole”  
Seven versions, of which four are dated 30 November 1910, two are dated 4 December 1910, and one is undated.
- S37 “Ecrit avec du sang”  
Three versions: one dated 16 July 1911, another “16/19 July” 1911, one undated.
- \*S38 “Du bout du sabre”  
Four versions, one dated 10 March 1913.
- S39 “Hymne au Dragon couché”  
Four versions, none dated.
- \*S40 “Serment sauvage”  
Six versions, one dated 15 June 1912.
- \*S41 “Courtoisie”  
Four versions, first dated 5 February 1913.

S42 “Ordre au soleil”

Three versions: one dated 3 December 1910, another identified by Doumet as not possibly before March 1911, another dated 5 April 1911.

曲直 Stèles by the Wayside

S43 “Conseil au bon voyageur”

Five versions, three of which are on the same sheet; none dated.

S44 “Tempête solide”

Three versions, one dated 5 October 1910, another 6 November 1911.

\*S45 “Eloge du jade”

Three versions, one dated 23 April 1911 (Dagu).

\*S46 “Table de sagesse”

Four versions, of which three are dated 16 November 1913 (Tianjin).

S47 “Terre jaune”

Three versions: one dated 19 September 1911 (Tianjin), another dated both 6 November 1911 and 10 May 1912; the third is undated.

S48 “La Passe”

Three versions: one dated 15 September 1911 (Tianjin), the other two 6 November 1911.

S49 “Stèle des pleurs”

One version, dated 3 December 1910.

S50 “Les Mauvais Artisans”

One version with multiple endings, dated 4 October 1911 (Tianjin; noted in Chinese 天津).

\*S51 “Stèle du chemin de l’âme”

Eight versions: one dated 20 December 1912 (Zhangde Fu; in Chinese 彰德府), another dated 29 January [1913?] (Zhangde Fu; date and location in Chinese 彰德府 一月二十九日). The first three versions are in prose; the fourth onward have line breaks.

中 Stèles of the Middle

S52 “Perdre le Midi quotidien”

Nine versions, four dated: 17 November 1910, 18 November 1910, 29 April 1911, and 10 May 1911 (Tianjin).

- S53 “A l’envers”  
Eight versions, of which seven are dated: 30 September 1910, 2 October 1910, 5 October 1910, 5 November 1910, 24 November 1910, 24 December 1910, 28 April 1911.
- S54 “Joyau mémorial”  
Five versions, three dated: 6 December 1910, 17 December 1910 (Beijing), and 19 March 1911 (Dagu).
- S55 “Au démon secret”  
Four versions, two dated: 28 November 1910 (Beijing) and 10 May 1911 (Tianjin).
- S56 “Libération”  
Five versions, three dated: 22 April 1911 (Dagu), 23 April 1911, and 15 September 1911 (Tianjin).
- S57 “Juges souterrains”  
Three versions, one dated 16 July 1911.
- S58 “Retombée”  
Three versions, two dated: 15 August 1911 and 20 August 1911 (Beijing).
- S59 “Prince des joies défendues”  
Three versions, one dated 10 October 1911 (Tianjin).
- S60 “Eloge et pouvoir de l’absence”  
Two versions, one dated 11 October 1911.
- \*S61 “Moment”  
Ten versions, two dated: 9 March 1913 (Zhangde Fu) and 16 November 1913.
- S62 “Cité violette interdite”  
Two versions, the first dated 23 July 1911 (“Beijing—on the Wall”).
- S63 “Char emporté”  
Five versions: one dated 3 September 1911 (Tianjin), another 2 October 1911 (Tianjin), and a third both 2 September 1911 (Tianjin) and 3 October 1911.
- S64 “Nom caché”  
Three versions, none dated.

#### Unpublished Drafts

- S65 “De la composition”  
Two versions, one dated 7 September 1911 (Tianjin).
- S66 “L’Impératrice chante”

- Eleven versions, five dated: 24 [or 29?] November 1910, 28 November [1910?], 30 November 1910, 1 December 1910, 18 December 1910.
- S67 “Porte monumentale”  
One version, not dated.
- S68 “Pierres mortes”  
One version, dated 28 August 1911 (Xiannongtan [Temple of Agriculture]).
- S69 “Pierre-aimante”  
Two versions: one dated 3 October 1911, the other 3 October 1911 and 16 January 1912.
- S70 “Deux pinceaux, un cœur”  
Two versions on same sheet, dated 4 October 1911.
- S71 “Je me confie en vous, Ténèbres”  
One version, undated.
- S72 “Stèle quadrangulaire”  
Four versions, two dated: 24 November 1911 (Tianjin) and 8 May 1913.
- S73 “Le Champ armé de lances”  
Five versions, three dated: 15 June 1912, 16 June [1912?], and 3 March, [1913?].
- S74 “Toise abolie”  
Three versions, one dated 10 March 1913.
- S75 “Sur le mur d’une prison”  
One version, dated 22 March 1913 (Zhangde Fu).

### *Chronology of Dated Drafts*

1910

- 23 September 1910. MS for “Moments chinois,” an early sketch of the *Stèles* project.
- 24 September 1910. First of six dated versions of S16 “Empreinte.”
- 30 September 1910. First of seven dated versions of S53 “A l’envers.”
- 2 October 1910. First of three versions of S09 “Aux dix mille années.”
- 2 October 1910. Second of six dated versions of S16 “Empreinte.”
- 2 October 1910. Second of seven dated versions of S53 “A l’envers.”
- 5 October 1910. Third of seven dated versions of S53 “A l’envers.”

- 5 October 1910. Only dated version (among three) of S44  
 “Tempête solide.”
- 4 November 1910. First of two dated versions of S17 “Miroirs.”
- 5 November 1910. Fourth of seven dates among eight versions of  
 S53 “A l’envers.”
- 5 November 1910. Beijing. First of two dated versions of S01 “Sans  
 marque de règne.”
- 6 November 1910. First of three dated versions of S03 “Sur un hôte  
 douteux.”
- 17 November 1910. Beijing. Second of four dated versions of S03  
 “Sur un hôte douteux.”
- 17 November 1910. First of four dated versions of S52 “Perdre le  
 Midi quotidien.”
- 18 November 1910. Second of four dated versions of S52 “Perdre le  
 Midi quotidien.”
- 19 November 1910. Only dated version of S11 “Nominations.”
- 24 November 1910. Second of three dated versions of S09 “Aux  
 deux mille années.”
- 24 November 1910. Fifth of seven dates among eight versions of  
 S53 “A l’envers.”
- 24 [or 29?] November 1910. First of five dated versions of S66  
 “L’Impératrice chante.”
- 28 November 1910. Beijing. First of two dated versions of S55 “Au  
 Démon secret.”
- 28 November, [1910?]. Second of five dated versions of S66  
 “L’Impératrice chante.”
- 30 November 1910. Third of five dated versions of S66  
 “L’Impératrice chante.”
- 30 November 1910. First four of six dated versions of S36 “Libation  
 mongole.”
- 1 December 1910. Fourth of six dated versions of S16 “Empreinte.”
- 1 December 1910. Fourth of five dated versions of S66  
 “L’Impératrice chante.”
- 3 December 1910. First and only dated version of S28 “Mon amante  
 a les vertus de l’eau.”
- 3 December 1910. First of two dated versions of S42 “Ordre au  
 soleil.”
- 3 December 1910. Only version of S49 “Stèle des pleurs.”
- 4 December 1910. Fifth and sixth of six dated versions of S36 “Li-  
 bation mongole.”



- 6 December 1910. First of three dated versions of S54 “Joyau mémorial.”
- 17 December 1910. Beijing. Second of three dated versions of S54 “Joyau mémorial.”
- 18 December 1910. Fifth of five dated versions of S66 “L’Impératrice chante.”
- 22 December 1910. One or possibly both versions of S02 “Les Trois Hymnes primitifs.”
- 22 December 1910. Beijing. First of five dates among versions of S15 “Décret.”
- 24 December 1910. First of two dated versions of S25 “Pour lui complaire.”
- 24 December 1910. Sixth of seven dated versions of S53 “A l’envers.”
- 25 December 1910. Second of two dated versions of S17 “Miroirs.”

1911

- 5 January 1911. Beijing. First of three dates for versions of S12 “Départ.”
- 19 March 1911. Dagu. Second of two dated versions of S25 “Pour lui complaire.”
- 19 March 1911. Dagu. Third of three dated versions of S54 “Joyau mémorial.”
- 21 March 1911. Dagu. First of two dated versions of S29 “Pierre musicale.”
- 21–24 March 1911. Second of two dated versions of S29 “Pierre musicale.”
- 23 March 1911. Dagu. Second of three dates for versions of S12 “Départ.”
- March 1911. Earliest possible date for second of three versions of S42 “Ordre au soleil.”
- 5 April 1911. Second of two dated versions of S42 “Ordre au soleil.”
- 6 April 1911. Dagu. Third of three dates for versions of S12 “Départ.”
- 6 April 1911. MS for “Dédicace.”
- 10 April 1911. First of two versions of S05 “Religion lumineuse.”
- 22 April 1911. Dagu. First of three dated versions of S56 “Libération.”
- 23 April 1911. Dagu. Only dated version of \*S45 “Eloge du jade.”

- 23 April 1911. Second of three dated versions of S56 “Libération.”
- 28 April 1911. Seventh of seven dated versions of S53 “A l’envers.”
- 29 April 1911. Dagu. Fifth of six dated versions of S16 “Empreinte.”
- 29 April 1911. Dagu. Second of the two dated versions of S01 “Sans marque de règne.”
- 29 April 1911. Dagu. Third of three dated versions of S03 “Sur un hôte douteux.”
- 29 April 1911. Third of four dated versions of S52 “Perdre le Midi quotidien.”
- 10 May 1911. Tianjin. Last of four dated versions (among nine) of S52 “Perdre le Midi quotidien.”
- 10 May 1911. Tianjin. Second of two dated versions of S55 “Au démon secret.”
- 18 May 1911. Tianjin. First of three dated versions of S35 “Par respect.”
- 30 May 1911. Tianjin. First of four dated versions of S23 “Vampire.”
- 31 May 1911. Second of four dated versions of S23 “Vampire.”
- 8 June 1911. Tianjin. Sixth of six dated versions of S16 “Empreinte.”
- 8 June 1911. Third of four dated versions of S23 “Vampire.”
- 13 July 1911. Second of three dated versions of S35 “Par respect.”
- 16 July 1911. Only dated version of S57 “Juges souterrains.”
- 16 July 1911. First of two dated versions of S37 “Ecrit avec du sang.”
- 19 July 1911. Fourth of four dated versions of S23 “Vampire.”
- 19 July 1911. Third of three dated versions of S35 “Par respect.”
- 19 July 1911. Second of two dated versions of S37 “Ecrit avec du sang.”
- 23 July 1911. “Beijing—on the Wall.” Only dated version of S62 “Cité violette interdite.”
- 15 August 1911. First of two dated versions of S58 “Retombée.”
- 18 August 1911. Beijing. Second of five dates among versions of S15 “Décret.”
- 20 August 1911. Beijing. Second of two dated versions of S58 “Retombée.”
- 24 August 1911. Third of five dates among versions of S15 “Décret.”
- 28 August 1911. Xiannongtan [The Temple of Agriculture]. Only version of S68 “Pierres mortes.”

- 3 September 1911. Tianjin. First of three dated versions of S63 “Char emporté.”
- 7 September 1911. Tianjin. Only dated version of S65 “De la composition.”
- 7 September 1911. Tianjin. First of two dated versions of S04 “Eloge d’une vierge occidentale.”
- 11 September 1911. Tianjin. Fourth of five dates among versions of S15 “Décret.”
- 15 September 1911. Tianjin. Only dated version of S14 “Edit funéraire.”
- 15 September 1911. Tianjin. First of three dated versions of S48 “La passe.”
- 15 September 1911. Third of three dated versions of S56 “Libération.”
- 16 September 1911. “Sceau et nien-hao pour mon ‘Empereur qui ne fut pas’” (see note for S01).
- 19 September 1911. Tianjin. First of three dated versions of S47 “Terre jaune.”
- 2 October 1911. Tianjin. Second of three dated versions of S63 “Char emporté.”
- 3 October 1911. Tianjin. Third of three dated versions of S63 “Char emporté”; also marked 2 September 1911.
- 3 October 1911. First date for both versions of S69 “Pierre-aimante”; see also 16 January 1912.
- 4 October 1911. Tianjin. Only version of S50 “Les mauvais artisans.”
- 4 October 1911. Both versions of S80 “Deux pinceaux, un cœur.”
- 10 October 1911. Tianjin. Two dated versions of S27 “On me dit.”
- 10 October 1911. Tianjin. Only dated version of S59 “Prince des joies défendues.”
- 11 October 1911. Only dated version of S60 “Eloge et pouvoir de l’absence.”
- 21 October 1911. Only dated version of S24 “Les cinq relations.”
- 26 October 1911. Only dated version of S18 “Jade faux.”
- 6 November 1911. Second of three dated versions of S47 “Terre jaune.”
- 6 November 1911. Second and third of three dated versions of S48 “La passe.”
- 17 November 1911. Third of three dated versions of S09 “Aux dix mille années.”

- 17 November 1911. Tianjin. Second of two dated versions of S04  
 “Eloge d’une vierge occidentale.”
- 20 November 1911. Tianjin. First of two dated versions of S10 “Or-  
 dre de marche.”
- 21 November 1911. Second of two dated versions of S10 “Ordre de  
 marche.”
- 24 November 1911. Tianjin. First of two dated versions of S72  
 “Stèle quadrangulaire.”
- 24 November 1911. Tianjin. MS “Feng-chouei/Vents et eaux.”
- 13 December 1911. Tianjin. Only certain date among five versions  
 of S26 “Visage dans les yeux.”
- December 1911. Only date among six versions of S19 “Aux  
 lointains.”

1912

- 4 January 1912. Tianjin. Only version of S06 “En l’honneur d’un  
 Sage solitaire.”
- 16 January 1912. Fifth of five dates among versions of S15 “Décret.”
- 16 January 1912. Only dated version of S33 “Eloge de la jeune  
 fille.”
- 16 January 1912. Second of two versions of S69 “Pierre-aimante”;  
 also dated 3 October 1911, which is the first version.
- 7 March 1912. Second of two versions of S05 “Religion lumineuse.”
- 30 March 1912. First of two dated versions of S20 “A celui-là.”
- 1 April 1912. MS for “Envoyé à l’imprimerie.”
- 6 April 1912. Second of two dated versions of S20 “A celui-là.”
- 9–11 May 1912. *Segalen reread drafts and made notes, some dated,  
 others apparently not.*
- 10 May 1912. Third of three dated versions of S47 “Terre jaune.”
- 12 May 1912. Commentary on MS outlining details of Segalen’s  
 “Preface.” Also date of MS itself?
- 15 June 1912. Only dated version of \*S40 “Serment sauvage.”
- 15 June 1912. First of three dated versions of S73 “Le Champ armé  
 de lances.”
- 16 June, [1912?]. Second of three dated versions of S73 “Le Champ  
 armé de lances.”
- 20 December 1912. Only certain date for a version of \*S51 “Stèle du  
 chemin de l’âme.”

1913

- 5 February 1913. Only dated version of \*S41 “Courtoisie.”
- 3 March, (1913?). Third of three dated versions of S73 “Le Champ armé de lances.”
- 9 March 1913. Zhangde Fu. First of two dated versions of \*S61 “Moment.”
- 10 March 1913. Only dated version of \*S38 “Du bout du sabre.”
- 10 March 1913. Only dated version of S74 “Toise abolie.”
- 19 March 1913. Beijing. Both versions of S13 “Hommage à la raison.”
- 22 March 1913. Only dated version of \*S34 “Stèle au désir.”
- 22 March 1913. Zhangde Fu. Only version of S75 “Sur le mur d’une prison.”
- March 1913. First of two dates among seven versions of \*S21 “Trahison fidèle.”
- 2 April 1913. Second of two dates among seven versions of \*S21 “Trahison fidèle.”
- 7 April 1913. Approximate date of \*S32 “Stèle provisoire.” Ten versions, none dated.
- 8 May 1913. Second of two dated versions of S72 “Stèle quadrangulaire.”
- 17 May 1913. Only two dated versions of \*S08 “Vision pieuse.”
- 30 May 1913. First of four dated versions of \*S30 “Supplique.”
- 31 May 1913. Second of four dated versions of \*S30 “Supplique.”
- 21 June 1913. Third of four dated versions of \*S30 “Supplique.”
- 24, June 1913. First of three dates for five versions of \*S31 “Sœur equivoque.” Two versions.
- 26, June 1913. Second of three dates for five versions of \*S31 “Sœur equivoque.” Two versions.
- 30 July 1913. Only dated version of S22 “Sans méprise.”
- 14 November 1913. Fourth of four dated versions of \*S30 “Supplique.”
- 14 November 1913. Third of three dates for versions of S31 “Sœur equivoque.”
- 16 November 1913. Tianjin. Only dated version of \*S46 “Table de sagesse”
- 16 November 1913. Second of two dated versions of \*S61 “Moment.”