STUDIES IN CHINESE LITERATURE

EDITED BY

JOHN L. BISHOP

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
1965
FOREWORD

This volume, the twenty-first of the Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, is financed from the residue of the funds granted during World War II by the Rockefeller Foundation for the publication of Chinese and Japanese dictionaries. This series is distinct from the Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series and consists primarily of bibliographical studies, grammars, reference works, translations, and other study and research aids.
PREFACE

While specialized studies in Chinese literature multiply, an adequate history of Chinese literature based upon such studies has still to be written. It is, therefore, necessary to keep those preliminary materials accessible. Most of the eight articles reprinted in this volume have been unavailable for some time, and their reissue has been undertaken to fulfill a demand which is, if not vociferous, at least persistent. Six of the studies first appeared in issues of the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies that are now out of print. The editor is grateful to Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd, publisher of Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata, for permission to include James R. Hightower's "Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose" and to The Journal of Asian Studies for permission to reprint his own "Some Limitations of Chinese Fiction" from The Far Eastern Quarterly.

In the present publication, original page numbers have been retained at the top of the page and continuous page numbers have been added at the foot of the page. Additions and corrections (in which reference is made to the original pagination) have been listed at the end of each article and a list of abbreviations used in the text may be found facing page 1.

J. L. B.

November 1, 1964
Cambridge, Massachusetts
CONTENTS

ACHILLES FANG
Rhymeprose on Literature: The Wên-fu of Lu Chi (A.D. 261–303)

JAMES ROBERT HIGHTOWER
The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien
[HJAS 17(1954), 169–230] 45
Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose
[Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata, 60–91] 108
The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory
[HJAS 20(1957), 512–533] 142

YOSHIKAWA KÔJIRÔ
The Shih-shuo hsîn-yû and Six Dynasties Prose Style (translated by Glen W. Baxter)
[HJAS 18(1955), 124–141] 166

GLEN WILLIAM BAXTER
Metrical Origins of the Tz'u
[HJAS 16(1953), 108–145] 186

JOHN L. BISHOP
A Colloquial Short Story in the Novel Chin p'ing mei
[HJAS 17(1954), 394–402] 226
Some Limitations of Chinese Fiction
ABBREVIATIONS

BSOAS  Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
HJAS  Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
JAOS  Journal of the American Oriental Society
MN  Monumenta Nipponica
SBE  Sacred Books of the East Series
SPPY  Ssu-pu pei-yao
SPTK  Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an
TP  T'oung pao
TSCC  Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng
RHYMEPROSE ON LITERATURE

THE WĒN-FU OF LU CHI (A.D. 261–303)

Translated and Annotated by
ACHILLES FANG
RHYMEPROSE ON LITERATURE
THE WÉN-FU OF LU CHI (A.D. 261–303)

内容

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED
BY

ACHILLES FANG

CONTENTS

Introduction ........................................ 527
Translation ........................................... 530
Appendix ................................................
I: Rhyme Scheme .................................. 546
II: Explicatory Notes ............................... 554
III: Terminological Notes .......................... 559
IV: Textual Notes .................................. 562
V: Textual Variants ................................ 563

INTRODUCTION

Tu Fu thinks Lu Chi wrote the Wén-fu when he was twenty years old: 陸機二十作文賦 (cf. 醉歌行 in Collected Poems, Ssū-pu ts'ung-k'an ed. 9.16a). Ho Ch'o 何焯 (義門讀書記, 一文選), however, writes that the poet misinterpreted Tsang Jung-hsū's 威榮絃 statement quoted in the Wén-hsiān commentary of Li Shan 李善; in his book purporting to correct Ho Ch'o's errors, Hsū P'ang-fēng 徐攀鳳 (選學紛何) defends Tu Fu. All we can say, then, is that Lu Chi wrote down the 1658 characters of his rhymeprose* on literature sometime before he was killed in A.D. 303, aetat. 43.

This compact essay is considered one of the most articulate treatises on Chinese poetics. The extent of its influence in Chinese literary history is equalled only by that of the more comprehensive sixth-century work, Wén-hsin tiao-lung 文心雕龍 of Liu Hsieh 劉勰.

* "Rhymeprose" is derived from "Reimprosa" of German medievalists.
The Wén-fu proper consists of 131 distichs, mostly parallel lines or antithetical couplets. A large majority of these distichs, 105 to be exact, are in six-character lines; couplets in four-character lines amount to 17 only (§§ 8, 9, 17, 36, 37, 63, 67, 68, 72, 73, 94, 95, 111, 112, 113, 118, 119). Of the remaining 9 distichs, 5 are in five-character lines (§§ 18, 41, 42, 59, 62); one each in seven- (§ 99), eight- (§ 100), and fifteen-character lines (§ 13); and finally there is one irregular couplet (§ 124), which may be classed as a variation of the eight-character line. The term "Four-and-Six Prose" (ssù-liu wén 四六文), then, applies to the Wén-fu, for the two classes combined leave only 9 distichs out of 131 unaccounted for; although four-character lines are not so numerous as the six-character ones.

As the preface in normal prose comprises 120 characters, while the distichs amount to 1513 characters and the transition words (§§ 8, 10, 13, 17, 41, 67, 72, 94, 99, 111, 118, 122) to 25, the text of the entire Wén-fu as I have established it comprises 1658 characters.

This is not the first translation of the Wén-fu: Dr. G. Margouliès’s first French version appeared in 1926 (Le "Fou" dans le Wen-siuian, Paris, 82-97) and his second in 1948 (Anthologie raisonnée de la littérature chinoise, Paris, 419-425); the late B. M. Alexéiev published his Russian rendition in 1944 (Bulletin de l’Académie des Sciences de l’URSS, “Classe des sciences littéraires et linguistiques,” 3 (4).143-64); Mr. Chu’èn Shih-hsiang and Mr. E. R. Hughes have each given us an English translation, the former in his study entitled “Literature as Light against Darkness” (National Peking University Semincentennial Papers No. 11, College of Arts, Peiping, 1948) and the latter in mimeographed form, privately circulated.* Accepting Mr. Bernard Berenson’s challenge, "Then dare to translate the ancient Chinese and Indian thinkers" (Sketch for a Self-Portrait), I felt that I had to make my translation independently on the basis of "my little

* [Editor’s Note: After this manuscript was received from the author, Mr. Hughes’ The Art of Letters, Lu Chi’s "Wen Fu," A. D. 302, was published in the Bollingen Series. See Mr. Fang’s review on pages 613-636 of this issue of HIAS.]
psychosinology." Hence, I have not made use of the previous translations, excellent as they seem to be.

The subtitles are my own contribution. That the subdivision is not arbitrary can be seen from the rhyme scheme (see Appendix I). For the sake of the reader who might be puzzled at the apparently inconsistent use of pronouns in my translation, it may be here stated that they are all interpolated by me, except in

Preface § 1: "I" (余)
Text § 70: "my heart" (余怀)
"me" (我)
" § 101: "I" (余)
" § 106: "my two hands" (手揝)
" § 123: "my power" (余力)
" § 124: "I" (吾).

I employ "you" and "he" and even "we" indiscriminately in accordance with my sense of rhythm.

I am grateful to Mr. Archibald MacLeish, the Boylston Professor at Harvard University, for the interest he has taken in my translation. If it is at all readable, it is due in great measure to Mr. MacLeish.

As far as notes go, I am at one with a contemporary of Rousseau's: "Il faut dire en deux mots / Ce qu'on veut dire; / Les long propos / sont sots.// Il ne faut pas toujours contem, / Citer / Dater / Mais écouter..." But I cannot claim "J'ai réussi," especially because I broke Mme. de Boufflers' injunction ("Il faut éviter l'emploi / Du moi, du moi"). At any rate, modesty commands me to relegate my notes to the limbo of appendices.
Translation

Rhymeprose on Literature

Preface

(§§ 1-10)

(in unrhymed prose)

余每觀才士之所作竅有以得其用心
Each time I study the works of great writers, I flatter myself
I know how their minds worked.

夫其放言遺辭良多變矣
Certainly expression in language and the charging of words with
meaning can be done in various ways.

妍蚩好惡可得而言
Nevertheless we may speak of beauty and ugliness, of good and
bad [in each literary work].

每自屬文尤見其情
Whenever I write myself, I obtain greater and greater insight.

恆患意不稱物文不達意
Our constant worry is that our ideas may not equal their objects
and our style may fall short of our ideas.

蓋非知之難能之難也
The difficulty, then, lies not so much in knowing as in doing.

故作文賦以述先士之盛藻因論作文之利害所由
I have written this rhymeprose on literature to expatiate on the
consummate artistry of writers of the past and to set forth
the whence and why of good and bad writings as well.

他日殆可謂曲盡其妙
May it be considered, someday, an exhaustive treatment.

至於操斧伐柯雖取則不遠若夫隨手之變良難以辭逮
Now, it is true, I am hewing an ax handle with an ax handle in my
hand: the pattern is not far to seek.
However, the conjuring hand of the artist being what it is, I cannot possibly make my words do the trick.

Nevertheless, what I am able to say I have put down here.

**TEXT**

**A**

(§§ 1-7)

**Preparation**

行中區以玄覽頤情志於典墳
Taking his position at the hub of things, [the writer] contemplates the mystery of the universe; he feeds his emotions and his mind on the great works of the past.

遵四時以歎逝瞻萬物而思紛
Moving along with the four seasons, he sighs at the passing of time; gazing at the myriad objects, he thinks of the complexity of the world.

悲落葉於勁秋喜柔條於芳春
He sorrows over the falling leaves in virile autumn; he takes joy in the delicate bud of fragrant spring.

心愴憟以懷霜志眇眇而臨雲
With awe at heart, he experiences chill; his spirit solemn, he turns his gaze to the clouds.

詠世德之騁烈詠先民之清芬
He declaims the superb works of his predecessors; he croons the clean fragrance of past worthies.

游文章之林府嘉麗藻之彬彬
He roams in the Forest of Literature, and praises the symmetry of great art.

慨投篇而授筆論宣之乎斯文
Moved, he pushes his books away and takes the writing-brush, that he may express himself in letters.
B
(§§ 8-16)

Process

At first he withholds his sight and turns his hearing inward; he is lost in thought, questioning everywhere.

His spirit gallops to the eight ends of the universe; his mind wanders along vast distances.

In the end, as his mood dawns clearer and clearer, objects, clean-cut now in outline, shove one another forward.

He sips the essence of letters; he rinses his mouth with the extract of the Six Arts.

Floating on the heavenly lake, he swims along; plunging into the nether spring, he immerses himself.

Thereupon, submerged words wriggle up, as when a darting fish, with the hook in its gills, leaps from a deep lake; floating beauties flutter down, as when a high-flying bird, with the harpoon-string around its wings, drops from a crest of cloud.

He gathers words never used in a hundred generations; he picks rhythms never sung in a thousand years.

He spurns the morning blossom, now full blown; he plucks the evening bud, which has yet to open.

He sees past and present in a moment; he touches the four seas in the twinkling of an eye.
C

(§§ 17-29)

Words, Words, Words

然後 選義按部 考辭就班
Now he selects ideas and fixes them in their order; he examines
words and puts them in their places.

抱景者咸叩 懷響者畢彈
He taps at the door of all that is colorful; he chooses from among
everything that rings.

或因枝以振葉 或沿波而討源
Now he shakes the foliage by tugging the twig; now he follows
back along the waves to the fountainhead of the stream.

或本隱以之顯 或求易而得難
Sometimes he brings out what was hidden; sometimes, looking for
an easy prey, he bags a hard one.

或虎變而臨懼 或龍見而鳥潰
Now, the tiger puts on new stripes, to the consternation of other
beasts; now, the dragon emerges, and terrifies all the birds.

或安帖而易施 或紏亂而不安
Sometimes things fit together, are easy to manage; sometimes they
jar each other, are awkward to manipulate.

堅澄心以凝思 聲眾慮而爲言
He empties his mind completely, to concentrate his thoughts; he
collects his wits before he puts words together.

龍天地於形內 拦萬物於筆端
He traps heaven and earth in the cage of form; he crushes the
myriad objects against the tip of his brush.

始織織於燥吻 終流離於濡翰
At first they hesitate upon his parched lips; finally they flow
through the well-moistened brush.
理扶實以立幹 文垂條而結繁
Reason, supporting the matter [of the poem], stiffens the trunk; style, depending from it, spreads luxuriance around.

信情貌之不差 故每變而在顏
Emotion and expression never disagree: all changes [in his mood] are betrayed on his face.

思涉樂其必笑 方言哀而已歎
If the thought touches on joy, a smile is inevitable; no sooner is sorrow spoken of than a sigh escapes.

或操觚以韞爾 或含毫而邈然
Sometimes words flow easily as soon as he grasps the brush; sometimes he sits vacantly, nibbling at it.

D
(§§ 30-35)

VIRTUE

伊茲事之可樂 固聖賢之所欽
There is joy in this vocation; all sages esteem it.

課虛無以貴有 叩寂寞而求音
We [poets] struggle with Non-being to force it to yield Being; we knock upon Silence for an answering Music.

函霧邀於尺素 吐滂沛乎寸心
We enclose boundless space in a square foot of paper; we pour out a deluge from the inch-space of the heart.

言恢之而彌廣 思按之而逾深
Language spreads wider and wider; thought probes deeper and deeper.

播芳腴之馥馥 發青條之森森
The fragrance of delicious flowers is diffused; exuberant profusion of green twigs is budding.

欒風飛而森豔 鬱雲起乎翰林
A laughing wind will fly and whirl upward; dense clouds will arise from the Forest of Writing Brushes.
E

(§§ 36-49)

DIVERSITY

(i) The Poet's Aim

(§§ 36-42)

體有萬殊 物無一量
Forms vary in a thousand ways; objects are not of one measure.

紛紜揮霍 形難為狀
Topsy-turvy and fleeting, shapes are hard to delineate.

辭程才以效伎 意司契而為匠
Words vie with words for display, but it is mind that controls them.

在有無而不傀 㗯當淺深而不讓
Confronted with bringing something into being or leaving it unsaid, he groans; between the shallow and the deep he makes his choice resolutely.

雖離方而遙員 期窮形而盡相
He may depart from the square and deviate from the compasses; for he is bent on exploring the shape and exhausting the reality.

故夫 誇目者尚奢 慣心者貴當
Hence, he who would dazzle the eyes makes much of the gorgeous; he who intends to convince the mind values cogency.

言窮者無隘 論達者唯曠
If persuasion is your aim, do not be a stickler for details; when your discourse is lofty, you may be free and easy in your language.
(ii) **Genres**

**(§§ 43-49)**

詩緣情而綺靡 賦體物而瀏亮

*Shih* (lyric poetry) traces emotions daintily; *Fu* (rhymeprose) embodies objects brightly.

碑文字以相質 誇 massa 而悽惋

*Pei* (epitaph) balances substance with style; *Lei* (dirge) is tense and mournful.

銘博約而溫潤 篇頓挫而清壯

*Ming* (inscription) is comprehensive and concise, gentle and generous; *Chén* (admonition), which praises and blames, is clear-cut and vigorous.

顥優游以彬蔚 論精微而朗暢

*Sung* (eulogy) is free and easy, rich and lush; *Lun* (disquisition) is rarified and subtle, bright and smooth.

奏平徹以閑雅 說煥藻而誚詼

*Tsou* (memorial to the throne) is quiet and penetrating, genteel and decorous; *Shuo* (discourse) is dazzling bright and extravagantly bizarre.

雖日分之在茲 亦出邪而制放

Different as these forms are, they all forbid deviation from the straight, and interdict unbridled license.

要辭達而理舉 故無取乎冗長

Essentially, words must communicate, and reason must dominate; prolixity and long-windedness are not commendable.

**F**

**(§§ 50-56)**

**Multiple Aspects**

其為物也多姿 其為體也屢變

As an object, literature puts on numerous shapes; as a form, it undergoes diverse changes.
Ideas should be cleverly brought together; language should be beautifully commissioned.

And the mutation of sounds and tones should be like the five colors of embroidery sustaining each other.

It is true that your moods, which come and go without notice, embarrass you by their fickleness,

But if you can rise to all emergencies and know the correct order, it will be like opening a channel from a spring of water.

If, however, you have missed the chance and reach the sense belatedly, you will be putting the tail at the head.

The sequence of dark and yellow being deranged, the whole broidery will look smudged and blurred.

G

Revision

(§§ 57-61)

Now you glance back and are constrained by an earlier passage; now you look forward and are coerced by some anticipated line.

Sometimes your words jar though your reasoning is sound, sometimes your language is smooth while your ideas make trouble;

Such collisions avoided, neither suffers; forced together, both suffer.
考殿最於鑑錫 定去留於毫芒
Weight merit or demerit by the milligram; decide rejection or
retention by a hairbreadth.
苟錫衡之所裁 固應繩其必當
If your idea or word has not the correct weight, it has to go,
however comely it may look.

H

Key Passages

(§§ 62-66)

或文繁理富 而意不指適
Maybe your language is already ample and your reasoning rich,
yet your ideas do not round out.
極無兩致 盡不可益
If what must go on cannot be ended, what has been said in full
cannot be added to.
立片言而居要 乃一篇之警策
Put down terse phrases here and there at key positions; they
will invigorate the entire piece.
雖衆辭之有條 必得茲而效績
Your words will acquire their proper values in the light of these
phrases.
亮功多而累寡 故取足而不易
This clever trick will spare you the pain of deleting and excising.

I

(§§ 67-71)

Plagiarism

或 澹思猗合 清麗千眠
It may be that language and thought blend into damascened
gauze—fresh, gay, and exuberantly lush;
炳若綾繡 悽若繾絃
Glowing like many-colored broidery, mournful as multiple chords;
必所擬之不殊 乃聞合乎曩篇
But assuredly there is nothing novel in my writing, if it coincides
with earlier masterpieces.
雖杖軸於子懷 惶他人之我先
True, the arrow struck my heart; what a pity, then, that others
were struck before me.
苟傷廉而何義 亦雖愛而必捐
As plagiarism will impair my integrity and damage my probity,
I must renounce the piece, however fond I am of it.

J
(§§ 72-78)
Purple Patches
或 若發頴豎 離衆絕致
It may be that one ear of the stalk buds, its tip standing promi-

形不可逐 響難爲係
But shadows cannot be caught; echoes are hard to bind.
塊孤立而特峙 非常音之所繚
Standing forlorn, your purple passage juts out conspicuously;
it can’t be woven into ordinary music.
心牢落而無偶 意徘徊而不殫
Your mind, out of step, finds no mate for it; your ideas, wandering
hither and thither, refuse to throw away that solitary
passage.
石韜玉而山暉 水懷珠而川媚
When the rock embeds jade, the mountain glows; when the stream
is impregnated with pearls, the river becomes alluring.
彼燎爝之勿翦 亦叢榮於集翠
When the hazel and arrow-thorn bush is spared from the sickle,
it will glory in its foliage.
We will weave the market ditty into the classical melody; perhaps we may thus rescue what is beautiful.

_K_  
(§§ 79-93)  
**Five Imperfections**  
(i) _In Vacuo_  
(§§ 79-81)  
Maybe you have entrusted your diction to an anemic rhythm; living in a desert, you have only yourself to talk to.  
When you look down into Silence, you see no friend; when you lift your gaze to Space, you hear no echo.  
It is like striking a single chord—it rings out, but there is no music.

(ii) _Discord_  
(§§ 82-84)  
Maybe you fit your words to a frazzled music; merely gaudy, your language lacks charm.  
As beauty and ugliness are commingled, your good stuff suffers.  
It is like the harsh note of a wind instrument below in the courtyard; there is music, but no harmony.
(iii) Novelty for Novelty’s Sake

(§§ 85-87)

麥你放着稱意 麦尋意以逐徵
Maybe you forsake reason and strive for the bizarre; you are
merely searching for inanity and pursuing the trivial.

言寡情而異愛 彼浮揚而不歸
Your language lacks sincerity and is poor in love; your words
wash back and forth and never come to the point.

殊絃於而微急 故難和而不思
They are like a thin chord violently twanging—there is harmony,
but it is not sad.

(iv) License

(§§ 88-90)

或奔䩮以諸合 務嘈嘈而妖冶
Maybe by galloping unbridled, you make your writing sound well;
by using luscious tunes, you make it alluring.

徒悦目而偶俗 固聲高而曲下
Merely pleasing to the eye, it mates with vulgarity—a fine voice,
but a nondescriptive song.

爵鶴張與桑間 又雖悲而不雅
It reminds one of Fang-lu and Sang-chien,—it is sad, but not
decorous.

(v) Insipidity

(§§ 91-93)

或清臨以婉約 每除煩而去桂
Or perhaps your writing is simple and terse, all superfluities
removed—

聞大羹之遺味 同朱絃之清氾
So much so that it lacks even the lingering flavor of a sacrificial
broth; it rather resembles the limpid tune of the “ver-
milion chord.”
“One man sings, and three men do the refrain”; it is decorous, but it lacks beauty.

Variability

As to whether your work should be loose or constricted, whether you should mould it by gazing down or looking up,

You will accommodate necessary variation, if you would bring out all the overtones.

Maybe your language is simple, whereas your conceits are clever; maybe your reasoning is plain, but your words fall too lightly.

Maybe you follow the beaten track to attain greater novelty; maybe you immerse yourself in the muddy water—to reach true limpidity.

Well, perspicacity may come after closer inspection; subtlety may ensue from more polishing.

It is like dancers flinging their sleeves in harmony with the beat or singers throwing their voices in tune with the chord.

All this is what the wheelwright P’ien despaired of ever explaining; it certainly is not what mere language can describe.
M

(§§ 101-106)

MASTERPIECES

普辭條與文律 良余膺之所服
I have been paying tribute to laws of words and rules of style.

練世情之常尤 識前縷之所淑
I know well what the world blames, and I am familiar with what
the worthies of the past praised.

雖濁發於巧心 或受歎於瞥目
Originality is a thing often looked at askance by the fixed eye.

彼瓊斈與玉藻 若中原之有鬣
The fu-gems and jade beads, they say, are as numerous as the
"pulse in the middle of the field" [which everyone can
pick].

同産蒸之罔窮 與天地乎並育
As inexhaustible as the space between heaven and earth, and
growing co-eternally with heaven and earth themselves.

雖紛藻於此世 噬不盈於予掬
The world abounds with masterpieces; and yet they do not fill my
two hands.

N

(§§ 107-110)

THE Poet's DesPAIR

患挈瓶之屢空 病昌言之難屬
How I grieve that the bottle is often empty; how I sorrow that
Elevating Discourse is hard to continue.

故跼躇於短履 放庸音以足曲
No wonder I limp along with trivial rhythms and make indifferent
music to complete the song.
恒遺恨以終篇 豈懷盈而自足
I always conclude a piece with a lingering regret; can I be smug and self-satisfied?

懼蒙塵於叩缶 願取笑乎鳴玉
I fear to be a drummer on an earthen jug; the jinglers of jade pendants will laugh at me.

O
(§§ 111-124)
INSPIRATION
(i)

若夫 應感之會 通塞之紀
As for the interaction of stimulus and response, and the principle of the flowing and ebbing of inspiration,

來不可遏 去不可止
You cannot hinder its coming or stop its going.

藏若景滅 行猶響起
It vanishes like a shadow, and it comes like echoes.

方天機之騏利 夫何紛而不理
When the Heavenly Arrow is at its fleetest and sharpest, what confusion is there that cannot be brought to order?

思風發於胸臆 言泉流於脣齒
The wind of thought bursts from the heart; the stream of words rushes through the lips and teeth.

紛葳蕤以駸遶 唯毫素之所擬
Luxuriance and magnificence wait the command of the brush and the paper.

文黱黱以溢目 聲泠泠而盈耳
Shining and glittering, language fills your eyes; abundant and overflowing, music drowns your ears.
(ii)

及其 六情底濁 志往神留
When, on the other hand, the Six Emotions become sluggish and foul, the mood gone but the psyche remaining,

兀若枯木 豁若涸流
You will be as forlorn as a dead stump, as empty as the bed of a dry river.

攬營魂以探賾 頓精爽於自求
You probe into the hidden depth of your soul; you rouse your spirit to search for yourself.

理磐磐而遏伏 思乙乙其若抽
But your reason, darkened, is crouching lower and lower; your thought must be dragged out by force, wriggling and struggling.

是以 或竭情而多悔 或率意而寡尤
So it is that when your emotions are exhausted you produce many faults; when your ideas run freely you commit fewer mistakes.

雖茲物之在我 非余力之所勤
True, the thing lies in me, but it is not in my power to force it out.

故時撫空懷而自惋 吾未識夫開塞之所由
And so, time and again, I beat my empty breast and groan; I really do not know the causes of the flowing and the not flowing.

P

(§§ 125-131)

Coda: Encomium

伊茲文之為用 固衆理之所因
The function of style is, to be sure, to serve as a prop for your ideas.

(Yet allow me to expatiate on the art of letters:)

21
好行里而無障 通倫裁而為津
It travels over endless miles, removing all obstructions on the way;
it spans innumerable years, taking the place, really, of a bridge.

俯窺則於來葉 仰觀象乎古人
Looking down, it bequeaths patterns to the future; gazing up, it
contemplates the examples of the ancients.

濟文武於將壘 宣風聲於不泯
It preserves the way of Wên and Wu, about to fall to the ground;
and it propagates good ethos, never to perish.

塗無遠而不彌 理無微而不絖
No path is too far for it to tread; no thought is too subtle for it
to comprehend.

配齋謖於雲雨 象變化乎鬼神
It is a match for clouds and rain in yielding sweet moisture; it is
like spirits and ghosts in bringing about metamorphoses.

被金石而德廣 流管絃而日新
It inscribes bronze and marble, to make virtue known; it breathes
through flutes and strings, and is new always.

APPENDIX I: RHyme SCHEME

Now that I have sunk several craters in the body of the text, I must try
to negotiate peace with the shade of our poet: my plea is that the fissures I
have made in his rhymeprose are strictly metrical and not poetical.

By translating *fu* as "rhymeprose" I have assumed that it is a variety
of prose. Yet I am aware that much controversy has raged over the exact
nature of this genre. For those of the critics who bifurcate all writings into
rhymed and unrhymed classes, *fu* is verse; for those who posit regular rhythmic
patterns as a criterion for verse, *fu* is considered prose. Pending a detailed
study of *fu* rhythms, we may be permitted to take it as prose.

Meanwhile I shall here discuss the rhyme scheme of the *Wên-fu* on the
basis of *Ch’iieh-yüen* phonology. It is true that *Ch’iieh-yüen* sounds are not
exactly contemporaneous with the date of the *Wên-fu*; but as none of the
rhyme-books of Lu Chi’s time is extant, we have to fall back upon the *T’ang-
Sung* rhyme-patterns.

22
The four preceding translators could profitably have paid a bit more attention to the rhyme schemes of the text. I find all of them lumping together §§ 101-110, which distinctly fall into two heterogeneous parts (101-106 and 107-110); one of them even subdivides the whole into two sections, 101-103 and 104-110. It is in accordance with rhyme that I have made two sections out of the ten distichs.

I believe I have made profitable use of the Kuang-yün shêng-hai 廣韻聲 系, edited by the late Professor Shên Chien-shih 沈兼士 of Peking and published in 1945, as well as the detailed study of the rhymes of early Chinese writers by Yü H'ai-yen 于海晏 (漢魏六朝聲韻, in three volumes, Peiping, 1936) —in particular the second volume dealing with the Wei-Chin-Sung-Ch'i writers.

The alphabetization of ancient sounds, worked out by Professor Bernhard Karlgren, could have been a bit more accurate: e.g., the bilabials b', p, p', m (奉,非,敷,微) might have been distinguished from their labial counterparts (貳,解,滂,明); the same applies to the dental n (泥) versus the palatal n (娘). Finer distinctions will be in demand when alliteration is studied. For our present undertaking, however, they are not of much consequence; Lu Chi himself does not seem to be very particular about homophonous rhymes (e.g., see § 2 and § 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Dominant Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§§ 1. 場</td>
<td>b'</td>
<td>訣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§ 2. 紛</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>訣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§ 3. 春*</td>
<td>t's'</td>
<td>訣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§ 4. 雲</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>訣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§ 5. 芬</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>訣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§ 6. 母**</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>訣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§ 7. 文</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>訣</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Pronounced ʊts'juën, this character properly belongs to shang-p'ing 18 詣, ʊts'juën, a rhyme which does not exist in the Ch'ieh-yün, where this “closed” (i.e., rounded, ho-k'o) rhyme is incorporated into the “open” (i.e., not-rounded, k'ai-k'ou) shang-p'ing 17 真, ʊts'jén.

** If it is pronounced ʊpiün, this character belongs to shang-p'ing 17. According to Chi-yün, however, it can also belong to the dominant rhyme of this section, 文; for there its variant form 伃, ʊpiün (gloss: 文質備也) is listed under the latter rhyme.

(Cf. Yü 2.34b; also 1.1a, “General Survey,” for the indiscriminate rhyming of 真, 訣, 文, etc.)

23
**初** 癸

**四** 詩。**便** 終在**薄** 殺的**聰** 音。

**初** 癸。**四** 詩。**便** 終在**薄** 殺的**聰** 音。

As a matter of fact, the **初** 癸 rhyme does not exist in the **仮** 癸-yün, where this "closed" rhyme is included in the "open" 風。Strictly speaking, then, the dominant rhyme of this section is "uu". 仏

† Pronounced "pee", this character from "u" 癸, "pee" does not rhyme at all with the other rhyme words of this section. I am almost tempted to emend the text here and alter the character to "pee", "pee" (Kuang-yün: s. v. 錦), "pee" (Chi-yün: s. v. 稀); except that "pee" means (alas) "to sprinkle water on the ground [preparatory to sweeping]." Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that during Han times certain characters ending in "n" used to rhyme with "pee", "pee" (cf. Yu 1.1b, "General Survey"; for examples see 1.3b-6a, "Table"). This was true only of "n" rhyme characters, but it is possible that Lu Chi extended this usage and made "pee" rhyme with 風 characters. Incidentally, "pee" can also belong to hsia-p'ing "n", "pee"; but it is, of course, in the "u" 癸 here.

(Cf. Yu 2.25b.)
RHYME PROSE ON LITERATURE

The dominant rhyme here is shang-p'ing 25 ,γān, for it accounts for §§ 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 28, and § 24 (桓 being nothing but a "closed" variation of塞). Rhyme 元 is represented by both its classes, "open" (§§ 23, 26) and "closed" (§ 19); the same is true of rhyme 仙, "open" (§ 27) and "closed" (§ 17); 仙 (§ 29) represents only the "open" class of 仙.

(Cf. Yô 2.25b; for the indiscriminate rhyming of the 元塞桓仙 groups during the Han and San-kuo periods, see 1.1b, "General Survey.")

D
\[\begin{array}{ll}
§ 30. 欽 & k' \\
§ 31. 音 & ș' om \\
§ 32. 心 & s \\
§ 33. 深 & i \\
§ 34. 森 & ș \\
§ 35. 林 & i \\
\end{array}\]

\[\text{(Cf. Yô 2.41a)}\]

Rhyme
\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{ș' om} \\
\text{(hsia-p'ing 21: 使, ș' om)}
\end{array}\]

E (i & ii)
\[\begin{array}{ll}
§ 36. 量 & l \\
§ 37. 状 & dș' \\
§ 38. 匠 & tś \\
§ 39. 讓 & șū \\
§ 40. 相 & s \\
§ 41. 當** & t \\
§ 42. 蠻** & k' \\
§ 43. 亮 & l \\
§ 44. 館 & ts' \\
§ 45. 壯 & ts \\
§ 46. 暢* & ș' \\
§ 47. 賢* & ș' \\
§ 48. 放* & p \\
§ 49. 長 & ș \\
\end{array}\]

Dominant Rhyme
\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{șang}^* \\
\text{(ch'ū-shēng 41: 聲 șang)}
\end{array}\]

* Pronounced k'ıwang" and pıwang", these two characters belong to the second, "closed," class of 聲.

** Tăng" and k'ıwang" belong to ch'ū-shēng 42 岩, d'ăng", the former "open" and the latter "closed." Rhyme 聲, however, is but a yodicized variety of rhyme 岩.

(Cf. Yô 2.12a, where 當 is marked as belonging to the 聲 rhyme group.)

25
ACHILLES FANG

F

| § 50. 遷 | ts' |
| § 51. 妍** | ng |
| § 52. 宜* | s |
| § 53. 便 | b' |
| § 54. 泉* | dz' |
| § 55. 娴** | t |
| § 56. 鮮 | s |

Dominant Rhyme

{iän}

( hsia-p'ing 2: 仙 sjūn )

* Siwān and da'kwān belong to the second, "closed," class of rhyme 仙.
** Ngien and tien belong to the first, "open," class of hsia-p'ing 1 先. sien.
(Cf. Yü 2.38b.)

G

| § 57. 章 | ti |
| § 58. 妨* | p' |
| § 59. 傷 | s |
| § 60. 芒* | m |
| § 61. 當** | t |

Dominant Rhyme

{iāng}

( hsia-p'ing 10: 阳 sjāng )

* According to KARLGREN's Analytic Dictionary (nos. 95 p'iuang and 1999 miwang) these two characters should belong to the second, "closed," class of the 阳 rhyme; Shên Chien-shih's edition of Kuang-yün, on the other hand, takes them to be of the first, "open," class (p. 529, sjāng; p. 459, p'iuang).
** T'āng belongs to the first, "open," class of hsia-p'ing 11 唐, d'āng.
(Cf. Yü 2.8b.)

H

| § 62. 適 | šāk' |
| § 63. 益 | ūk' |
| § 64. 策 | ts'ek' |
| § 65. 階 | tsiekt' |
| § 66. 易 | ūk' |

Rhymes

ju-shēng 22 昔
ju-shēng " "
ju-shēng " "
ju-shēng 21 糇
ju-shēng 23 錫
ju-shēng 22

Each of these three rhymes consists of two classes: "open" and "closed." Here the first class only is employed.
(Cf. Yü 2.86a.)

26
RHYMEOVERSE ON LITERATURE

I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>§</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Dominant Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>眠</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>絃</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>篇*</td>
<td>p'îân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>先</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>捐*</td>
<td>iûân</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These two belong to hsia-p'îng 2 仙, 仙, one "open" and the other "closed." The three characters of the 先 rhyme are all "open" and not "closed." (Cf. Yû 2.28b.)

J

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>§</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Rhymes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>致</td>
<td>ti' ch'û-shêng 6 至</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>係</td>
<td>kieî“ &quot; &quot; 12 霧</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td>緯</td>
<td>jweî“ &quot; &quot; 8 未</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td>掣*</td>
<td>tieî“ &quot; &quot; 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td>媧**</td>
<td>mjû“ (mjweî“) &quot; &quot; 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.</td>
<td>翠</td>
<td>ts'wi“ &quot; &quot; 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td>偉†</td>
<td>jweî“ &quot; &quot; 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In accordance with Chi-yûn. Both this character and 係 are "open." For a detailed discussion see Appendix IV, Textual Notes.

** According to Kuang-yûn shêng-hsi (p. 918), this character is "open" (as in 致). Karlgren (Analytic Dictionary no. 608) makes it "closed" (as in 翠).

† According to Chi-yûn, 偉 is a homophone of 緯, both "closed"; in Kuang-yûn it is pronounced "jweî (shang-shêng 7 尾, "closed" class). Since the word is verbalized, the Chi-yûn entry may not be incorrect.

K

(i)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>§</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79.</td>
<td>興</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td>承</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.</td>
<td>應</td>
<td>(’jiang)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cf. Yû 2.21b.)

(ii)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>§</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Rhymes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td>華</td>
<td>χîva hsia-p'îng 9 麻</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td>琨</td>
<td>χa &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>γuâ &quot; &quot; 8 戈</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the two characters of the 麻 rhyme one is "open" and the other "closed"; the third, yodicized, is not represented here. 和 belongs to the
"closed" variety of 戈, the other two being unrepresented here. Incidentally, 戈 is a rhyme not found in Ch'ieh-yūn, where it is incorporated into the preceding 歌 rhyme.
(Cf. Yù 2.79a.)

(iv)

§ 88. “ga
§ 89. "ya
§ 90. "nga

Of the three classes of the 馬 rhyme, the "open" (§§ 89, 90) and the yodicized (§ 88) are represented here. (The third is "closed.")
(Cf. Yù 2.80b.)

(v)

§ 91. lam* ch'ü-sheng 54 " ventilation
§ 92. "piwom* “ “ 60 " ventilation
§ 93. "jäm* “ “ 55 " ventilation

The character from rhyme 12 represents one of the four subdivisions of that rhyme; "open" according to Kuang-yūn shèng-hai (p. 536), "closed" in Kałużen's Analytic Dictionary (no. 634). Rhymes 14 and 15 are each composed of two subdivisions—"open" and "closed"; here we have only the "open" class.
(Cf. Yù 2.16a.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b'iuk</td>
<td>(second class—yodicized)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šiuk</td>
<td>(ju-shéng 1: 屋 *uk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šiuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'iuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cf. Yü 2.82a.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>īucok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cf. Yü 2.83a.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* (j)i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’zi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cf. Yü 2.68a.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*j2u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*j2u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cf. Yü 2.48a.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Dominant Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§ 125. 因</td>
<td>īen</td>
<td>īen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 126. 津</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>(shang-p'ing 17: 真 tīen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 127. 人</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 128. 水</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 129. 纶</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 130. 神</td>
<td>da'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 131. 新</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Lüen belongs to shang-p'ing 18 賴 tìen, which can be considered as the "closed" variety of the 真 rhyme, a variety of which four species (jiuan, k'üen, k'üen, juen) are still found under that rhyme in Kuang-yün and Chi-yün. Ch'ieh-yün does not make a separate rhyme of 賴.*

**APPENDIX II: EXPLICATORY NOTES**

(-believing that the text is on the whole self-explanatory, I have tried to make as few notes as possible.)

**PREFACE**

§ 5. Essentially a restatement of the Confucian saying in the Book of Changes (繫辭下): 書不盡言言不盡意. (Legge, The Sacred Books of the East 16:376-7: "The written characters are not the full exponent of speech, and speech is not the full expression of ideas.")

§ 6. The incommensurability supposed to exist between knowledge and action had already found expression in 非知之實難,將在行之 (Tso-chuan, Chao 10—Legge, The Chinese Classics 5:628; "It is not the knowing a thing that is difficult, but it is the acting accordingly," 630a) and in 非知之難,行之難 (*Sa-ma fa 司馬法, Sa-pu ta'ung-k'an ed. 3:4a). The statement 非知之難,行之惟艱 occurring in a forged chapter of the Shu (Legge, Ch. Cl. 3:258) must have been inspired by one of these two passages. (In Chou-li chi-shu 周禮注疏 22:3b, the subcommentary quotes a passage which is identical with the statement supposedly made by Fu Yuē 傳說 尚書傳詩 [var. 説]云非知之難行之惟艱. This line from a putatively lost ode [逸詩] is quoted by Chu Chün-shêng 朱駿聲 [尚書古注便讀, Ch'eng-tu, 1935, 3:17b] and Wang K'ai-yün 王闕運 [尚書太傳補注 Lien-ch'ien-ko ts'ung-shu ed. 6:8a]. But as the "Collation Note" has it, 尚書傳詩云 is an error for 尚書傳詩 [in fact, the subcommentary is quoting from the forged Yuē-ming 説說命 chapters of the Shang-shu.]

The Socratic identification of knowledge with action, which became the keynote of post-Renaissance writers and has now become an item in the credo of many Marxists, was seldom affected by Chinese thinkers until the time of Wang Shou-jen 王守仁, commonly known as Wang Yang-ming 陽明, 1472-1528, nor does it seem to have

30
left any lasting impression on the Chinese intellectual world. At any rate, when Sun Yat-sen reversed the ancient tag and propounded his thesis of 知難行易, he was leaving the identity thesis severely alone.

§ 8. This outlandish line jars me. But I am unable to see how else it can be rendered.

§ 9. Allusion to the line 伐柯伐柯,其則不遠 of Ode No. 158 (Legge, Ch. Cl. 4.240), which is also quoted in the Doctrine of the Mean (Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.393).

Text

§ 1. 玄览 seems to allude to the line 瀚濛 in Tao-tê ching, chapter 10. ("When he has cleansed away the mysterious sights [of his imagination], he can become without a flaw."—Legge, SBE 39.54.)

The gloss of "Ho-shang kung" 河上公, however, has 心居玄冥之處,覩知萬事,故云 | |, which makes 玄览 not a thing to be cleansed away but a result or objective of the process of cleansing. (Arthur Waley seems to follow this interpretation: "Can you wipe and cleanse your vision of the Mystery till all is without blur?"—The Way and its Power, 155.)

§ 4. This more or less baffling couplet means, according to Li Shan, the sublime and the pure (髙潔).

§ 6. 彬彬 being derived from the Confucian saying 文質 | |, 然後君子 (Analects 6.16; Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.190), "symmetry" is to be understood in the sense of a correct balance between form and content. On the other hand, the adjunct seems to pull us back from such pedantically Confucian interpretation; "symmetry" may, then, be understood in its usual sense of "due proportion." Then, again, if the expression 林府 is to refer to the term, "symmetry" is not the best translation; instead, we might take the term as tantamount in meaning to 彬蔚, "rich and lush," occurring in § 46.

§ 7. 斯文 may faintly hint at the Confucian connotation of the term (Analects 9.5; Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.217).

§ 9. 八極 = 八方之極, extremities of the eight directions (N, S, E, W, and NE, NW, SE, SW).

§ 11. Li Shan explains liu-i as the six arts of the Chou-li (ceremonies, music, archery, horsemanship, calligraphy, and mathematics); Ho Ch'o, op. cit., takes them to mean the six Confucian arts (the Books of Odes, History, and Changes, Ceremonies, Music, and the Spring and Autumn).

§ 14. With reference to this passage Ku Yen-wu 顏炎武 (1.1b, 春秋攷異書 ed.) observes that Lu Chi was the first man of letters to speak of 韻 "rhyme" (which I have translated, rather subversively, as "rhythm"). On the other hand, Yen Jo-chü 阮若璩 (尚書古文疏證,卷西堂 ed. 3.15a) writes that the first use of this character was a bit earlier than that: Ts'ao Ts'ao (A.D. 155-220) as mentioned in Lu Hsiu's Wên-hsin tiao-lung, chapter 34, and in Chin-shu, chapter 16 (魏武時河南校勘性音).
note to §11): "The two lines probably mean that when a main item is obtained, all subsidiary ones come by themselves (二句疑大者得而小者畢至之意).

§ 32. 素 "silk" is here translated as "paper"; so also in §116.

§ 38. 司契 probably refers to 有德 | | in Tao-tê ching, chapter 79. ("[So], he who has the attributes [of the Tao] regards [only] the conditions of the engagement.")—Legge, SBE 39.121: "For he who has the 'power' of Tao is the Grand Almoner."—Waley, The Way and Its Power, 239.)

§ 39. Patterned after Confucius' 當仁不讓於師. (Analects 15.35: "When it comes to acting humanely, you need not be so modest about it as to let your teacher take precedence." Cf. Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.304; Waley, The Analects of Confucius, 900.)

§ 42. 言窮者 would be "a writer who would explore a subject thoroughly" in order to win over the antagonist. But I confess I am quite baffled by this couplet; for it still does not make much sense at this juncture. The commentators all fail us.

§ 43. The ten literary genres discussed in this and four following couplets do not, of course, exhaust the literature of Lu Chi's days, and yet they seem to be most important ones. It is, furthermore, possible to dispute Lu Chi's description of each of these genres: e.g., a P'an Ta-tao 禮大過 has proposed to emend the first line to | | | | 深婉 ("profoundly meaningful"?) "profound and meaningful"?) on the ground that 絲靡 was the prevalent evil of the effeminate age in which Lu Chi lived (see his Lun-šíh 論詩, Shanghai, 1927, 21).

§ 48. The second line alludes to the Confucian dictum on the design of the three hundred Odes: 思無邪, "Having no depraved thoughts" (Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.146).

§ 49. Another Confucian dictum: 道達而已矣 (Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.303), which can be interpreted in a dozen different ways.

At any rate, as Wallace Srevenus writes ("Chocorua to Its Neighbor"): To say more than human things with human voice, That cannot be; to say human things with more Than human voice, that, also, cannot be; To speak humanly from the height or from the depth Of human things, that is acutest speech.

Which is as good an interpretation as any.

§ 50. 僵遷 may be taken in the temporal sense, but none of the commentators supports this interpretation. Moreover the phrase occurs in the Book of Changes (繫辞,下): 易之為書也不遠,為道也 | | | | 不可不為曲要, 唯變所適 ("The Yi is a book which should not be let slip from the mind. Its method [of teaching] is marked by the frequent changing [of its lines] . . . . so that an invariant and compendious rule cannot be derived from them;—it must vary as their changes indicate."—Legge, SBE 16.309.)

§ 53. The subject "moods" is interpolated.

§ 61. This is translated in accordance with Li Shan's gloss; it seems that the passage should literally mean something like "Whatever is rejected (載) by your balance deserves (當) to be rejected, even if (固) the things conform to the carpenter's marking-line." Another Wên-hsiün commentator, Li Chou-han, seems to take 當 in quite a different sense; his gloss states that "a literary work will conform to the marking-line and (而) becomes exact (相當) if it is tailored by having words and
phrases weighed with a balance." This seems to take 其 as equivalent to 而, and 固 as confirmative and not concessive.

§ 68. With regard to 悼, it may be here remarked that a tragic note seems to have prevailed in Chinese poetics since the last days of the Han dynasty; in fact, it seems to have become a frame of reference with which to judge poetry (see 悲 in § 87). As gaiety was a quality not excluded in Confucian poetics (cf. Analects 3.20: 關雎樂而不淫,衰而不傷), it would be worth investigating how and exactly since what time sadness has become the key tune in Chinese poetry.

Is this tearfulness perhaps merely geographical? The elegies of Ch’u are not joyous jingles; could it be, then, that the South has been responsible for the whining note in Chinese poetry?

§ 70. 杵, “shuttle,” is a nice word, for it chimes in with the weaving imagery of § 67. I have, however, translated it as “arrow,” a word not foreign to the Occidental literary tradition.

§ 71. For 傷廉 cf. the Book of Memecius 4B 23: 可以取可以無取,取 ||, “When to take and not to take are equally correct, you will be impairing your personal integrity by taking.”

§ 76. Cf. Hsün-ts’u, Ssu-pu t’ang-k’an ed. (1)1.11a: 玉在山而草木潤,淵生珠而崖不枯, “If there is jade in the mountain, the trees on it will be flourishing; if there are pearls in the pool the banks will not be parched.” (Homer H. Duns, Hsün-ts’e’s Works, 36).

§ 78. The commentators agree that 下里 and 白雪 were ancient melodies, the former being a sort of jazz tune and the latter an Orphean melody.

§ 79. I like to take the situation described in this and the subsequent couplets as applying to the haike, ancestor of Imagist poetry. Is it possible (I repeat a hackneyed question) to write a long Imagist poem? Can an Imagist draw his breath deep and long?

§ 90. In spite of much controversy that has been raised around 防露, nothing tangible has emerged out of the fog. At any rate, it must be something not very unlike 桑間, which is mentioned in Li-chi (Legge, SBE 28.95; Couvreur, 2.49) and in Shih-chi (Chavannes, Mémoires historiques 3.241).

§ 92. Sacrificial broth was neither salted nor spiced; “vermilion chords” refers to the sithers played in ancestral temples (see the next note).

§ 93. Allusion to 淸廟之瑟,朱弦而疏越,一倡而三歎 in Li-chi (Couvreur ed. 2.51).

Notice the crescendo in the five criteria: 態 (§ 81), 和 (§ 84), 悲 (§ 87), 雅 (§ 90), and 豔 (§ 93).

The last term, here rendered as “beauty,” properly means “gaudiness.” If Lu Chi is pleased to pay the highest tribute to an aesthetic standard frowned upon nowadays, it is a case of de gustibus...

§ 95. 因宜適變 seems to echo 唯變所適; see note to § 50.

§ 100. For the wheelwright Pien, see Chuang-tzu, at the end of the chapter 天道 (Legge, SBE 39.343).

§ 104. 瑣 is to be read 瑣. The latter character is listed in Chi-yüan 平聲,虞 (Ssu-ch’uan ed. 2.7a), where 瑣 is defined as 美玉, “pretty jade.” As 玉藻
note to §11): “The two lines probably mean that when a main item is obtained, all subsidiary ones come by themselves (二句疑大者得而小者畢至之意).

§ 32. 素 “silk” is here translated as “paper”; so also in §116.

§ 38. 司契 probably refers to 有德 | | in Tao-te ching, chapter 79. (“[So], he who has the attributes [of the Tao] regards [only] the conditions of the engagement.”—Legge, SBE 39.121: “For he who has the ‘power’ of Tao is the Grand Almoner.”—Waley, The Way and Its Power, 239.)

§ 39. Patterned after Confucius’s 當仁不讓於師. (Analects 15.85: “When it comes to acting humanely, you need not be so modest about it as to let your teacher take precedence.” Cf. Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.304; Waley, The Analects of Confucius, 200.)

§ 42. 言窮者 would be “a writer who would explore a subject thoroughly” in order to win over the antagonist. But I confess I am quite baffled by this couplet; for it still does not make much sense at this juncture. The commentators all fail us.

§ 43. The ten literary genres discussed in this and four following couplets do not, of course, exhaust the literature of Lu Chi’s days, and yet they seem to be most important ones. It is, furthermore, possible to dispute Lu Chi’s description of each of these genres: e.g., a P’an Ta-tao 潘大道 has proposed to emend the first line to | | | | 深琬 (“profoundly meaningful”? “profound and meaningful?”) on the ground that 綺巖 was the prevalent evil of the effeminate age in which Lu Chi lived (see his Lun-shih 論詩, Shanghai, 1927, 21).

§ 48. The second line alludes to the Confucian dictum on the design of the three hundred Odes: 思無邪, “Having no depraved thoughts” (Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.146).

§ 49. Another Confucian dictum: 論達而已矣 (Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.305), which can be interpreted in a dozen different ways.

At any rate, as Wallace Stevens writes (“Chocorua to Its Neighbor”):

To say more than human things with human voice,
That cannot be; to say human things with more
Than human voice, that, also, cannot be;
To speak humanly from the height or from the depth
Of human things, that is acutest speech.

Which is as good an interpretation as any.

§ 50. 餑漐 may be taken in the temporal sense, but none of the commentators supports this interpretation. Moreover the phrase occurs in the Book of Changes (繫緯,下): 易之為書也不遠, 為道也 | | | | 可不為曲要, 唯變所適 (“The Yi is a book which should not be let slip from the mind. Its method [of teaching] is marked by the frequent changing [of its lines] . . . . so that an invariably and compendious rule cannot be derived from them;—it must vary as their changes indicate.”—Legge, SBE 16.390.)

§ 55. The subject “moods” is interpolated.

§ 61. This is translated in accordance with Li Shan’s gloss; it seems that the passage should literally mean something like “Whatever is rejected (裁) by your balance deserves (當) to be rejected, even if (固) the things conform to the carpenter’s marking-line.” Another Wên-ассив commentator, Li Chou-han, seems to take 當 in quite a different sense; his gloss states that “a literary work will conform to the marking-line and (而) becomes exact (相當) if it is tailored by having words and
phrases weighed with a balance." This seems to take 其 as equivalent to 而, and 固 as confirmative and not concessive.

§ 68. With regard to 餘, it may be here remarked that a tragic note seems to have prevailed in Chinese poetics since the last days of the Han dynasty; in fact, it seems to have become a frame of reference with which to judge poetry (see 悲 in § 87). As gaiety was a quality not excluded in Confucian poetics (cf. Analects 3.90: 間唯 樂而不淫,哀而不傷), it would be worth investigating how and exactly since what time sadness has become the key tune in Chinese poetry.

Is this tearfulness perhaps merely geographical? The elegies of Ch’u are not joyous jingles; could it be, then, that the South has been responsible for the whining note in Chinese poetry?

§ 70. 杵, "shuttle," is a nice word, for it chimes in with the weaving imagery of § 67. I have, however, translated it as "arrow," a word not foreign to the Occidental literary tradition.

§ 71. For 傷矑 cf. the Book of Mencius 4B 23: 可以取可以無取,取| | "When to take and not to take are equally correct, you will be impairing your personal integrity by taking."

§ 76. Cf. Hsün-tzu, Ssu-pu ts’ung-k’an ed. (1)1.11a: 玉在山而草木潤,瀝生珠而崖不枯, "If there is jade in the mountain, the trees on it will be flourishing; if there are pearls in the pool the banks will not be parched." (Homer H. Dubs, Hsün-tze’s Works, 36).

§ 78. The commentators agree that 下里 and 白雲 were ancient melodies, the former being a sort of jazz tune and the latter an Orphean melody.

§ 79. I like to take the situation described in this and the subsequent couplets as applying to the haiku, ancestor of Imagist poetry. Is it possible (I repeat a hackneyed question) to write a long Imagist poem? Can an Imagist draw his breath deep and long?

§ 90. In spite of much controversy that has been raised around 防雲, nothing tangible has emerged out of the fog. At any rate, it must be something not very unlike 濃陰, which is mentioned in Li-chi (Legge, SBE 28.95; Couvreur, 2.49) and in Shih-chi (Chavannes, Mémoires historiques 3.941).

§ 92. Sacrificial broth was neither salted nor spiced; "vermilion chords" refers to the zithers played in ancestral temples (see the next note).

§ 93. Allusion to 清廟之瑟,朱弦而疏越,一倡而三歎 in Li-chi (Couvreur ed. 2.51).

Notice the crescendo in the five criteria: 應 (§ 81), 和 (§ 84), 悲 (§ 87), 雅 (§ 90), and 哀 (§ 93).

The last term, here rendered as "beauty," properly means "gaudiness." If Lu Chi is pleased to pay the highest tribute to an aesthetic standard frowned upon nowadays, it is a case of de gustibus. . . .

§ 95. 因宜適變 seems to echo 唯變所適; see note to § 50.

§ 100. For the wheelwright Pien, see Chuang-tzu, at the end of the chapter 天道 (Legge, SBE 29.343).

§ 104. 璀敷 is to be read | 璀. The latter character is listed in Chi-yün 平聲,虞 (Sö-ch’üan ed. 2.7a), where 璀 is defined as 美玉, "pretty jade." As 玉蘊
(Li-chi, Couvreur ed. 1.677) denotes a specific object (beads of jades hanging down from the royal headgear), chi’ung-fu should also denote a concrete thing. Is the expression perhaps an error for one of the numerous 髹 compounds in the Book of Odes, all denoting trinkets of one sort or another?

§ 104. Cf. Book of Odes (no. 196): 中原有菽, 庶民采之, “In the midst of the plain there is pulse, / And the common people gather it.” (Legge, Ch. Cl. 4.334.)

§ 105. The couplet can be understood only with reference to Tao-té ching, chapter 5: 天地之際, 其猶毫末乎... “May not the space between heaven and earth be compared to a bellows? ...” (Legge, SBE 39.50); “Yet Heaven and Earth and all that lies between / Is like a bellows / In that it is empty, but gives a supply that never fails.” (Waley, The Way and its Power, 147.)

§ 106. The second line refers to 總朝采藥, 不盈一掬 in the Book of Odes (No. 226), “All the morning I gather the king-grass, / And do not collect enough to fill my hands.” (Legge, Ch. Cl. 4.411.)

§ 107. For “Elevating Discourse” cf. Shu: 汝亦昌言, 師汝 | (Legge, Ch. Cl. 5.76, 78). Needless to say, Lu Chi is not thinking here of CHUNG-CH’ANG T’ung’s 仲長統 discourse (Hou Han-shu, lieh-chuan 39).

§ 110. For 叩缶 see Li Seu’s letter to the First Emperor (李斯, 上書秦始皇 in Wên-hsüan, Ssu-pu ts’ung-k’an ed. [20]39.5b), where he describes how the Chi’re made merry: “Beating water-jars and drumming earthen jugs (扣缶, var. 叩), plucking zithers and slapping their shanks, they sing lugubriously to please their ears—this is genuine music.”

§ 114. 機 is properly a “trigger.”

§ 116. For 素 see note to § 82.

§ 118. According to the CH’ANG-yen of CHUNG-CH’ANG T’ung (see note to § 107) quoted in Li Shan’s commentary, the six emotions are “like” and “dislike” plus the four emotions mentioned in the Doctrine of the Mean (“pleasure, anger, sorrow, joy,” Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.384): 喜怒哀樂好惡謂之六情.

§ 120. 營魂 may have something to do with 魂 in Tao-té ching, chapter 10: “the intelligent and animal souls” (Legge, SBE 39.33), “the unquiet physical soul,” (Waley, The Way and Its Power, 158 [Waley’s comment: “There is here an allusion to a technique of sexual hygiene”]). The Ch’u-tz’u, Ssu-pu ts’ung-k’an ed. (S)5.7a, also has: 營魂而登霞兮, in which 魂 is also read 魂 (commentator’s textual note). Lu Chi’s 魂, then, may not be a mistake for 魂.

§ 121. 若抽 seems to refer to Chuang-tzŭ (chapter 天地): 撈水 | , “It (= the lever) raises the water as quickly as you could do with your hand” (Legge, SBE 39.380). Lu Chi, however, meant, it may be assumed, the opposite of “quickly,” which is Legge’s interpolation.

§ 122. 率意 can mean either “to cudgel the brain” or “to be offhand”; here the expression must mean the latter, just as in the biography of JUAN Chi, 阮籍 in Chin-shu 49: 時 | | 獨駭不由徑路 ..., and the biography of HSIAO Fan 蕭範 in Nan-shih 52: | | 頭章. The first meaning is to be read into the term as used in the biography of WANG Shao-tung 王紹宗 in Hsin T’ang-shu 199: 常精心 | | 境 神靜思以取之 | | 常用 in Mei Yao-ch’ench’en’s 梅堯臣 saying quoted in OU-TANG Hsü’s Liu-i shih hua 歐陽修, 六一詩話 (Chin-tai pi-shu ed. 6b): 詩家雖 | | 而造語亦難.
§ 124. The second half reads 吾未薦夫開塞之所由 in the Srū-pu-ts'ung-k'ūn Wen-hsien, while the other texts omit 也. Even without the final particle, which disturbs the rhyme, the line has nine syllables as against eight in the first half. Yet it is advisable not to delete the innocuous particle 也 or the superficial connective 之. There is a time and a place for symmetry; § 124 being properly the climax of the body of the text (what follows is anticlimactic), it is not unjustified to think that Lu Chi here broke symmetry intentionally—in order to make the line drag along and sink in the reader's mind. (The construction 吾... 夫... already occurs in § 78.)

§ 125. I think the interpolated line is called for, otherwise 固 would be dangling in the air.

§ 127. The second line is derived from the Shu: 子欲觀古人之象... “I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients—the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains, the dragon, and the flowery fowl, which are depicted on the upper garment, ...” (Legge, Ch. Cl. 3.80).

§ 128. The first line alludes to Analects 19.22: 文武之道未墜於地; “The doctrines of Wăn and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground.” (Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.846).

§ 129. The Book of Changes has (繫辭・上): 易與天地準,故彌縫天地之道; “The Yi was made on a principle of accordance with heaven and earth, and shows us therefore, without rent or confusion, the course (of things) in heaven and earth” (Legge, SBE 16.335). 漆 in Lu Chi's text, therefore, is to be identified with 道 in this passage.

§ 130. The couplet refers to the Book of Changes: the first half compares style with the omnipotent Ch'ien 乾 principle, by virtue of which “the clouds move and the rain is distributed,” 雲行雨施 (Legge, SBE 16.815); the second half may allude to a Confucian saying 知變化之道者其知神之所為乎, “He who knows the method of change and transformation may be said to know what is done by that spiritual (power).” (Legge, SBE 16.396.)

§ 131. Cf. 日新之謂盛德 in the Book of Changes (繫辭・上), “The daily renovation which it produces is what is meant by ‘the abundance of its virtue.’” (Legge, SBE 16.536.) Cf. also the inscription on the bathtub of T'ang: 奇日日新,日日新, 又日新, “If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day. Yes, let there be daily renovation.” (Legge, Ch. Cl. 1.361.)

APPENDIX III: TERMINOLOGICAL NOTES

Since my aim here is not so much to elucidate Lu Chi—“which would be a task for another lifetime”—as to explain my translation, I shall spare myself the task of juggling with Multiple Definition, the necessity of which Professor I. A. Richards has convincingly demonstrated in his Mencius book. All I propose to do is to clarify, if possible, the use of the following terms recurring in our text.

1. Wen 文 seems to operate on two levels. When it appears on the lower level, I have rendered it as “style”; Preface § 5 (antithesis: 意), §§ 26 and 125 (antithesis: 理), § 44 (antithesis: 質), § 101 (synonym: 辭). In all these instances
the ideogram could have been translated "language" or "words." As a matter of fact, it is translated "language" in § 62 (antitheses: 理 and 意) and in § 17 (antithesis: 音). And in 閲文 (§ 14), an expression coined by Confucius (Analects 15.25: "a blank in the text"—LEOGE), wen is rendered as "words," because it is contrasted with 髪.

On the higher level, wen seems to have acquired the status of Aufhebung, in which wen (and its variations 言, 言) is fused with its Confucian antithesis chih (and its variations 理, etc.). Hence I have rendered wen in the title (and in Preface § 7) as "literature."

The term 文章 occurring in § 6, where it is used synonymously with 莊藻, "great art" (to be equated with 盛藻, "consummate artistry," of Preface § 7) may allude to the Analects, where the expression is used once by Tzu-kung with reference to Confucius (5.12; LEOGE, Ch. Cl. 1.177) and once by Confucius in eulogizing the emperor Yao (8.19; LEOGE, 1.314), in both instances the expression denoting not "literature" but "music, ceremonies, etc." (cf. LEOGE, 1.214, note). It is possible that Lu Chi's reverence for literature was so excessive that he simply identified it with the much abused term "culture." Hence I have capitalized "Literature" for wen-chang; I could have done the same with "literature" for wen, which on the higher level is hardly differentiated from wen-chang.

斯文, "letters" (§ 7), was first used by Confucius (Analects 9.5: "this cause of truth,"—LEOGE, Ch. Cl. 1.217) in a sense not very different from wen-chang; although my rendering of the expression is defensible, we may assume that Lu Chi was also thinking of the Confucian overtone (as brought out in LEOGE's translation).

It is quite sensible to consider wen in tsu'-wen 骧文 in § 123 as functioning on the lower level, for it is there contrasted with li 理; and yet, the compound term can also be taken as a synonym of ssu'-wen (駍＝斯), in which the ideogram must be accredited with a double-level value.

Finally, the ideogram occurring in 屬文 and 作文 (Preface §§ 4 and 7) seems to have a dubious status: is it of the lower or the higher level? I have avoided the issue by translating the expressions with "to write." For wen in § 128, see the Explicative Note.

2. The two characters 聞 言 and 言 言 cannot but occur frequently in a treatise on literature. I have tried to be as consistent in my rendering of these synonymous terms as possible, translating 聞 as "language" and 言 as "words"—especially when they are yoked together in one couplet (as in Preface § 2, Text §§ 58, 86, 96). When they occur independently, they are not always rendered consistently: 聞 appears as "words" (§§ 23, 115), "language" (§ 51), "diction" (§ 79), 言 as "words" (§§ 15, 17, 49, 65, 82, 101) and as "language" (§ 83).

The two expressions 爲言 (§ 23) and 遗言 (§ 51) could have been translated "to speak," like 聞 in § 28. Yen in § 100 appears as "to explain"; the ideogram had to be translated beyond recognition in § 42, otherwise I despaired of obtaining any sense out of the couplet. In § 11, 羣言, contrasted with its synonym 六藝, seems to refer to the entire corpus of literature; 齑言 in § 64 must mean a short phrase or a terse sentence; for 辭達 (§ 107) and 昌言 (§ 49) see the Explicative Notes.

3. Li 理 (a term discussed in some detail by Professor Richards in Mencius on the Mind, 15-16) is translated as "reason" or "reasoning" (§§ 26, 49, 58, 62, 96, 121)
and as "ideas" (§125). Essentially, it more or less resembles *logos* in the sense of Platonic ὁφθαλμός λόγος (*Phaedo* 73A).

Perhaps one should keep in mind that *li* originally means the grain of a piece of jade and oundation the pattern on it. This antithesis is noticeable in §§ 26, 62, and 125. In §49 *li* is contrasted with iration; and in §96 it seems to mean the same thing as ^K, "conceits," for it is there used as a synonym of that character and is contrasted with iration; in §58 it may be taken as equivalent to 义, "ideas"; finally, 里 seems to serve as a synonym of 作, "thought," in §121.

Again, *li* in §26 may be considered as a reinforcement of 質, "matter" or "content," while in §129 it acquires a metaphysical status, with the same significance as 途 (= 道), "Way." (The neo-Confucianism of the Sung era was called *li-hsüeh* 理學 and *tao-hsüeh* 道學 indiscriminately.)

In §114, *li* is a verb, "to bring to order."

4. The dualism of form and substance discussed in the preceding items runs through the entire piece. A bird’s-eye view may be had from the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>言</th>
<th>(§§ 23, 28, 33)</th>
<th>辭</th>
<th>(§ 38)</th>
<th>理</th>
<th>(§§ 49, 58, 96)</th>
<th>意</th>
<th>(Preface § 5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>心</td>
<td>(§ 51)</td>
<td>進</td>
<td>(§ 58)</td>
<td>意</td>
<td>(§ 38)</td>
<td>質</td>
<td>(§ 44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>思</td>
<td>(§ 96)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(§ 67)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. The following table of psychological terms should discourage all translators obsessed with the principle of consistency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>心</th>
<th>&quot;mind&quot; (Preface § 1, Text §§ 9, 23, 41, 75). Cf. I. A. Richards, op. cit., 33.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;heart&quot; (§ 4, 92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>untranslated (§ 103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>思</td>
<td>&quot;mind&quot; (§ 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;spirit&quot; (§ 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;mood&quot; (§ 118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>思</td>
<td>&quot;to think,&quot; &quot;thought&quot; (§§ 2, 8, 23, 28, 33, 67, 115, 121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>意</td>
<td>&quot;idea&quot; (Preface § 5, Text §§ 51, 62, 75, 122)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;mind&quot; (§ 38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>義</td>
<td>&quot;idea&quot; (§§ 17, 58); I took the liberty of equating it with 意.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;probit&quot; (§ 71); Cf. Richards, <em>ibid.</em>, 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>情</td>
<td>&quot;emotion&quot; (§§ 1, 27, 43, 118, 122)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;mood&quot; (§ 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;sincerity&quot; (§ 86)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But 微情, "overtones" (§ 95),
世, "the world" (§ 102),
其, "insight" (Preface § 4).

Cf. Richards, *ibid.*, 13

慮 | "wits" (§ 23); seems to be a synonym of 思.                                   |
神 | "psyche" (§ 118).                                                            |
精爽 | "soul" (§ 120).                                                             |
營魂 | "soul" (§ 190); see the Explicatory Note.                                   |

37
APPENDIX IV: TEXTUAL NOTES

The text here adopted is on the whole that of Li Shan, as printed in the Hu Ko-chia 胡克家 edition of Wên-hsüan, in chüan 17 of which is found the Wên-fu. Besides, I have consulted the following eight texts:

1. Wên-hsüan 17 in the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k' an (the so-called 六臣本).
2. I-wên lei-chü 藝文類聚 56, Ming ed., where the text is defectively quoted (Preface §§1-10, Text §§6, 12-3, 20-1, 23, 25-9, 36-40, 50—the first half, §§53-6, 61-3, 66, 71-5, 78-93, 100-10, 114, 123, 126-9 being completely omitted).
3. Ch'ü-hsih chi 初學記 21, Ming ed., where the text is incompletely (§§ 50 et seqq. being totally omitted) and defectively quoted (Preface § 1, Text §§ 12-3, 25-9, 36-40 being also omitted).
4. Li Chi's Collected Works in the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k' an (陸士衡文集).
5. Wên-ch'ing pi-fu 文鏡秘府, facsimile reprint of 1930, Kyôto; Volume 南, where the entire text is preceded by 以来 "Someone writes . . . . . ."
6. T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 太平御覽 586 and 588, Ssu-pu ts'ung-k' an ed.
7. Li Shan's text as quoted in the commentary of the Ssu-pu-ts'ung-k' an Wên-hsüan.
8. The Text of the Five Commentators (五臣本) as quoted in the commentary of the Ssu-pu-ts'ung-k' an Wên-hsüan.

On the basis of these nine texts I took the liberty of making some emendations in the reading here and there.

1. In § 5 all texts have 先人. But 民 is preferable; as Sun Chih-tsu, Wên-hsüan k' ao-i 孫志祖文選考異 (讀畫齋義書) suggests, 民 was altered to 人 by the T'ang (the former character was a T'ang taboo). Wên-ch'ing pi-fu has 民.
2. 虎 in § 12 is a black sheep, for it does not rhyme, but I retain it as a sort of beauty spot; see Appendix I.
3. The second half of § 75 originally reads 意徘徊而不能挾, which has one syllable too many, for the second half is in the predominant pattern of six characters to the line. I took the liberty of deleting 能, without materially altering the meaning. I take 拈 t'ieh here in the sense of 拈, "to forsake," as given in Chi-yün (chü-shêng 12, 祭). It occurs twice in the Shih (Odes 47 and 105) in the sense of "comb-pin" (Lévy, Ch. Cl. 4.77, 165) and is pronounced t'ieh (Kuang-yün, chu-shêng 13 祝) or t'ieh (Chi-yün, chü-shêng 12 祭), but this will not do for our context.

The text of the Five Commentators is supposed to read 拈 for 拈 (cf. Ssu-pu-ts'ung-k' an Wên-hsüan) but that character is always in the p'ing-shêng or shang-shêng; that is, it does not rhyme here.

Li Shan proposes to follow the Shuo-wên interpretation of the character, i.e., "to take" (取也). But Shuo-wên does not have 拈; it does have 拈, however, (cf. Shuo-wên chieh-tzu ku-lin 12A5.4590a), which is identical with 拈 t'ieh, given in Kuang-yün ju-shêng 25 錫. (Chi-yün chü-shêng 62 lists 拈 t'ieh and explains it as
APPENDIX V: TEXTUAL VARIANTS

PREFACE

§ 1. 所 om.

用 om.

§ 2. 其 om.

§ 3. om.

§ 4. 每/每每

§ 6. 蓋 om.

First 難/難

§ 7. Second 之 om.

§ 8. 殆/逮

§ 9. 速/逐

§ 10. 云/云爾

LC (L-wên lei-chû), CH (Ch'ü-hsüeh chû), FC (Text of Five Commentators, quoted in the commentary of the Seù-pu-ts'ung-k' an Wên-hsüan), H (Hu K'o-chia, Wên-hsüan ed.), PF (Wên-ching pi-fu).

FC.

H.

L (Li Shan's text as quoted in the Seù-pu-ts'ung-k' an Wên-hsüan).

LC.

LC.

LC.

CH.

LC.

WH (Seù-pu-ts'ung-k' an Wên-hsüan).

WH, CW (Lu Chi's Collected Works in Seù-pu ts'ung-k' an); 云 L.
| § 3. | 喜/嘉 | PF. |
| § 4. | 慘憐/凜凜 | LC, CH, FC. |
| § 5. | 駿/俊 | LC, CH, FC, PF. |
|       | 先民/人 | in all texts except PF. (民 was a T'ang taboo.) |
| § 6. | 嘉/加 | CH. |
|       | 麗藻/藻麗 | FC, PF. |
| § 9. | 精/晶 | PF. |
|       | 鶯/鶯 | PF. |
| § 10. | 也/此 | LC. |
|       | 噁嗤/嗤嗤 | LC. |
| § 11. | 湧/瀋 | PF. |
| § 14. | 探/探 | LC. 采 PF. |
|       | 世/代 | FC (世 was a T'ang taboo). |
| § 16. | First 於/之 | |
| § 18. | 拥/藏 | LC. |
|       | 景/暑 | H, L. |
|       | 仰/仰 | CH. |
|       | 畢/必 | CH, PF. |
|       | 懷/懷 | PF. |
| § 19. | 沿/縷 | LC. |
|       | 而/以 | CH. |
| § 20. | 之/末 | FC, CH, PF. |
| § 22. | 俎疊/俎疊 | LC. /俎疊 PF. |
| § 26. | 幹/幹 | FC. |
| § 28. | 已/以 | PF. |
| § 32. | 縫/縫 | CH, PF. |
|       | 沛/霈 | LC. |
|       | 乎/於 | CH. |
| § 33. | 按/案 | CH. |
|       | 逾/愈 | WH, PF (逾 H, L). |
| § 34. | 青/清 | LC, CH, PF. |
| § 35. | 森/雋 | LC, CH, CW. |
|       | 堅/起 | PF. |
| § 38. | 效/効 | CW, PF. |
| § 40. | 員/照 | CW, /圓 FC. |
| § 41. | 尚/上 | CH. |
| § 42. | 達/遠 | CH. |
| § 44. | 總/綿 | LC, CH, PF. |
| § 46. | 擧/顯則 | TPYL 588. |
|       | 廠/爵 | CH. |
|       | 精/晶 | PF. |

40
§ 47. 昭/燥
§ 48. 邪/雅
§ 49. 辞/詞
    冗/冗
§ 53. 之/而
    而/之
§ 54. 譜/相
§ 55. 恒/常
    顧/俠
§ 56. 序/叙
    秩序/秩敘
§ 57. 遐/偃
§ 63. 致/全
§ 64. 而/以
§ 65. 繼/勤
    兹/必
§ 67. 千/芒
§ 68. 炳/熾
§ 72. 若/苦
§ 75. 不備/不能辨
§ 76. 暝/晦
§ 77. 於/而
§ 82. 之/而
    亦/亦以
§ 83. 言徒靡/徒言靡
§ 85. Second
§ 86. 歸/顔
§ 87. 紅/縫
§ 89. 聲高/高聲
§ 91. 而/人
§ 96. 嘘/諧
    辭/詞
    朴/樸
§ 98. 砺/砥
    精/晶
§ 99. 猻/循
    赴/趨
    絃/弦
§ 100. 亦/故亦
    明/精

WH, CW (昭 LC, CH, FC, PF).
CH.
CH.
FC.
CW.
FC.
FC.
CW (恒 was a Sung taboo).
CW, FC.
CW.
WH, /秩序 L, /秩敘 PF.
LC, WH (逼 L).
CW.
LC, FC.
FC.
PF.
LC, WH (千 L, PF).
LC (丙 and its compounds were avoided by the Tang), /喚 PF.

in all texts except FC, which has 不能涸.
PF.
LC.
FC.
FC, PF.
H.
WH.
FC.
PF.
H, L.
FC.
LC.
CW.
FC, PF.
LC.
PF.
LC.
LC.

CW, PF.
in all texts; 明 in PF.
§ 101. 余/于
§ 103. 馮/חקירה
§ 104. 璟/瑶
§ 106. 于/手
§ 108. 鬪/垣
§ 109. 而/以
§ 110. 於/乎
§ 111. 應/感/感應
§ 113. 景/影
§ 116. 毫/豪
§ 117. 以/而
§ 119. 元/元
§ 120. 擧/覿
營/榮
精/晶
於/而
§ 121. 遙/意
乙/於/軋
其/而
§ 122. 是以/是故
§ 124. 所由/也
§ 125. 之/為用/其
§ 126. First/面/使
§ 127. 乎/於
於/乎
§ 128. 不/弗
§ 131. 絃/弦

WH, PF (余 L).
FC, PF. (覿 PF. / 窃 in all other texts.
CW.
CW, FC.
CW, H.
PF.
PF.
CW.
LC, PF.
LC, PF (but marginally corrected to 毫).
FC.
LC.
WH, LC (覿 L).
LC. / 萍 PF.
PF.
WH, LC, PF (於 L).
in all texts (遙 FC, PF).
WH, LC, PF (乙 L).
LC.
LC, WH (是以 L).
WH (所由 L, H, PF).
PF.
CW, WH, PF.
FC, PF.
CW.
H, CW.
LC.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 536, line 15: For rarified read rarefied
line 25: For prolixty read proximity
Page 537, line 14: For sense read scene
Page 538, line 2: For Weight read Weigh
Page 553, line 11: For iVok read iVok.
THE FU OF T'AO CH'IEN

by

JAMES R. HIGHTOWER
THE FU OF T'AO CH'IENTHAMES ROBERT HIGHTOWER
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

T'ao Ch'ien is famous as the greatest lyric poet of China before the T'ang dynasty, and his poems have frequently been translated. With the exception of "The Return" (歸去來辭), his rare compositions in the fu form are less well known than his lyrics, and justly so. My purpose in offering new translations of T'ao Ch'ien's three fu is to show how in each of them he was writing in a well-established tradition, and to point out the nature of his achievement in "The Return," where, by subverting the tradition to his own ends, he made a conventional form the vehicle for intensely personal expression.

The only one of these fu which is dated is "The Return," written when T'ao Ch'ien was thirty and at the full maturity of his poetic power. The other two are almost certainly earlier; at least they are avowedly written as poetic exercises, variations on established themes, and should be approached by way of the conventions they accept and exploit. Of these two fu, "Stilling the Passions" (閑情) is more nearly a stereotype, and it deals with a theme which does not elsewhere appear in T'ao's poetry. The "Lament for Gentlemen Born out of Their Time" (賢士不遇) is equally conventional, but is a topic which he treated frequently in his lyrics and which was apparently more congenial. I shall take them up in order, reserving for last "The Return."

T'ao's preface to "Stilling the Passions" defines the nature of his poem and names two of his models:

1 To those listed in HIAS 16 (1953) 365-6 should be added the recent publication The Poems of T'ao Ch'ien translated by Lily Pao-hu Chang and Marjorie Sinclair (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1953).

2 Following the lead of Hsiao T'ung, who created a special category, "Ts'u," for this and one other quite dissimilar composition in the Wen hsien, most translators have failed to observe that this too is a fu.

3 According to Lu Ch'in-li's chronology, which I am following; cf. HIAS 16.266, note 3.

4 Ching-chieh hsien-sheng chi 5.4b-5a. This and all subsequent T'ao Ch'ien references are to T'ao Chu's edition as published by the Chiang-su Shu-chü, referred to as Works.
First of all Chang Heng wrote a *fu* "On Stabilizing the Passions," and Ts'ai Yung one "On Quietning the Passions." They avoided inflated language, aiming chiefly at simplicity. Their compositions begin by giving free expression to their fancies but end on a note of quiet, serving admirably to restrain the undisciplined and passionate nature: they truly further the ends of salutary warning. Since their time, writers in every generation have been inspired to elaborate on the theme, and in the leisure of my retirement I have taken up my brush to write in my turn. Granted that my literary skill leaves something to be desired, I have perhaps not been unfaithful to the idea of those original authors.

Fragments of these two *fu* by Chang Heng and Ts'ai Yung appear in T'ang encyclopedias and commentaries, along with several others attributed to writers who lived before T'ao Ch'ien. Though none is complete and there is no guarantee of the authenticity of any of them, they will serve to document the tradition in which he clearly states he is writing. I am putting them in chronological sequence.

**Stabilizing the Passions**

Chang Heng (78-139)

Ah, the chaste beauty of this alluring woman!

*張衡, 定情賦, Ch'üan Hou-Han wen (CHHW) 53.9b (全上古三代秦漢三国六朝文). I refer to other collections in this series under the following abbreviated titles: Ch'üan Han wen: CHW; Ch'üan San-huo wen: CSKW; Ch'üan Chin wen: CCW; Ch'üan Sung wen: CSW. For Wen hsüan (SPKT ed.), I am using WH, and YTHY for Yu-t'ai hsing-yung.

Chang Heng dealt with erotic themes elsewhere, in a part of his *fu* "Meditation on Mystery" (思玄 (WH 15.17a-b) and his "Seven Stimuli" 七發, of which a fragment is quoted in CHHW 55.2b-3a. In the latter he was of course following the convention established in Mei Sheng's "Seven Stimuli," where all the pleasures of the flesh are elaborately described to distract the ailing prince.

*This is the stock opening line of these *fu*, and for convenience I shall bring them all together here, taking the phraseology of Chang Heng as the standard. Thus, a bar indicates the same character in the corresponding position of Chang Heng's line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>夫何妖女之淑麗</th>
<th>Chang Heng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sung Yu (WH 19.9b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ts'ai Yung (CHHW 69.4b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tian Yu (CHHW 93.1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wang Ts'an (CHHW 90.2b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yang Yang (CHHW 42.1b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ts'ao Chih (CSKW 13.4a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T'ao Ch'ien (Worke 5.5a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>惟玄媛</td>
<td>Chang Hua (CCW 58.1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>美淑人</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妖</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妲</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妩</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>淑</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>意娯</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>娉</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>娥女</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>娘</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>智</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46
She shines with flowery charms and blooming face.
She is unique among all her contemporaries
She is without a peer among her comrades.

The Complaint:

5 Antares' rays decline, insects sing in the grass,
Deep frost falls, vegetation withers;
Autumn is the season, the time is past:
I am distraught as I think of the lovely one."
I imagine I might be the powder on your face
10 But once soiled by dust its radiance is gone."

The title "Quieting the Passions" does not occur among
the surviving fragments of fu by Ts'AI Yung, but there are a
couple of passages from one called "Curbing Excess" dealing
with the same subject. Presumably this is the one T'AO Ch'ien
was referring to."

1 大火流: cf. Shih ching No. 154: 七月流火 "In the seventh month there is
the declining Fire-star" (B. Karlown, The Book of Odes 99).

2 These lines are from I-chen lei-chü (IWLC) 18.13a. The verses
beginning with the "complaint" are probably out of proper context. The tone is
that of some of the suo poems, especially the first of the "Nine Persuasions" 九諫
(Ch'iu ts'u 8.1b-3b SPTK ed.). One of the "Nine Declarations" 九章 is called
思美人 (CT 4.25a-31b).

8 悼: literally "I am grieved that . . . ."
10 These two lines are twice quoted by Li Shan in his commentary on WH 19.16b, 34.29a. It is probable that the conceit was further developed in the lost parts of this
fu; cf. TAO Ch'ien's version.

11 IWLC 18.13a and T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (TPY) 386.6b quote nine lines from a fu
by Ts'ai Yung 采邑 "On Composing the Original [Nature?]") 協初, which appears
to be related to Sung Yu's "Goddess" 神女賦:

When she is nearby
She resembles the supernatural dragon with shining
scales about to fly.

When she has gone afar
She is like the Spinning Girl in the Milky Way swept
by clouds.

When she stands
She is like Green Mountain rising majestically.

When she moves
She is like the kingfisher beating his wings (cf.
"The Goddess" l. 99):
Curbing Excess 12
Ts'ài Yung (132-192)

Ah, this lovely woman of alluring charms!
Her face is radiant and filled with color.
Within all Heaven's bounds she has no equal,
Throughout a thousand years she is unique.12

5 My heart rejoices in her chaste beauty
And I am bound to her in unrequited love.
My feelings are without form and have no master.
My thoughts are undecided and swerve to one side.
By day I give reign to my feelings to display my love.

10 By night I depend on dreams to bring our souls together.14
I imagine being the vibrating reed 15 in your mouth,
But the notes are solitary 16 and not worth listening to.17

Putting a Stop to Desires 18
JUAN YÜ (?-212)

Ah, the exquisite beauty of this virtuous woman!
Her face glows with radiance.19
In a thousand generations she has no peer,
Surpassing ancient and modern, she shines alone.20

Among all the flaming beauties she has no master.
Her face is like the bright moon,
Her radiance is like the morning sun;
Her beauty is like the lotus flower,
Her flesh like concealed honey.

12 CHHW 69.4a.
13 普天壘其無偶, 噸千載而特生: cf. CHANG Heng, lines 3-4: 斷當時而呈美,冠朋匹而無雙.
14 Quoted in IWLC 18.13a-b.
15 範鳴 is an inversion; cf. Lu Yün's 陸雲 "Poem on Behalf of Ku Yen-hsien's Wife" (WH 25.5a): 鳴簧發丹唇.
16 I. e., unaccompanied.
17 思在口面為蕩鴻, 哀聲獨而不敢聆. These two lines are from Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao (PTSC) 110.5b. Cf. CHANG Heng, lines 10-11: 思在可離且離華兮, 思離塵而無光.
18 阮瑀,止欲賦, CHHW 93.1a-b.
19 顔烱烱以流光: cf. Ts'ài Yung, line 2: 顔煥燦而含榮
5 Just now in the first flush of youth
She is both wise and complaisant.
Endowed with the bright virtue of perfect purity
She protects herself by proper conduct.
She would sacrifice her life to do the right thing

10 And so is prepared to emulate Chen-chiang.\textsuperscript{21}
My heart delights in her perfect beauty,
Not for a moment do I ever forget her.
I think of the marriage celebrated in the "T'ao-yao" poem\textsuperscript{22}
And wish for the shared garment of the "Wu-i."\textsuperscript{23}

15 My feelings are all tangled and will not relax.
My soul soars away nine times in one night.\textsuperscript{24}
I leave my room and stand uncertain,
I look at the Heavenly River without a bridge;\textsuperscript{25}
I sympathize with the Gourd which lacks a mate,\textsuperscript{26}

20 I mourn for the Spinning Girl who toils alone.\textsuperscript{27}
Then I return to my pillow to seek sleep
That through a dream our souls may meet.\textsuperscript{28}
My soul is muddled, it is hard to find hers,

\textsuperscript{21}Chen-chiang 貞姜 was the wife of King Chao of Ch'\u who refused to leave her room with an emissary sent by the King to warn her of a flood because he had forgotten the proper credentials. She chose to remain where she was and be drowned rather than violate an agreement she had made. The story appears in Lih n\u chuan 4.16b. (SPTK ed.).

\textsuperscript{22}Shih ching No. 6/1: 之子于歸,宜其室家 "This young lady goes to her new home. She will order well her chamber and house" (KARLGEREN, op. cit., 4).

\textsuperscript{23}Shih ching No. 133/3: 豐曰無衣,與子同裳 "How can you say you have no clothes? I will share my skirt with you" (KARLGEREN, op. cit., 80).

\textsuperscript{24}魂一夕而九翔. This common expression occurs in "The Nine Declarations" (CT 4.21b), Ssu-Ma Ch'ien's "Letter to Jen An" (WH 41.26b), as well as in two other fu of the present series (Ying Yang, line 40, T'ao Ch'ien, line 35), with only minor variants. The "nine" is of course a "complete number: "any number of times."

\textsuperscript{25}I.e., the Milky Way; a reference to the Spinning Girl legend. Literally it is a ford which is lacking.

\textsuperscript{26}The Gourd is a star. Ts'AO Chih in his fu "The Spirit of the Lo River" (WH 19.18b) also bemoans its solitary state: 歡弧乏之無匹; likewise Wang Ts'an in his fu "Climbing the Pavilion" 登樓 (WH 11.3a-b): 僅一之徒罰.

\textsuperscript{27}See note 25. The Spinning Girl is ubiquitous in Chinese poetry from the Shih ching (No. 505/5) on.

\textsuperscript{28}庶通夢而交神: cf. Ts'ai Yung, line 10: 夜託夢以交壇.
My thoughts are tangled and confused.

25 At last the night is past, nor have I seen her;
The rising sun in the east marks the dawn.
I know I will not get her for whom I long
And so I control my feelings in writing this. 29
I stop and stretch my head to see into the distance
Hoping it may be she, but still it is not. 30

Stilling Evil Passions 81

WANG TS'AN (177-217)

Ah, this beautiful woman of blooming loveliness!
Her form is truly lovely and of rare beauty.
Nowhere within the four seas has she an equal,
Surpassing all ages she stands out pre-eminent. 82
5 She resembles the spring flowers of the t'ang-ti tree. 83
In her young maturity she stays at home. 84

I regret that the year is drawing to a close,
Grieved to be alone with no one to rely on.
My feelings are conflicting and at cross-purposes,
10 My thoughts are melancholy and most grieved. 85

81 From IWLC 18.14a.
82 Repeatedly quoted in Li Shan's WII commentary: 26.15a, 29.30a, 58.7a. The twenty-eight lines quoted in IWLC seem to make a satisfactory poem which contains most of the stock elements of these fu, and there is no place in its rhyme-scheme to admit this couplet. Of course twenty-eight lines is very short for a fu, and there is room for a long digression (after line 16, where the rhyme changes) of which this couplet could well be a part. I have translated the ambiguous 意謂而復非 as a reference to the 是耶非耶 of Han Wu-ti; cf. Han shu 97A.14a (Tung-wen ed.).
83 王粲,閔邪賦, CHHW 90.2b. The title is from the I ching.
84 橫四海而無仇,超遐世而秀出: cf. notes 13, 20.
85 唐棣: variously identified as a kind of plum and as the amelanchier asiatica, also a flowering tree. Cf. the stanza quoted in Analects 9/30 四海之華,偏其反而; 不爾思,室是遠而 "The flowery branch of the wild cherry. / How swiftly it flies back! / It is not that I do not love you; / But your house is far away." (Waley, The Analects of Confucius 145).
86 I.e., unmarried. The ju-sheng rhymes end here, and I suspect there is a hiatus in the text. The unannounced change of subject in the next line is otherwise rather abrupt.
87 情紛挮以交橫, 意慟憤而增悲: cf. Ts'ai Yung, lines 7-8: 情問象而無主; 意徙倚而左傾; also Juo Yu, lines 15, 24: 悅軒結而不暢; 思交錯以繽紛.
How miserable my life is fated to be—
My love frustrated and thwarted.
I cross my empty room and go to my bed,\(^\text{35}\)
Intending our souls should meet in a dream.\(^\text{37}\)
\textbf{15} My eyes are wakeful, I cannot sleep,\(^\text{38}\)
My heart is miserable and uneasy.\(^\text{39}\)

Mountains lie ahead of me and the way is obstructed.\(^\text{40}\)

I would like to be the bracelet that binds your arm.\(^\text{41}\)

\begin{center}
\textbf{Rectifying the Passions} \(^\text{42}\)
\textbf{Ying Yang (?-217)}
\end{center}

Ah, the unusual beauty of this lovely woman!
Complaisant she is, and wisely understanding.
In response to supernatural harmony her substance was formed:
She embodies the lush beauty of the orchid and the purity of jasper.

\textbf{5} Among [beauties of] past time rarely equaled,
In present time none can compare with her.\(^\text{43}\)
Like the far-reaching rays emitted by the morning sun \(^\text{44}\)
The clear glance pours out from her eyes.
In her blooming beauty she crowns our time
\textbf{10} And is just as virtuous as that woman of Shen.\(^\text{45}\)

---

\(^{28}\) 被: lit., "a mat," but used for a bed.
\(^{27}\) 將取夢以通靈: cf. note 28.
\(^{28}\) 目炯炯而不寐: cf. "The Distant Wandering" 迷遊 (CT 5.1b):
夜眇眇而不寐; also Shihs ching No. 20.1: 耳眇眇不寐.
\(^{39}\) To here quoted in IWLC 18.14b.
\(^{36}\) From Li Shan's comm. on WH 26.10a.
\(^{41}\) 爲仁以約嘅: from PTSC 156.8a, with 書 for 邪 in the title. Yeh K'o-ch'un is right in calling it a misprint. Cf. note 17.
\(^{42}\) 應 賞, 正情賦. CHHW 42.1b-2a.
\(^{43}\) 方往載其鮮雙, 見來今面無列: cf. notes 15, 20, 32.
\(^{44}\) 發朝陽之鴻輝: the trope is actually more violent: "She emits the far-reaching rays of the morning sun." Whether this is the radiance of her beauty or the effect of her glance (as I have taken it) is not clear.
\(^{45}\) The "Woman of Shen" 申女 refused to marry the man she was engaged to.
In my heart I rejoice in that rare beauty
And long for the joy of being joined with her, but there is
no way.

Overwhelmed by the fragrant beauty of her modest demeanor
My feelings dance around this woman.

15 My soul flutters and goes on its nightly wandering,
I rejoice that our spirits may be united in a common dream.
In daytime I linger hesitant by the roadside,
At night I toss restless until the dawn.

A cool wind blows from the north across the dark wall

20 A cold breeze crosses the middle court.
I hear the high cry of the wild goose in the clouds,
I view the sparkling rays of the massed constellations.
The light of the Southern Star descends like lightning,
The lonely male bird flies swiftly and alone.

25 I hoped [the bird] might lower its head to send me word,
Alas [the star] speeds past and cannot be overtaken.
It grieves me that the passing bird has no mate,
I am sorry that the flowing light cannot be stayed.

because the ritual preparations were imperfect. The Shih ching poem (No. 17) is supposed to express her resolution. Cf. Lieh nü chuan 4.1b-2a.

"余心嘉夫淑美: cf. Ts'ai Yung, line 5: 余心悦于淑麗.
"甘同夢而交神: cf. notes 28, 57.
"宵耿耿而達晨: cf. note 58.
"玄序: I can find no other occurrence of this term.

The text seems to be defective at this point, for 唐 does not rhyme with either the preceeding -a or the following -ci rhymes. Tang may be a misprint, but the term 中 occurs in another of Yang Yang's fu, "The Willow" 楊柳; cf. CHHW 42.4a.

When the Southern Star appears, the way to the south is open; cf. Shih chi 27.9a (T'ung-wen ed.), Su-Ma Chen's com. (正義). Perhaps the same idea as in Tu Fu's poem (寄高適): "The Southern Star's rays fall in the old garden. I know for sure he will meet . . ." (Works 19.15b, SPTK ed.).

For 首 IWLC writes 首, a misprint.

"傷往禽之無隅: for 往 IWLC has 往. 隅 is a misprint for 倖; cf. Juan Yu, line 19: 傷狐狐之無偶.
Too bad the lucky conjunction ⁶⁸ is just now past,
30 I regret that my desires are all thwarted.
I pace undecided, lost in thought,
My feelings are pained and distressed.⁶⁹
I return to my lonely room and go to bed without
undressing ⁶⁷
I keep tossing and turning without being able to rest.
35 My soul flies afar, sinking and soaring,
Constantly dwelling on her in whom I rejoice.⁶⁸
I look up at the high building ⁶⁸ and sigh long
Moved by sad echoes, a lingering moan escapes me.
My breath, floating, leaps up to the cloud-house ⁶⁶
My bowels in one evening burn nine times.⁶¹
I imagine myself to be the bright mirror before her
But once gone. . . ⁶²

---

⁶⁸ For 伏辰 cf. Tao chuan (Hsi 5): 龍尾 | : "[The star] Wei of the [constellation]
Dragon lies hid in the conjunction of the sun and the moon" (Laggio 146). This is
cited as a good omen, and I have paraphrased fu ch'en as "lucky conjunction."
⁶⁹ Lines 21-32 depend for their effect on an elaborate structure and an involved
symbolism. The wild goose is the traditional bearer of a message from an absent friend
or lover, and a bird is a symbolical intermediary in the "Li sao." A solitary bird is
one without a mate, and so represents the poet frustrated in his effort to marry the
beautiful woman. Stars are inaccessible, and so a symbol for the unattainable loved
one; they also mark the passage of time. Time appears in two aspects: the poet
grows old and there is no end to his sorrow; also, the fleeting opportunity passes
irrevocably.

These themes are interwoven. Lines 21-24 involve a sort of chiasmus, bird-star:
star-bird. The first couplet implies inaccessibility, the second gives promise of transient
opportunity. Lines 25-28 shuffle the symbols into a new sequence, bird-star: bird-star,
and assert that the opportunity has passed. Lines 29-30 lament passing time and lost
opportunity, while 31-32 deal with the resulting state of mind.
⁷⁷ For 假寐 cf. Shih ching No. 107/2.
⁷⁸ For 所觀 read | 歡 as in Ch'en Lin, line 24.
⁷⁹ 崇夏 occurs as the name of a temple, but here it should be the name of a
constellation, though I can find no support for that interpretation.
⁸⁰ 雲館, parallel to ch'ung kaia (see note 59), is analogous to | 亭 in the Chieh-yü
Pan's fu "Lament for Herself" 班婕伃自悼 (CHW 11.7a).
⁸¹ 腸一夕而九頽: cf. note 24. This much is quoted in IWLC 18.14b-15a.
⁸² 思在前昬難於不存 . . . . This couplet from PTSC 136.3a is
lacking one word. Cf. notes 22, 46.
Putting a Stop to Desires

Ch'En Lin (?-217)

Lovely! the surpassing woman who lives to the east of my house. Her beauty outshines the spring flowers, Her charms surpass those of the woman in the "Shih-jen" poem. In antiquity there were few to equal her Today she is indeed without match. Truly she is one to benefit a state or bring order to a household, Indeed a proper mate for a prince.

How my feelings do take delight in her! My desires are overflowing and uncontrolled. At night I am restless and unable to sleep, By day I push aside my food, forgetting hunger. I am moved at the "If you love me" of the "Pei-feng" poem, And admire the going home hand in hand. May the sun and moon move slowly on their courses.

[Translation notes and references]

Her hands like tender shoots, Her skin like congealed lard, Her neck like insect larvae, Her teeth like melon seeds; Cicada head, moth eyebrows. Her artful smile is red, Her lovely eyes clear and black.

[Historical and cultural notes]

For this read 北 with IWLC. The "Pei feng" poem is Shih ching No. 41: 惠而好我,攜手同歸 "If you are affectionate and love me, I will hold your hand and go home with you" (KARLGER, op. cit., 27).

I do not understand the hu.
15 So that the leafless poplar may put forth sprouts.\textsuperscript{71}

I would like to speak to the swallow,
But the swallow flies away, darting up and down.\textsuperscript{72}
The way is distant, the road is blocked;\textsuperscript{73}
The River is broad and deep, there is no bridge.\textsuperscript{74}

20 I stand on tiptoe, wishing to advance,
But it is not a river than can be crossed on a reed.\textsuperscript{75}
I loosen the reins and go back home,
Filled with grief, I go to my couch.
Without undressing I close my eyes,\textsuperscript{76} and seem at once to sleep,

25 I dream that I see her in whom I rejoice walking toward me.
My soul floats away to my far-off love,
As though we were united and our spirits mingled.\textsuperscript{77}

\textbf{Stilling Thoughts of Love}\textsuperscript{78}  
\textbf{Ts'ao Chih (192-232)}

Ah, the elegant charms of this beautiful woman!

\textsuperscript{71} I.e., that the poet may still in his old age get a young bride; cf. \textit{I ching} No. 28 (九三): 枯楊生稊,老夫得其女妻 "The leafless poplar puts forth sprouts; an old man gets his bride."

\textsuperscript{72} This couplet, quoted by Li Shan (WH 31.12a) is inserted here by Yen K'o-chün. It would fit the rhyme-scheme better if it followed line 10 (支 rhymes), but it makes a little better sense in the present context. The idea of a bird intermediary goes back to the "Li sao"; in these poems it is usually the wild goose (cf. Yüan Yang, line 25) or the phoenix (T'ao Ch'ien, line 81), and the term 玄鳥 has been identified with all three birds. For the swallow and marriage, cf. Li chi (SPTK ed.) 5.4b: 恕月也玄鳥至...

\textsuperscript{73} 道牧長而路阻: cf. Wang Ts'án, line 17: 關山介而阻險; also "The Nine Persuasions" (CT 8.11a): 路塞絕而不通.

\textsuperscript{74} 河廣激而無梁: cf. \textit{ibid.}, (CT 8.8a): 關梁閉而不通; also the "Lament for the Untimely Fate" (CT 14.2a): 江河激而無梁.

\textsuperscript{75} 非一簣之可航: cf. Shih ching No. 61/1: 謂河廣,一簣杭之 "Who says the River is broad? A single reed crosses it." This is a frequent source of allusion, e.g., Hsi K'ang's "Verses for his Elder Brother," No. 9, \textit{Hsi Chung-shan chi} 1.2b (SPTK ed.).

\textsuperscript{76} I have translated 假眠 as analogous to the chia mei of note 37.

\textsuperscript{77} 魂翩翩以遙遙,若久好而通靈魂: cf. Ying Yang, line 15: 青青而夕遊, and notes 26, 37, 48. Except for lines 15-16 (note 72) this passage is from \textit{HWLC} 18.13b.
Her rosy face shines with limpid light.
Surpassing and unique, she is without a peer.\textsuperscript{79}
So outstanding, in truth, none can equal her.
5 By nature perspicacious and intelligent.\textsuperscript{80}
In conduct gracious \textsuperscript{81} and charming.

I hide where the high peak obscures the sun,
I stand beside the pure current of the limpid stream.
The autumn wind rises in the woods,\textsuperscript{82}
10 Lost birds cry as they seek their mates.
Melancholy and laden with grief, my sorrow is the greater,
How can I go on like this? \textsuperscript{83}

This by no means exhausts the list of \textit{fu} written before T'ao Ch'ien's time on the subject of stilling the passions, but no more than the titles and a line or two survive of Fu Hsiu'an's "Straightening the Passions," \textsuperscript{84} Ch'\textsuperscript{eng}-Kung Sui's "Assuaging the Passions," \textsuperscript{85} or Yüan Shu's "Rectifying the Passions." \textsuperscript{86} P'o Ch'in's "Bringing Sorrow to an End" \textsuperscript{87} is not dissimilar, but follows a slightly different pattern in the twenty-six lines which survive, and the same is true for the twenty-three lines of Chang Hua's "Eternal Love," \textsuperscript{88} while Juan Chi'i's "Purifying Thoughts of Love" is an effective parody of the whole idea.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{79} 曹植, 靜情賦, \textit{CSKW} 13.4a.
\textsuperscript{77} 卓特出而無匹: cf. notes 13, 20, 92, 48, 66.
\textsuperscript{80} 性通暢以聰惠: cf. \textit{JUAN Yü}, line 6: 性聰惠以和良.
\textsuperscript{81} 女靡密 is not attested elsewhere. The word 女靡 is to be equated with靡 as in the similar expressions靡曼, | 麗: cf. Cuu Ch'i-feng, \textit{Tz'u t'ung} 言通 (abbreviated \textit{TT}) 1967.
\textsuperscript{82} 中林 takes on no especial overtones from its three \textit{Shih ching} occurrences. Perhaps the association with "spring feelings" in Haeh T'iao's poem (and何議кр ид) is relevant (Ku shih yüan 12.5a, \textit{SPPY} ed.): 春心澹容與, 揉弋步中林.
\textsuperscript{83} From \textit{IWLC} 18.15a-b.
\textsuperscript{84} 傅玄 (217-278), 矯情 \textit{CCW} 45.4b.
\textsuperscript{85} 成公緹 (251-278), 慰情 \textit{CCW} 59.4a.
\textsuperscript{86} 袁淑 (408-453), 正情 \textit{CSW} 44.1a-b.
\textsuperscript{87} 繁欽 (?-218), 彌愁 \textit{CHHW} 92.8a-b. P'o Ch'in also wrote a \textit{shih} "Settling the Passions" 定情詩 (Ch'üan San-kue shih 3.15a-b).
\textsuperscript{88} 張華 (282-300), 永懷 \textit{CCW} 88.1a-b.
\textsuperscript{89} 阮籍, 清思, \textit{CSKW} 44.10a-11b. It concludes, "If the myriad phenomena of
So far I have yet to quote an integral specimen of a fu on this subject, but already its wholly conventional nature should be apparent. As one reads T'ao Ch'ien's version, the impression of déjà vue grows with each couplet. It is perhaps going too far to imagine that every line had its prototype in the original complete texts of those fū which time has mercifully destroyed or left in hackneyed fragments, but surely T'ao Ch'ien was not striving for originality in his version.

Stilling the Passions

Ah, the precious rare and lovely form
She stands out unique in all the age.
Though hers is a beauty that would overthrow a city
She intends to be known for her virtue.

In purity she rivals her sounding pendant jades
In fragrance she vies with the hidden orchid.
She disowns tender feelings among the vulgar
And carries her principles among the high clouds.
She grieves that the morning sun declines to evening

That human life is a continual striving.

All alike die within a hundred years

the world do not entangle one's heart. / How is a single female worth being in love with?" 既不以萬物累心兮豈一女子之足思.


獨曠世以秀羣: cf. notes 18, 20, 32, 43, 66, 79.

A reference to Li Yen-nien's song: 一顧傾人城, 再顧傾人國 "One glance would overthrow a city; A second glance would overthrow a state" (Han shu 97A.15a).

They also symbolize purity; cf. Li chi 9.9a.

The 織蘭 also symbolizes purity; cf. "Li sào," lines 105, 138.

For 柔情 cf. Chang Hua's fu 永懷, line 4: 慎婉婉之 | | "In her heart she has the tender feelings of a well brought-up young lady" (Li chi 8.26a); cf. also Tw'ao Chih's "Spirit of the Lo River": | | 綠態 (WF 19.16b).

Obsession with the passage of time is characteristic of these fū; cf. Chang Heng, lines 6-9; Wang T'yan, line 7; YING Yang, line 28; Ch'ien Lin, line 14; and note 20. It goes back to the "Li sào."
How few our joys, the sorrows how many!
She raises the red curtain and sits straight,
Lightly playing the clear-sounding cither to express her feelings.

She plays a lovely melody with her slender fingers,
As her white sleeves sweep and sway in time.
A swift glance from her lovely sparkling eyes—
Uncertain whether to speak or smile.

The melody is half played through
And the sun is sinking at the western window.
The sad autumn mode echoes through the woods
And white clouds cling to the mountain.
She glances up at Heaven's road,
She looks down and tightens the strings.

In spirit and behavior she is charming,
Her attitudes are altogether lovely.

---

97 Cf. CHANG Hua's poem 太康六年三月三日後園會 (Ch’üan Chin shih 2.4a): 朱幕雲霞 "Red curtains covering like clouds." These are a part of the furnishings of an emperor's boat.
99 Cf. CHANG Hua's "Love Poem" 情詩 (Yü-t'ai hsin-yung 2.10b): 北方有佳人, 坐鼓琴琴 "In the north there is a beautiful woman./ Who sits straight as she plays her sounding lute." On the proper attitude for playing the lute cf. R. van Gulik, "The Lore of the Chinese Lute," MN 2 (1939).90, 93. By analogy the either (se) is to be played with the same formality.
100 "瞬美目以流眄, 含言笑而不分". T'AO Chu has 看 for 視, presumably because of the Shih ching line 美目盼兮 (No. 57/3). However, liu mien is a cliché in similar contexts; e.g., CHANG Heng's "Seven Stimuli" (CHHW 53.3a): 清眸 | | |. For parallels to this couplet cf. "The Lechery of Master Teng-t'u": 含喜微笑, 視 | | (WH 19.14a); JUAN Chi's "Sorrowful Songs" No. 2: | | 發媚姿, 言笑吐芬芳 (YTHY 2.7b). The pu fén is not clear. Seitan (Kokuyaku kambun taisetsu 18.264) suggests 忍 "is not angry."
101 The shang 極 mode corresponds to autumn: 孟秋之月...其音 | (Li chi 5.14b). Cf. P'an Yo's "Lament for a Dead Friend" No. 9: 極商應秋至 (YTHY 2.13b): "The clear shang mode is in consonance with the autumn season."
102 天路 in the many examples cited in Pei-wen yün-fu (PWYF) means either "the road to Heaven" or "the Way of Heaven" (天道). In T'AO's poem "The Homing Bird" 歸鳥 (Works 1.17a) the term occurs as "a path through the sky" which the bird follows as it navigates through the clouds.
103 舉止詳妍: cf. Ts'AO Chih, line 6: 行如鶴立而詳妍.
I am moved as she quickens the clear notes’ tempo
And wish to speak with her, knee to knee.
I would go in person to exchange vows,
30 But I fear to transgress against the rites.
I would wait for the phoenix to convey my proposal.
But I worry that another will anticipate me.
In uncertainty of mind and discomposure.
My soul in an instant is nine times transported.

35 I would like to be the collar of your dress.
And breathe the lingering fragrance of your flower-adorned hair.
But at night you take your silken dress off—
How hateful autumn nights that never end.

I would like to be the girdle of your skirt
And bind the modest slender body.
But as weather changes, cool or warm
The old is cast aside, the new put on.

I would like to be the gloss on your hair
As you brush out the dark locks over sloping shoulders.

But all too often lovely women wash their hair

---

103 As in the “Li sao,” line 122. Cf. note 47.
104 恐他人之我先. Cù Yü Yuan was similarly concerned: 恐高辛之先我 ("Li sao," line 122). The line also appears in Lu Chi’s fu “On Literature,” with 恐 for k‘ung.
105 Cf. Wang Ts’an, line 10.
106 魂須臾而九遷: cf. notes 24, 61.
107 顧在衣而爲傾: lit., “I would like to be on your dress, specifically the collar.”
This same formula is continued in the following stanzas. Cf. notes 17, 41, 62.
108 華首 ordinarily means “white hair,” but obviously another sense is demanded by the present context. Seitan, op. cit., 267, understands “flower-like face” (華の如き顔); likewise Csu Ch‘i-feng (TT 2811), but the 餘芳 suggests “hair” as more likely.
109 悲 “alas.” Here and in the following I have reduced the stock lament to the simple contrast.
110 頜肩. That sloping shoulders were already an attribute of feminine beauty is suggested by the line in Ts‘ao Chih’s “Spirit of the Lo River”: 頜若削成,腰如約素 “Shoulders as though fashioned by cutting, a waist as though bound by cord” (WH 19.16a).
And it is left dry\(^{111}\) when the water leaves.

I would like to be your penciled eyebrow
To move gracefully with your eyes as you glance around.
But rouge and powder must be fresh applied\(^{112}\)
50 And it is destroyed as you make up your face anew.\(^{113}\)

I would like to be the reed that makes your mat\(^{114}\)
On which you rest your tender body until fall.
But then a robe of fur\(^{115}\) will take its place:
A year will pass before the mat is used again.\(^{116}\)

55 I would like to be the silk that makes your slipper
To press your white foot wherever you go.
But there is a time for walking and a time for rest:
The shoes alas are thrown beside your bed.

---

\(^{111}\) 枯煎 is rather violent for the result of washing, but current shampoo and hair tonic advertisements are quite as extreme in their warnings of what happens to hair washed too frequently without benefit of their panaceas.


After lying long abed I suspect my makeup is gone
And I steal a glance at myself in the mirror;
My thin-penciled eyebrows have just about disappeared
And of the rouge only half remains.

\(^{113}\) 華妝 is makeup for a festive occasion; cf. Nan Ch‘i shu (T‘ung wen ed.) 53.1b: 濟明之世,十許年中... 郡邑之盛,人士富逸,歌聲舞節,衣服...|桃花綠水之間,秋月春風之下,蓋以百數: “During the ten-odd years of the Yung-ming period (1483-94), the cities flourished and young men and women were prosperous. Singing and dancing, dressed in their best and with faces carefully made up, hundreds of them dispored themselves among flowering peach trees or by the clear streams, under the autumn moon or in the spring breeze.”

\(^{114}\) 願在芪面為席. Perhaps this is borrowed from CHANG Heng’s “Song of Harmony” 同聲歌 (VTHY 1.11a): 思爲芪蒻席,在下裁匡牀 “I imagine myself to be the reed mat/Covering the soft bed beneath you.” But here a woman is speaking.

\(^{115}\) For 華茵 cf. Shih ching No. 128/1: | | 畅歴 “Striped floor-mats and protruding wheel-naves” (Karlsgren, op. cit. 82). In the present context there can be no question of a floor-mat in a carriage. Cf. the similar use in the CHANG Hua poem quoted in note 97.

\(^{116}\) 見求: lit., “be sought out.”
I would like to be your daytime shadow
60 To cleave to your body always, to go east or west.
But tall trees make so much shade
At times, I fear, we could not be together.\textsuperscript{117}

I would like to be your nighttime candle
To shine on your jade-like face in your room.\textsuperscript{118}
65 But with the spreading rays\textsuperscript{119} of the rising sun\textsuperscript{120}
My light at once goes out, my brilliance eclipsed.

I would like to be the bamboo that makes your fan
To dispense a cooling breeze from your tender hand.
But mornings when the white dew falls
70 I must look at your sleeve\textsuperscript{121} from afar.

I would like to be the wood of the \textit{wu-l'ung} tree
To make the singing lute you hold on your knees
But music, like joy, when most intense turns sad\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{117} The shadow—lover conceit appears in a poem attributed to Fu Hsi\u0101n (217-78) in \textit{YTHY} 9.8a, but to Cu's Ts'ao 車萇 in \textit{Yu-eh-fu shih-chi} 69.1a, so it is not certain whether the conceit is earlier than T\u0101o Ch'ien. The relevant lines of the poem (車遙遙, a \textit{yu-eh-fu} title) are (in the \textit{YTHY} text): 顧爲影分隨君身, 君在陰兮影不見, 君依光兮妾所願. "I would like to be the shadow that follows your body./ But when you are in the shade your shadow disappears./ That you stay in the light is what I wish."

\textsuperscript{118} Besides the occurrence of 兩橙 in ritual contexts (\textit{Li chi} 2.10b, 19.1b) where it means "two pillars,"—presumably of the main hall—the expression turns up in one of Ts'ao Chih's untitled poems, 車萇 (\textit{YTHY} 2.4a): 揮衣出中闕,遙遙步. "I take up my clothes and go out of the small gate./ And walk idly between the two pillars." The "two pillars" seem to be outside, but in T\u0101o Ch'ien's fu the context calls for an interior scene, specifically a bedroom, though I can find no support for such a metonymy.

\textsuperscript{119} For 舒光 cf. "The Goddess" (\textit{WH} 19.9a): 皎若明月 | 其 | "Bright as the full moon spreading its rays."

\textsuperscript{120} 抚桑 is metonymy for "rising sun"; the sun rises from the fu-sang tree.

\textsuperscript{121} Where a fan is kept in hot weather.

\textsuperscript{122} 悲樂極以哀來: cf. Fu Hsüan's \textit{yu-eh-fu} 明月篇 (\textit{YTHY} 2.9b): 憂喜更相接, 樂極自悲. "Sorrow and joy are close connected./ When joy is most intense one turns sad." The idea is an old one and is quoted as a "saying" in Shih chi 120.3a: 慰極則亂, 樂極則悲. The pun on music/joy is also well established; cf. the punning definition in Hsi\u0101n-tzu 14.1a (\textit{SPTK} ed.): 夫樂者樂也 "Music is joy."
And in the end I am pushed aside as you play no more.
75 Put to the test my wishes are all frustrated.
And I feel only the desolation of a bitter heart.
Overcome with sadness, and no one to confide in,
I idly walk to the southern wood.
I rest where the dew still hangs on the magnolia.
80 And take shelter under the lingering shadows of the green pines.
On the chance I should see her as I walk
I am torn in my breast between hope and fear.
To the end all is desolate, no one appears.
Left alone with restless thoughts, vainly seeking.
85 Smoothing my light lapel
I return to the path
Continually sighing as I watch the setting sun.
With steps uncertain, destination forgotten
Dejected in bearing, face filled with grief.
Leaves leave the branch and flutter down.
90 The air is biting as cold comes on.
The sun disappears bearing its rays.

128 考所願而必違: cf. YING Yang, line 80: 哀吾願之多違; WANG Ts’yan, line 12: 愛雨絕而俱違.
124 南林 occurs in Wu-Yüeh ch’un-ch’iu 9.48a (SPTK ed.) as the name of a place where a maiden lives who is an expert with the sword and lance. Usually it is a northern grove 北 | in contexts like the present one; e.g., Ts’ao Chih’s yüeh-fu 種葛篇 (YTHY 2.5a): 出門當何顧,徘徊步北林 “Going outside where shall I look? I walk uncertainly toward the northern grove.”
126 植木蘭之遺露: cf. “Li sao,” line 33 (CT 1.12b) 朝飲木蘭之遺露 “Mornings I sip the dew hanging from the orchids.”
126 竟寂寞而無見: cf. “The Distant Wandering” (CT 5.7a): 野寂寞兮無人 “The plain is desolate, no one there.”
127 我是不確信 what the significance of this gesture is. 輕飄 usualy occurs in contexts where the ch’ing has immediate relevance, as a light garment blown by the breeze (e.g., Ts’ao Chih, 美女篇 YTHY 2.4b). Here it could be intended to suggest poverty—a light garment when the season requires a warm one, but the similar use of the whole expression 敛 | in a fu “Autumn Sorrow” 秋傷 by Ch’u Yuan 豐潤 (Ch’uan Ch’i’ 14.1b) suggests that the ch’ing is simply a part of a cliché, and the gesture itself is equivalent to “with what composure I could summon.”
128 步徬倚以忘愁: cf. YING Yang, line 31: 步便旋以永思.
126 愜愕 occurs in a similar context in one of Chiao Yen’s untitled poems 難體詩 (WH 31.22b): 惶惑無常, Ch’u Ch’i-feng (TT 2767) lists a group of similar binoms.
The moon adorns the cloud fringes with light.
With sad cries the solitary bird flies home.
Seeking its mate an animal passes and does not return.

95 I am sorry that the present year is in its decline
I regret that this year draws to a close.
Hoping to follow her in my nighttime dream,
My soul is agitated and finds no rest;
Like a boatman who has lost his oar,
Like a cliff-scaler who finds no handhold.

Just now
The winter constellations shine at my window
The north wind blows chill.
I am agitated and unable to sleep,
Obsessed by a host of fancies.

105 I rise and tie my sash to await the morning,
Deep frost glistens on the white steps.
The cock folds his wings and has yet to crow
While from afar floats the shrill sad note of a flute.
At first a harmony of delicate strains,

110 At last it becomes penetrating and sad.

---

120 烏懷聲以孤歸：cf. Ts'ao Chih, line 10 and note 54.
131 悼當年之晚暮，恨歲之欲盡：cf. Wang Ts'an, line 7: 恨年歲之方暮.
132 思宵夢以從之：cf. notes 28, 37, 48, 77.
133 神飄飄而不安：cf. Ying Yang, lines 34-5: 固展轉而不定，神鬱鬱以淩翔；也著77.
134 輯 and 昂 are two fall and winter constellations (Hyades and Pleiades) which rise toward dawn; cf. Ch'ên Ts'ang-ang. “Commemoration of a Banquet at His Excellency Hsieh's Mountain Pavilion” 諸大夫山亭宴序: 東方明而 | 升 (Ch'ên Po-yü wen chi [SPTK ed.] 7.13b). Cf. also Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's “Ch'ang-men fu”：| | 出於東方 (WH 16.14a).
135 惆悵不寐：cf. notes 38, 68; also Chuang Chi 莊忌 “Lament for the Untimely Fate” 哀時命 (CT 14.1b): 夜炯炯而不寐. For the variant orthographies of the binom, cf. TT 1555.
137 輯 числ. This alliterative binom (anc. dz'iang dz'udi) is used as an onomatopoeia for sad sounds (宛轉何 | |，of the fulling block in Fei Ch'ang's 費昶 poem in YTHY 6.10a). The same characters in reverse order occur frequently for sad animal cries (e.g. the crane in Chiang Hung's poem in Ch'üan Liang shih 12.11b; the horse in the anonymous "Poem for Chiao Chung-ch'ing's Wife " YTHY 1.19b), and probably form an equivalent term.
I imagine that it is she playing there.  
Conveying her love by the passing cloud—
The passing cloud departs with never a word.
It is swift in its passing by.

115. Vain it is to grieve myself with longing,
In the end the way is blocked by mountains and crossed by rivers.

I welcome the fresh wind that blows my ties away
And consign my weakness of will to the receding waves.
I repudiate the meeting in the Man-ts‘ao poem.

120. And sing the old song of the Shao-nan.
I level all cares and cling to integrity,
Lodge my aspirations at the world’s end.

---

118. The assumption that it is she playing the flute is gratuitous on my part. The line reads 意夫人之在兹.
119. The conceit originates in the “Ch‘ou ssu” 抽思 (CT 4.28b): 願寄言於浮雲
   “I wish to send word by the floating cloud.” It was used by Hsiü Kan in the third of a series of untitled poems
   雜詩 (YTHY 1.14a): 浮雲何洋洋,願因通吾辭,飄飄不可寄,徒倚徒相思.

   How vast the floating cloud!
   I would like to use it to convey a message.
   It drifts away before I can send it,
   I vainly think of him in agitation.

121. 終阻山而帶河: cf. notes 78, 74.
122. L. e., 野有蔓草: cf. Shih ching No. 94: “In the open ground there is the
   creeping grass, the falling dew is plentiful; there is a beautiful person, the clear forehead
   how beautiful! We met carefree and happy, and so my desire was satisfied.” (KARL- 
   於陳歌,感蔓草於衛詩.
123. The “Shao-nan” is the name of a group of poems (Nos. 12-25) in the “Kuo
   feng” section of the Shih ching. The reference may be to the comments provided by
   the Preface to the Shih ching on one of these (No. 17): “The manners of a period
   of decay and disorder were passing away, and the lessons of integrity and sincerity
   were rising to influence. Oppressive men could not do violence to well-principled
124. For 遙情 cf. T'AO CH‘IEN’s poem “An Outing on the Hsieh Stream” (Works
   2.7b): 中腸緹: “The wine half-gone, I give free rein to my aspirations.”
125. 八遊 for the more common 極 because of the rhyme.
This fu of T'ao Ch'ien's is not the last of the series, but there is no point in adding more to the list. Now it is, or should be, a general principle of criticism that an adequate reading of a poem must be based on an understanding of the poet's intent in writing the poem. It has been argued that since the private mental states of the poet are beyond the reach of the critic, all he has to go by is what he finds in the poem he is immediately concerned with, which must be read and judged as something unique. Whatever the theory, good critical practice has never so limited itself. For there are a number of clues to the poet's intent. Sometimes, especially in Chinese poetry, the poet provides a preface to his poem in which he states quite explicitly what he is proposing to do. An intimate knowledge of the poet's life will often suggest attitudes and concerns relevant to understanding a given poem, though such information is usually lacking for Chinese poets. A poet's own statement of his theory of the nature and function of poetry is a valuable guide to his practice. But the most generally available of all these adventitious aids is a knowledge of the poetic tradition in which a poet is writing, and both the genre he is using and the subject of his poem should be viewed in the light of tradition.

I do not propose here to trace the history of the fu, a sufficiently complex subject in itself, but shall point out a few features of the form as developed by the Later Han and Six Dynasties periods. Huang-Fu Mi (215-282) said, "The fu takes its themes from natural objects, whose aspects and properties are elaborated to the point where no one can add anything more." This formula accords well enough with actual practice, and applies both to the descriptive fu and, by extension, to the lyric fu with which we are presently concerned. Logically such a definition should exclude the possibility of two fu on the same subject, for one exhaustive treatment hardly leaves room for a second. However, Ssu-Ma Hsiang-ju early established the precedent of taking up a theme already celebrated in a fu with the avowed intention of outdoing

146 The most recent seems to be by Hanh Chi-hsüan 歧季萱 (1184-1173), a fu on "Interdicting the Passions" 坊情.
147 In his introduction to the "Three Capitals" fu of Tso Suo 左思, WH 45.40a.
the first effort. With the growth of the popularity of the *fu* this practice was practically the only excuse for writing *fu* at all, as writers became hard put to find new subjects. By early Six Dynasties times not only were the categories exhausted, it was not easy to think of a suitable individual bird, insect, tree, flower, or household utensil that had not been elaborately described in at least one *fu*. Thus as time went on nearly every possible *fu* subject came to be treated in a whole series of *fu*, each member of a series representing a poet’s deliberate attempt to incorporate everything his predecessors had written on the subject. This generalization is subject to the usual reservations, but it does apply as a marked tendency that affected the nature of the *fu* form. One result was the production of stereotypes: the development of a subject in any series follows an established sequence, and successive *fu* on that subject differ chiefly in length, the later ones being the longer. In extreme cases even the vocabulary available to the writer of a *fu* on an established theme was to a large degree limited to what his predecessors had used, so that the form is marked by clichés.

At the same time that the *fu* was becoming a stereotyped treatment of a conventional subject, its metrical structure, at one time quite free, was being reduced to a pattern allowing little more variation than the strict *shih* form. From its occasional use as a rhetorical ornament, parallelism became more and more rigid until it was the invariant basis for the construction of each couplet. These various factors combined to make the *fu* little more than an exercise in versification. It was at once a measure of a poet’s erudition and an index of his skill if he could write a *fu* to order.  

All of these features are abundantly illustrated in the series of *fu* on “Stilling the Passions.” Before considering them in detail, the tradition of the subject itself requires a brief treatment. The earliest *fu* containing a catalogue of feminine charms is “The Goddess” (Shen-nü *fu*), of pre-Han date if its attribution to

---

148 "Chang Yen, Chang Shun, and Chu I as youths went to visit Chu Chu, who wished to test them. He said, ‘My guests all have to write a *fu* about some object before they can sit down.’ Yen wrote on dogs. Shun on mats. I on bows, each writing about something which caught his eye [in the room]. When their *fu* were finished they were seated.” Wen-zih chuan 文士傳 quoted in PTSC 102.3b.
Sung Yü is accepted.\(^{149}\) None of the Han Dynasty fu on this subject is attested by contemporary mention or quotation, but Ts'ao Chih wrote his “Spirit of the Lo River” (Lo shen fu) “inspired by Sung Yü’s description of the goddess for the King of Ch’u,” as he said in his preface.\(^{150}\) Other Han fu describe the beauty of some merely human woman and fall into two general types. The one employs a setting where the poet is called upon to disprove a charge of licentiousness; he describes the irresistible temptation to which he was subjected by a lovely and amorous woman whose advances he managed to reject by firmness of will and breath control. Typical examples are “The Lechery of Master Teng-t’u” 登徒子好色賦 and “The Handsome Man” 美人賦, attributed respectively to Sung Yü and Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju.\(^{151}\) The other type includes the “Stilling the Passions” series, and differs in that the vision of loveliness remains inaccessible. The woman makes no improper advances and so can be praised for her chaste behavior.

The reason for studying these traditions of form and subject is, as I have already suggested, to use them in answering certain fundamental questions about T’ao Ch’ien’s poem which must otherwise be obscure. The “Hsien-ch’ing fu” has been variously read as a piece of erotic poetry, as a political allegory, and as a personal love poem. When Hsiao T’ung singled it out among all

\(^{149}\) WH 19.8b includes the whole text, but I can find no earlier reference to it than Ts’ao Chih’s. In its opening lines the author states that the subject of “The Goddess” is from the “Kao-t’ang” fu, which also is attributed to Sung Yü. In both fu Sung Yü and King Hsiang are characters in the introduction, and it is the character Sung Yü who is represented as writing the fu. This could account for the traditional attribution to the historical person Sung Yü (of whom exactly nothing is known beyond his supposed association with that king and Ch’ü Yüan). I very much doubt that the same man wrote both “The Goddess” and “Kao-t’ang,” or that either poem antedates the Han dynasty, but I cannot support my skepticism with facts, and it is convenient to take “The Goddess” as a point of departure.

\(^{150}\) WH 19.15a.

\(^{151}\) The former is in WH 19.12a-14b, the latter in Ku wen yüan 3.11a-12b. Neither is mentioned in any text earlier than the sixth century, so far as I know. Very similar to the “Teng-t’u-tzu” is the “Feng fu” 鳳, also attributed to Sung Yü in Ku wen yüan 2.6a-7b; it is unlikely that both are by the same author. Like those in the Wen hsüan, the whole series of fu which the Ku wen yüan ascribes to Sung Yü (except “The Flute”) are about Sung Yü; it is doubtful whether any are by him.
of T'AO Ch'ien's writings as "the one slight flaw on the piece of white jade," he was presumably indulging in a moralizing judgment. It is likely that his objection was essentially puritanical: a high-minded gentleman like T'AO Ch'ien had no business writing on such a frivolous and questionable subject. This inference is borne out by the fact that HSIANG T'ung excluded from the Wen hsüan all the "Palace Style" poems which were being written under the patronage of his brother (HSIANG Kang), though he found room for the occasional pieces, most of them wholly conventional, of his contemporaries. It is not necessary to endorse HSIANG T'ung's critical judgment to agree that he was reading the poem correctly as one of a series of mildly erotic fù in which the moralizing twist was not for him a sufficient justification for an unbecoming preoccupation with the more carnal aspects of love.

The allegorical interpretation of the poem is most persuasively stated by LU Ch'in-li. By referring to another tradition, that of the "Li sao," he argues that in both "Stilling the Passions" and the "Spirit of the Lo River" the overt statements of love for a woman really symbolize the love of virtue, and that the poets' melancholy must be understood to be the result, not of frustration in love, but of disappointment of their political ambitions. There is no denying that "Li sao" phrases occur in both fù, or that the allegorical tradition is very pervasive in Chinese love poetry generally, but it does not seem to me possible to apply it to the poems in the "Stilling the Passions" series, whatever its validity for the "Spirit of the Lo River," and reading it into the "Godess" poems involves assuming more than is known about their putative author, SUNG Yu. I quite agree with Mr. LU that the poem should be approached through a study of literary tradition, but it seems to me that he has chosen the wrong tradition.

Finally there is the strictly biographical reading of the poem which insists on taking T'AO Ch'ien's fù as the record of a deeply

---

182 In his preface to T'AO Ch'ien's Works 2b.
183 His appeal to the authority of YANG Hsiung implies as much, and it was in such terms that Su Shih scolded him (cf. the quotation in T'AO's Works 5.7a).
184 譚鈞立.洛神賦與閨情賦, Hsüeh yüan 學原 2.8 (1948) 87-91.
felt personal experience. Now while there is absolutely no external evidence for attributing to T’ao Ch’ien any such experience, there is at the same time no way of disproving it, and actually the issue is irrelevant to the value of the poem. It is not how deeply the poet feels, but how successfully he persuade his reader to feel. Yet there is a danger, in taking a wholly conventional poem out of its historical context, of accepting a debased currency at its face value. No one expects to find in this sonnet of Drummond’s a faithful characterization of the unfortunate Miss Cunningham; he is merely using the established Petrarchian convention of the amatory sonnet.

The Hyperborean hills, Ceraunus’ snow,
Or Arimaspus (cruel!) first thee bled;
The Caspian tigers with their milk thee fed,
And Fauns did human blood on thee bestow;
Fierce Orithyia’s lover in thy bed

---

156 D. L. Phelps in Studia Serica 7 (1948) 61: “As for this particular ode, one scholastic interpretation has it that the poet’s political ambitions met only with frustration, so that finally all he could do was to ‘lay his far-reaching feelings to rest in the Eight Horizons’! Thus, the girl his beloved—to these allegorizing scholars—is only the goal of unattainable political ambitions. I do not believe it! The poem is too convincing, too immediate, too direct in sincerity of feeling, for such a dry-as-dust interpretation. I am sure that T’ao Ch’ien was in love, desperately in love, with an irresistible woman! But read the poem for yourself.”


The Petrarchizing poets “in sonnet sequence or pastoral eclogue and lyric, told the same tale, set to the same tune. Of the joy of love, the deep contentment of mutual passion, they have little to say . . . . but much of its pains and sorrows—the sorrow of absence, the pain of rejection, the incomparable beauty of the lady and her unwavering cruelty. And they say it in a series of constantly recurring images: of rain and wind, of fire and ice, of storm and warfare; comparisons

With sun and moon, and earth and sea’s rich gems,
With April’s first born flowers and all things rare,
That heaven’s air in this huge rondeur hems;

allusions to Venus and Cupid, Cynthia and Apollo, Diana and Actaeon; Alexander weeping that he had no more worlds to conquer, Caesar shedding tears over the head of Pompey; abstractions, such as Love and Fortune, Beauty and Disdain; monsters, like the Phoenix and the Basilisk.” (H. J. C. Guenzon, “John Donne,” The Cambridge History of English Literature 4.225-6.) This description would need little modification to apply to the fu on love themes.
Thee lull'd asleep, where he enrag'd doth blow;
Thou didst not drink the floods which here do flow,
But tears, or those by icy Tanais' head.
Sith thou disdain's my love, neglects my grief,
Laughs at my groans, and still affects my death,
Of thee, nor heaven, I'll seek no more relief,
Nor longer entertain this loathsome breath,
But yield unto my star, that thou mayst prove
What loss thou hadst in losing such a love.

The sonnet of Marino ("Te l'Hiperboreo monte, o l'Arimaspe / Produsse, Elpinia, il Caucaso, o 'l Cerauno."\(^{188}\) of which Drummond's is not quite a translation, is guarantee of the conventional subject of the poem. In the same way T'ao Ch'ien's 珣 cannot be read in isolation.

The safest point of departure for determining the spirit in which T'ao Ch'ien composed his poem is his preface, where he said in effect that he was writing an exercise on an established theme. It may be worth while to formulate the theme as a preliminary to making a critical estimate of what T'ao Ch'ien did with it. This seems to be the basic structure of the several "Stilling the Passions" 瞑:

There is a woman of great beauty whose equal cannot be found in times past or present. She is good and wise, a model of decorum. I am irresistibly attracted to her, but alas! I have no way to approach her. I try to meet her soul in my dreams, but here too I am frustrated. I imagine the bliss of being some inanimate object which she has constantly about her, but realize that all of these are used only to be cast aside. I despair. Finally I resolve to pull myself together, and, by resigning myself to the inevitable, gain some measure of control over my feelings.

T'ao Ch'ien's versification of this formula differs from that of his predecessors—from their surviving fragments, that is—in the considerable elaboration of the metaphysical conceit (lines 35-75), to which approximately one-third of the poem is devoted. The development of each conceit is quite mechanical, and what began

\(^{188}\) Quoted by W. C. Ward on p. 217-8 of The Poems of William Drummond.
as a device for relieving monotony becomes monotonous itself. Still this is the section of the poem which most attracts the reader's attention, probably because of the rarity of this trope in Chinese poetry. It would be interesting to know how Chang Heng, Ts'ai Yung, Wang Ts'an, and Ying Yang used the figure; none of the conceits quoted from their fu was borrowed by T'ao Ch'ien, though one at least of his was not original. However, the concept of originality hardly has a place in the critique of pieces like this: success is to be judged according to how well the conventional elements are combined into a harmonious whole. Let us consider T'ao's poem section by section.

The first eighteen lines describe the lovely woman, with the usual emphasis on her moral worth. What at first seems to be an extraneous factor is introduced; she is credited with a mood of melancholy which in the earlier versions was the sole prerogative of the complaining poet. In lines 19-34, the mood is communicated to the poet through the device of the music which she plays, and there is the suggestion that if only a suitable intermediary were available she would welcome his advances (since she too is sad and worried about the passage of time and does not seem to find much consolation in the music). The conceits ("I would like to be the collar of your dress") in lines 35-74 represent a series of fantasies on how a permanent union might be achieved without the intermediary; in each of them the emphasis is on the irrelevant theme of the impermanence of the imagined propinquity. Instead of saying, "I wish I were . . . but unfortunately that is impossible," he says, "I wish I were . . . but it wouldn't last." This turn appears at first as a welcome deviation from the obvious, but repetition dulls the novelty, and the cumulative effect of this false trail through a third of the poem is to weaken and dissipate its impact. This section does serve to introduce the mood of frustration in lines 75-84, whatever the reason assigned for that mood. The setting of autumn, approaching night, and solitude (lines 85-96), with the usual emphasis on passing time, prepares for the inevitable dream sequence, here condensed into four lines (97-100) and culminating in the effective images of a boat without oars and the cliff-scaler without a handhold. Awake
and unable to sleep again, the poet is observing the signs of the
night’s passing when he hears the sound of a flute (lines 101-110).
From the association earlier in the poem of music and his beloved,
he is now naturally reminded of her, and again allows himself to
imagine that there might be a message from her, brought by a
passing cloud rather than the usual wild goose (lines 111-114).
Disappointed again and reflecting on the obstacles separating
him from the object of his desire, he ends on the note of renunc-
iation and resolution promised in the preface.

In a form which gets its effects by elaboration it is pointless to
object to diffuseness, but it is essential that one poem does not
develop two unrelated moods. It is in this respect that T'AO
Ch’ien’s poem is weak. As I have already suggested, the promi-
ience given to the series of conceits is not justified by their con-
tribution to the dominant theme of the poem, that of frustration
through inaccessibility.

“Stilling the Passions” is unique among T’AO Ch’ien’s works
in that none of his usual preoccupations appear in it—added
reason for regarding it as an apprentice exercise in versification.
The next fu which I want to take up is his “Lament for Gentlem-
men Born Out of their Time.” In it are symbols, vocabulary,
and above all a theme which he was frequently concerned with.
But he is still treating a traditional theme in a traditional man-
ner, as his preface testifies: 159

TUNG Chung-shu once wrote a fu on “Neglected Men of Worth”; SSU-MA
Ch’ien likewise wrote one, and as I read them in my leisure time 160 and idle
hours 161 I am deeply moved. For to behave that one may be trusted and be
concerned to be eligible for Heaven’s blessing 162 constitute man’s 163 good
conduct; to cherish simplicity 164 and maintain equilibrium 165 are the excel-

159 Works 5.1a-b.
160 三餘之日: cf. San kuo chi (Wei chi) 13.28b: Asked to explain the meaning
of the expression 三餘, T’ung Yu said, “Winter is the idle season 余 of the year;
the night is the idle time of the day; cloudy, rainy days are the idle periods of the
weather.” Cited by Ho Meng-ch’un 何孟春.
161 講習之暇: i.e., “Time when I was not busy carrying on improving conversa-
162 見信思順: cf. ibid., Hsi-ta’u A/11: | | 乎 |.
163 生人 is probably a Tang emendation to avoid the taboo 民.
165 甸靜: ibid., A.8a: 致虛極, | | 聖 .

72
lent qualities of the gentleman. Since the time when the true morality departed the world, the great imposture has held sway; in the village they neglect the duty of retiring for high principles, and in the market place they are avid for quick advancement. Worthy men who clung to the right and set their minds on the true way hid their talents in their times; those who kept themselves clean and conducted themselves decently exerted themselves to no purpose to the end of their lives. So Po-i and the [Four] White Heads complained that there was no one to whom they could turn. Cù'ü Yuán gave vent to his cry “It is all over.” Alas, we have human form for at the most a hundred years and are gone in the twinkling of an eye; it is hard to establish one’s conduct [in so brief a lifetime], but even so the inhabitants of a single city will withhold their unanimous praise. This is why those men of old wet their brushes and repeatedly gave expression to their pent-up feelings without ever resolving them. Now it is only poetry which can give adequate expression to the mind and the feelings. I held a scroll of paper in my hand, uncertain of my powers; finally I was moved to write on this subject.

The rather pedantic tone of the preface suggests that this is a more serious subject. There are only two prototypes, and they are obviously intended to supply background for T'AO Ch'ien's own ēn. It is hard to tell which was written first, but as it is shorter (the text may of course be incomplete), I shall begin with SSU-MĀ Ch'ien's:

Lament for Unemployed Gentlemen

Alas for the gentleman born out of his time

---

168 大僞: ibid., A.9a. 大道廢有仁義,知慧出則有 .
169 易: cf. Li chi 17.7a-b 務君難進而易退則位有序,易進而難退則亂也. “In serving one’s prince, when one is reluctant to enter service and quick to retire, then there is order in positions. When one it quick to serve and reluctant to retire, the result is disorder.” Cf. also ibid., 9.4b.
171 夷皓: cf. note 211. The “Four White Heads” were sages who retired from the world under Ch’in Shih-huang-ti and later refused to serve Han Kao-tsu; cf. Kao shih chuan B.7a-b (SPPY ed.). T’AO Ch’ien elsewhere refers to them in his poetry, e.g., Works 2.31a, 3.22a.
172 Both Po-i and the Four White Heads are credited with similar songs ending with “Whom shall I serve?”
173 Cù’ü Yuán is addressed by the title 三閑大夫 in “The Fisherman” (CT 7.1b).
174 The expression 已矣 is from the concluding lines of the “Li sao” (CT 1.49a).
175 I am unable to locate the source for this allusion.
176 生之不辰 cf. Shih ching No. 257/4: 我生 | “I was born untimely” (KARLIGEN, op. cit., 221).

73
Ashamed to live alone with only his shadow for companion, 176
Always concerned to control himself and be courteous 177
Fearing lest his determination to act go unmarked. 178
5 In truth his endowment is adequate but the time is out
of joint;
Endlessly he toils up to the very verge of death.
Though possessed of [pleasing] form, he goes unnoticed,
While capable, he cannot demonstrate his abilities.
How easily people are misled by poverty or success—
10 It is hard for them to distinguish between beauty and
ugliness.
While time drags on and on
I am hemmed in, never given scope.
He who treats the justly
Is my friend;
He who is selfish with the selfish
Brings grief to himself, 179
15 Heaven’s way is mysterious
Vast indeed; 180

176 顧影, lit. “watching one’s shadow,” comes to mean “self-absorbed,” out of vanity of either worth or beauty.
177 克己, lit. 使己面復禮: cf. Analects 12/1: “To control oneself and be courteous is perfect virtue (jen).”
178 無聞: cf. ibid., 9/33: “A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know his future will not be equal to our present? If he reach the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed he will not be worth being regarded with respect.” (Legge, The Chinese Classics 1.223).
179 使公于公者, 私于私者: I do not understand these lines, which perhaps should be referred to Lieh tsu (SPTK ed.) 1.6b: 公公私私天地之德. A rich man told a poor man he had got his wealth by stealing. The poor man tried it and was arrested. The rich man explained that by stealing he meant stealing from nature, not from men. Master Tung-kuo commented, “Mr. Ku’s stealing was from the common store, and so he escaped punishment. Your stealing was selfish interest, and so you got into trouble. Both those who treat the private as though it were public and those who do not do so are thieves. To regard the public as public and the private as private is the principle of heaven and earth. Knowing the principle of heaven and earth, who will speak of stealing or not stealing?” This passage suggests a possible translation: “He who treats public [property] as public is my friend; he who appropriates what belongs to others brings grief to himself.” I am not sure what that would mean in the present context.
180 天道微哉, 吾將問兮: Li Shan’s com. on WII 15.26a, 24.13b, 28.17b has | | 悠時,人理足兮. As YEN K’o-chüen remarks, this is a contamination from the next line.
The way of the world is obvious:
   Overthrow and rape.\textsuperscript{181}
To love life and hate death
   Is despised by the able;
To love rank and insult the lowly
   Is the overthrow of the wise.
Brilliant is my deep insight
   My understanding capacious.

20 Murky is their unenlightenment
   Poison brewing within.\textsuperscript{182}
This heart of mine—
   The wise man understands it;\textsuperscript{182}
These words of mine—
   The wise man garners them.
To die nameless
   Was the ancient’s shame;\textsuperscript{184}
To hear the truth in the morning and die that night—
   Who will say the sage was wrong?\textsuperscript{182}

25 There is a cycle between bad times and good:
   [States] fall and rise.
One cannot depend upon constant principles
   Or rely upon sound knowledge.\textsuperscript{186}
Do not act to bring about happiness,

\textsuperscript{181} For the contrast between 天道 and 人理 cf. Chuang tzu \textit{(SPTK} \textit{ed.}) 4.42b: \textit{何謂道，有天道有人道，無為而尊者天道也，有為而累者人道也。...天道之興與人道相去遠矣} "What is meant by the Way? There is the Way of Heaven and there is the Way of man. To be esteemed without acting is the Way of Heaven. To become involved through acting is the Way of man... The Way of Heaven and the Way of man are far apart."

\textsuperscript{182} 内生毒: there must be an allusion behind this phrase which I have not been able to discover.

\textsuperscript{184} 我之心矣，哲已能忖: cf. \textit{Shih ching} 198/4: \textit{他人有心，子忖度之} "Other men have their thoughts, but I can understand them." (Karlgren, op. cit., 148).

\textsuperscript{186} This is the theme of the "Letter to Jen An," \textit{WH} 41.10a-27a, esp. 23b: 沒世而文采不表於後世也.

\textsuperscript{188} Cf. \textit{Analects} 4/8: "The Master said, ‘If a man in the morning hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret.’" (Legge, op. cit., 1.168).

\textsuperscript{186} These two lines are from Li Shan’s com. on \textit{WH} 39.20a. This is a repudiation of the Confucian concepts of 理 and 智, leading to the Taoist conclusion.
Do not interfere to precipitate calamity: 187
Entrust yourself to the spontaneous
And in the end everything will revert to the One.

In this, Ssu-ma Ch‘ien (if the poem is actually his) gives some
weight to the old charge of Taoist inclinations, but typically
he provides an unimpeachably Confucian setting for his heresy.
Tung Chung-shu’s treatment of the theme is rather more
ambitious:

Neglected Men of Worth 188

Tung Chung-shu

Oh, alas, how far-off, how distant! 189
How slowly the chance comes, that so swiftly recedes. 190
They are no followers of ours 191 who bend their will to
others’ beck; 192
Upright 192 I have awaited my chance until now I am
approaching the grave.

5 Time goes on, 194 I cannot expect to be understood, 195
My heart is depressed, 196 I cannot hope for a position.
Uneasy activity would serve only to add to my disgrace,

187 無造福先，無觸禍始: cf. Chuang tzu 6.8a: 不為福先，不為禍始 “He
does not take the initiative in producing either happiness or calamity” (Legge, SBE
39.265).

188 處仲舒,士不遇: KWY 3.8a-3b; IWLC 30.20b-21a; CHW 23.1a-b.

189 This apostrophe is presumably addressed to Heaven; cf. Ssu-ma Ch‘ien, line 15;
also the common expressions 天高地遠 and 星遠. The burden of this plaint
is that fate is unknowable.

190 時來易遇,去之速矣: cf. Fa yen (SPTK ed.) 6.2b: 辰去辰，易來之速
去之速矣 “The good time, the good time, how slowly it comes and how fast it
goes.”

191 Cf. Analects 11/17. By appropriating to himself Confucius’ words the poet is
making himself the spokesman for the Confucian tradition.


194 悠悠時偕: cf. Ssu-ma Ch‘ien, line 11: 時悠悠而蕩蕩.

195 覺能覺?: I take the chūh as referring to his potential patron, the ruler
who might employ him; cf. the “Biography of Cu‘ü Yuán,” Shih chi 84.3b: 懷王之
終不悟也.

196 心之憂歎 (with 矣 for yú) occurs frequently in the Shih ching, e.g.: No. 26/5.
To butt the fence with all my strength will only break my horns. 197
If I do not leave my door I may avoid trouble. 198

Development: 199

10 I was born not during the flourishing of the Three Dynasties
But during the time of decadence which followed them.
While through cleverness and deceit one can expect success,
The upright and the uncompromising exercise self-restraint.

Though I thrice daily reflect on my conduct 200

15 I am fully aware that to advance or retire is equally difficult. 201

Men of that ilk truly there are many 202
Who point at the white and call it black. 203
It is pretty eyes which are trusted, but my sight is dim,
Glib tongues are believed, but my speech is faltering. 204

20 The gods are unable to straighten out the perversity of human affairs
Nor can sages enlighten the befuddled of the stupid.
If I leave my door 205 I cannot walk together with them

197 Cf. I ching No. 84 (九三): "A ram butts against a fence and entangles his horns."
198 Ibid., No. 60 (初九). "He does not leave his door. No blame." This unpaired line does not end in a rhyme, and either the 違 is a misprint or a line has dropped out of the text.
199 這日, This term occurs in the "Distant Wandering" (CT 5.4a) and in the Chieh-yü Pan's "Lament for Herself" (CHW 11.7a).
200 Cf. Analects 1/4: "I daily examine myself on three points" (Legge, The Chinese Classics 1.189).
201 進退惟谷: cf. Shih ching No. 277/9: "People have a saying, 'To advance or retire is alike difficult.'"
202 實繁之有徒: cf. Shu ching 4/2/3: "Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful,—many such followers he had indeed" (Legge, op. cit., 179).
203 Cf. "The Nine Declarations: "變白以爲黑 "They transform the white and make it black" (CT 4.23a).
204 信讒而視聰分口信讒而言訛: It is not clear just how these attributes are to be distributed. On the basis of Analects 4/24 ("The superior man wishes to be slow in his speech and earnest in his conduct"), 訐訛 should be a positive virtue, contrasting with "glib-tongued." By analogy the same distinction should hold between mu hu and shih miao.
205 出門: i.e., take office.
When I hide my talents 206 they scoff at my intransigence.
I withdraw to cleanse my heart 207 and examine my conscience 208
25 But still they do not understand the course I follow. 209
When I consider conditions in ancient times,
Then too men of integrity were isolated and had no one to turn to.
Under T'ang of the Yin there were Pien-sui and Wu-kuang 210
Under Wu of the Chou there were Po-i and Shu-ch'i. 211
30 Pien-sui and Wu-kuang drowned in the deeps
Po-i and Shu-ch'i climbed the hill to pick herbs.
If even saints like those were distraught 212
What is to be expected when the whole world has gone astray?
Men like Wu Yüan 213 and Ch'ü Yüan 214
35 Were really without anyone they might look to. 215
Though I am not up to [the conduct of] those men,
I shall go on a distant voyage, 216 always admiring them.
Alas, men of my sort are far away 217

206 藏器: cf. I ching (Hsi-tz'u B/4): 君子 | | 於其身, 待時而動 "The superior man keeps his instrument concealed on his person, awaiting the proper time to act."
207 退洗心: cf. ibid. (Hsi-tz'u A/10): 聖人以此洗心, 退藏於密 "The sages with these cleansed their hearts and, retiring, treasured them up in secrecy."
208 For 内訥 cf. Analects 5/27.
209 亦不知其所從: This may mean "I do not know to whom I might offer allegiance."
211 For Po-i and Shu-ch'i cf. BD 1657.
212 CHU Ch'i-feng (TT 878) equates 師遜 with 徑遜 (along with other variant orthographies); the meaning ranges between "idle" and "uncertain."
213 Better known as Wu Tzu-hsi; cf. BD 2358.
214 BD 503.
214 For protection and employment.
215 The connotations of 遠遊 are Taoist (CT 5) and allegorical of a search for a patron ("Li sao"). As developed in the following lines, it must also be taken literally: "I am going on a voyage of discovery to see whether I can find a sympathetic friend."
216 In time (as the misunderstood heroes just mentioned) and in space (as the friend he hopes to find.)
I fear the path is overgrown and hard to walk;
40 I dread the warning that the superior man on a journey
   Will go three days without eating.\footnote{218}
Alas, everyone in the world is perverse
   I regret there is no one to join me in getting back
   [to the True Way].
Better turn to the good old cause
45 And not let oneself be carried along by the times.
   Though all profit be gained by violating the true self
   It is still better with pure heart to cleave to the one Good.
   One may act only under pressure of circumstances—
   It does not follow that he is by nature obstinate.\footnote{219}
50 I know well that great achievement \footnote{220} comes with
   companionship \footnote{221}
   And understand the rewards of the glory of humility.\footnote{222}
   I conform to the hidden through silent contentment
   And do not show off my excellence or seek to be prominent.
   If one can make common cause with a true friend \footnote{223}
55 Why quibble over the difference in our ages? \footnote{224}

Tung Chung-shu has developed the theme by supplying examples, and for consolation looks for a friend in adversity. The life of retirement which he advocates is well within the Confucian tradition of staying out of office when the times are bad. T'ao Ch'i'en multiplied the examples and borrowed freely from both his predecessors:

\footnote{218} Cf. \textit{I ching} No. 36 (初九): "The superior man on a journey will go three days without eating."
\footnote{219} 素既迫而後勤參雲凝性之惟臂: I am not sure that I understand this line. I take it to mean that, though unwilling to compromise his ideals by serving when the times are not right, he might be forced by circumstances (e.g., poverty) to do so; still his reluctance is not to be taken as a sign of obstinacy, for he would gladly serve if he could do so on his own terms.
\footnote{220} 大有: \textit{I ching} No. 14.
\footnote{221} 同人: \textit{ibid.}, No. 13.
\footnote{222} 謙: \textit{ibid.}, No. 15 (象): 尊而光.
\footnote{223} 肝膽: lit. "liver and gall."
\footnote{224} 髮髻: I have been unable to locate the reference behind this term, and so my translation is only a guess. It might imply "superficial differences" rather than age.
Lament for Gentlemen Born out of their Time

T'AO CH'IEN

Ah, of all who receive the breath of life from the Creator.\(^{225}\)
It is man alone who is endowed with intelligence.\(^{226}\)
One, given divine knowledge, hides his light;
Another, possessed of the Three and the Five,\(^{227}\)
leaves a name to posterity.

Some find their satisfaction in breaking clods,\(^{228}\)
Others perform some great service to mankind.
Granted that quiescence or activity\(^{229}\)
are allotted by fate,
Whatever the circumstances one should be complacent
and satisfied.
The world floats along and goes its way,

While all things are divided into classes according to form.\(^{230}\)
When a fine net is cast the fish are frightened,
When a strong snare is laid the birds are alarmed.\(^{231}\)

---

\(^{225}\) 大塊: cf. Chuang tzu 2.19a: 夫墟氣, 其名曰風 “The breath of the
Creator is called the wind.”

\(^{226}\) Cf. Shu ching 21/1/3: 惟天地萬物之父母, 惟人萬物之靈 “Heaven and
Earth are father and mother of all things, and man of all creatures is the one endowed
with intelligence.”

\(^{227}\) 三五 is ambiguous. It may refer to the 三皇五帝 (as in Pan Ku’s “Two
Capitals” fu, WH 1.17b), or two constellations (Shih ching No. 21/1), or the significant
time intervals of thirty and five hundred years (Shih chi 27.37a, 41b). It is the
last which yields the best sense here; cf. the first Shih chi passage cited: 爲國者必
貴三五 “Rulers of a state must respect the three and the five.”

\(^{228}\) 擊壤: “In the time of the Emperor Yao the world was at peace and the
people were at rest. An old laborer, over eighty, was breaking clods in the road.
Someone who saw him said, ‘Great is the virtuous power of the Emperor!’ The
worker said, ‘I begin work at sunrise and rest at sunset. I dig a well for water and
till my field for food. What is the Emperor’s virtue to me?” (Kao shih chuan A.4a).
Li Kung-huan’s note about a game of darts going under the same name is irrelevant.

\(^{229}\) 潛躍: i.e., whether one lives in retirement or leads an active life of public
service; cf. I ching No. 1 (初九).

\(^{230}\) 物羣分以相形: cf. ibid. (Hsi-ts’u A/1): 物以羣分, 吉凶生矣 “Creatures
are divided by classes; from this come good and bad fortune.” Perhaps there is
also a reflection here of the couplet in No. 6 of the poems “On Drinking Wine”
(Works 3.22) 是非相形, 雷同共毀譽 “When right and wrong are arbitrarily
given form. /They all join together with their blame or praise.”

\(^{231}\) Cf. JUAN Chi’s “Sad Songs” No. 76 (59a in Huang Chieh’s ed.): 給深魚淵
漁, 增設鷹高翔 “When the line hangs deep the fish dive into the depths; /When
the arrows fly aloft the birds soar high.”
In the same way the truly wise are quickly put on their guard
And flee from office to go back to farming.

15 High-soaring mountains hide their shadows,
Broad-flowing rivers conceal their sounds. 222
They sigh long when they think of the Emperors Huang-ti
and Yao;
Relinquishing glory, they take pleasure in poverty and
low condition.

The water in flowing from the pure spring is forever divided,

20 Through action good and evil take their separate courses.
When we look for the most estimable kind of conduct
It is surely the good in which one can take most pleasure.
We accept our lot from Heaven above
And take as our guide the writings bequeathed by the
Sages. 223

25 We show ourselves loyal to our prince and filial to our parents
We cultivate trust and duty in our town.
We will gain distinction [if at all] through honesty
Never seeking praise if it involves compromise of principle. 224

Alas, the sycophants and slanderers—

30 The world abhors anything superior.
The man of vision they call deluded,
The one whose conduct is upright they say is perverse.
He who is absolutely righteous and above suspicion
In the end is put to shame with slanderous charges.

35 You may clasp your jewel and cling to your orchids, 225

222 山巖巖而懸影，川汪汪而藏聲。I take these lines as referring to the
hermit’s retreat, for which mountains and rivers are common symbols; cf. Shih chi
79.20b: 退而巖居川觀。Cf. also Ts’ao Chih’s “Stilling Thoughts of Love,” lines
6-7: 薇蒿岑以翳日、臨潦水之清流。

223 Cf. T’AO Ch’ien’s poem “To YANG Sung-ling” (Works 2.20b): 得知千載事，
正賴古人書 “To know about times a thousand years ago, / We have only to rely
on the writings of the ancients.”

224 Cf. TUNG Chung-shu, lines 16-7.

225 Symbols of the worth of the upright man. For the jewel cf. note 168; for the
orchid cf. note 93.
In vain your fragrance and purity—who believes in them?

Alas for gentlemen born out of their time!
I can no longer live under Shen-nung or the Emperor K’uei. In solitude I have devoted myself to self-cultivation.  

40 When have I failed thrice daily to examine myself? I hoped that by improving my virtue I would be ready if a chance should come. 

The chance came, but I found no favor.
Without a direct word from Master Yüan Chang Chi would have died in obscurity. 

45 I sympathize with Old Man Feng, the Palace Secretary Who had to depend on Prefect Wei to give his advice. 

They made every effort to achieve recognition: Still they ate their hearts out, year after year. One may be sure there is no tiger in the market 

50 But three reports will lead one astray. I lament the Tutor Chia’s outstanding talents His far-reaching course checked and confined in bounds.

---

234 帝魁, supposed to be either Shen-nung’s successor or a descendant of Huang-ti.
235 A constant refrain in the “Li sho.”
236 See note 200.
237 丘逢德以及時: cf. I ching No. 1 (文言): 君子逢德能業, 欲及時也 “The superior man improves his virtue and refines his achievements, in the hope that he will be ready if the chance offers.”
238 CHANG Shih-chih 張釋之 (T. 季) served ten years without promotion until Yüan Ang 胡按 recommended him to the Emperor Wen; cf. Han shu 50.1a-b.
239 FENG T’ang 鳳唐 as Chief of Palace Secretaries 郎中署長, found occasion to protest the Emperor Wen’s treatment of Wei Shang 魏尚, Prefect of Yün-chung 雲中, who had been unjustly punished. FENG T’ang used this as an example of the Emperor’s inadequate rewards for the deserving (Han shu 50.6a-b). T’AO Ch’ien’s wording suggests that he had in mind a different version of the story.
240 “P’ang Kung, . . . said to the King of Wei, ‘If a person were now to say there is a tiger in the market place, would you believe it?’ The king said no. ‘If two men said so, would you believe it?’ ‘No.’ ‘Would you believe it if three men said so?’ ‘I would believe it.’ ‘It is obvious that there are no tigers in the market, but the testimony of three men creates a tiger in the market.’” (Han Fei tsu 9.5a). This illustrates the power of unfavorable publicity.
241 CHIA I was Senior Tutor 太傅 to Prince Huai of Liang; cf. Shih chi 84.8b.
242 For 舒遠彙 cf. No. 9 of the series “On Drinking Wine” (Works S.23a) 紧勸誠可學, 違己詣非迷 “It is possible to learn to hold oneself in check./But it is really wrong to go against oneself.”
I am distressed that Minister Tung's profound learning
Should have endangered him repeatedly, though he
fortunately escaped.

55 I am moved that the wise man is without a comrade—
My dripping tears wet my sleeve.

One may acknowledge the Former Kings' excellent dictum
That Heaven knows no favorites.
One may find guidance by holding strictly to the One
And by constantly aiding the good, help the cause of virtue.
But [Po-ji] in his old age suffered from long hunger
And [Yen] Hui died young after living in poverty.
I lament the necessity for begging a cart to buy his coffin,
I grieve the death of him who ate herbs.

65 Though the one loved learning and the other practiced
righteousness
Their lives were hard and their deaths bitter.
I suspect that this teaching is no more than empty words.

It is not that in all the world there are no men of ability,

70 But it is seldom that all roads are not blocked.
The men of old were burdened with care,
Worried lest they fail to make a name for themselves.

246 Tung Chung-shu was "minister" in the court of the Prince of Chiang-tu;
cf. Han shu 56.31a.
246 Cf. Shu ching 5/17/4: 皇天無親,惟德是輔 “Great Heaven has no affec-
tions;—it helps only the virtuous” (LEGE, The Chinese Classics 3.3.490).
247 澄得—以作鑒: cf. Huai-nan tzu 16.1b (SPTK ed.): 人莫鑒於沐雨而鑒
於澄水者 “We get a reflection, not from dripping rain, but from still waters.”
T'ao Ch'ien is using chien "mirror" in its symbolical sense; but as with water, the
"one" provides a guide only if "clear," that is, not agitated; hence ch'eng. For
得— cf. Tao te ching B.2a.
248 Cf. Analects 11/7:  "When Yen Yuan died, Yen Lu begged the carriage of the
master [to sell] and get an outer shell for his [son's] coffin" (LEGE, The Chinese
Classics 1.239).
249 I.e., Po-i. I have paraphrased this line.
250 Of the former kings; cf. line 57. This sentiment is repeated in "On Drinking
Wine" No. 2 (Works 3.290b): 善惡苟不應、何事立穹言.
251 罕無路之不濁: This seems to say just the opposite, and I take han as
emphatic.
252 Cf. Su-sma Ch'ien, line 23.
[Li] Kuang began his career from the time he came of age, And need not have been ashamed to be made lord of ten thousand households. 283
75 But his valor was broken by a royal favorite 284 And in the end he got not a foot of territory. He left behind him a reputation for sincerity and integrity To move to tears everyone [who heard of his death]. 285 [Wang] Shang offered good advice to reform corrupt practices;
80 He was at first listened to, but misfortune overtook him. 286
How easily prosperous times change, How quickly misfortune dominates.
Blue Heaven is far off, While man's striving has no surcease.
85 Sometimes [Heaven] is responsive, sometimes it remains unmoved— Who can fathom its principles?
Better endure hardship and follow one's inclinations

283 Cf. Li Kuang's biography (Han shu 54.7a): 臣結髮面與匈奴戰 "I have been fighting the Hsiung-nu since I came of age." He was never offered such a reward, in spite of his great services. The Emperor Wen said of him, "It is too bad Kuang was born at the wrong time. If he had lived under Kao-tsu, it would not have been too much for him to have been enfeoffed as Marquis with ten thousand households" 惜不逢時,令當高祖世,萬戶侯,豈足道哉 (Han shu 54.1a). For Li Kuang's own complaint about his treatment, see ibid., 54.6a. TAO Ch'ien has 吳 "cities" for 户, probably for the rhyme.
284 晞晉: i.e., Wei Ch'ing 衛青 (half-brother of one of Wu-ti's favorites) who was Commander-in-Chief of the expedition against the Hsiung-nu when Li Kuang lost his way and was late at their rendezvous. Wei Ch'ing reported him, and Li Kuang killed himself.
285 "When he died all in the empire shed tears, whether they were acquainted with him or not. Such was his inmost sincerity and integrity with gentlemen" (Han shu 54.28b, after Ssu-ma Ch'ien's appreciation in Shih chi 109.9b).
286 There was a false report of an impending flood in Ch'ang-an. The Emperor Yuan summoned his counselors, and Wang Feng advised the Emperor to take to a boat along with the Empress and the women of his harem, while everyone else climbed up on the city walls. Wang Shang remarked that there had never been a flood demanding such drastic precautions even in times of unprincipled government, and that under the current enlightened rule it was unlikely there was to be any flood. The Emperor was convinced, and it turned out to be nothing but a rumor. Wang Feng was embarrassed and resentful, and later secured Wang Shang's demotion (Han shu 82.1b-5b).
Than compromise and harass oneself.
Since I take no glory in the cap and carriage of office
90 Why be ashamed of tattered garments? 287
Indeed I have missed my chance by choosing simplicity, 288
But I shall be happy to return to the quiet life. 289
Cherishing my feelings in solitude, 290 I shall end my years
Declining any offers 291 from the market place.

The theme of the unemployed sage, the neglected scholar, the slandered statesman is far more ubiquitous in Chinese literature than any love poetry, however chaste. History and legend provide an almost inexhaustable supply of prototypes; and legend, history and literature coalesce in the figure of Cn'ü Yuán to produce the perfect representative of the type. The many Han and Six Dynasties fu which are dedicated to this theme are permeated by the “Li sao” to an extent hard to demonstrate in terms of verbal borrowings, though those are frequent enough. The specialized subspecies represented by the “Gentlemen Born out of their Time” is not directly modeled after the “Li sao” as the “Distant Wandering” and the “Meditation on Mystery” are, but the same lament over an unsympathetic world which affords no place for integrity or genius is the dominant motif. While this was an attitude fashionable in Later Han and Six Dynasties China, it seldom appears in T'ao Ch'ien’s poetry in so obvious a form. Except in the series of seven poems “Celebrating Impoverished Gentlemen” 詠貧士, his frequent references to recluses like Jung Ch'i-ch'i or the Four White Heads are to express admiration for the course they chose rather than to criticize directly the condi-

289 A recurrent theme in T'ao's poetry.
290 擁孤標 I take this figuratively, by analogy with 擁懷累代下 (Works 2.21a) and 擁懷情 (“Hsien ch'ing fu,” line 77).
tions that made their retirement necessary. He ordinarily finds fault with the present by eulogizing a golden age of the past, as in the lines 262

I hark back to the time of Tung-hu
When harvested grain was left in the fields overnight; 263
And people thumped their full bellies complacently, 264
Rising in the morning, returning home to sleep at night.
Since I did not get to live in such a time
I shall just go on watering my garden.

The themes of withdrawal from present disorder and of a golden age of the past are neatly combined in the utopia of the "Peach Flower Spring," an often translated anthology piece. 265 T'AO CH'IENT personal interest in men out of harmony with their times is thus well attested, but his treatment of the theme in his "Gentlemen" fu is not characteristic; it is, however, very much in line with the pre-existing fu which he used as models. Though direct borrowings are fewer than in the "Stilling the Passions" series, the inspiration is strongly traditional, as even a casual reading shows. Again I should like to make a more detailed study of T'AO CH'IENT's poem to demonstrate how he combines conventional themes.

Where his predecessors launched immediately into their complaint, he begins by stating his premise (lines 1-8) : man is unique in being endowed with intelligence, and of all men the sages are outstanding for possessing that endowment to a higher degree. That some sages live an active life, benefiting their fellows, while others retire and devote themselves to self-cultivation reflects a difference in the opportunities presented them; it is the result of

262 From the poem about the burning of his house, Works 3.17a.
263 Ho Meng-ch'un quotes from Tsu-ssu-tzu 子思子: "In the time of Tung-hu Chi-tzu, people walked straight down the road without picking up things left there, and surplus grain was left overnight in the fields."
264 A reference to Chuang tzu 4.15a: "In the time of Ho-hsü the people stayed at home without being conscious of what they did; they went without being aware of where they were going. They ate and were happy, drummed on their bellies and enjoyed themselves."
265 H. A. Giles, Gems of Chinese Literature 104-5.
circumstance determined by fate, and calls for neither censure by others nor complaint by the less favored ones. However, in the course of time categories of behavior are set up, subject to praise and blame. The sage regards these arbitrary standards as a snare and withdraws from the world to live in poverty and obscurity. He regrets the change of times, but finds pleasure in his enforced retreat (lines 9-18). Since the primordial state of undifferentiated being has degenerated to admit good and evil, one must choose what one's conduct will be, and naturally it is the good to which one gives allegiance, and the good is that defined in the Confucian ethic. A man who aspires to make a name for himself must keep his conduct within these limits (lines 19-28).

This introduction provides the frame of reference for the lament which begins (lines 29-36) with a bitter indictment of the world — suspicious of excellence, skeptical of integrity, slanderous of worth: the good man finds little credit for his ideals. Beginning with line 38 the complaint takes on a more personal tone, though the poet does not use the first personal pronoun here or anywhere in the poem. What he now says may apply to himself, but it is still expressed in general terms. Line 38 carries a reminder of the unattainable ideal: even in the scheme of legend which passed for early history in pre-modern China, Shen-nung and the Emperor K'uei are shadowy pre-historic figures, well buried in a past antedating Yao and Shun to whom Confucian folklore was prone to appeal. In the modern world the poet finds that virtue is no adequate qualification for a position, and illustrates the point with two examples from the Han dynasty, one of which does not seem to be very apt. The credence given false reports is introduced as a possible reason for the neglect of these men and of two other well-known Han statesmen, Chia I and Tung Chung-shu, whose very superiority contributed to their lack of success. Lines 55-56 bring in a motif from Tung Chung-shu's fu—the wise man's isolation and need for a companion—only to abandon it without any further development.

The idea that Heaven is just, rewarding the man who devotes himself to the good, is examined in the light of precedent: from what happened to Po-i and Yen Hui it looks as though this is not a valid assumption (lines 57-68).
There are good men in the world, but they seldom get a chance to aid mankind as they might. This is of great concern to them, for men of ability are always anxious to put their talents to use. But even when they do have an opportunity to serve, they either end a life of achievement and devotion in disgrace—like Li Kuang—or find themselves out of favor in spite of their sage counsel—like Wang Shang, both of whom were undone by sycophants and slanderers (lines 69-80).

Fortune is fickle, and disaster waits on prosperity. Heaven, if not actually malevolent, is at best indifferent to human striving. If Heaven sometimes appears responsive, it is as often unmoved, and there is no way to determine on what principles it operates. If this be true, the only rational basis of human behavior is to follow one's own ideals, giving up any idea of serving a ruler, for any official career inevitably will involve compromise and trouble (lines 81-88).

If one is not impressed by the trappings of officialdom, he can be equally indifferent to the poverty which will be his lot if he refuses to seek office. The quiet life is incompatible with success, but it has its compensations, and it is better to remain untouched by specious offers which promise fame and worldly status (lines 89-94).

The argument of this fu is essentially the same as Ssu-Ma Ch'ien's: virtue can look neither to the way of the world nor to the Way of Heaven for its reward. Their conclusions are similar; Ssu-Ma Ch'ien's "entrust yourself to the spontaneous" is happily combined with T'ao's "return to the quiet life" in another of T'ao's poems ("The Return"), where the two injunctions are complementary. The difference in development in this fu owes something to Tung Chung-shu, whose emphasis on companionship is missing in both the others, but whose elaboration in terms of historical examples was imitated by T'ao Ch'ien. Of the three, Ssu-Ma Ch'ien's best conveys the mood of bitterness and frustration, but T'ao Ch'ien has achieved the most subtle presentation of the dilemma confronting the man of good will, torn between his desire to serve, his dedication to ideals of conduct which require him to serve, and the unhappy state of the world where service involves the compromise of those very ideals. His choice of a life
of obscurity is in part motivated by the wish to escape the disasters which overtake high-minded bureaucrats, but also it is because of his conviction that martyrdom does not further the cause of the right. The appeal to self-interest helps keep the poem above the level of banality and downright pose. Although one may prefer Ssu-ma Ch’ien’s treatment of the theme, T’ao Ch’ien in this *fu* shows technical versatility and achieves a convincing statement of a complex idea.

In “Stilling the Passions” and “Lament for Gentlemen Born out of their Time” T’ao Ch’ien was writing conventional *fu* on established themes. His prefaces said as much, and an examination of his models amply confirms his statement. When he came to write “The Return” he made no such prefatory appeal to tradition, but described instead the personal experience which moved him to write: 266

I was poor, and what I got from farming was not enough to support my family. The house was full of children, and the rice-jar was empty. I could not see any way to supply the necessities of life. Friends and relatives kept urging me to become a magistrate, 267 and I had reluctantly come to think I should do it, but there was no way for me to get such a position. At the time I happened to have business abroad 268 and made a good impression on the grandees as a conciliatory and humane sort of person. Because of my poverty an uncle 269 offered me a job in a village under his jurisdiction, but the countryside was still unquiet 270 and I trembled at the thought of going so far away from home. However, P’eng-ts’e was only thirty miles away from my native place, and the yield of the fields assigned the magistrate was sufficient to keep me in wine, so I applied for the office. Before many days had passed, I longed to give it up and go back home. Why, you may ask. Because my instinct is all for freedom, and will not brook discipline or restraint. Hunger and cold may be sharp, but this going against myself really sickens me. 271 Whenever I have been involved in official life I was mortgaging myself to my mouth and belly, and the realization of this greatly upset me.

---

266 *Works* 5.7b-8b.
267 長吏 is a superior clerk or a high official. It is the former which is meant here.
268 會有四方之事: Li Kung-huan says this refers to the occasion when he was sent to the capital in the capacity of Secretary to the Garrison Commander 鎮衛軍 建威參軍. LEE Lao-chih 劉牢之.
269 T’ao K’uei 貴, according to T’ao Chu.
270 風波未靜: cf. “On Drinking Wine” No. 10: 箸路遙且長, 風波阻中涂 “The way is far and long, / Wind and waves (sc. civil disturbances) block the road” (*Works* 3.23b).
271 For 達己 cf. note 244.
I was deeply ashamed that I had so compromised my principles, but I was still going to wait out the year, after which I might pack up my clothes and slip away at night. Then my sister who had married into the Cu'ıng family died in Wu-ch'ang, and my only desire was to get away. I gave up my office and left of my own accord. From mid-autumn to winter I was altogether some eighty days in office, when events made it possible for me to do what I wished. I have entitled my piece "The Return"; my preface is dated the eleventh moon of the year i-sù (405).

His failure to mention any models for this fu does not of course mean that there were none, but it does suggest that he was not primarily concerned with imitation and elegant variation. Actually there were several fu extolling the bucolic life at the expense of city living, and celebrations of the seasonableness of nature in fu form to which he could have appealed and which may have influenced what he wrote. It is instructive to take a look at a couple of specimens: it helps explain why "The Return" enjoys a unique place in the voluminous fu literature while these others are seldom noticed.

It is Chang Heng again who provides the earliest known example of a fu on this subject.

Returning to the Fields

In the city I have spent time without end
With never a word of good counsel to benefit the commonweal
Fruitlessly standing by the stream and admiring the fish
And waiting in vain for the River to run clear.

5 I lose hope when I think of the unhappy Ts'ai Tse

---

272 "for one harvest," presumably for the wine which he intended to brew from the rice crop.
273 歸田賦, WH 15.25b-27a; IWLC 36.12b-13a; CHHW 53.9b-10a. I have followed the WH text and commentaries.
274 Cf. Yang Hsiung's "Ho-tung fu" (CHW 11.6a): 雉以臨川羡魚不如歸而結網 "It seems to me that standing by the stream and admiring the fish is not so good as going home and tying a net." Li Shan quotes a similar sentence from Hui-nan tzu, but I cannot locate it in current editions of that text.
275 I.e., for recognition. The allusion is to the "Chou poem" quoted in Tao chuan (Haian 8): 侯河之清,人壽幾何 "How long does a man live, / That he can wait for the River to run clear?"
Whose doubts were resolved by Master T'ang. 276
Truly Heaven’s operations are unfathomable: 217
I shall emulate the Fisherman and share his joys. 278
Overstepping the dust of the world I shall go far away
And take final leave of worldly affairs. 279

Then
In the best month of mid-Spring
When weather is fair and air clear
Highlands and lowlands burgeon
All plants are in bloom; 280

When the osprey drums his wings
And the oriole sings his sad song,
With necks crossed they fly up and down
Chirp-chirp, twitter-twitter.

Among such I saunter 281

For the pleasure it gives me. 282

And then
The dragon sings in the great marsh
The tiger roars on the mountain. 283

Above I let fly the thin silk thread. 284

276 Ts'ai Tse 蔡澤 was an itinerant politician who had been unsuccessful until he
met the physiognomist T'Ang Chü 唐勒, who advised him that he had a life
expectancy of another forty-three years. He subsequently became minister in Ch'in.
Cf. his biography in Shih chü 79.15a-b. Chang Heng implies he has no T'Ang Chü to
reassure him.
277 Cf. Ssu-Ma Ch'ien's "Lament" line 15, also T'ao Ch'ien's, line 83, and note 189.
278 Since Heaven’s whims are unpredictable and I cannot expect preferment at
court, I shall enjoy the irresponsibility of retirement. "The Fisherman" of course
is the one who tried to reason with the intractable Chu Yuán (cf. CT 7), though
there may be also an oblique reference to the fisherman (in Chuang tzu 10.5b-11a)
who so effectively humbled Confucius.
279 Lines 9-10 are omitted in IWLC.
280 仲春令月。百草滋榮：cf. Ts'ao Chih. "Chieh-yu fu" 節遊：仲春
之月，百草以生 (Works 1.3b).
281 於焉逍遙：this line is from Shih ching 186/1 (La Shan).
282 Lines 16-20 are omitted in IWLC.
283 Cf. Huai-nan tzu 3.2a: "The tiger roars and the valley wind begins to blow, the
dragon rises and rain clouds gather." The poet implies that like the dragon and the
tiger he is in tune with the forces of nature.
284 Which is attached to an arrow, used in fowling. The following fishing and
Below I angle in the ever-flowing stream.

25 [The birds] collide with the arrow and die
[The fish] covet the bait and swallow the hook.
I bring down from the clouds the bird lost from the flock
I dangle [on my line] the sha-liu fish in the depths.

Just then

The declining rays of the Great Luminary

30 Are carried on by Wang-shu.

So entranced by this pleasure-jaunt
I forget fatigue, though the sun is setting.
I take to heart the admonition handed down by Lao-tzu,
And turn my course to my rustic hut.

35 I pluck rare melodies on the five-stringed [lute]
And recite the works of Chou[-kung] and Confucius
In high spirits I take up brush and ink and write,
To celebrate the laws of the Three Emperors.
If I set free my heart outside the realm of things

40 What are the paths of glory to me?

The affinities of this theme with the "Gentlemen Born out of their Time" are clear enough: the world of affairs is a bad place, unpredictable at best, and the wise man knows enough to get out. But the emphasis is very different. Here the "dust of the world" is quickly dismissed, and the poem describes the positive pleasures of retirement in the country. It is a Taoist theme, prominent in Chuang tzu, and free from the carping bitterness which permeates the fu of the "Gentlemen" series. The joys of country living are also described in an untitled essay by CHUNG-CH'ANG T'UNG, written in a strictly parallel prose that differs from the fu form.

Fowling motifs are common to bucolic poetry of this period; cf. the first of Hsu K'ang's "Poems on a Drinking Party" (Works 1.13a): 輕丸斃翔禽，纖輪出鱲鲕 "With light pellets we slay soaring birds, / With slender lines draw forth sturgeon."

282 望曙: i.e., the sun (Lü Hsiang). Cf. Ts'ao Chih's "Chieh-yu fu": 怨之無光 "I resent it that the Great Luminary gives no light" (Works 1.4a).

283 望舒: the charioteer of the moon; cf. Wang T's com. on the "Li sao." CT 1.19a.

284 Cf. Tao te ching A/6a: "To go galloping on the hunt drives the mind to madness."

285 仲長統 quoted in his biography in Hou Han shu 79.19a-14a; CHHW 89.9a-b.
by its more varied rhythm and the absence of rhyme. Though not a fu it will serve to document this particular literary tradition:

If I might have for my dwelling
A spacious house and fertile fields,
Backed by hills and verging on a stream,
Surrounded by waterways and ponds,
Dotted with bamboo and trees,
Threshing floor tamped in front, 288
Fruit orchard planted behind;
With boat and carriage to save me the trouble of walking
and wading,
With servants to spare me the toil of my four limbs;
My parents might have all delicacies for food,
My wife and children might lack the trials of exertion;
When my friends congregate I could set out wine and food
for their enjoyment,
And on feast days make offerings of steamed lamb and pork;
I would loiter in the garden
Or wander through the woods,
Splash the clear water
Or chase cool breezes,
Angle for the swimming carp
Or shoot at the high-flying goose;
Recite poetry below the altar for rain sacrifices
And return singing to the high hall; 299
Or I would compose my mind in an inner room, meditating
on Lao-tzu’s mysterious emptiness;
Practicing breath control, I would seek to become an Adept;
Or with enlightened friends I would discuss metaphysics
and books,
Contemplate Heaven and Earth,
Consider the human state;
I would pluck the classic melody of the Nan-feng. 301

288 場園築前: cf. Shih ching 154/7: 九月築場園. The p'u is a vegetable
garden which was pounded hard for threshing in the fall.
301 Shun made the five-stringed lute and used it to accompany the song “Nan-
feng”; cf. Li chi 11.10b.
Playing a lovely tune in the clear *shang* mode;
I would take my ease above the world,
Looking with detachment on all between heaven and earth:
Untouched by the censure of my fellows,
I would live out my allotted term of life.

Then

Soaring to the heavens, I would be outside the bounds of
the universe;
Why should I desire to have entry into the king’s palace?

In this as in Chang Heng’s *fu*, bucolic pursuits are combined
with intellectual exercises, while the commitment to Taoist meta-
physics is even more definite. The description of the flowering
of springtime in lines 11-20 of Chang Heng’s *fu* has no counter-
part here, but it occurs prominently in a *fu* “An Excursion in the
[Spring] Season” 節遊 by Yang Hsiu 楊修 (173-219) and in a *fu*
with the same title by Ts’ao Chih (192-232). While neither of
these is an imitation of Chang Heng, the *fu* by Chang Hua which
borrows his title “Returning to the Fields” is, and might be
taken as an example of what T’ao Ch’ien did not write.

**Returning to the Fields**

**Chang Hua**

I obey the rhythm of *yin* and *yang*
Conforming to the seasons as they fold and unroll.
In winter my dark (?) dwelling is in the city
In spring I wander free around my country hut.
5 I go back to the old site of Chia-ju 292
In quest of quiet 294 to live in retirement.
I cultivate plants that they may flourish
Following the hills and contours of the land.
I set out in thick clumps the vegetables and fruits,

292 *CCW* 58.1b; *IWLC* 56.
293 郑鄉: the old capital of the Chou; cf. *Tso chuan* (Hsüan 3).
294 言託靜: I do not understand this phrase.
10 Raise mulberry and hemp in profusion.
   I supply my needs by taking advantage of Heaven's Way
   And amuse myself by growing herbs and drugs.
   Sometimes I wander by the banks of the Lo River
   Or perhaps stand still as it suits my fancy.
15 I eye the white sand and the piled-up pebbles
   And familiarize myself with the different flowers.
   I splash the white waves to wash my feet
   And float down clear ripples as it fits my mood.
   I hesitate and stop
20 I rest amid foliage,
   My soul lodged in the infinitesimal,
   My spirit departed beyond the horizon.
   The soft grass is my mat
   The hanging shadows are my canopy.
25 I watch the high birds mount the wind
   I look down at the ts'iao fish in the clear shallows.
   I look at the world of men, regarding it from afar,
   Cultivating spontaneity, universally valid,
   That I may retire to one valley
30 And long reside in obscurity, renouncing fame.

"The Return" may now be read in proper perspective. The theme is the same; actually the series of poems "Returning to the Fields to Dwell," which T'ao Ch'ien wrote at about the same time, use a title which could apply as well to his fu.

---

295 This is rather flippant; cf. the "Ts'ang-lang Song" in Mencius 4A/9: "When the water of the Ts'ang-lang is clear/It will serve to wash my cap./When the water of the Ts'ang-lang is muddy/It will serve to wash my feet."
296 Cf. Hsi K'ang's "Poems to his Elder Brother," No. 19 (Works 1.3b): 流俗難悟,逐物不還,至人遠堅,歸之自然 "Men of the world are hard to awaken, /They go off in pursuit of things and never return./The Adept views such from afar (with detachment). /And returns to the spontaneous."
297 Like the frog in Chuang tzu 6.25a, who was content to be master of "the water in one valley" 一壑之水 and stay in his abandoned well.
298 否 is the inauspicious hexagram No. 12; 泰, which portends prosperity, is No. 11.
The Return

To get out of this and go back home! My fields and garden will be overgrown with weeds— I must go back.

It was my own doing that made my mind my body’s slave Why should I go on in melancholy and lonely grief? I realize that there’s no remedying the past But I know that there’s hope in the future. After all I have not gone far on the wrong road And I am aware that what I do today is right, yesterday wrong.

My boat rocks in the gentle breeze Flap, flap, the wind blows my gown, I ask a passer-by about the road ahead, Grudging the dimness of the light at dawn.

299 Works 5.7b-14a; WH 45.37a-29b. This piece has been often translated. A representative, but by no means complete list will be found in Note 89 (with the exception of Phelps and Willmott).

298 归去来兮: I am indebted to Professor Yang Lien-sheng for pointing out the hortatory force of lai in this line. He calls my attention to its use in Fan Ch’ien’s recurrent song: 長銅歸來乎 (Shih chi 76.7b) and the examples cited in P’ei Hsiüeh-hai’s Ku-shu hsii-tzu chi-shih 裏學海，古書虛字集釋 515-6.

300 胡不歸 from Shih ching No. 36: “It’s no use, it’s no use, why not return?” (Karlo, op. cit., 23).

301 心為形役: cf. Huai-nan tzu 7.4b 心者形之主也 “The heart is the master of the body.”

302 Cf. Analects 18/5: “As to the past, reproof is useless; but the future may still be provided against” (Lodge, The Chinese Classics 1.333).

303 寻迷路其末远: cf. “Li sao” (CT 1.17b): 智駕車以復路兮及行迷之末遠 “I turn my carriage and return to the road, Not having gone far on the wrong path.”

304 Cf. Chuang tzu 9.13b-14a: “When Confucius was in his sixtieth year, in that year his views changed. What he had before held to be right, he now ended by holding to be wrong; and he did not know whether the things which he now pronounced to be right were not those which he had for fifty-nine years held to be wrong” (Lodge, SBE 40.144).

305 Here begins the description of the trip home, first by water, then on foot.


96
Then I catch sight of my poor hut—
Filled with joy I run. 208

15 The servant boy comes to welcome me
My little son waits at the door.
The three paths 209 are almost obliterated
But pines and chrysanthemums are still here.
Leading the children by the hand I enter my house

20 Where there is a bottle filled with wine. 210
I draw the bottle to me and pour myself a cup; 211
Seeing the trees in the courtyard brings joy to my face.
I lean out the south window and let my pride expand 212
I consider how easy it is to be content with a little space. 213

25 Every day I stroll in the garden for pleasure
There is a gate there, but it is always shut. 214
Cane in hand I walk and rest
Occasionally raising my head to gaze into the distance.

---
208 蒐欣載奔: This common Shih ching construction is frequently used by T'ao in his four-word poems.
209 三徑: an allusion to Chiang Yu 蔣詠, an official who became a recluse rather than serve Wang Mang (Han shu 72.30a). Li Shan quotes a now lost work by Chao Chi 趙岐, the San-fu chueh-lu 三輔決錄: "Chiang Yu . . . had a hut in a bamboo grove. He cleared three paths and sought the company of no one but Chung-yang and Chung-ts'ung. Both of them were men of principle who renounced fame and would not come out of retirement."
210 有酒盈樽: cf. Hsü Kang's "Verses to his Elder Brother" No. 16 (WH 34.12a): 旨 - - , 莫與交歟 "Fine wine fills the bottle. / But I have no one to enjoy it with." (Li Shan).
211 引壺觴以自酌: Cf. T'ao's poem "On Drinking Wine," No. 7 (Works 3.22b) 一觴雖獨進, 杯盡盡自傾 "Although I am drinking alone, / When the cup is empty I tilt the bottle myself."
212 倚南薰以寄傲: cf. "On Drinking Wine" No. 7 (Works 3.22b): 嘯傲東軒下 "I whistle forth my pride beneath the east window." This suggests that the direction is not a significant detail.
213 容膝: lit., "enough room for the knees," an allusion to Han-shih wei-chuen 9/23: Master Pei-kuo's wife is arguing against his accepting an offer from the King of Ch'u: "Now though you have horses harnessed four abreast and a mounted escort, still the place you occupy is only [the room] taken up by your knees" (Hsu-tower 311).
214 例, to the outside world. Cf. T'ao's poem "To Ch'ing-yuan" (Works 3.14b): 蠟腸閉 "My rustic gate is always shut by day."
215 扶老: lit., "support of the aged." Defined by Ho Meng-ch'un as being of wisteria vine or twisted bamboo.
The clouds, impersonal, rise from the peaks
30 The birds, flying wearily, know it is time to come home.
As the sun's rays grow dim and disappear from view
I walk around a lonely pine tree, stroking it.

Back home again!
May my friendships be broken off and my wanderings
come to an end.\footnote{P518}

35 The world and I shall have nothing more to do with one
another.\footnote{P517}
If I were again to go abroad, what should I seek? \footnote{P518}
Here I enjoy honest conversation with my family
And take pleasure in lute and books \footnote{P519} to dispel my worries.
The farmers tell me that now spring is here
40 There will be work to do in the west fields.

Sometimes I call for a covered cart \footnote{P320}
Sometimes I row a lonely boat \footnote{P321}

\footnote{P518} 請息交以絕遊: cf. T'ao's poem "To the Registrar Kuo" (Works 2.17b): 息交遊閑暇 "I put an end to my contacts and go to live in retirement." Also "Celebrating Poor Gentlemen" No. 6 (Works 4.11a): 靜然絕交遊 "In obscurity, he breaks off relations with the world."

\footnote{P517} 世與我而相違: cf. his "Poem to Liu Ch'eng-chih" (Works 2.16b): 棄世中世事, 岁月共相違 "The world with its ceaseless striving, / With passing time leaves me farther behind." Also "To Ching-yüan" (Works 3.14b): 世與世相違 "I have cut off connections with the far-off world."

\footnote{P519} 復語言兮爾求: cf. Ts'ao Chih's fu "Excursion in the Spring Season" (Works 1.4a): 与爾言兮出遊; also T'ao's "After an Old Poem" No. 8 (Works 4.5a): 吾行欲何求.

\footnote{P320} 肥琴書: cf. T'ao's poem "To the Registrar Kuo" (Works 2.17b): 坐起弄琴 "I sit up and amuse myself with lute and books." Also "When I first became Secretary to the Garrison Commander" (Works 3.10b): 威儀在 "My taste was for lute and books."

\footnote{P321} 或命車：cf. K'ung ts'ung tszu A.31b: 車命駕 "I have them drive my covered cart" (Li Shan).

\footnote{P519} The cart and boat are stock fixtures in these fu; cf. Ts'ao Chih's "Excursion in the Spring Season" (Works 1.4a): 逃歸集乎輕舟 "Then we descend to assemble in a light boat"; Yang Hsiao's fu of the same title (CHH W 51.9a-b): 御于方舟 .. 乃升車而反 "We ride in attached boats. .. Then we mount carriages and come back."
Following a deep gully through the still water
Or crossing the hill on a rugged path.

The trees put forth luxuriant foliage.
The spring begins to flow in a trickle.
I admire the seasonableness of nature.
And am moved to think that my life will come to its close.

It is all over!

So little time are we granted human form in the world.
Let us then follow the inclinations of the heart.
Where would we go that we are so agitated?
I have no desire for riches
And no expectation of Heaven.

Rather, on some fine morning to walk alone
Now planting my staff to take up a hoe,
Or climbing the east hill and whistling long
Or composing verses beside the clear stream:

尋 (var. 窮)壑: cf. T'ao's poem “Harvest in Hsia-sun” (Works 3.19a):
“揚檻越平湖，汎隨情壑” “I row across the smooth lake. And let my boat drift as it will through the turns of a gully.”

木欣欣以向榮: Hsin-hsin can mean “joyous,” and has been so translated in this line. The attribution of such a feeling to the processes of nature is not incompatible with T'ao's thinking, but the parallel 洞洞 of the next line makes a less subjective reading preferable.

善萬物之得時: cf. T'ao's poem “To the Hsi-ts'ao Hu” (Works 2.22b): 威物顧及時 “I am moved at the way nature strives for seasonableness.”

感吾生之行休: cf. his poem “An Outing on the Hail Stream” (Works 2.7b): 吾生行歸休 “My life draws to its close.”

Cl. note 172.

富形字內復幾時: cf. T'ao's preface to his “Gentlemen” fu: | | 百年面


帝鄉 is the place where an Immortal roams when he is tired of the earth; cf. Chuang tzu 5.7b.

或植杖而耘耔: As did the retired sage in Analects 18/7: 植其杖而耘.
T'ao refers to him again in his poem “In Spring, Remembering my Old Farm” (Works 3.13a): 是以植杖翁,悠然不復返 “And so the old man who planted his stick, / Will never turn again.”

So I manage to accept my lot until the ultimate homecoming.

60 Rejoicing in Heaven’s command, what is there to doubt?

One clue to the difference between “The Return” and T’ao Ch’ien’s other _fu_ is that in it his phraseology echoes his own poetry much more than those _fu_ which might have been his models. Some of those echoes are listed in the notes to my translation, others are too tenuous to demonstrate easily, and a third group I wish to discuss in more detail. Throughout T’ao Ch’ien’s poetry a number of symbols recur: the bird lost from the flock, which represents the man who can find no place among the crowd; the lonely pine tree, standing for constancy in adversity; chrysanthemum for longevity; music and books for aesthetic and intellectual pleasures, and also as symbols of the Confucian teachings; a solitary cloud for detachment; and above all, wine for release. Several of these find a place in “The Return,” where their use is so unobtrusive that a casual reading fails to discover that they carry any unusual weight. Their symbolic force is established, not in this one poem, but through their consistent use in the whole corpus of T’ao’s poetry.

The use of symbolism is not at all uncommon in Chinese poetry, but most poets are content to take their symbols ready-made, so that the device merges with that of the ubiquitous allusion. The danger of a personal, idiosyncratic symbolism is of course that it may obfuscate rather than clarify; of all poetic tropes it is the one most likely to impede communication at the point where it should be most immediate. Its advantage is that it gives the poet a flexible tool of great power which incidentally lends coherence to his whole poetic output. The poets, like Blake and Yeats, who are addicted to the use of this kind of symbolism are rewarded by having all their poetry read, not just the anthology pieces. (If Blake’s so-called Prophetic Books are not read, it is because there is a difference between a private symbolism and a personal myth-

---

233 聊乘化以歸盡：cf. T’ao’s poem “Lament for His Cousin Chung-te” (Works 2.23a); 驀然乘化去 “We leave blindly, as fate takes us.”

The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien

Ology.) T'ao Ch'ien's symbolism is in large part his own creation, except where he is consciously writing derivative poetry, and in his other two fu the symbols are mostly stereotyped and appear in much of the earlier poetry with the same value given them by T'ao Ch'ien.

As an example of the added force gained by the symbolic use of a term, I propose to examine the occurrences of the pine tree in T'ao's other poems, since the word occurs twice in "The Return" (lines 17, 32). T'ao's favorite symbols tend to appear in combination and I shall not try to isolate this one from the others, but merely use it as a convenient focal point. No special significance should be attached to the sequence of the following poems; the chronology of most of them is uncertain, and I am taking them in the order in which they occur in his collected works.

To the Registrar Kuo

Warmth and moisture filled the air in spring
But clear chill in this white autumn season:
Dew congeals, there are no more floating mists
Heaven is high, the brisk air clear.
Among the low hills peaks stand out
Now distant views are unsurpassed.
Fragrant chrysanthemums gleam in the woods
Green pines cap the hills in ranks.
I admire these forms constant in their blooming
Sentinel heroes beneath the frost.
With wine cup to my lips I remember the recluse.

---

225 Works 2.18a. My translation follows Suzuki's (To Emma s. 91 75-8) except in the last three lines.
226 周; lit. "everywhere."
227 素, white is the color associated with autumn; cf. Po-hu-t'ung (SPTK ed.)
3.12b: 其色白.
228 Commonly said of the autumn sky; cf. "The Nine Persuasions" (CT 8.2a): 悲哉秋之為氣,天高而氣清 "Sad is the autumn season, / The sky is lofty, the air clear."
229 I.e., chrysanthemums and pines.

15

101
Who a thousand years ago found comfort stroking you.\textsuperscript{841}
As I cannot escape straitened circumstances.\textsuperscript{842}
Tranquilly \textsuperscript{848} I shall watch out this good season.

Here pine and chrysanthemum are brought together as plants which do not yield at the first approach of autumn frost (of the chrysanthemum he says elsewhere “The flower that braves the cold blooms alone” \textsuperscript{844}); they afford consolation to the recluse who must also live through inclement times.

On Drinking Wine, No. 4 \textsuperscript{848}
Anxious the bird lost from the flock—
The sun sets and still it lonely flies;
Uncertain, with no fixed resting place
Through the night its cry grows sadder.
A shrill sound, as it thinks of the distant refuge—
Back and forth, always seeking.\textsuperscript{846}
At last it reaches a solitary pine tree,
Preen's its feathers after the long journey.
In the harsh wind no tree keeps its leaves:
This shelter alone will not fail.
Here the bird has refuge and resting place
Never will it leave in a thousand years.

\textsuperscript{841} I follow T\text{\textquotesingle}AO Chu in taking “you” to mean the chrysanthemums and pines.
“Found comfort” is a paraphrase of 謀 (= 快), “strengthened their resolve,” this also from T\text{\textquotesingle}AO Chu. SUZUKI understands “I admire your teachings of a thousand years ago,” i.e., the recluse's teachings.

\textsuperscript{842} 植素: This term is not attested elsewhere. T\text{\textquotesingle}AO Chu and SUZUKI take it to mean “Looking closely into my own heart (aspirations).” Another reading is “books and letters.” Both strike me as forced, and I am emending 植 to 植.

\textsuperscript{844} 倚嬾: I do not see how SUZUKI gets “dissatisfied” out of this. It might mean “for a brief while.”

\textsuperscript{844} “In Retirement during the Autumn Festival” (Works 2.4b).

\textsuperscript{848} Works 3.21a.

\textsuperscript{848} 厲馨思清遠, 去來何依豈：I have failed to get in the ch'ing: “a pure, undefiled” place which is also far-off. It is probably this word which leads the commentators (e.g., CHAO Ch'\text{\textquotesingle}ian-shan 趙泉山) to a political interpretation of the piece; i.e., it is meant to chide men like YEN Yen-chii who found an impure refuge by serving the LIU Sung dynasty. However, there is a variant reading 彎. 去何所依 “A shrill sound as it thinks of the clear dawn, / Going far away with nothing to rely on.” I have paraphrased i-i; it is a descriptive adverb: “admiringly, with longing.”
On Drinking Wine, No. 8

A green pine grows in the east garden
Hidden by a mass of vegetation;
When chill frost destroys the other plants
Its lofty branches stand out prominently.
Crowded in among other trees no one notices
Planted in isolation everyone admires.
I lift a wine pot and hang it on a cold branch
From afar I regard the tree ever and again;
Born into this dream illusion
Why should I submit to the dusty bonds?

Here the pine tree again functions as a symbol of steadfastness, but the approach is somewhat different from that of the first poem quoted above. Adversity serves to single out the individual who in pleasant times is indistinguishable from the mass. The "dream illusion" of the next to last line is perhaps the only example of specifically Buddhist vocabulary in T'ao Ch'ien, and he may have been using it simply as a current expression.

In these three poems we can see how T'ao Ch'ien persuades the reader to accept his own associations with the pine tree, elevating it to the status of a symbol. Not that his every use of the word is necessarily meant to be symbolical. It appears combined with 篠 "cypress" in one of his imitations ("After an Old Poem" No. 4) where it has the conventional association of the term with tombs; elsewhere ("On Drinking Wine," No. 14) it is a part of the scenery, a place where friends meet to drink together. But referring back to line 18 of "The Return," the simple statement "But pines and chrysanthemums are still here" takes on the added suggestion "My refuge is here and has not failed me." Line 32 ceases to be even slightly pathetic: "I walk around a lonely pine tree, stroking it" becomes a spontaneous gesture of affection, not for vegetation indiscriminately, but for a tried friend with whose solitary state he can identify himself.

---

\[^247\text{Works 3.25a.}\\]
\[^248\text{Ibid., 4.3b.}\\]
\[^249\text{Ibid., 5.25a.}\\]
The home to which he has returned is presented through significant details: the eager servant who runs out to meet him, his son who waits shyly at the door, the familiar scene in courtyard and garden. It is given additional emotional depth with great economy by the introduction of his established symbols: the homing birds, the detached clouds, the pine tree and chrysanthemums, and most of all, the wine bottle, in which he has professed to have found consolation in over half of his poems.

The brief list of country pursuits (lines 41-44) is the only part of "The Return" which draws heavily on the conventional treatment of the subject in earlier fu, and the break in the regular meter at that point makes them even more obtrusive. They may be justified by considering them as a breathing space, a pause before the introduction of the main theme to which the concluding lines are devoted. Without them the transition from conversations and books to the observations of nature that inspire the formulation of his philosophy of life would perhaps be too abrupt.

The final section (lines 45-60) of "The Return" is usually referred to the poem "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit" where the same theme of acceptance of one's lot in the face of unavoidable death receives its supreme statement. In both poems the point of departure is the recurrent cycle of the seasons; this association in lines 47-8

I admire the seasonableness of nature
And am moved to think that my life will come to its close
is made more explicit in the opening lines of Substance's message to Shadow: 380

Heaven and Earth endure forever,
Hills and streams never change.
Grass and trees observe a constant rhythm:
Frost withers and dew restores them.
Man is said to be the most sentient being
But he alone is not like this.
By chance he appears in the world
And suddenly is gone, to return no more.

380 Ibid., 2.1a-b.
This is the premise on which T'ao Ch'ien based his philosophy. The inconsistencies in his several statements of that philosophy reflect changing moods and attitudes toward his premise. Sometimes it is fear: 331

I constantly worry lest the Great Change take me
Before my vital powers have declined.

Sometimes he advocates making a name that will outlast death: 332

That fame should end when the body dies
Is a thought that sets my emotions on fire.
Do good and they will love you after you are gone
Is this not worth your every effort?

Most often he reaches for the wine bottle: 333

I hope you will take my advice
When wine is offered, don't refuse.

"Spirit" offers a solution which is closest to that of "The Return": 334

Too much thinking harms my life
Simply turn yourself over to fate
Follow the waves within the Great Change,
Neither happy nor yet afraid.
When you should go, then simply go
Without any unnecessary fuss.

The bleakness of this Stoicism is replaced by joyous acceptance in "The Return." It is interesting to see how the two statements, essentially alike, take on very different emotional tones. The harshness of Spirit's solution lies in the refusal to consider any of the frivolous pleasures of life. Throughout the poem attention is uncompromisingly focused on the idea of death. By recoiling from death, both Substance and Shadow had implied that life might be desirable, but Spirit removes even this consolation.

331 Ibid., 3.16b.
332 Ibid., 2.2a.
333 Ibid., 2.1b.
334 Ibid., 2.3b.
"Neither happy nor afraid," one must face life as he meets death, "without any unnecessary fuss." The penalty for the enjoyment of life is the fear of death, and Spirit would be above joy and fear.

In "The Return" T'ao achieves a larger synthesis where there is room for present pleasures and where death has become only another manifestation of the spontaneous, the natural—that which in life is his delight; hence death too can be accepted joyfully. There are no uncertainties left, not because of indifference to what may happen, but because whatever happens to the man who sees life and death in this perspective is a source of happiness.

The exalted mood created in the last lines of "The Return" appears seldom in T'ao's poetry, and its philosophy is contradicted in poems which he certainly wrote later in life. But the inconsistency which is the bane of the philosopher is the poet's privilege. His achievement in making a conventional form the vehicle for a uniquely personal expression deserves the highest praise.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 207, line 67: For I suspect that this teaching 250 is no more than empty words read I suspect that this is the way virtue is rewarded;/I fear that this teaching 250 is no more than empty words.
SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PARALLEL PROSE

by

JAMES R. HIGHTOWER
SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PARALLEL PROSE
James Robert Hightower
Harvard University

The term "Parallel Prose" 象體文 is applied to the elaborate, euphuistic style of writing which began to take shape in the fu of Han times and which culminated in the anthology pieces of the Six Dynasties and early T'ang. Since the term describes a style rather than a genre, and since there are many degrees of the ornate style, it is difficult to formulate a satisfactory definition of Parallel Prose; certainly not all parallelism in prose deserves that name, nor is parallelism the sole quality of Parallel Prose. The best approach to a definition would be a historical study of the growth of parallelism in Chinese literature, both verse and prose. In this paper I shall undertake nothing so ambitious. It is my purpose here simply to describe some of the devices common in compositions which are readily recognizable as specimens of Parallel Prose. My examples are taken from two well-known pieces, the "Proclamation on North Mountain" (abbreviated PS) by K'ung Chih-kuei (447–501)¹, and the "Preface to New Songs from the Tower of Jade" (abbreviated YT) by Hsü Ling (507–583)². These both come from a period notorious for its almost exclusive devotion to this style of writing, though other similar examples could be found as early as Latter Han and at least as late as the T'ang dynasty.

To deserve the name, Parallel Prose must employ parallelism, and it is with the varieties of parallelism that I shall begin. In his Bunkyô hijuron, Kûkai distinguished twenty-nine different types of parallelism³, though to do so he had to invent categories that are by no means mutually exclusive. In fact three general categories will take care of them all: parallelism can be Metrical, Grammatical, and Phonic.

Metrical parallelism is readily apparent to the ear and can be made obvious to the eye through the sort of typographical arrangement used

¹ 孔稚珪. 北山移文. text in Wen hsüan (abr. WH) 43.35b–40b (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.)
² 王陵. 玉臺新詠序. There are two basic texts, the one prefaced to the several editions of Yü-t'ai hein-yung, and the one in Hsü Ling's collected works. Most, but not all, of the variants are recorded in Chi Jung-shu 紀容舒, YTHY 考異 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ed.). I have used the text in 徐孝穆全集 4.1a-4a (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.), with notes by Wu Chiao-i 吳兆宜.
³ 文鏡秘府論. p. 89–90 (ed. of Konishi Jinichi).
in the examples given in this paper. As in Chinese poetry, the basic structural unit of Parallel Prose is the couplet. Occasional isolated single lines do occur and are functional as paragraphing devices (see below), but there are no groups of three or five or seven lines. In a series of four parallel lines there is a tendency to vary the grammatical parallelism to avoid monotony, as PS 53–54. However, PS has a few groups of four lines where the grammatical structure remains unchanged, e.g., 95–98, 111–114, 117–120. There are no examples in these two texts of six successive lines of the same structure, nor even of six lines in succession containing the same number of beats. This means that the meter is continuously varied throughout, within the limits just stated: in each couplet a rhythmic pattern is repeated, and this pattern may be carried through one more couplet but no further.

Any given couplet may employ metrical units of three, four, five, six, or seven beats, but fours and sixes predominate. There may be a series of fours (PS 1–4), or of sixes (PS 5–8), or each line may fall into a four-four or four-six pattern (YT 20–25, 1–2)\(^1\). For examples of six-six, six-four and other variants (as four-seven), it is necessary to go to other texts\(^2\). Metrical variety is increased by the regular occurrence in the longer units (those of six or seven beats) of an "empty word" 目字, representing a weak beat, in a position which varies between next-to-last and second-from-last (PS 5–6, 7–8; YT 22–23).

Metrical parallelism, then, gives Parallel Prose its characteristic distinction from prose which is not parallel: Parallel Prose is highly rhythmic, but the rhythms are continuously varied, and even when it uses rhyme, it is not likely to be confused with verse\(^3\).

Grammatical parallelism is not peculiar to Parallel Prose or indeed to a literary style in Chinese\(^4\), but no language could be more adapted to the device, and Parallel Prose consciously exploits it to the last degree. It requires that every word in the first line of a couplet be matched by a corresponding word in the second line, reinforcing the metrical repetition with a grammatical repetition of the pattern. Actually this is defining it too closely. Sometimes it is necessary to substitute the

\(^1\) Notice that PS does not use this more complicated double line, while it predominates in YT.

\(^2\) E.g., 王勃, 唐王閣序, 王子安集 (SPTK ed.) 5.1a–3a.

\(^3\) The relation between /u and Parallel Prose can be troublesome. If there is any consistent formal criterion for distinguishing them, it may be in the greater metrical irregularity of the latter. During the period when Parallel Prose exists as a style of writing used for other purposes than the /u, the /u has acquired a much greater degree of regularity than it had possessed during the Former Han.

\(^4\) Lyly is an extreme example in English. Parallel constructions come quite naturally to any writer concerned with balanced periods and formal contrasts.
word "lexical" for "grammatical," that is, the correspondence can be purely formal.

I distinguish six types of simple grammatical parallelism. The most elementary is the repetition of a word or words in adjacent lines of a couplet:

由余之所未窺
張衡之所曾賦

(YT 1–2, second half-lines), where the words chih so, occurring in the same environment, emphasize the identical structure of the parallel lines. Repetition in Parallel Prose is usually limited to such grammatical forms as these, and is quite common. These forms are never stressed in reading, and repetition is less obtrusive than conscious variation would be.

Full words permit of more interesting manipulations, but still on a very elementary level is the variation consisting of synonyms, as 作 and 爲 in YT 5–6, 細 and 織 (YT 13–14), 雙 and 兩 (YT 33–34), 兹 and 此 (YT 95–96). All of these could as well have been interchanged. Such feeble variation is the exception.

Only a shade more involved and certainly just as obvious are paired antonyms: 斷 and 續 (PS 71–72), 入 and 出 (PS 85–86), 未 and 曾 (YT 1–2). Simple opposites of this sort are not common; contrast is usually achieved by other means.

While pairs of words belonging to the same category are less inevitable than antonyms or interchangeable synonyms, they still carry the conviction of appropriateness. The word 手 "hand" does not inevitably call up by association 腰 "waist" (YT 14–15), but the words are suitably parallel since both are parts of the body. This is a very extensive and not easily defined type of parallelism, for categories can be of all sorts and degrees. Colors (白 and 青, PS 7–8), numbers (五 and 四, YT 7–8), cosmetics (黛 and 脂, YT 34–35), fabrics (衣 and 帳, YT 26–27)—it would be possible to subsume practically all types of parallelism under this one by inventing categories sufficiently inclusive. However, there are degrees of relationship here: a laugh and a frown (笑 and 睫, YT 26–27), a sleeve and a skirt (袖 and 裙, YT 39–40) go together more easily than a cicada and a horse (蟬 and 馬, YT 29–30), while perfume and girdle ornament (香 and 佩, YT 39–40) need some extra cement to hold them in combination. Even when the type is restricted to its more obvious members, it remains the largest reservoir on which the Parallel Prose writer can draw. It allows him to repeat his pattern closely and yet give at least the appearance of advancing his argument; it avoids the fatuity while retaining the insistence of sheer repetition: What I tell you two times is true. YT 3–4 provides the perfect example:
Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose

These bonds are broken in the next type, and parallelism becomes something else than reiteration, or an affirmative matched with a denial, or ornamental variation. In this type the paired words, though functioning the same way grammatically, are of different categories and hence not readily associated together; for example, 物“things, the world” and 霞“mist” (PS 9–10) or 窺“spy out” and 賦“celebrate in verse” (YT 1–2). Commonly this type occurs in combination with one of the more obvious types, as though to reassure the reader that a parallel was intended, e.g., 千金 and 畝乘 (PS 11–12); where the number words “thousand” and “myriad” belong to the same category but “gold pieces” and “chariots” do not.

Finally there is a parallelism which is only apparent, that is, where the ostensibly parallel words do not function grammatically the same way in the parallel phrases. This I shall call Formal Parallelism. By nature an instance of Formal Parallelism can occur only when firmly embedded in an otherwise impeccably parallel context. Most of this couplet (PS 7–8) consists of the simpler types of parallelism:

度白雪以方絜
于青雲而直上

*tu* and *kan*, both simple verbs of motion, paired colors, snow and clouds, grammatical connectives, temporal modifiers—but here it breaks down. *Fang*, instead of meaning “just now,” as it often does, must be a verb “to compare,” and so offers only a specious parallel with *chih* “straightway.” This leaves *chih* “purity” matched with *shang* “ascend.” The intrusion of such far-fetched linkages, such unlikely pairs, into a smooth progression of identities, likes, similars, and opposites, functions much as dissonance does in harmony. It is the astringent quality needed to keep simple chords and resolutions from cloying.

So far I have distinguished six types: Identities, Synonyms, Antonyms, Likes, Unlikes, and Formal Pairs. These are all types of Simple Parallelism. The examples given have been of words consisting of a single graph, but doublets may also show Simple Parallelism, commonly where they are proper names: Yu Yuan 余由 and Chang Heng 張衡 (YT 1–2) are parallel in only one way, that is, as the names of two men. This may be taken as an example of Unlikes, in contrast to a more closely associated pair of names, e.g., Ch’ao-fu 齊父 and Hsü-yü 許由 (PS 37–38), who were contemporary recluses who both refused Yao’s offer of the throne. But this closer relation between the two is not an additional complication; we are still dealing with Simple Parallelism.
However, there is the possibility of a further complication when the lexical unit consists of more than a single part; in addition to the semantic parallel between the two words there may be a structural parallel between the components of the words. "Clerk Han" 韓 擇 and "Prince [of] Ch'en" 錦 王 (YT 39-40) are parallel, not only as proper names, but also in their component parts, as surname / surname, rank / rank. The more descriptive the name the easier to find a complex parallel. "Startled Phoenix" 驚 鷲 and "Flying Swallow" 飛 燕 (YT 39-40) are such a pair. The parallel between components is in addition to the association between the two imperial concubines¹ who were so called.

Parallels of this sort, where one or more of the types of Simple Parallelism is combined with a parallel of meaning on another level I shall call Complex Parallelism. Complex Parallelism may be further complicated by the use of allusion to introduce a third term of relationship between the parallel binomes. "East Lu" 東 魯 and "South Kuo" 南 郭 (PS 29-30) are related by their parallel components and their overt meanings as two place names. But as allusions, "East Lu" must be identified with a recluse of that region named Yen Ho, while Nan-kuo turns out to be no place name at all, but the surname of another recluse, Nan-kuo Tzu-ch'i; both men are mentioned in Chuang tsu.

It may seem unnecessary to apply the name Compound-Complex Parallelism to cover this sort of thing, for in all my examples one of the three possible terms of relationship turns out to be fallacious, that is, it is displaced by the "true" reading which a knowledge of the allusion supplies. However, the extra meaning is always there, not so much as a trap for the unwary as an added complication, another bit of word-play. If it seems outrageous to read 西 施 as "West Giver" just because she is matched with "East Neighbor" (YT 15-16), what about the same pair when the first is written 西 子 "Lady West" (YT 25-26)? The fact that the descriptive term "East Neighbor" is an allusion to several celebrated east neighbors who were attractive and rather forward girls makes it appropriately parallel with Hsi-shih, the famous beauty of Yüeh.

There is a further type of Complex Parallelism which I shall call Formal Complex Parallelism. The line (YT 52-53) 九 日 登 高 is paralleled by 萬 年 公 主. Here chiu-jih and wan nien are not merely the descriptive terms they might well be: chiu-jih is not "nine days" or even "the ninth day" (in general), but the specific date of a festival (like "Twelfth Night"); wan-nien, though meaningful as a congratulation or a pious wish, is the appellation of a Chin princess. Hence the binomes, as they differ in grammatical function and are of incompatible meanings, are an

¹ This is not an ideal example, for I have been unable to identify Ching-lüan, who must, however, be such a person.
example of Formal Parallelism, while their separate components are both related as Likes. It is only because of this second relationship that the Formal Parallel appears at all; contrast the remaining words in the line: *teng kao* and *kung-chu* are held together only by rhythm; they are not felt to be grammatically parallel on any level.

Complex Parallelism applies to a pair of words consisting of more than one component (i.e., binomes) parallel in more than one way. Such a word simultaneously parallel with two other words I shall call an example of Double Parallelism. Double Parallelism occurs when a word has its first parallel in the same line; the couplet structure of Parallel Prose then demands another parallel to the same word in the following line. Double Parallelism may be either simple or complex. The Simple variety occurs in YT 9–10:

穎川新市
河間観津

Ying-ch‘uan parallels Hsin-shih in the same line; it also parallels Ho-chien in the second line of the couplet\(^1\). The next example is more interesting (YT 1–2):

凌雲概日
萬戶千門

“Pierce-cloud” and “Level-sun” are parallel in their component parts and also as descriptive epithets of palaces (here possibly to be read directly as names of palaces), and hence provide an example of Complex Parallelism. In the next line “myriad doors” parallels “thousand gates” as two pairs of Likes. But the two pairs in line 1 also parallel those in line 2, and though “Pierce-cloud” and “myriad doors” are not parallel in their components, they are related by sense, since “myriad doors” is also an epithet of palaces, in particular those of the imperial city; likewise “Level-sun” and “thousand gates.”

The connection is even more tenuous in PS 19–20:

乍迥跡以心染
或先貞而後譲

*Hsien chen* “starting out pure” parallels *hou tu* “later becoming sullied” as simple opposites; “starting out pure” also parallels “withdrawing one’s steps” (*hui chi*, i.e., “retiring”) semantically and by position, though not on the level of components; likewise *hou tu* and *hsin jan*,

\(^1\) As a matter of fact there is undoubtedly another term of reference involved, making this really an example of Complex Double Parallelism. But the place names are so obscurely linked with the women they no doubt were intended to recall that no satisfactory associations have been suggested for any of them; cf. the notes on the translation.
leaving *hui chi* and *hein jan* associated by contrasting meanings and the symmetry suggested by the similar pair in the second line.

Parallelism of rhythm and parallelism of sense are the basic ingredients of Parallel Prose. Parallel sounds, Phonic Parallelism, is the third general category of embellishments found in this style of writing. Rhyme, alliteration, repetition, and tonal-pattern are the phenomena exploited. Occasional and random rhyme and alliteration are not, properly speaking, examples of parallel usage, though they may be deliberately employed by a writer as ornaments; they occur in both these compositions (e.g., YT 51 連篇 liān p’iān; PS 59 林樂 liān lüè), but I shall not discuss them further. It is convenient to treat end-rhyme as a special case, and to deal with rhyming, alliterative, and reduplicative binomes together. Tones will be taken up last.

End-rhyme is not an invariable feature of Parallel Prose, but when it occurs it is used consistently and regularly, just as it is in verse. PS is rhymed all the way through, rhymes coming at the end of the second line of each couplet. The rhyme changes eighteen times, and, with one exception (the long paragraph 65–82 has four different rhymes), the change always coincides with a change in paragraph, though not with changes in meter. There is no case of a rhyme being continued through a paragraph division, and it looks as though an important function of rhyme is to reinforce the logical divisions of the piece, as indeed it does in the *fu*. (For other paragraphing devices, see below).

The only example of a binome formed by reduplication in these materials in PS 9–10: 宅宅 paralleled by 敵敵. (The 空空/玄玄 of PS 45–46 are free formations rather than lexical entities). Alliterative binomes are slightly more common: PS 5–6 敗敗 keng kai / 蕭瀟 sieu sie; also rhyming binomes: 宛轉 iow tiau / 陰岑 .iow dz‘iow (YT 56–57), 織織 d’iau mioi / 紛紛 p‘iun liuen (PS 73–74). An alliterative binome may parallel a rhyming one: 誠懇 chiou chiau / 侭侭 k‘ung tsung (PS 69–70). A pair of free formations similarly matched occurs in PS 43–44: 長往 d‘iang jiwang / 不遊 p‘ou iou. The fact that binomes of this sort are ordinarily treated as units in a symmetrical structure shows that Parallel Prose writers deliberately exploited them.

One frequently comes across categorical statements about the tonal patterns of Parallel Prose¹, that they exist that is, but I do not recall any published attempt to demonstrate precisely the nature and extent of such patterns. A couple of years ago a graduate student at Harvard University, David Farquhar, made an analysis of PS from this point of view. His first important observation was that where tonal patterns did

¹ I for one have made such a statement (*Topics in Chinese Literature*, p. 38), and I was making it at second hand.
occur, they were describable in terms, not of four tones, but of the two categories of tones, 平 p'ing and 上 ts'e. These are familiar from la shih prosody, p'ing being the “level” tones, and ts'e (“deflected”) standing for all the rest. He further noticed two types of pattern: the sequence of tones in one line could be simply repeated in the next, e.g., PS 25–26: xxox/xxox, or, more commonly, the tones would be in inverted order in the second half of a couplet, the sort of mirror-image relationship found in la-shih, e.g., PS 38–39: oox/xoo. However, out of a total of sixty-two couplets he found only five exactly parallel in either of these ways. To accord better with his data Mr. Farquhar suggested a looser definition of tonal parallelism:

Type I: One member of a parallel pair is the mirror image of its mate, with one exception.

Type II: One member of a parallel pair is identical with its mate, with one exception.

These two types, he reported, account for forty-two of the sixty-two parallel pairs in the text.

A similar study of YT shows a greater degree of absolute regularity. Out of forty-eight couplets, seventeen are perfectly symmetrical, all of them being of the mirror-image type. When the twelve additional couplets conforming to the definition of Type I are added, over half of YT is accounted for. Considering the longer and more involved line structure of YT, this compares favorably with the percentage in PS. It is apparent that while the tonal symmetry is not absolute, tonal parallelism has been deliberately exploited as a prosodic element in the composition of these pieces.

Other factors than parallelism play a role in Parallel Prose. The prominence of allusion is obvious in some of the examples cited to illustrate types of parallelism. Both PS and YT use allusion for their effects, the latter in particular depending on this device in nearly every line. It is not very illuminating to catalog the various ways in which allusion is made to function in these pieces, aside from the ways in which it reinforces and complicates grammatical parallelism, but it is interesting to see how it enters into the structure of word-plays. PS 31–32 is strictly parallel:

霧吹草堂
濤巾北岱

“Grass hut” and “North Mountain” offer no problem, but the ch'ieh ch'ui “steal a blowing” is enigmatic even when matched against lan chin “usurp a turban.” The allusion is to the Han Fei tsu story of the man who got a job playing the flute in King Hsüan's ensemble of three hundred flutes, in spite of the fact that he was quite incompetent. When
the king's successor insisted on hearing the performers one at a time, the man took to his heels. The form of the phrase ch‘ieh ch‘ui\(^1\) owes nothing to the language of the story and is a brilliant invention.

Given the notorious fluidity of Chinese grammar, it is not always easy to be sure when a writer is forcing language into unprecedented molds, but there are unmistakable signs of exuberant word-play in PS 15-18:

終始參差  
蒼黃飄零  
淚霍子之悲  
懸朱公之哭

The allusion is to Huai-nan tzu: "Yang Chu wept on seeing a cross-road, because it could lead north or south; Mo Tzu cried on seeing them dye plain silk, because it could become yellow or black." Here the allusion is split up into four fragments, which are then set in parallel pairs inter-related in another dimension through chiasmus, i.e., the "beginning and end" go with Yang Chu, the "black and yellow" with Mo Tzu. The syntax of the second couplet verges on the impossible. "Move Yang Chu's weeping" is irregular enough, but "to tear (i.e., provide tears for) Mo Ti's grief" is extreme even in mannered writing\(^2\).

The basic structural element of Parallel Prose is the parallel couplet. There is also a larger structural unit, the paragraph, which is significant both in marking stages in the development of a theme and also in determining to some extent the form of the couplets which go to make it up. The beginning and end of paragraphs is signaled by an unpaired line, phrase, or word. It may introduce a new subject ("Added to all that") 加以, YT 43/44 or a further development of an old one ("Then" 爾乃, PS 52/53). Or a series of couplets may be framed between an introductory word and a concluding line, as the opening lines of YT (夫...其中有麗人焉), where the conclusion applies to everything in between and is necessary to complete the sense of the paragraph. Paragraphs two, three, and four of PS are similarly framed, and for each of them the reader must hold in suspension his understanding until the final odd line is reached. This is the common Chinese trick of syntax, where the topic of a sentence is first stated and then followed by statement about it, carried to remarkable lengths.\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) The variant 偶 for ch‘ieh is weak; it accords ill with the parallel lan chin. It is simply the usual form of the allusion to the anecdote and is to be rejected.

\(^{2}\) It can be matched and surpassed in the fu; cf. 生鯨豹 "to live the leopard," i.e., "to take it alive". (Sau-ma Haiang-ju's "Shang-lin fu", WH 8.12a).

\(^{3}\) Except for the two concluding lines, the entire piece by Chung-ch’ang T’ung which I translated in HJAS 17 (1954) p. 219 is so framed. Incidentally, I should have
This organizing principle is not immediately apparent to the eye in a text printed in the traditional Chinese manner, but of course it is always accessible to the reader's ear and sense of rhythm. It becomes even more striking when reinforced by rhyme, as it is in PS. In the appended texts and translations I have used margin and indentation to show the form.

It remains to say something about the value of Parallel Prose, of these two specimens anyhow. In Chinese as in English there are many literary styles: the archaic, the poetic, the plain, the ornate. There are period styles, individual styles, and styles peculiar to specific literary genres. The essential quality of style is something easier to recognize than to isolate and describe. It has obviously to do with the ordering and choice of words, and yet the simple ordering of words to create a style in prose is of that order of subtlety and complexity which made the Wheelwright despair of transmitting the mysteries of his own craft. The furbebows and embellishments of the ornate style are more accessible, and that is what I have set out to describe in this paper. Taken together they make for a kind of writing which is about as far removed from unpremeditated speech as one can get. This is only another way of saying that it is a highly artificial style, but the term prejudices the case. Any prose worthy to be called a style is the product of artifice, though its end may be to conceal rather than to flaunt art.

If the fundamental key to Parallel Prose is the couplet, it is because this is what gives it its rhythms and which makes parallelism possible in the first place. The couplet is a repetition, and the first effect of the other varieties of parallelism is to reinforce the repeated pattern. It is on this underlying pattern or series of patterns that the more subtle forms of grammatical and phonic parallelism introduce their counterpoint, a series of stresses and strains. The tensions thereby created make the reading of this sort of composition exciting as well as exhausting, an exercise in verbal polyphony. It is a style admirably adapted to the development of mood and to landscape painting in words—after all, the parallel style first developed in the fu. It is equally well fitted for the idle display of erudition and the construction of elaborate puzzles—whence the low repute into which it had fallen by T'ang times. It has real limitations as a medium for narration or exposition.

Of the two pieces studied here, I have no reservations about PS. It seems to me an effective and amusing burlesque done with great skill and sure taste. YT uses more subtle and complicated rhythms and is mentioned there the excellent translation by E. Balazs which had appeared five years earlier in his "La crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des Han." TP 39 (1949) 118-120.
dedicated to a theme which permits of any number of turns and variations; consequently the repetitions that occur seem out of place in a composition so finely wrought, and one couplet at least (48–49) is quite insipid. Still, I personally like the piece, and at any rate it serves as an excellent example of Parallel Prose in its late maturity, a little more than full-blown, perhaps, even emitting the first delicate odor of decay.

I am convinced that Parallel Prose is as untranslatable as poetry, and for the same sort of reason: its excellencies are verbal, linguistic; they do not work their magic in another medium. In appending English versions of my texts, I am only providing a practical demonstration of my claim. Still these may serve as a guide to reading in the original what is after all difficult Chinese.

PROCLAMATION ON NORTH MOUNTAIN

The Spirit of Bell Mountain, the Divinity of Grass Hut Cloister, hasten through the mist on the post road to engrave this proclamation on the hillside:

A man who
Incorruptible, holds himself aloof from the vulgar,
Untrammeled, avoids earthly concerns,
Vies in purity with the white snow,
Ascends straightway to the blue clouds—

We but know of such.

Those who
Take their stand outside things,
Shine bright beyond the mist,
Regard a treasure of gold as dust and do not covet it,
Look on the offer of a throne as a slipper to be cast off,
Who are heard blowing a phoenix flute by the bank of the Lo,
Who are met singing a faggot song beside the Yen-lai—

These really do exist.

But who would expect to find those

1 There are translations by G. Margouliès, Le “kou wen” chinois, p. 135, and E. von Zach, Die Chinesische Anthologie, p. 805.
2 錦山, northeast of Chiang-ning fu 江寧府, is the “North Mountain” of the title.
3 Chou Yung, against whom the piece is directed, built a retreat on Mt. Chung which he called Grass Hut, after the 草堂寺 which he had seen and admired in Ssuchuan. (Li Shan).
4 山庭 “mountain court”, by analogy with 朝庭.
5 i.e., the famous immortal, Wang Tzu-ch’iao. (Li Shan).
6 Li Shan knows of no such allusion; Lü Hsiang retails an anecdote about a recluse met under those circumstances but neglects to give his source.
Whose end belies their beginning,
Vacillating between black and yellow,
Making Mo Ti weep,
Moving Yang Chu to tears\(^1\),
Retiring on impulse with hearts still contaminated
Starting out pure and later becoming sullied—
What imposters they are!
Alas!
Master Shang\(^2\) lives no more
Mister Chung\(^3\) is already gone
The mountain slope is deserted,
A thousand years unappreciated.
At the present time there is Chou Tzu\(^4\)
An outstanding man among the vulgar
Cultured and a scholar
Philosopher and scribe.
But he needs must
Imitate Yen Ho's retirement\(^5\)
Copy Nan-kuo's meditation\(^6\),
Occupy the Grass Hut by imposture\(^7\)
Usurp a hermit's cap on North Mountain,
Seduce our pines and cassia trees
Cheat our clouds and valleys.
Although he assume the manner by the river side
His feelings are bound by love of rank.
When first he came, he was going to
Outdo Ch'ao-fu
Surpass Hsü-yu\(^8\)
Despise the philosophers
Ignore the nobility.

\(^1\) "Yang Chu (朱公) wept on seeing a cross-road, because it could lead north or south; Mo Tzu (翟子) cried on seeing them dye plain silk, because it could become yellow or black". (Huai-nan tsu, SPTK ed.), 17.14b).

\(^2\) Shang Tzu-p'ing 尚子平, a first century recluse; see Giles, Biographical Dictionary (abr. BD) 689.

\(^3\) Chung-ch'ang T'ung 長統 (179-219), Hou-Han shu 79; see Balazs, op. cit.

\(^4\) Chou Yung 周穎 (?-485) BD 429, Nan-Ch'ü shu 41, whose apostasy is being rebuked in the Proclamation. He is better known as an early writer on phonology.

\(^5\) 東魯, the recluse Yen Ho, a native of Lu, who refused a gift from the ruler. (Chuang tsu, SPTK ed., 9.21b).

\(^6\) Nan-kuo Tzu-ch'i, who reached a state of trance through meditation (ibid. 1.18a).

\(^7\) The story of the inept flute player is in Han Fei tsu (SPTK ed.) 9.9b.

\(^8\) Ch'ao-fu and Hsü-yu both refused the empire when Yao offered it to them.
His flaming ardor stretched to the sun
His frosty resolve surpassed the autumn.
He would sigh that the hermits were gone forever
Or deplore that recluse wandered no more.
He discourse on the empty emptiness of the Buddhist sutras
He studied the murky mystery of Taoist texts.
A Wu Kuang\(^1\) could not compare with him
A Chüan-tzu\(^2\) was not fit to associate with him.

But when
The belled messengers entered the valley
And the crane-summons reached his hill,
His body leapt and his souls scattered
His resolve faltered and his spirit wavered.

Then
Beside the mat his eyebrows jumped
On the floor his sleeves danced.
He burned his castalia garments and tore his lotus clothes\(^3\)
He raised a worldly face and carried on in a vulgar manner.
Wind-driven clouds grieved as they carried their anger
Rock-rimed springs sobbed as they trickled their disappointment.
Forests and crags appeared to lack something
Grass and trees seemed to have suffered loss.

When he came to
Tie on his brass insignia
Fasten the black ribbon,
He was foremost of the leaders of provincial towns
He was the first among the heads of a hundred villages.
He stretched his brave renown over the coastal precincts
He spread his fine repute through Chekiang,
His Taoist books discarded for good
His dharma mat long since buried.
The cries and groans from beatings invade his thoughts
A succession of warrants and accusations pack his mind.
The Lute Song\(^5\) is interrupted

\(^1\) 王孫 (I.e., Ch‘ü Yüan) is the object of the plea in the "Summons to the Hermit" (Ch‘u ts‘u, SPTK ed., 12.2a).

\(^2\) Wu Kuang threw himself into the river when T‘ang wanted to give him the throne (Lieh hsien chuan XV; see M. Kaltenmark, Le Lie-sien tchouan, Pekin, 1953).

\(^3\) He was a Taoist Immortal; cf. Lieh hsien chuan XI.

\(^4\) In imitation of Ch‘ü Yüan; cf. "Li sau" (Ch‘u ts‘u 1.18a): 裂芰荷以爲衣.

\(^5\) Li Shan suggests the 琴歌 of Tung Chung-shu, now lost.
The Wine Poem\(^1\) is unfinished.
He is constantly involved in examinations
And continually swamped by litigation.
He tries to cage Chang Ch’ang\(^2\) and Chao Kuang-han\(^3\) of past fame
And seeks to shelve Cho Mao\(^4\) and Lu Kung\(^5\) of the former records.
He hopes to succeed the worthies of the Three Capital Districts.
He wants to spread his fame beyond the Governors of the Nine Provinces.
He has left our
High haze to reflect the light unwatched
Bright moon to rise in solitude
Dark pines to waste their shade
White clouds with no companion.
The gate by the brook is broken, no one comes back.
The stone pathway is overgrown, vain to wait for him.
And now
The ambient breeze invades his bed curtains
The seeping mist exhales from the rafters.
The orchid curtains are empty, at night his crane is grieved\(^6\)
The mountain hermit is gone, mornings the apes are startled.
In the past we heard of one who cast away his cap-pin and retired to
the seashore\(^7\)
Today we see one loosen his orchids and tie on a dirty cap instead.
Whereupon
The Southern Peak presents us with its scorn
The Northern Range raises its laughter
All valleys strive in mockery
Every peak contends in contempt.
We regret that this vagrant has cheated us
We grieve that no one comes to condole.
As a result
Our woods are ashamed without end.

\(^1\) There is a 酒賦 attributed to Tsou Yang 鄭陽 in *Hsi-ching tsu-chi* (SPTK ed.) 4.4a (Li Shan); also one by Yang Haiung. It is quite possible that no specific allusion is intended, either here or in the preceding line.
\(^2\) He died B.C. 48 (*BD* 21); he was a successful minor official.
\(^3\) Chao Kuang-han was another, d. B.C. 67 (*Han shu* 76.1a–6a).
\(^4\) Cho Mao, B.C. 53–28 (*BD* 411), was a prefect who treated the people as his children.
\(^5\) Lu Kung, (A.D. 32–112) (*Hou-Han shu* 55) was a model administrator whose district was spared by locusts.
\(^6\) Taoist adepts used cranes for steeds in their flights through the air.
\(^7\) Referring to Su Kuang 細廣 (*Han shu* 71), who retired to the seacoast. The cap-pin is the one used to hold an official’s cap on his head.
Our brooks humiliated with no reprieve.
Autumn cassia sends away the wind.
Spring wistaria refuses the moon.
We spread the word of the retirement to West Mountain
We broadcast the report of the resolve of East Marsh.

Now today
He is hurrying to pack in his lowly town
With drumming oars to go up to the capital.
Though he is wholly committed to the court
He still may invade our mountain fastness.

How can we permit our
Azaleas to be insulted again
Pi-li to be shameless
Green cliffs again humiliated
Red slopes further sullied?
He would dirty with his vagrant steps our lotus paths
And soil the cleansing purity of the clear ponds.

We must
Bar our mountain windows
Close our cloud passes
Call back the light mist
Silence the noisy torrent
Cut off his approaching carriage at the valley mouth
Stop his impudent reins at the outskirts.

Then
Massed twigs shall be filled with anger
 Ranked buds shall have their souls enraged
Flying branches shall break his wheels
Drooping boughs shall sweep away his tracks.
Let us turn back the carriage of a worldly fellow
And decline on behalf of our lord a forsworn guest.

1 Refers to Po-i and Shu-ch'i (BD 1657).
2 Li Shan quotes the line 方將耕於東皇之陽 "I shall plow on the south slope of Tung-kao" from Juan Chi's letter to Chiang Chi, declining office (WH 40.38b). There is a similar phrase in P'an Yo's fu "Autumn Pleasures" (WH 13.9b): 耕田之沃壤 "Plow the rich soil of Tung-kao".
3 洗耳, i.e., the same as the waters of the Ying, where Ch'ao-fu washed his ears to remove the taint of hearing Yao's offer.
孔稚珪：北山移文

鍾山之英
草堂之靈
馳騷驛路
勒移山庭
夫以
5 耿介拔俗之炤
蕭灑出塵之想
度白雪以方絮
干青雲而直上
吾方知之矣
若其
亭亭物表
10 皎皎霞外
芥千金而不盼
履萬乘其如脫
聞鳴吹於洛浦
值芳歌於延瀨
固亦有焉
豈期
15 終始參差
蒼黃韓覆
淚翟子之悲
慟朱公之哭
乍迴跡以心梁
20 或先貞而後譏
何其謬哉
嘆呼
尚生不存
仲氏既往
山阿寂寥
千載誰賞
25 世有周子
雋俗之士
既文既博
亦玄亦史
然而
學道東魯
30 習隱南部
竊吹草堂
瀕江北岳
誘我松桂
欺我雲壑
35 雖假容於江皋
乃繚情於好爵
其始至也
將欲
排巢父
拉許由
傲百氏
40 蔑王侯
風清張日
霜氣橫秋
或歌幽人長往
或怨王孫不游
45 談空空於釋部
觀玄玄於道流
務光何足比
涓子不能僕
及其中
鳴鶴入谷
50 鹤書赴隴
形馳魄散
志變神動
爾乃
眉軒席次
袂聲逈上
55 焚芰製而裂荷衣
抗塵容而走俗狀
風雲懷其帶憤
石泉咽而下僥
望林燦而有失

60 顧草木而如喪
至於

紐金章
絹墨綬
跨屬城之雄
冠百里之首

65 張英風於海甸
馳妙譽於浙右
道帙長殤
法筵久埋

敲竹謗讟犯其慮

70 腰訴倍忽裝其懷
瞿歌飯斷
酒賦無續
常綢繚於結課
每紛論於折獄

75 匝張趙於往圖
架卓魯於前鈇
希蹤三輔豪
馳聲佐輔收

使我

高霞孤映

80 明月獨舉
青松落蔭
白雲誰侶
洞戶推絕無與歸
石巡荒涼徒延佇

85 返飄入暮
寫露出檻

意懷空今夜鶴怨
山人去今曉猿驚
昔聞投筆逸海岸

90 今見解蘭繫塵纖
於是

南岳獻嘲

北雛騰笑
列壑爭譏
攄嶺別請

95 慘遊子之我欺
悲無人以赴吊
故其
林懸無盡
澗愧不歇
秋桂遺風

100 春羅罷月
騁西山之逸議
馳東皋之素謁
今又
促製下邑
浪眺上京

105 雖情投於魏閣
或假步於山扃
豈可使
芳杜厚顏
薛荔無恥
碧巖再辱

110 丹崖重滓
塵遊贈於薆銘
污滓池以洗耳

宣

120 縫穀怒魄
或飛柯以折輸
乍低枝而攪跡
請廻俗士駕
為君謝適客
PREFACE TO "NEW SONGS FROM THE TOWER OF JADE"

(This summary may be helpful in finding a way through the maze of Hsü Ling's rhetoric: In the sumptuous palaces of kings and emperors live handsome women of aristocratic birth; others there are of humble origin, chosen for their outstanding beauty and skill as entertainers. They cause a certain amount of jealousy. Knowing how to please, they spend considerable care on their dress and makeup, and are really irresistible. But their charms are not only physical: they also have a taste for writing poetry. One or another may find time heavy on her hands—she can't always be making love, and other diversions pall. She would turn to the reading of verse for distraction, but suitable works are not easily come by. To cater to such an audience, the compiler has selected a number of poems by palace ladies or about them, which, though not serious and elevating like the Classics, are still worthy of attention. In fact, when brought out in an edition de luxe, they are just the thing for lovely idle hands and minds. If the intended readers find pleasure in them, the anthology will have served its purpose).

Cloud-piercer and Sun-leveler— the like of which Yu Yü never spied upon

A myriad doors, a thousand gates—such as Chang Heng once celebrated in verse:

Atop the jade pavilion of the Chou king
Inside the golden chamber of the Han emperor
Jade trees with branches of coral
Pearl curtains with hangers of shell—

There inside are beautiful women.

They belong to

1 Ling-yün was the name of a pavilion in Lo-yang (潰龍驤·洛陽記, quoted in T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 177.8b); it occurs with kai jih as an epithet applied to pavilions in Chou shu, T'ung-wen ed., 6.10b (quoted by Wu Chao-i after Ku Ch'iao 阮樵).
2 Yu Yü was the envoy from the Jung barbarians to the court of Duke Mu of Ch'ín, whose extravagance in buildings he criticized (Mémoires historiques 2.41, Han-shih wei-chuan 9/24; Wu).
3 Chang Heng's "Fu on the Western Capital" (WH 2.11a) has the phrase 門千戶萬 (Wu).
4 King Mu of Chou built a pavilion for his favorite which was called the Double Jade-disk Pavilion 重璧臺 (Mu-t'iien-tzu chuan, SPTK ed., 6.29b; Wu).
5 Emperor Wu of the Han, while still only a child, said that if he could have the Princess A-ch'iao, he would build a room of gold to keep her in. (Han-Wu ku-shih, Lu Hsün's 古小說鉤沈 ed., 337; Wu).
6 When the Emperor Wu built a residence for the spirits (神), he planted jade trees with coral branches in the front courtyard. Inside were curtains made of white pearls with tortoise-shell hangers. (Ibid., 347; Wu).
The aristocracy of the Five Tombs, chosen for the Side Palaces. The good families of the Four Clans, famous in the women's quarters. Besides them there are those from Ying-ch'uan and Newmarket. Ho-chien and Watchford, Described as Charming Beauty, Surnamed Artful Smile. Palace women of the Ch'u king—everyone marked the slender waists. Beauties of the Wei state—all voices exclaimed at the delicate hands. Read in the Odes, versed in etiquette—not like the East Neighbor, who was forward Graceful and seductive, different from Hsi-shih, who had to be taught.

1 The tombs of the first five Han emperors, near Changan, in the vicinity of which the aristocracy and well-to-do lived. (Wu).

2 I-t'ing designates the apartments where the palace women were lodged; the earlier term was yung-heiang, which parallels it in the next line. (Han shu 19A.9b) For the selection of girls of good family for palace duty, see Hou-Han shu 10A.3a (Wu).

3 In the time of the Han Emperor Ming, the Fan, Kuo, Yin, and Ma families of Imperial Consorts were known as the Lesser Nobility of the Four Clans. (Ku Ch'iao).

4 Ying-ch'uan was the native place of Empress Yü, noted for her beauty and decorum. Hsin-shih is unexplained. (Wu).

5 Wu Chao-i refers Ho-chien to the Lady Chao of the Kou-i Palace, consort of the Emperor Wu and mother of the Emperor Chao, from whose clenched fist the Emperor Wu retrieved a jade hook (Han-wu ku-shih 353). She was first located in Ho-chien through a violet emanation which rose up from the ground there. See also Han shu 97A.16a.

6 Kuan-chin is where the Empress Tou was born and buried (Han shu 97A.7b) (Wu).

7 Chi Jung-shu (YTHY k'ao-i) suggests emending the unexplained 嫔娥 to 嫔娥, the term for one of the fourteen grades of imperial concubines Han shu 97A.1b).

8 Tuan Ch'iao-hsiiao 段巧笑 was one of the Wei Emperor Wen's favorite palace ladies. She is credited with first using rouge 紫粉 on her face (Ts'ui Pao 崔豹-Ku-chin chu 古今注, Commercial Press 1956 ed., p. 26).

9 The king of Ch'u preferred slender girls and as a result many of his palace women starved themselves. It is quoted as a proverb in Hou-Han shu 54.16b, and adapted from the Mo tsu passage (15) where it is applied to courtiers overanxious to please.

10 Wu Chao-i refers this to the Classic of Songs, No. 107/1: 撻插女手, 可以鋣裳 "Delicate are her hands, They can sew a skirt". Chi Jung-shu also quotes No. 57: 手如柔荑 "Hands like tender shoots". A more specific reference seems called for.

11 Ever since "The Lechery of Master Teng-t'u", (WH 19.12b), girls living next door on the east side have had a bad reputation, in literature at least.

12 King Kou-chien of Yuëh had Hsi-shih trained three years before presenting her to the King of Wu (Wu-yüeh ch'un-ch'iu, SPTK ed., B. 39a).
Her brother was court musician: from childhood she studied singing. As a girl she grew up in Ho-yang; from the first she was good at dancing. Her guitar tune needs no Shih Ch'ung. Her flute medley requires no Ts'ao Chih. She studied lute playing in the Yang clan. She learned flute blowing from the Ch'in girl.

To such an extent that

The news of a new favorite reached the Palace of Eternal Joy—

The empress Ch'en learned of it and was uneasy. The painting showed Heaven's own Immortal—

The Barbarian Queen looked and was jealous from afar.

1 Li Yen-nien's office was "Harmonizer of the Musical Pipes" 協律都尉. His sister, the Palace Dame Li, was until her death the Emperor Wu's favorite. (Han shu 97A.13a)

2 The preferred reading in Han shu 97B.10b is 陽阿 for the name of the place where the dancing girl Chao Fei-yen was discovered by the Emperor Ch'eng on one of his incognito expeditions.

3 The song of Wang Chao-ch'un, when she was sent away to the barbarians, for which Shih Ch'ung wrote a preface (琵琶引序, Ch'üan Chin wen 33.12b), in which he attributed the original to the Wu-sun Princess. Yuē-hu tsa-lu 29 also mentions the Wu-sun Princess as the first to play the Guitar Song. Shih Ch'ung had a singing girl named Lu-chu whom he taught to perform this song (樂府古題要解, Li-tai shih-hua hui-pien v. 1, A.9a).

4 "K'ung-hou yin", according to Ku ch'in chu 12, is the name of the tune played on the k'ung-hou (a stringed instrument) by Li-yü, wife of the Korean 霍里子高, who had himself heard it sung impromptu by the anonymous wife of an old man who drowned crossing the river, the song being called 公無度河 "Don't Cross the River, Sir," from the words of the first line. It is true that among Ts'ao Chih's yuē-hu poems is one entitled k'ung-hou yin, but it is only a conventional feasting and congratulatory song, with no echo of the lugubrious story told about the original version. The term "medley" does not occur in any of the pre-Sung texts on yuē-hu song titles; it may perhaps refer to another song of Ts'ao Chih's now lost.

5 Yang Yün 揚愷, describing his life in retirement in his letter to Sun Hui-tsung (Han shu 66.11b), says that his wife, a native of Chao, played on the se, presumably the Ch'in songs he knows. (Wu).

6 Nung-yü, daughter of Duke Mu of Ch'in, fell in love with a flute-player, Hsiao-shih, who taught her to make the song of the phoenix on the flute; see Lieh hsien chuan XXXV. (Wu).

7 The Empress Ch'en was enraged when she heard of the Emperor Wu's involvement with Wei Tzu-fu (who later became the Empress Wei). (Han shu 97A.11a; Wu).

8 When the Han Emperor Kao-tsu was besieged in P'ing-ch'eng, his strategist Ch'en P'ing (Shih chi 65) reported to the Yen-shih (the consort of the Hsien-nu chief) that the Chinese were sending a beautiful woman as a present to the Shan-yü, whose affection she would surely gain. The Yen-shih's jealousy was roused and she saw to it that the siege was raised. This is one of Ch'en P'ing's (probably quite fictitious) "secret plans"; see H.H. Dubs, History of the Former Han Dynasty 1.116–7 note 2.

127
Or further,
The East Neighbor with artful smile
    going to serve in his couch when he changed clothes
West Lady with her slight frown
    about to lie across the first-class bed,
Entertaining the Emperor in Sa-so
    she twists her slender waist to the Tied Wind [measure]
At a party in Yüan-yang
    she sings a new song to the once-played tune.
She shapes her hair into singing cicada diaphanous locks
She mirrors falling-off-a-horse hanging coils
    Pinned back with golden hairpins,
    Drawn across with jeweled comb.
Stone blacking from Souhtown
draws perfectly paired moths
Swallow rouge from Northland
    marks accurately two dimples.

1 Presumably Wei Tzu-fu again, whom the Emperor Wu noticed among the singers at the establishment of the Lord of P'ing-yang, to the neglect of the beauties assembled for his inspection. When he excused himself to change his clothes, Tzu-fu waited on him and gained his favor in a carriage. The Emperor returned to the party in fine spirits and presented his host with a thousand chin of gold. Subsequently Tzu-fu was sent to the palace. (Han shu 97A.11b; Wu).
2 Chuang tsu 5.43a mentions Hai-shih’s knitted brows (she suffered from heart trouble), which served only to enhance her beauty. The “first-class bed” described in Han-Wu ku-shih 347 was for the use of spirits, while the Emperor Wu himself occupied the second-class one. The 甲乙帳 mentioned in Han shu 65.14a and 96B. 23a are merely imperial luxuries, and the meaning in the Preface is “emperor’s bed”.
3 Sa-so was the name of a palace building within the precincts of the 建章宮, so-called because it would take a fast horse a day to circumambulate it. (San-fu huang-tu, 三輔皇圖 Ku-chin i-shih ed., 2.5a; Wu).
4 Chieh-feng appears three times in Wen hsüan (8.12b, 14.16a, 34.7b) as the name of a piece of dance music.
5 The name of the palace where the Han Emperor Ch’eng first heard of Chao Fei-yen’s sister. (Fei-yen wai-chuan, Han-Wei ta’ung-shu ed., 2b; Wu).
6 Tu-chü should be the name of a tune, to match chieh-feng above, but I have been unable so to identify it.
7 Both are fanciful descriptive names of types of hairdo.
8 椺 must be for 橐.
9 The standard epithet for delicately traced eyebrows is 蝇, metonymy for “moth antennae”. Shištai “mineral blacking” or 石墨 “graphite”, is a product of the south. Nan-tu is probably not to be taken as a specific place name.
10 Yen-chih is so called because it comes from the state of Yen in the north (Chung-hua ku-chin-chu 32); it has of course nothing to do with “swallows”.

128
And also
The Immortal boys on the mountain
   share the pills with the Wei Emperor
The precious phoenix in Yao
   presents the calendar to Hsüan-yüan².
The gold star³ vies with Wedded Woman⁴ for brightness
The musk moon⁵ contests with Ever-Fair⁶ for brilliance.
From Startled Phoenix's annointed sleeves
   on occasion wafted the perfume of Clerk Han⁷

¹ This and the following line seem quite out of place. Chi Jung-shu suggests that something has been omitted here; it would be easier to assume that the boys are intruders. In any case, I do not know what the connection between them and the ladies' dress and makeup is supposed to be. The allusion is to Ts'ao P'ei's poem (Ch'üan San-kuo shih 1.8a) which begins:
   How very high is West Mountain
   High, high, nearly no end!
   On top two Immortal Boys
   Know no hunger and eat no food.
   They gave me some round pills
   Shining with all the five colors.
   For two or three days I swallowed them
   Until my body sprouted wings.

² This line yields no sense, neither as a parallel to the preceding one nor as a part of the Preface as a whole. Wu Chao-i detects an echo of Ling Lun's establishing the musical modes for the Yellow Emperor; the song of the phoenix (male and female) gave him the notes of the Huang-chung mode (Han shu 21A.4a; Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu, SPTK ed., 5.8b; Shuo yüan, SPTK ed., 19.21b). He quotes Ku Ch'iao, who cites Chang Yen's commentary on Han shu 19A.1b, elaborating on the mythical Emperor Shao-hao's use of bird-names for his officials, to the effect that a person named Phoenix-bird was in charge of the calendar; further, the Yellow Emperor (alias Hsüan-yüan) devised the cyclical terms designating years and days. All of this adds up to nothing but the certainty that the key to this line lies elsewhere. The phrase "precious phoenix at her waist" promises well as a development of the ornamentation theme, but such a reading cannot be reconciled with the second half line. Incidentally, there is no justification for taking Yao as a place name, except to balance the ling shang above.

³ Ch'in-hsing is either an ornament or a kind of makeup. Wu Chao-i quotes Ku Yeh-wang 魏野王's poem (Ch'üan Chin shih 4.2a): "When her toilette is done the gold star shows" 取罷金星出.

⁴ Wu-nü is the name of constellation.

⁵ She-yüeh is a beauty mark. Wu Chao-i cites Yu-yang tsa-tsu: "Recently dimples in the form of a sickle moon have been the rage".

⁶ Ch'ang-o is the moon goddess.

⁷ The name of Chia Ch'ung's daughter may have been Ching-luan, though it is nowhere recorded. Her lover, Clerk Han, supplied her with tribute perfume and so betrayed their liaison (Shih-shuo hsin-yü 3B.48a-b). It is likely that Startled Phoenix is another imperial concubine like Flying Swallow (see p. 82, note 1) but I cannot so identify her.
On Flying Swallow's long skirt
it is meet to tie the pendant of the Prince of Ch'en.\(^1\)
Though her portrait was never painted
she might enter the Sweet Springs Palace all the same\(^2\)
While you may say she is no goddess
she romps under Sun Tower just as well\(^3\).
Truly it may be said of her that she is
State's Bane and City's Fall\(^4\)
Unmatched and unrivaled.
Added to all that
Her heaven-given sensibility is receptive and bright
Her rare mind is sharp and artistic.
Admirably schooled in the art of letters
She excells in verse and ode.
Inkstone case of crystal is daylong by her side
Brush-holder of lapus lazuli never leaves her hand.
Fresh verse fills her work basket—
not only celebrating peony flowers\(^5\)
New creations, page after page—
hardly limited to the grape vine\(^6\).
On the ninth day she climbs to a height,
when she writes with true feeling?.

\(^1\) Ts'ao Chih, Prince Ssu of Ch'en, offered his girdle ornament to the Goddess of the Lo River (see WH 19.17b, Wu). The association with Flying Swallow is anachronistic, and the couplet should rather be read as applying to a woman lovely as Startled Phoenix or Flying Swallow, whose sleeves carry a perfume rare as that stolen by Clerk Han, and who is as suitable an object of Ts'ao Chih's attentions as was the goddess.

\(^2\) The Emperor Wu had the Palace Lady Li's portrait placed in the Kan-ch'ian Palace after her death. (Han shu 97A.13a; Wu).

\(^3\) The Goddess is the one who appeared to the King of Ch'u on Witches' Mountain saying, "At dawn I am the morning clouds, evenings the driving rain, every morning, every evening, below the Sun Tower". ("Fu of Mr. Kao-t'ang", WH 19.1b; Wu).

\(^4\) Referring to the epithets used by Li Yen-nien in describing his sister to the Emperor Wu (Han shu 97A.13a).

\(^5\) Wu Chao-i quotes a "Eulogy of the Peony" by Hsin Hsiao 辛蕭, wife of Fu T'ung 傳統: "Bright is the peony, planted in the front court, mornings moistened by the sweet dew, which dries under the midday sun's rays". It concludes "The poet of old (i.e., Shih ching No. 95) offered this glorious blossom, taking it as a symbol of his love; he wet his brush and wrote a song". (Ch'ian Chin wen 144.2a–b).

\(^6\) The grape vine remains a mystery.

\(^7\) This refers both to the custom of climbing hills on the festival of the Double Ninth and to the enigmatic remark in the "Essay on Bibliography" Han shu 30.36b) that "he who, on climbing to a height, can compose (recite) verse will make a Great Officer".
For the Myriad Years Princess
there is no lack of a eulogy praising her virtue.\(^1\)
Her charm and beauty were earlier described; this tells of her talent and sensibility.
On the other hand she may be
Langorous in Pepper Chamber\(^2\)
Secluded in Mulberry Quarters\(^3\)
Crimson crane solemn at dawn\(^4\)
Bronze knocker quiet at noon\(^5\).
The turn of the Triad not yet come,
she need not serve with bedding in arms\(^6\).
While the fifth day is still distant,
who will practice a song?\(^7\)
Idling with little to do
Solitary with much leisure

\(^1\) The Wan-nien Princess was the daughter of the Chin Emperor Wu. On her death the Emperor ordered the Imperial Concubine Tso Fen, noted for her literary skill, to write the dirge. (Chih shu 31.11b; Wu).

\(^2\) An empress is called chiao fang, from the use of aromatic pepper in the plaster on the walls of her chambers — both for fragrance and to repel noxious vapors. (Han kuan i 漢官儀, TSSC ed., B. 37; Wu).

\(^3\) The lying-in chambers for palace ladies were so-called. (Han shu 97B.8a, com. by Su Lin and Chin Shao).

\(^4\) The key which opens the palace gate in the morning is called a "crane key" (鶴鉤) (see Wu Chao-i's quotation); I do not know why it should be crimson.

\(^5\) For 鎗 read 錶 with Wen-yüan ying-hua (Chi Jung-shu); it is the boss holding a ring by which the door is pulled to. It also serves as a knocker.

\(^6\) The reference is clearly to Shih ching No. 21, with the concubines paying their surreptitious visits to the King, bedding in arms (抱衾與裊). There is perhaps also a reference to Shih ching No. 118, with its repeated 三星在天 (隅，戶). Since the appearance of the Triad (a constellation) is there connected with a reunion of husband and wife, the phrase 三星未夕 could mean "This is not the evening for the meeting symbolized by the Triad". If we stick to No. 21, identifying the Triad with the 三星在東 of that poem and taking it as synonymous with the 三星小星 of the first line, we get something like the translation above: that is, the lesser concubines do not spend the night with the King, their turn not having yet come.

\(^7\) Li Shan, in his com. on the lines "Dressed in garments of thin silk, She sits at the door rehearsing the clear song" 理情曲 (WH 29.6a), quotes Ju Shun's com. on Han shu: "Today musicians speak of practicing a piece of music once every five days as 理情! This yields a ready reading for the line of the Preface, but hardly a satisfactory one. Read in terms of the Shih ching allusion (itself an added element of parallelism!), it means something much more appropriate in context. Shih ching No. 226 has the lines 子髮曲局, 蒲言歸沐 "My hair is all twisted and tangled; I shall go home and wash it". Also; 五日為期, 六日不離 "Five days was the appointed time, On the sixth he has not come". The "filthy and absurd view of Maou" to which Legge could only refer (Chinese Classics 4.412
Tired of the dilatary bell from Eternal Joy Palace
Weary of the slow hours in Central Hall
The slight frame has no strength—
fearful of fulling clothes in Nan-yang
A whole life spent in a secluded palace,
she laughs at the brocade woven in Fu-feng.
Even if, like
The Jade Girl, she plays tosspot,
all pleasure is exhausted in a hundred pitches
The Lady of Ch’i, she contests at po,
her enjoyment is worn out with the six sticks.
She takes no pleasure in wasted time
But bends her mind to new verse,
which can
Serve as heart’s ease, subtly softening melancholy grief.
But
Famous works of past time

note), must have caught Hsü Ling’s more robust fancy. Mao remarks simply that married women must have sexual intercourse once every five days (Mao-shih chu-su, SPPY ed., 15.2.4b); he is only quoting a passage from the Li chi (12/4) defining the conjugal rights of women (under the age of fifty). Hsü Ling’s line then reads “Until the fifth day comes, who is going to comb the kinks out of her hair?”

1 The Ch’ang-lo Palace is where the ruler’s mother was lodged. The bells announce the passage of time, which must seem slow to the palace ladies who wait on her.

2 The Empress’s quarters are referred to as 中宮 in Han chiu i, 漢舊儀 (TSCC ed.) B. 12.

3 This should be a specific reference, but I cannot identify the woman of Nan-yang who prepared winter clothes for her husband away on the frontier (the usual situation associated with tao-i).

4 Fu-feng is a place on the site of Hsien-yang, the old Ch’in capital, hence Ch’in-chou, of which Tou T’ao 賽 康 was prefect. When he was transferred to the border, his wife née Su, who was skilled at brocade work, wove a palindrome into a piece of brocade, which she sent to him. (Wu)

5 According to Shen i ching (Han-Wei ts‘ung-shu ed.) 1.1a, when Tung-wang-kung and Jade Girl play tosspot, every time a throw fails to connect, Heaven laughs at them. The light flashing from Heaven’s opened mouth is the lightning. (Wu)

6 For 聽 as “a throw”, see L.S. Yang, “An Additional Note on the Ancient Game liu-po”, HJAS 15 (1952) 134.

7 For 著 in the game liu po, see ibid. The allusion to the “Lady of Ch’i” is unidentified.

8 Hsiün and su are two kinds of plant reputed to be effective anodynes, as in Wang Lang’s 王 豐 (d. 228) “Letter to the Heir Apparent of Wei” (Ch’üan San-kuo wen 22.10b): “I suggest reading as a sheer delight and as support against hunger and thirst; not even the hsiün plant for forgetting worry or kao-su for relieving fatigue are any better”. (Wu).
Skilled creations of the present day
Distributed in the Unicorn Hall
Dispersed in the Vast City
Unless collected in a volume
Leave her no way to read them.

This being so
Burning tallow to copy at night
Grinding ink to write at dawn,

One has here recorded love songs enough to make ten scrolls. They
are not fit to put alongside the Odes and hymns, nor are they the
overflow from the Bards; it is rather like the waters of the Ching and
the Wei, (which flow in the same channel without commingling).

Then they are
Laid out in a golden casket
Mounted on costly scrolls
In the finest tradition of the Three Chancelleries—
the calligraphy of uncoiling dragon and twisting caterpillar.

Five colored patterned stationery—
paper of Hopei and Chiaotung.
In the high chamber with red powder
still establishing questionable readings,
Fresh incense to expel the noxious
guards against Yü-ling bookworms.

Like

1 Unicorn Hall 獻麟閣 in Wei-yang Palace, used as a repository for archives
during the Han. (San-fu huang-t' u 6.47; Wu).
2 The name of a gate in Loyang where books were stored. (Wu).
3 I.e., of the Classic of Songs.
4 Who wrote the "Feng" poems of the Classic.
5 The waters of the Ching and the Wei flow together for 300 li without clear and
muddy intermingling (San Ch'in chi 三秦記, Lung-hsü cheng-shu ts' ung-shu ed.,
3a). That is, this lesser poetry coexists with that classical tradition without con-
taminating it.
6 For the san t'ai see Han kwan i A.21 (Wu).
7 "Five colored paper" is mentioned in Yeh chung chi 鄭中記, TSCC ed.,
1 (Wu).
8 I can find no allusion connecting paper and these two places.
9 "Red powder" (var. 鉛粉) is not only used as a cosmetic; for its use as the in-
gredient of red ink in collating and annotating texts, see E.H. Schafer, "The Early
10 Lu-yü is a generic term for words easily confused in copying. It occurs as part
of a proverb quoted in Pao-p'u tsu (SPTK ed.) 19.7a: "After three copies, 魚
becomes 魽 and 虜 becomes 虐."
11 Mu-t' ien-tzu chuan 5.26a mentions "books eaten by worms in Yü-ling". (Wu).
The Divine Flight and the Six Scales\(^1\) it is stored high in a jade box
The Vast Radiance and the Immortal's Receipt it is stuffed in the cinnabar
pillow\(^2\).

There
Inside the Blue Ox Curtain\(^3\) the old tune is not yet finished
Before the Red Bird Window\(^4\) her fresh makeup is done.

This is the time when she
Opens this green scroll
Unties these binding cords,
Always toying with them behind the book curtain
Forever unrolling them in slender hands.

Not of course like
Empress Teng studying the *Spring and Autumn*—\(^5\)
not easy to practice the scholar's task
Empress Tou wrapped up in Huang-Lao—\(^6\)
unachieved the technique of gold and cinnabar\(^7\).

But better than
The rich man of West Shu who put all his passion in the “Lu Palace fu”\(^8\)

---

1 Two esoteric works which Hsi-wang-mu gave to the Emperor Wu; he kept them in a golden casket inside a box of white jade. *(Han-Wu nei-chuan, Han-Wei ts'ung-shu* ed., 15b; Wu).

2 Hung-lieh is an alternative title for the *Huai-nan tsu*. Hsien-fang is perhaps to be taken generically as "receipts for becoming an Immortal", referring to the esoteric works found in a pillow (i.e., a headrest) by Liu Te at the time of the trial of the Prince of Huai-nan. These were the books that got Liu Te's son, Liu Hsiang, in trouble when he tried to make alchemical gold with their help. *(Po-wu chih, 7.41-2, Wu).*

3 The blue (or black) ox is always connected with a recluse. This is the only occurrence of the phrase ch'ing-niu chang in *P'ei-chen yun-fu*, and I have no idea what it means.

4 The window through which Tung-fang So peeped when Hsi-wang-mu was presenting the peaches of immortality to the Emperor Wu *(Po-wu chih 3.17, Wu).* What this has to do with the "fresh makeup" I do not know.

5 Since *Teng* parallels *Tou*, which must be the Empress Tou (see note 6), it is likely that the reference is to an Empress Teng. I have not found one who fits exactly. Wu Chao-i suggests the Empress Ma, whose familiarity with the Ch'un-ch'i is specifically mentioned *(Hou-Han shu 10A.10b).* The Empress Teng (Ho-hsi 虢) had an education in the Classics *(Hou-han shu 10A.14a)* and was known as a patron of Confucian studies *(ibid. 109A.2b, 110A.15a)*; it is possible she is the one meant.

6 The Empress Tou, mother of the Emperor Ching, is famous for her preference for Taoism at the expense of the Confucians. *(Han shu 88.17a, 20a).*

7 I.e., of making gold from cinnabar.

8 Liu Yen 劉彥 was a general of the state of Shu who had extravagant tastes. He taught "several tens" of his slave girls to recite the "Lu-ling-kuang Palace fu" of Wang Yen-shou *(WH 11.17a–29b)*; see *San-kuo chih*, *Shu chih* 10.9b. *(Wu).*
Or the Heir Apparent in the First Lodge, always having them recite the “Hollow Flute.”1
Lovely those Ch‘i girls2,
it shall help them pass the time.
How fine the red brush—3
none may criticize it4.

徐陵:《玉臺新詠序》

夫凌雲概日
由余之所未窥
萬戶千門
張衡之所曾賦
周王壁臺之上
漢帝金屋之中

5
玉樹以珊瑚作枝
珠簾以玳瑁為柙
其中有麗人馬

其人也
五陵豪族
四姓良家

充嬴掖庭
馳名永巷

赤有
願川新市
10
河間觀津
本號嬌娥
曾名巧笑
楚王宮裏
無不推其細腰
衛國佳人
俱言訝其纖手

1 While still Heir Apparent, the Han Emperor Yüan was so pleased with Wang Pao’s fu “The Hollow Flute” (WH 17.15a–23a) that he had his palace attendants recite it. (Han shu 64B. Wu).
2 The line is taken from Shih ching No. 39/1: “Lovely are those ladies of the Ch‘i clan, I shall make my plans with them”.
3 Referring to Shih ching No. 42/2: “She gave me a red tube”, where Mao identifies it as the red brush-tube used by the Female Recorder 尉史, whose duty it was to keep a record of transgressions in the harem and also to keep track of the proper sequence of visits by its members to the ruler’s bedchamber (Mao-shih chu-su 2.3. 7b–8b). Hsü Ling is delicately suggesting that the poems in his anthology are on erotic subjects, but still are above reproach.
4 The reading for this line 麗以香囊 “Pretty the perfumed compact”, as Chi Jung-shu remarks, gives no satisfactory sense.
15 闊詩敦禮  壹東鄰之自媒
婉約風流  異西施之被敬
弟兄協律  生小學歌
少長河陽  由來能舞
琵琶新曲  無待石崇

20 交安雜引  非闋曹植
傳鼓瑟於楊家
得吹簫於秦女

至若
寵聞長樂  陳後知而不平
畫出天仙  闋氏覽而遙妒

至如
東鄰巧笑  來侍寢於更衣
西子微翠  得横陳於甲帳
陪遊騅儔  萃纖腰於結風
長樂鶯鶯  奏新聲於度曲

30 照順馬之垂鬚
反插金鋪
橫抽寶樹
南都石黛  最發雙蛾
比地燕脂  偏開兩髻

亦有
35 嶂上仙童  分九魏帝
腰中寶鳳  授歷軒轅
金星將婺女爭華
麝月與嫦娥競爽
驚鸂鶒袖  時飄韓掾之香

40 飛燕長裾  宜結陳王之佩
雖非圖畫  入甘泉而不分
言異神仙  戲陽臺而無別
真可謂傾國傾城無對無雙者也

加以
天情開朗
逸思雕華
妙解文章
尤工詩賦
瑤璃硯匣
翡翠筆牀
終日隨身
無時離手
非惟芍藥之花
寧止薔薇之樹
時有緣情之作
非無累德之辭
其佳麗也如彼
其才情也如此

訃而
椒房宛轉
柘館陰岑
絳鶴晨嚴
銅鼇畫靜
不事懐奄
五日猶餘
誰能理曲
寂寞多聞
厭長樂之疏鍾

勞中宮之緩箭
輕身無力
怯南陽之搗衣
生長深宮
笑扶風之織錦

雖復
投壘玉女
爲歡盡於百駟
爭負齊卿
心賞窮於六廣
無怡神於暇景
惟屬意於新詩

可得
代彼萱蘇
徵鶴愁疾
但
往世名篇
當今巧製

75
分諸麟閣
散在鴻都
不藉篇章
無由披覽

於是
燃脂瞑寫
80
弄墨晨書

撰錄豔歌　凡為十卷
曾無參於雅须
亦靡識於風人
涇渭之間　若斯而已

於是
85　麗以金箱
裝之寶軸
三臺妙迹　龍卹軒屈之書
五色花箋　南北嵗合之紙
高樓紅粉　仍定魯魚之文

90　辟惡生香　聊防羽陵之蠹
靈飛六甲　高擅玉函
鴻烈仙方　長推丹沈

至若
青牛帯裏　餘曲未終
朱鳥窗前　新妝已竟

方當
95　開茲標帙
散此縟繩
永對瓿於書帷
長循環於織手
豈如

郡學春秋 儒者之功難習
寶黃老 金丹之術不成

固勝

西蜀豪家 託情於魯殿
東儲甲觀 流詠止於洞簫
變彼諸姬 聊同棄日

琦賦彤管

無或譏焉
THE WEN HSÜAN AND GENRE THEORY

by

JAMES R. HIGHTOWER
THE WEN HSÜAN AND GENRE THEORY

JAMES R. HIGHTOWER

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The development of genre theory in China has been closely associated with anthology making; the sixth century Wen hsüan, with its preface, marks a significant stage in the process. Preliminary to a study of genres in the Wen hsüan I shall trace briefly the earlier Chinese interest in the subject, and I might begin by explaining why the subject is significant.

Literary criticism, as distinct from literary theory, is concerned with the individual literary work, which it attempts to understand, interpret, and evaluate. Interpretation and evaluation both depend in part on a true estimate of the writer's intention: he should not be damned for not succeeding in something he never set out to do. What effects he can achieve are limited in the first place by the form in which he puts his composition: within the bounds of a lyric one simply cannot write an epic, nor is a sonnet sequence capable of the kind of effect achieved in a novel. This is, of course, very elementary, and is taken for granted by every practicing critic, whether or not he attempts to formulate his criteria for the several genres. The concept of genre underlies all criticism, and consciously or unconsciously the good critic knows what a given genre is the appropriate vehicle for, as does every competent writer.

But genre is an abstraction; both critic and writer are immediately concerned with the specific, concrete literary work—immediately, but not exclusively. Any literary work is at once an individual entity and a part of a larger whole, that is, the whole corpus of writing which makes up a literary tradition. Genres come into being as a literature develops, not as a single literary work is written. Genre as a class consisting of a single member is meaningless. Consequently even a list of genres has to wait until a literature exists and people are aware of its existence. When they come to abstract the forms in which literature is written, the
lists compiled will be a direct reflection of their concept of literature. And conversely, the accepted genres will influence the general idea of what the broader abstraction, literature, is.

We can see this happening in Chinese literary theory from the Han shu “Essay on Bibliography” through Ts'ao P'ei and Lu Chi down to Liang times, when genre studies became the first concern of the theorists. The conflict between the traditional didactic view of literature as a vehicle for moral instruction and the heretical view of literature as its own end is exemplified in the divergent lists of literary forms. It was the appearance of the first purely literary genre, the fu, which precipitated the controversy, and whether or not it was thought a good thing, the fu was recognized as something subject to different standards of evaluation. Wang Ch'ung 王充 (27?-100), for example, in recommending clarity as the ideal of style, could make an exception of the fu.¹

By the end of the second century A.D. the fu had become a respectable part of literature. It takes its appropriate place (being the latest arrival on the scene) at the end of the first list of genres, the one in Ts'ao P'ei's “Essay on Literature”.²

Though all writing is essentially the same, the specific forms differ. Thus memorial (tsou) and deliberations (i) should be decorous; letters (shu) and essays (lun) should be logical; inscriptions (ming) and dirges (lei) should stick to the facts; poetry (shih) and fu should be ornate.

This list served as the model for later ones: the forms are presented in pairs and each pair is characterized by a quality that presumably distinguishes it from all the other pairs.

Ts'ao P'ei was probably not trying to make a complete list of genres; certainly he was not concerned to formulate an exact definition of the ones he did list. His interest in genres was only a by-product of the typical third-century pastime of evaluating and categorizing people. The primary interest was in determining the

¹Lun heng (SPTK ed.) 90.6a. Wang Ch'ung was not being complimentary: “If abstruse and elegant style makes the sense hard to understand, you have nothing better than fu or sung.” 深復雅指意難觀，唯賦頌爾.
²論文. the part of his Classical Essays 典論 preserved in Wen hsüan (SPTK ed., hereafter abbreviated WH). For this passage cf. WH 52.9a: 夫文本同而未異。蓋奏議宜雅。書論宜理。銘詠尚實。詩賦欲麗。
fitness of a person for office in terms of his ability and knowledge as against the specific demands made by the office on its incumbent. Extended to writing this process produced something recognizable as literary criticism, but of a rather limited and specialized sort. The first need was to determine what demands writing made on the individual; after that it should be easy to predict the possible performance of a given individual as a writer. A less challenging exercise would be to decide exactly how well any writer had succeeded at his craft.

Ts'ao P'ei may well have been the first to try to work this out on paper. He begins his essay with some general remarks: not all writers are equally good at all kinds of writing; a writer is not an unbiased critic, for he applies as a standard of criticism to others the qualities that enable him to excel in one form, this standard may not be applicable to other forms. In this way Ts'ao P'ei arrived at his list of genres and their dominant characteristics. On the basis of these he felt himself able to pass judgment on the performance of his contemporaries:

Wang Ts'an excels in fu. Hsü Kan, though he sometimes writes in the (vulgar) Chi style, is on the whole his equal. The memorial and addresses to the throne of Chi'en Lin and Juan Yu are the best in this age. Ying Ch'ang's are well-balanced but lack strength; Lu Chen's are powerful but not tightly organized. K'ung Jung has a style and vigor elevated and refined beyond all others, but he cannot sustain an argument—his logic falls short of his stylistic qualities.

The century separating Lu Chi's "Fu on Literature" from Ts'ao P'ei's "Essay on Literature" is hardly an adequate measure of the enormously increased sophistication of Lu Chi's attitude toward the art of letters. But in genre theory there has been little advance; Lu Chi has simply added two items (Epitaph and Admonition) to the eight in Ts'ao P'ei's list and substituted Discourse for Letters. His characterizations of each form follow the

---

*Ch'ing t'an began as an exercise of this sort, and the Shih-shuo hsin-yü in part reflects these interests; cf. Chun Yin-k'o, Tao Yuan-ming's Thought and its Relation to "Pure Talk" (T'ang Ti, 1951), p. 192.

1 WH 52.7b-8a.

same pattern. The epithets are different, but not, on the whole, more appropriate; they are, however, more metaphorical and hence harder to understand:

Lyric poetry (shih) traces emotions daintily; Rhymeprose (fu) embodies objects brightly. Epitaph (pei) balances substance with style; Dirge (lei) is tense and mournful. Inscription (ming) is comprehensive and concise, gentle and generous; Admonition (chen), which praises and blames, is clear-cut and vigorous. Eulogy (sung) is free and easy, rich and lush; Disquisition (lun) is rarified and subtle, bright and smooth. Memorial to the Throne (tsou) is quiet and penetrating, genteel and decorous; Discourse (shuo) is dazzling bright and extravagantly bizarre.8

What are needed to make this passage intelligible are examples of the things mentioned, to demonstrate how Eulogy, for example, is “free and easy, rich and lush,” or at least to show an approved specimen of the form. This lack was supplied by the anthologists, beginning with Lu Chi’s contemporary, Chih Yu 挙虞, who died around 310 A.D.

Chih Yu compiled the first known anthology of diverse genres and combined with it a statement of the nature and historical development of the genres represented.7 His Collection of Writings by Genres (Wen-chang liu-pieh chi 文章流別集) originally contained sixty chapters of texts and was accompanied by two chapters each of Notes 志 and Discussions 論. All that remains of this pioneering effort are a few of his remarks about some of the genres in his anthology. They are very much in the didactic tradition and, except in the treatment of genre, suggest a more limited view of literature than Lu Chi had demonstrated in his fu.

Chih Yu had a strong historical sense, and his obsession with

---


7 There had been earlier anthologies of course. The Classic of Songs is after all an anthology of poetry, and its four-fold division into Feng, Big and Little Ya, and Sung may have been an attempt by its compiler to establish different categories of song. The next anthology was the Ch’u ts’u, a collection of the specialized verse form known as sao, in its present form dating from the second century A.D.

8 This was the Liang dynasty listing. The Sui shu “Essay on Bibliography” (T’ung-wn ed., 33.31a) records a copy in 41 ch’uan and, as a separate entry, Wen-chang liu-pieh chih lun in two ch’uan. The two T’ang histories have only Wen-chang liu-pieh in 30 ch’uan: T’ang shu 47.42a, Hsin T’ang shu 60.20b (all Standard Histories cited in T’ung-wn ed.).
the derivation of literary forms from one of the Confucian Classics foreshadows Lu Hsien’s elaborate scheme. For instance, after a passing mention of the Poetry Collectors and the old punning definition of poetry, he finds the various forms of poetry adumbrated in the *Classic of Songs*.

The ancient poetry was in lines of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9 words. In general the form was a four-word line, but occasionally there would be a line of different length interspersed among the four-word lines. In later times these were extended to whole stanzas (and so developed into separate forms). An example of the three-word line in ancient poetry is “In a flock go the egrets,/ The egrets go flying”;

10 this meter was frequently used in the Han dynasty Suburban Temple Hymns. The five-word line occurs in “Who says the sparrow has no beak?/How else could it have pierced my roof?”

11 It is frequently used in the popular songs of entertainers. An example of the six-word line is “Meanwhile I pour out a cup from that bronze lei-vase”;

12 it is also used in yüeh-fu poems. An example of the seven-word line is “‘Kio’ sings the oriole as it lights on the mulberry-tree”; 13 it is used nowadays in the popular songs of entertainers. An example of the nine-word line is “Far away we draw water from that running pool; we ladle it there and pour it out here”;

14 as it does not occur in songs, it is now seldom used.

Derivation of this sort is of course fallacious (though it has been popular in China down to modern times), but it provides a link by which a series of similar literary forms may be brought together under a single, more general head. Carried a bit further it could lead to a single inclusive term for all the different forms of metrical composition, in short, to a word for “poetry.” The term *shih* was never stretched quite that far, though Chu Hsi was pushing it in that direction, as in the passage where he says, 15

“*In later times much poetry* (*shih*) *has been written; that which praises accomplishments is called Eulogy* (*sung*), the rest is collectively known as *shih*."  16 In later anthologies the process was reversed, and the tendency was to set up a separate category for each term, even when the terms were actually synonymous.

---

8 Yen K’o-chin’s *Collected Chin Prose* 全晉文 77.8b (abbreviated CCW), quoted from I-wen lei-chü 56 (abbreviated IWLC).
10 振振驚，聳予下 Mao shih 298/1, Karlsgen’s translation.
11 誰謂雀無角，何以穿我屋 Mao shih 17/2, Waley’s translation (p. 65).
12 我姑酌彼金罍 Mao shih 3/3, Karlsgen.
13 交交黃鳥止于桑 Mao shih 131/2, Waley, p. 311.
14 洞酌彼行潦挹彼注茲 Mao shih 251/1, Karlsgen.
15 CCW 77.7b.
16 The Wen hsüan provides a good example; see note 78 below.

146
CHIH Yü was also aware of the possibility of a single term standing for two different kinds of writing, the word sung, for example. At the end of the passage quoted above he discusses several examples of Eulogy, noting their similarity to the kind of composition which goes by that name in the Classic of Songs. Then he says, “Eulogies like those of MA Jung are purely in the modern fu form; to call them sung is to go far astray.” This is the first example, so far as I know, of a Chinese critic who could see the difference between a form and its label.

It is unfortunate that not even the table of contents of CHIH Yü’s anthology has survived, so there is now no way of guessing what he considered worth including in a selection of the best of literature as he conceived it. His example inspired a great flurry of anthology making during the next two and a half centuries. The “Essay on Bibliography” in the Sui shu lists 419 titles, of which 107, comprising over two thousand scrolls, had survived until early T'ang times. Besides the general anthologies, there are a number of specialized ones—of poetry, of periods, of places, of writings by women, of individuals and of groups of individuals, and finally anthologies devoted to specific genres.

Of all these anthologies only two remain: the Yü-t'ai hsin-yung of Hsü Ling 徐陵 (503-583) and Hsiao T'ung’s Wen hsüan. The Yü-t'ai hsin-yung is restricted to love poetry, for the most part in the five-word meter, and so contributes nothing to genre theory. It is of interest as representing the unorthodox tastes of Hsiao Kang 蕭綱 (503-551), under whose patronage it was compiled, and is valuable for preserving a considerable amount of Six Dynasties poetry that otherwise would have been lost.

The Wen hsüan, the Anthology par excellence, is a much more catholic collection, containing both prose and verse arranged under thirty-seven separate heads. Its contents are diversified enough to suggest that Hsiao T'ung was trying to provide specimens of all the forms of literature and perhaps even to arrange them in some kind of significant order. His Preface to his an-

---

17 CCW 77.8a.
18 Sui shu 35.21a-26b. CHIH Yü’s anthology heads the list and the compiler’s comment (op. cit., 35.56a) credits him with providing the model for later anthologists.
thology also includes a list of genres. Unfortunately it is not identical with the list in the table of contents of the Anthology itself, nor is the sequence of entries the same. There are anomalies in both lists which are in part resolved by confronting them. I shall begin by translating the Preface,19 treating in the notes the problems connected with the list of genres.20

When we look to the first beginnings and scrutinize from afar those primordial conditions—in times of winter caves and summer nests when men devoured undressed game and drank blood 21—then times were rude and people plain: writing 22 had not yet appeared. Then we come to the rule of Fu-hsi, who first traced the Eight Trigrams and invented writing to take the place of government by knotted cords; from this time written records came into being.23

The I ching says,24 “Observe the patterns in the sky to discover the seasons’ changes; observe the patterns among men to transform All-Under-Heaven” —so far-reaching are the times and meanings of pattern (wen)! 25 Now the Imperial Chariot had its origin in the oxcart,26 but the Imperial Chariot has

---

19 There is a translation by G. Marquart, Le “fou” dans le Wen-chuen (Paris, 1926), pp. 22-30. I have made use of the commentaries brought together in Kao Pu-ying’s Wen-hsien Li chu i-ju 高步瀛.文選李注義疏, Peking, 1934.

20 It should be pointed out that this Preface is not simply a straightforward piece of expository prose. It is written in Parallel Style, and logical exposition frequently gives way before the demands of symmetry.

21 “formerly the ancient kings had no houses. In winter they lived in caves which they had excavated, and in summer in nests which they had framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but ate the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking their blood, and swallowing (also) the hair and feathers.” (Li chi 9/5, James Legge, Sacred Books of the East, 27.369.)

22 This first occurrence of the protean word wen gets its overtones of “culture,” “civilization” from its association with Lu nü 9/5: 文王既没，文不在兹乎，天之将末文也，後死者不得與斯文也，but here the emphasis is on “written texts.”

23 This is quoted verbatim from the opening lines of the “Preface” to the Shu ching attributed to K’ung An-kuo. The text is in WH 45.81b. The more commonly accepted tradition (given in Ho Shen’s Preface to the Shuo wen) says it was Shen-nung, Fu-hsi’s successor, who “ruled by knotted cords,” and credits Ts’ang-chieh, Huang-ti’s minister, with the invention of writing, based on his observation of “the tracks made by the feet of birds and animals.”

24 I ching No. 22, Legge (SBE 16), 231.

25 Cf. op. cit., No. 16, where the same encomium is pronounced of the hexagram yü: 豫之時義大矣哉 “Great indeed are the time and significance indicated in Yu!” (Ibid., 227). This formula occurs also of hexagrams 17, 33, 44, and 56.

26 The commentators identify 禹輪 with 禹車 of Huai-nan tsu 17.4b (SPTK ed.): 古之所為不可更則惟車。至今無輪 (鹽 + Rad. 22). “Something which has not changed since ancient times is the oxcart; it still has no spokes,” i.e., it has solid
none of the crudeness of the oxcart. Thick ice is composed of accumulated water, but accumulated water has not the coldness of thick ice. Why so? The original form is preserved but elaborated on, or the essential nature changed through intensification. This is true of things, and it is also true of literature (wen). It changes with passing time, and to describe it is no easy task. But to make the attempt:

The Preface to the Classic of Songs says, "There are six modes of the Songs. The first is instruction (feng), the second is description (fu), the third is simile (pi), the fourth is metaphor (hsing), the fifth is ode (ya), the sixth is hymn (sung)." Later poets deviated from the ancient [practice], and of the [six modes of the] ancient poetry, the moderns took over only the term fu. It appeared first of all in the works of Hsün Tzu and Sung Yü, and was continued subsequently by Chia I and Su-s ma Hsiang-ju; from this

wheels. The development of the imperial chariot from the oxcart as an example of simple origins for elaborate devices appears already in Lu Chi’s fu ‘The Feather Fan.’

羽扇賦 (CCW 97.4b): 玉軸基於椎輪. (TSENG Chiao 曾劔).

Mao shih Preface, text in WH 45.30a-b. This incongruous list first appeared in the Chou li 6.13a (SPTK ed.). It is hopeless to translate the terms satisfactorily, for they have meant many things to different commentators, but at least the nature of the difficulty can be defined. Three of the six items (feng, ya, sung) are the names of the chief divisions of the present Classic of Songs, and while there is no general agreement about their significance, they are certainly not the names of tropes. Fu, pi, and hsing are variously interpreted and inconsistently applied by the commentators on the Classic of Songs. The Mao shih Preface says nothing about them, and it is likely that its author was quoting the traditional list without bothering about the extraneous items. The sequence may be a clue to how the list was originally understood, and Tseng Chiao suggests that feng is to be taken with fu, pi, and hsing, and hence not as the name of the first section of the Shih ching. For present purposes the important question is how Hsiao Tung understood the items, and it is apparent from the rest of this paragraph that he was concerned solely with the occurrence of the word fu as something associated with the Classic of Songs. It provides his point of departure in sketching the development of the fu genre, though he must have been aware that the genre was not identical with the trope, as indeed his statement in the next sentence "the moderns took over only the term fu" implies. The association was not original with him; Pan Ku (Preface to the "Two Capitals fu," WH 1.1a) and CHIH Yü (CCW 77.8a) both asserted the derivation of fu from the Classic in the same words: 賦者古詩之流也.

The riddles in rhyme of the "Fu p'ren" of Hsüan tsu have nothing in common with the fu genre of Han times.

Four fu attributed to Sung Yü (3rd century B.C.) are included in WH (15.1a, 19.1a, 19.8b, 19.12a); six more are in Ku wen yün 2.

Chia I’s "Owl fu." (WH 13.20b) is the earliest fu of which the text is given in a contemporary Former Han source (Shih chi 84.10b-15b).

Of the three fu attributed to Su-s ma Hsiang-ju in WH (7.23b, 8.1a, 16.10a), two ("Tzu-hsü" and "Shang-lin") are quoted in his Shih chi biography (Shih chi 117.12b-26b). The authenticity of the third ("Ch'ang-men 長門") has been questioned (e.g., by Ku Yen-wu, Jü-chih-ju 19.11a, Sao-yei Shan-fang ed.) because of
time on the ramifications were many. Descriptive of cities and sites there are [the fu of CHANG Heng and Ssu-Ma Hsiang-ju with their imaginary interlocutors His Honor Insubstantial and Master No-Such-Person]. Directed against hunting are the "Ch'ang-yang" and "Hunting with Plumes" [fu of YANG Hsiung]. When it comes to fu describing one event or celebrating a single object (such as those on Wind, Clouds, Plants, and Trees, or the ones about Fish, Insects, Birds, and Beasts), considering their range, it is quite impossible to list them all.

There was also the Ch'u poet Chu Yü, who clung to loyalty and walked unsullied; the prince would not accept it, when the subject offered advice unwelcome to his ears. Though his understanding was profound and his plans far-reaching, in the end he was banished south of the Hsiang River. Injured for his unbending integrity and with no one in whom to confide his sorrow, he stood on the verge of the abyss, determined to embrace the stone; he sighed by the pool, haggard in appearance. It is from him that the writings of the sao poets derive.

Poetry is the product of the emotions: the feelings are moved within and take form in words. In "The Osprey" and "The Unicorn" appears the Way of the Correct Beginning; "The Mulberry Grove" and "On the Banks

the anachronism in the preface and the stylistic differences between it and the surely genuine fu of Ssu-Ma Hsiang-ju. Neither is conclusive ground for rejecting the "Ch'ang-men fu," but the fact that it is not mentioned in either the Shih chi or the Han shu biography, makes it highly suspect.

26 愚虞公子 is a character in the "Hai ching fu" of CHANG Heng (WH 8.1a).
27 亡是公 occurs in Ssu-Ma Hsiang-ju's "Shang-lin fu," as CHANG Shao remarks, HSIAO Tüng places it in the subcategory of Royal Hunts (WH 8.1a, where it belongs) rather than with the Capitals fu where CHANG Heng's "Hai ching" is found.
28 長楊, after the palace of that name at Ch'ang-an, where the game was brought in cages and released. (WH 9.1a).
29 羽獵, WH 8.90b.
30 A glance at the table of contents of the Li-tai fu-hui 歷代賦彙 (which is arranged by categories) will show that this is no exaggeration.
31 從流, lit., " follow the current," to be understood as an allusion to Tso chuan (Chao 13). "Duke Huan of Ch'i followed the good as a current" 齊桓從善如流 (Kao Pu-ying).
32 道耳. The proverbial expression 良藥苦口, 利於疾. 忠言逆耳, 利於行 "Good medicine is bitter to the mouth but is of benefit to one who is sick; loyal words offend the ears but are of benefit to the conduct" appears (with minor variations) in K'ung-tzu chia-yü 4.1b and Shih chi 55.4a (Kao Pu-ying).
33 Paraphrased from Chu Yü Yuan's biography in Shih chi 84.4b.
34 Mao shih Preface (WH 45.50a): "Poetry (詩 i.e., the Classic) is the product of the emotions. In the heart it is emotion; expressed in words it is poetry. The feelings are moved within and take form in words."
35 關雎.麟趾, Shih Nos. 1 and 11.
of the Pu" represent the music of a defunct state. Truly the way of the Feng and the Ya may be seen in them at its most brilliant. From the middle period of Fiery Han the paths of poetry gradually diverged. The Retired Tutor (Wen Meng) wrote his "Poem in Tsou," and the surrendered general (Li Ling) wrote the poem on the bridge; with them the four-word and five-word [meters] became [recognized as] distinct classes. In addition there were [meters] with as few as three words and as many as nine words, the several forms developing at the same time, [like horses] galloping together though on separate traces.

Eulogy (sung) serves to broadcast virtuous deeds; it praises accomplishments. Chi-fu made his pronouncement "How stately!"; Chi-tzu exclaimed "Oh perfect!" Elaborated as poetry it was expressed like that; composed as eulogy it is also this way.

44 " 桑間濮上：cf. Li chi 19/1: "The notes of the 'Sang chien' and 'Pu shang are those of a defunct state." (COUVERC 2.49).
45 The first two are easily understood as representing the "way of the Feng at its most brilliant" (they are single out by the Mao shih Preface: 關雎麟趾之化，王者之風，), but it is not clear why the "Sang-chien" and "Pu-shang" should stand for the Ya, since these are not even among the six lost Songs.
46 The Han ruled by virtue of the Fire element.
47 We Meng 韋孟 (second century B.C.) was Tutor to three generations of Princes of Ch'iu, the last of whom he found intractable and against whom he "wrote a satirical poem as a remonstrance". He retired to Tsou (his native place), where he wrote another poem, presumably the one referred to by Hsiang T'ung, though it is only the first that he included in his anthology (WH 19.24a). Both poems are quoted in Han shu 73.1a, 3b, followed by Pan Ku's remark, "Some say these poems were written by one of [Wen Meng's] descendants who tried to give expression to his ancestor's feelings." (Op. cit., 73.4b).
48 Referring to the farewell poem to Su Wu (WH 29.12b), which begins "We clasp hands on the river bridge / By nightfall where will the traveler have gone?" It is now generally accepted that all the Li Ling poems in the Wen hsian are forgeries.
49 Cf. Mao shih Preface: "Eulogy praises the manifestations of flourishing virtue, and announces its accomplishment to the spirits." (WH 45.31a).
50 Mao shih No. 260/8: 吉甫作譚,穆如清風 "Chi-fu has made this eulogy./Stately its clear melody." This poem is a eulogy of Chung Shan-fu, but it is not in the "Sung" section of the Shih; neither is the preceding eulogy of the Prince of Shen (Mao shih No. 259/8) with its similar concluding lines: 吉甫作譚, 其詩孔頴. 其風肆好,以贈申伯. However, in both cases what Chi-fu is praising is the song itself, and Hsiang T'ung probably read 譚 as 頴, which may have been an alternative reading in other texts of the Shih than Mao's (cf. Ch'en Huan 陳奂, 詩毛氏傳疏 6.65, Basic Sinological Series ed.).
51 Chi-tzu is the "Duke's-son Chao of Wu" who came on a visit of state to Lu (Ch'iu's Chi'ua, Hsiang 28). The Tsao chuan gives a long account of his reception, particularly of the musical performance which he requested and which included selections from the major sections of the Classic of Songs. After each piece he made appropriate remarks. His exclamation "How perfect!" came after he had heard the Sung section of the Shih and is followed by an enthusiastic catalog of its perfections; cf. Lecoe, The Chinese Classics 5.550.
Next are Admonition (chen),\textsuperscript{81} which arises from making good defects, and Warning (chieh),\textsuperscript{82} which derives from setting to rights. Disquisition (lun) is subtle in making logical distinctions,\textsuperscript{83} and Inscription (ming) is generous in narrating events.\textsuperscript{84} When a good man dies, a Dirge (lei)\textsuperscript{85} is made; when a portrait is painted, an Appreciation (tsan)\textsuperscript{86} is supplied.

\textsuperscript{81} 舒布為詩, قد مثله, 總成為詩, 亦如此. This ambiguous and unilluminating line has been variously interpreted by the commentators. The antecedents of the "that" and "this" are vague at best. I should like to take them as referring to the remarks of Chi-tzu and Chi-fu, respectively. Since Chi-tzu was not composing a formal eulogy, but was eulogizing the Eulogies (Sung) of the Classic of Songs, and Chi-fu was pronouncing a eulogy of his own eulogy (which strictly speaking is a Song [shih], as it does not appear among the Eulogies [Sung] proper), what Hsiao T’ung characterizes as shu-pu wei shih and tsung-ch’eng wei sung could be the objects of their remarks as he quoted them, i.e., a Song (shih) of the Shih ching and the Sung section of the Shih ching.

However, Kao Pu-ying says "that" refers to the sung section of the Shih, and "this" to the modern eulogy, which is a special form derived from the sung of the Shih in the same way modern fu is derived from the fu of the Six Modes of the Shih. The objection to this interpretation is the lack of any previous mention of "modern eulogy" as separate from the Shih eulogies. Whatever Hsiao T’ung had in mind, he was obviously more concerned with rhetorical symmetry than unambiguous statement.

\textsuperscript{82} 簾. The sole specimen of this rhymed genre in WH (56.1a) is Chang Hua’s 張華 (292-300) “Admonition to the Lady Recorder" 女史箴, a homily on the Confucian ideal of female behavior (“All know enough to adorn their faces, but none enough to adorn her conduct”) addressed to the legendary lady officer who was supposed to record the acts of the Empress and (according to the commentators) directed against the influence of the Empress’ clan. The classic examples of Admonition are those by Yang Hsiung entitled “Admonitions to the Twelve Provinces and the Twenty-five Officers” 十二州二十五官箴, of which (according to Yen K’o-chun, Ch’ien Han wen 54.9a, abbreviated CHW) only twenty-eight survive.

\textsuperscript{83} 戒. There are no examples in WH. Lü Hsieh (Wen-hsin tiao-tung 4.51a-b, Pan Wen-lan ed., abbreviated WHTL) appends a paragraph on Warning to his chapter on 謝政, where he refers to Han Kao-tsu’s testamentary charge to his Heir Apparent 手敕太子文 (Ku wen yüan 10.1b-2b, SPTK ed.), Tung-fang So’s warning to his son 諏子詩 (Tung-fang Ta-chung chi 37a, Po-san-chia chi ed.) and Pan Chao’s “Precepts for Women” 女諭 (translated by N. L. Swann, Pan Chao, Foremost Woman Scholar of China, pp. 82-90).

\textsuperscript{84} 諏則析理精微: this is modified from Lu Chi’s “Wen fu”; 諏精微而朗暢 “Lun (disquisition) is refined and subtle, bright and smooth” (Achilles Fang, op. cit., 536). WH 51-55 has thirteen specimens of lun, beginning with Chia I’s “Critique of Chi’in" 過秦論. In Chs. 49-50 are nine examples under the generic heading “Disquisitions from the Histories" 史論. Most are from Fan Yeh’s Hou-Han shu; the one from Pan Ku’s Han shu is the Appreciation 賞 appended to the "Biography of Kung-sun Hung,” which might be expected to appear under the next WH heading, “Appreciations from Narratives in the Histories" 史述贊.

\textsuperscript{85} 銘則序事清潤. I have emended 清 to 溫 to agree with the “Wen fu”: 銘傅約而溫潤 "Ming (inscription) is comprehensive and concise, gentle and
generous” (Fang, op. cit., 536). WH 56 has five ming, a very miscellaneous group of compositions. The term applies to any text that is inscribed or carved on anything, from the insistent motto on Shun’s bathtub (《日新,日日新,又日新》 Li chi 48/1) to the patent of enfeoffment cast on a bronze tripod or the eulogy on a tombstone. Only confusion results from its use as the name of a literary genre. Both Lu Chi and Lu Hsieh associate ming with chen, because the ming engraved on a weapon or utensil usually is a rhymed Admonition about its proper use. For instance, Ts’ai Yung (192-192) is credited with a Beaker Inscription 榮銘 (IWLC 73.10b) warning against excess in drinking, while Yang Hsiung wrote a Warning about Wine 酒箴 (Han shu 94.11a-b) which is actually in praise of drinking. Li Yu 李尤 (ca. 55-135) wrote a series of eighty-five ming to be inscribed at passes and fords, on gates and pillars, on screens, swords, musical instruments, ink stones, brushes, slippers, weapons, tables, etc. (Ch’üan Hou-Han wen 50.4a-13a, abbreviated CHHW). All of them are short and rhymed. But a Grave Inscription (pei) often concludes with a ming, which is a rhymed eulogy of the deceased, and so ming becomes confused with sung.

The first of the ming in WH is by Pan Ku (88-92), written on the occasion of a sacrifice to Mt. Yen-jan. It is very short (five lines) in a 40a meter, but is preceded by a long prose introduction (celebrating Tou Hsien’s 慈惠 campaign), part of which is also rhymed.

The second in Ts’ai Yuan’s 座右銘 (77-142) “Inscription on a Warning Vessel” 座右銘 advising moderation and written in rhymed prose. The third is Chang Tsai’s 張岱 (ca. 920) “Inscription on Sword-Gate Pass,” which might be a fu, except that its descriptive passages are more restrained. It supplied Li Po with one line for his "The Way to Shu is Difficult” 蜀道難 (Works 3.4b, SPTK ed.).

The author of the two remaining ming in WH is Lu Ch’ui 留侯 (467-526). One is the “Inscription on Stone Gate,” a rhymed four-word eulogy of the Liang Emperor Wu, who ordered the piece; it is introduced by a prose account of the Emperor’s accomplishments. The “Inscription for a New Waterclock” 新潯銘 was also written to order; in it too the ming proper follows a long unrhymed prose in Parallel Prose.

There are eight 死 in WH 56-57. All are in a rhymed four-word meter with prose prose. (Some irregular lines occur in the single lei by Ts’ai Yung (Works 9.6a, SPTK ed.).) Liu Hsieh (WHTL 3.13b) discusses lei together with pei. There is no formal difference between some lei and pei; presumably it was the use (i.e., the latter was engraved on stone) that determined the name. In fact one lei (Yang Hsiung, “Dirge for the Empress Yüan,” CHW 54.9b) uses the term ming for the rhymed part of his lei. Chhi Yu (Wen-chang liu-pieh lun, CCW 77.9b) says, “There are examples from antiquity of shih, sung, chen, and ming which can be used as models for such compositions. But for the lei there is no established form, and so there is much diversity among their authors.”

There are two 賛 in WH 47. The first is a eulogy (it is introduced as sung), by Hsia-Hou Chan 夏侯漢 (243-291), of Tung-Fang So, inspired by seeing his portrait, but Yüan Hung’s 袁宏 (328-376) “Appreciation of Famous Ministers of the Three Kingdoms” 三國名臣序賛 which follows makes no mention of any portraits. Both have prose prefaces, and the tsan proper is in four-word rhymed verse. The distinction between tsan and sung is hazy at best. Sun Ch’u 孫楚 (d. 293), for example, writes a “Eulogy of Confucius” 尼父語 and an “Appreci-
Further there are these branches: Proclamation (chao), Announcement (kao), Instruction (chiao), and Command (ling); these types:

ation of Yen Hui (CCW 60.7b, 8a). The four-word rhymed Apprehensions appended to Hsu-Hsun shu biographies which Hsiao T'ung assigns to a special category ("Apprehensions from Narratives in the Histories"; cf. note 33) are formally identical with tsan, as are the tsan which follow each section of the WHTL. This sort of summary and judgment derives of course from the estimates in prose with which Ssu-Ma Ch'ien concluded each chapter of his Shih chi, introducing each with the phrase 太史公曰.

No importance should be attached to the collective terms 流列, 品作, 制文 which are all interchangeable in this context and best left untranslated. They function simply to divide the list into groups, some of which are obviously of related items. However, these groupings also raise serious problems, particularly when the type of composition named is not represented in the anthology itself. The difficulties are discussed in the following notes, but I am not satisfied that any are satisfactorily solved. The question of omissions is also pertinent (why 快 and 奏, but no 散 and 疏, both of which appear in the anthology?). These omissions may supply the necessary clue, namely, that Hsiao T'ung compiled this list, not with the idea of system and completeness, but to achieve rhetorical symmetry. This is not to accuse him of carelessness, but rather suggests that he may have had other considerations in mind, euphony perhaps. This first group is relatively homogeneous, in that each type of composition is directed from a superior to inferiors.

The two examples of 詩 in WH 35 are both by the Han Emperor Wu, the first to provincial officials ordering them to recommend good men to the throne, the second concerning the examination of these same. According to Liu Hsieh (WHTL 4.50b), chao is addressed by the Emperor to his officers; in Han times its drafting was the responsibility of the Masters of Documents 尚書. In WH 35, chao are followed by Patents of Enfeoffment 彝 (Liu Hsieh writes 策), a category not mentioned in the Preface.

"詩" does not appear in WH. The prototypes are the several Announcements in the Shu ching. CHANG Heng (78-139) wrote an "Announcement concerning the Emperor's Tour of the East." 東巡詔 (CHHW 54.3a). Liu Hsieh does not discuss kao as a separate category.

教, of which WH 36 contains two examples, both by Fu Liang 傳亮 (d. 426), are instructions emanating from a noble (Liu Hsieh, WHTL 4.51b). Usually some action is called for by an Instruction; both of Fu Liang's deal with the restoration of shrines.

The only 合 in WH (36) is one written by Jen Fang (460-508) on behalf of the Chi Empress Hsuan-te, urging Hsiao Yen to accept a patent as Duke of Liang. The WH commentator Liu Liang 劉良 says that ling was the term used for orders issued by an empress or heir apparent in Chi times. However, the series of ling issued by Tsao Ts'ai and his sons Ts'ai Fei and Tsao Chih are mostly in the form of exhortation and explanation of policy. Some are orders: "Search out able men" (求賢令, Tsao Ts'ai, Ch'üan San-hue wen 2.7a, abbreviated CSKU); "Let their taxes be remitted for two years" (Ts'ai Fei, op. cit., 6.7a); and others refute wrong ideas: "Promote the able regardless of status" (舉賢勿拘品行令, op. cit., 2.12a). One of Ts'ai Ts'ai's ling is a long autobiographical disquisition.
Memorial (piao), Proposal (tsou), Report (chien), and Memorandum (chi); these categories: Letter (shu), Address (shih), Commission.

on why he will not usurp the throne (自明本志令, op. cit., 2.7b); in another he requests advice (求言令, op. cit., 2.4a). All ling cite precedents and examples, and though some include an order, a more descriptive translation of the term would be "Policy Statements."

Besides 表, memorials to the throne are also called 章, 上書, 厚, 疏, and 奏. These "types" are distinguished by criteria which are neither consistent nor mutually exclusive. Some are defined by their subject matter: "Piao sets forth a request" (WHTL 5.9b, where a variant reading 請 for 請 gives "In piao one expresses his feelings"). "Chang expresses thanks for favors received" (ibid.). "Shang shu is a generic term for business communications addressed to a ruler" (ibid.). "Tsou reports on investigations" (ibid.). "Tsou is the inclusive term for statements on government affairs, precedents, crises, impeachments" (op. cit., 5.10b). "Since Han times an alternative term for tsou shih 事 was shang shu 上疏" (ibid.). "As chi concerns government affairs, it is a species of tsou; as it is used to decline rank or express thanks for favors, it is a kind of piao" (op. cit., 5.20b). Another set of criteria is purely formal, depending on the stereotyped phrases with which the communication opens and closes. (Ts'AI Yung 蔡邕, Tu t'uan 獨斷 A.4b-5a, SPTK ed., lists some of these.)

There are nineteen piao in WH 5.7-58. They cover a variety of topics: three are letters of recommendation, seven are to decline a post or title, four are requests for posthumous titles or the care of graves, one asks for a job, one asks for leave of absence, etc. The range of subject matter can be extended, if one looks beyond the WH selection, to include remonstrances, objections, and proposals of all sorts. Their formal opening always uses the phrase "Your subject states" or "Your subject (so and so) has heard." Exceptionally, one is preceded by the more elaborate formula associated with chang or tsou: "Your subject (so and so), striking his head on the ground, guilty of a capital crime, offers this communication. Your subject has heard that. . . ." (Liu K'un's "Memorial Requesting [San-Ma Jul] to Ascend the Throne." 劉琨 傳進表, WH 5.21b). The formal close is less stereotyped, but usually says in effect, "Your subject presents his memorial in fear and trembling and humbly requests Your Majesty to pay attention to it."

There is no category labeled tsou in WH. Numerous examples in the Po san chia chi collections have in common with piao the same formal opening but lack any regular close; see note 63.

是 usually a letter addressed to a superior. WH 40 has nine examples, none to a ruling emperor (this distinguishes them from piao and tsou), and none to an equal or inferior of the writer (thus differing from shu). Ts'a Chih's letter to Yang Hsu (WH 42.17b) is shu; Yang Hsu's reply (WH 40.16a) is chien. Outside the WH examples usage is not so consistent. Ch'un Jung addresses several shu to Ts'a (CHHW 83.7b-8b), and Fu Hsien 傅咸 (293-294) addresses both shu and chien to the Prince of Ju-nan (CCW 32.8b, 9a).

There is no example labeled 記 in WH. There is Juan Chi's 奏記 (WH 40.8a), declining office and addressed to the minister Chang Chi, which is indistinguishable from chien. Liu Hsieh distinguishes between the recipients of these communications: chi is addressed to a capital official, chien to a provincial general (or
and Charge (chi); these compositions: Condolence (tiao), Requiem (chi), Threnody (pei), and Lament (ai); these forms: Replies

... this is contradicted by practice. Other compositions termed chi are better called "records" or "description," as Chu-ko Liang's account of the Huang-ling Temple 黃陵廟記 (CSKW 59:8a-b), of questionable authenticity, and of course the famous descriptive pieces of Liu Tsung-yüan are chi, but this is a Tang dynasty usage.

"書." WH 41-43 gives the texts of twenty-four letters, all addressed to equals or inferiors. There are a few traces in these letters of what was to become a distinctive epistolary style, though no stereotyped opening and close is common to them all. The letter of Ch'u Ch'ih 丘衍 (464-508) to Ch'en Po-shih, written after the latter's decease (WH 48:22b) is something of an anomaly, and Liu Hsin's 劉歆 (d. 23 A.D.) "Letter to the Doctors of the T'ai-ch'ang-szu" (WH 48:29b) is less a personal letter than a public defense of his texts of the Classics. Although I have translated shu as "Letter," since all the WH examples are that, its occurrence in this present list suggests the meaning "contract"; cf. WHTL 6:4a, where there is a similar list:

There is no category in WH. All but the last of the six shih in the Classic of Documents are addressed to troops before a battle, and the last, according to one tradition, was also delivered to the survivors of a defeated army. Liu Hsiieh defines shih as "instructions to troops" (WHTL 4:50a), and associates it with 命 "Command"; elsewhere (op. cit., 9.75a) he mentions shih as a species of covenant 盟. From its association here with fu and kai, the Shu ching usage would appear to be the one intended. However, this leaves shu a complete anomaly in this group.

" Stroke does not occur in WH as a separate category. The three examples under the heading 符命 "Investiture with the Mandate" (WH 48) are a special type in praise of the legitimacy of a dynasty (hence placed after Appreciations?), which Liu Hsiieh (WHTL 5:1a) treats as 封禪 "Essays on the feng and shan Sacrifices." Fu as Commission appears in WHTL 5:42b, also 6:4a; see note 67.

There are five examples of 撄 in WH 44; probably the 移文 of K'ung Chih-kuei 孔稚圭 (447-501) in the preceding chapter (category 書) also belongs here, for kai and i are similar types (WHTL 4:6b treats them together in sec. 20).

The following four forms are closely related, all commemorating a deceased person. Tiao and ai are indistinguishable formally, but Liu Hsiieh (WHTL 3:31a-b) defines them in terms of subject: ai is written for one who dies prematurely, tiao for one who has failed to realize his ambition. Both are rhymed. Chi is further distinguished by its use as a part of a mourning ritual; it accompanies a sacrifice to the dead. Pei as a separate form is not mentioned in WHTL or elsewhere, so far as I can discover.

There are two examples of 弔 in WH 60. Ch'ia I's "Condolence for Ch'ü Yuan" is appropriately in the suo form. Lu Chi's "Condolence for Ts'ao Ts'ao" has a long prose preface; the tiao proper is in a six-word fu-type verse. Both pieces are written about notable persons of the past. The emphasis is on the frustrations they suffered, not the grief of the author (see chi祭 below); they are not simply eulogies (lei, sung, tsan, pei), and may be critical of the subject's conduct.

WH 60 has three祭. The "Requiem" by Yen Yen-chih 顏延之 (384-458) for Ch'ü Yuan differs from Ch'ia I's "Condolence" only in using a regular four-word
to Opponents (ta k'o)\(^\text{18}\) and Evinced Examples (chih shih);\(^\text{17}\) these texts: Three Word (san yen) and Eight Character (pa tsu);\(^\text{18}\) Song (p'ien), Elegy (tz'u), Ditty (yin), and Preface (hsü);\(^\text{19}\) Epitaph (pei) and Columnar

line in place of the irregular suo verse. Hsi-en Hui-lien's (394-430) "Requiem at an old Grave" is nearer the usual form in that it closes with the stock lament 嘆嘆哀哉, but like the "Requiem for Ch'ü Yüan" it is addressed to the spirits of someone not personally known to the writer. (The occasion was the re-burial of two sets of bones.) The "Requiem for Yen Yen-chih" by Wang Seng-ta 王僧達 (428-458) is the only one of the three which is altogether typical of the form, being written to accompany a sacrifice to the spirit of an acquaintance who has just died (the piece is dated in the year of Yen Yen-chih's death).

\(^{14}\) I have been unable to identify 悲 as a literary form; hence, the translation is purely fanciful. It is perhaps included to complete the phrase.

\(^{14}\) WH 57-58 has three examples of 悲. The first is Pan Yieh's moving "Lament for the Eternally Departed," on the occasion of his wife's death. It is written in a short line suo meter, with rhyme. The other two are labeled 悲策文; both are for the burial of deceased Empresses, one being a re-interment. These latter were also written for other members of the royal family than empresses, and Laments generally are not restricted to women, as one might assume from these examples; e.g., the fragment of Pan Ku's "Lament for General Ma Chung-tu" (CHW 29.3a).

\(^{18}\) There is no category in WH labeled either 答客 or 指事. Tung-fang So's "Answer to a Visitor's Objections" 答客難 (WH 45.2b) may be taken as an example of the former. It appears under the general heading "Essays on Set Subjects" 討論 along with Yang Hsiung's "Justification in the Face of Ridicule" 解嘲 and Pan Ku's "Reply to a Guest's Mockery" 答賓戲. The preceding category 對問 "Dialog," with Sung Yü's "Dialog with the King of Ch'u" as the only specimen, could easily be used to cover all of these.

\(^{17}\) There is no convincing explanation of 指事. Lü Yen-chi says Yang Hsiung's "Justification" (WH 45.7a) is an example. It appears among the "Set Essays" (see note 76), and Kao Pu-ying thinks it is too much like the "Replies to Opponents" to justify a separate designation. He agrees with Tsang Chao that Hsiao T'ung was here alluding to his category of "Sevenses," (of which Mei Sheng's "Seven Persuasions" 七喻 [WH 54.1a] is the prototype), since in that form a series of seven situations are cited to divert the indisposed or indifferent auditor. In meter and form the "Sevenses" are indistinguishable from Han dynasty fu of the T'ao-shih / Shang-lin type, and in WH they follow suo. The term chih shih is used by Liu Hsieh in characterizing various forms of writing, and always in the sense of "to cite concrete examples," as for example "Memorials 表章 at the beginning of the Wei were concrete 指事 and factual, and if you are looking for elegance, are not praiseworthy." (WHTL 5.10a).

\(^{18}\) Speculation about 三言 and 八字 is plentiful and inconclusive. There exist three-word and eight-word meters among yüeh-fu poetry (the latter is a rarity), but this hardly seems the place for Hsiao T'ung to bring them up.

\(^{19}\) 篇辭引序. This is another enigmatic group. P'ien is a generic name for the sections of a book; it also occurs in yüeh-fu song titles. Yin likewise is used to mean "song" or "tune." Its Sung dynasty meaning of "Preface" is tempting but altogether anachronistic. Ts'u was common in Han dynasty writings as a synonym for
Inscription (ch'ieh);** Necrology (chih)*** and Obituary (chuang).** A multitude of forms have shot up like spear-points; diverse tributaries have joined the main stream. Yet they might be compared to musical instruments made of different materials—some of clay, some from gourds, yet all are to give pleasure to the ear; or to embroideries of different colors and designs; all are to delight the eye. This accounts for just about all that writers have written.

When not busy with my duties as Heir Apparent,** I have spent many idle days looking through the garden of letters or widely surveying the forest of literature, and always I have found my mind so diverted, my eye so stimulated, that hours have passed without fatigue. Since the Chou and the Han, far off in the distant past, dynasties have changed seven times and some thousands of years have elapsed. The names of famous writers and men of genius overflow the green bag, the scrolls of winged words and flowing brushes fill the yellow covers. If one does not leave aside the weeds and

fu or s'ao (cf. the title Ch'u tzu'ou), or even "poetry" generally. WH 45 actually has a category tzu'ou, containing two disparate compositions: the "Autumn Wind" 秋風 of the Han Emperor Wu and T'ao Ch'ien's "Return" 歸去來辭. The first is a "Ch'u Song" and logically should be under " yüeh-fu" or the subhead 雜歌 of shih, along with Ch'ing K'o's and Han Kao Tsu's songs. T'ao Ch'ien's piece is simply a fu. The only entry here that is not a puzzle is hsü. There are nine Prefaces in WH 45-46; the real question is why Hsiao T'ung associated hsü with the others. He put tzu'ou and hsü together in WH 45. Perhaps the fact that half of his hsü are introductions to single poems led him to associate the terms. One is Shih Ch'ung's 石崇 (249-300) "Preface to the Song 'Longing to Go Home'" 思歸引序, and this may account for the word yin in the list.

碑 and 碩 are both epitaphs. They differ in that pei is inscribed on a flat stone, while chieh is cut on a stone column. There are no examples of chieh in WH; in ch. 58-59 there are five specimens of pei, of which four are epitaphs and one by Wang Ch'ê 王畿 (or Chin 丁, d. 505) is an inscription commemorating the building of a temple. All consist of a prose introduction followed by a verse eulogy; see note 55.

誌 is represented in WH 59 by the entry 墓誌, of which Jen Fang's "Grave Inscription for the Wife of Liu Hsien" is the sole example given. It is a eulogy in four-word meter with rhyme, and formally indistinguishable from sung or the rhymed section of pei.

狀 is the same as 行狀 in WH 60, which gives Jen Fang's long biographical eulogy of Hsiao Tzu-liang. The form differs from pei in that it is all in prose, omitting any versified eulogy.

監撫: cf. T'ao chuan (Min 2, Legge, 190): "When the ruler goes abroad [the Heir Apparent] guards the capital; and if another be appointed to guard it, he attends upon [his father]. When he attends upon him, he is called 'Soother of the Host' 撫軍; when he stays behind on guard, he is called 'Inspector of the State' 勝國." (Kao Pu-ying)

整個銘, a reference to Hsin Hsü 荷鬆 (d. 289), who devised the four bibliographic categories 四部 to include all books, which he stored in green bags (Shu shu 32.4a-b) and tied with yellow cord.
select the flowers, it is impossible, even with the best intentions, to get through the half.

Now the writings of the Duke of Chou and the works of Confucius are on a level with sun and moon, as mysterious as ghosts and spirits. They are the models of filial and respectful conduct, guides to the basic human relationships; how can they be subjected to pruning or cutting?

The works of Chuang Tzu and Lao Tzu, of Kuan Tzu and Mencius, are devoted primarily to establishing a doctrine; they are not immediately concerned with literary values. In the present anthology they too have been omitted.

When it comes to the excellent speeches of the sages and the straightforward remonstrances of loyal ministers, the fine talk of the politicians and the acuity of the sophists, these are "ice melting" and fountain leaping, gold aspect and jade echo." They are what are referred to as "sitting on Mt. Chù and debating beneath the Chi Gate." Chung-lien’s making Ch’in’s army withdraw, I-chi’s getting Ch’i to submit, the Marquis of Liu’s raising eight difficulties, the Marquis of Ch’u-ni’s proposing the six

(From: "THE WEN HSÜAN AND GENRE THEORY" by J. R. HighTower, Han shih wai chuan 297.

"冰释" probably refers to Tso te ching 15: "After a while the ice will melt." "Yielding as ice as it starts to melt," used to characterize the excellent officers of antiquity 古之善為士者. (Chang Shao)

"金聲玉振" probably alludes directly to Wang I’s preface to “Li sao” (Ch’ü tz’u 1.52b, SPTK ed.): “The writings of Ch’ü Yüan are truly far-reaching in their influence... Of them it can be said that their aspect is of gold, their substance of jade, peerless in a hundred generations.” 所謂金相玉質,百世無匹 (Chang Shao). The 振 is perhaps contaminated by the similar (and here irrelevant) line from Mencius 3B:1 金聲玉振之 "The metal [bell] sounds and the jade [jingle] carries on."

Li Shan’s commentary (WH 42.19a) quotes a lost work, Lu Lien-tzu 魯連子: "T’ien Pa, a sophist of Ch’i, argued on Mt. Chù and debated beneath the Chi [cheng Gate]. He defamed the Five Emperors and incriminated the Three Kings, in one day putting down a thousand opponents." 良之辯者曰田巴,辯於狙丘而議於稷下, 與五帝, 罪三王, 一日而服千人 (Chang Shao)

Lu Chung-liein (Gilles, Biographical Dictionary, No. 1408, abbreviated BD) dissuaded Chao from recognizing the ruler of Ch’in as emperor (as advocated by the general Hsin Yüan-yen of Wei), and the report of his indictment of Ch’in led Ch’in to withdraw its armies which were besieging Han-tan (Chan kuo ts’e 20.5a).

Li I-chi persuaded Ch’i to join with Liu Pang in the wars that led to the founding of the Han dynasty (Shih chi 97).

Chang Liang, Marquis of Liu (BD 88), dissuaded Han Kao Tzu from re-establishing the Six Feudal States (as advocated by Li I-chi) by citing eight precedents and pointing out the differences in circumstances (Shih chi 55).
strategies: their accomplishments were famous in their own time and their speeches have been handed down for a thousand years. But most of them are found in the records or appear incidentally in the works of the philosophers and historians. Writings of this sort are also extremely numerous, and though they have been handed down in books, they differ from belles lettres, so that I have not chosen them for this anthology.

As for histories and annals, they praise and blame right and wrong and discriminate between like and unlike. Clearly they are not the same as belles lettres. But their eulogies and essays concentrate verbal splendor, their prefaces and accounts are a succession of flowers of rhetoric; their matter derives from deep thought, and their purport places them among belles lettres. Hence I have included these with the other pieces.

From the Chou House of long ago down to this Holy Dynasty, in all it makes thirty chapters. I have named it simply the Anthology. The following texts are arranged by genres. Since poetry and fu are not homogeneous, these are further divided into categories. Within each category the sequence is chronological.

There are other points of interest in this Preface, but it is the list of literary forms which is central. This list is Hsiao T'ung's reply to the hypothetical question, "What are the forms of literature?" It is not an easy question to answer, because in any language the current labels are not all of the same order of abstraction, nor do they focus on the same criteria. Hsiao T'ung's list finds a place for thirty-eight terms, of which eleven are not represented by selections in the Anthology. On the other hand, ten of the thirty-seven categories in the Anthology have no corresponding entry in this list, and two others (Nos. 18 and 19) must be paired against different terms. This strongly suggests that Hsiao T'ung was not trying to give a complete list of all possible terms in his Preface. It also suggests that the terms there are not all of equal value, that some are merely fillers. This is borne out by the groupings, where eight symmetrical groups of four beats each are set down in an order which has no apparent significance itself and which is not followed by the contents of the Anthology.**

**Ch'ên P'ing, Marquis of Ch'ü-ni (BD 240), became Chief Minister under Han Kao Tsu. According to Ssu-Ma Ch'ien (Shih chi 50.7a), the Six Strategies had been kept secret and he had no way of knowing what they were. However, BD gives a list of them.

** The categories in the Anthology correspond to the following groups in the Preface (items are numbered in order of their appearance in each list):

160
When we look at the *Anthology* itself, we find anomalies of the same sort. The first four entries (fu, shih, sao, ch’i) are no improvement over the first four in the Preface (fu, sao, shih, sung), since sao surely goes with fu. Whether sung is associated with shih or with tsan (22 and 23), depends on which criterion is decisive, “historical” derivation or subject matter. The “Sevenses” (ch’i) as a literary form is an example of taking a word that appears in a title and using it as a generic term. There is little in the “form” itself to justify a separate classification from fu, since other fu that are presented within a framework of dialog (e.g., “Tzu-hsü Shang-lin fu”) are not so distinguished.

The miscellaneous official prose pieces which follow fall into three groups, 5 through 9, addressed from superior to inferior, 10 through 15, from inferior to superior, and 16-17, between
equals, corresponding to three groups of four in the Preface (11-14, 15-18, 19-22). Differences here can easily be accounted for in terms of the requirement for symmetry, euphony, and rhyme in the Preface list.

No such obvious explanation appears for the next two entries (18-19) in the Anthology. All are dialogs, and all are essays in self-justification. The only apparent difference is that the "Reply to a Question" attributed to Sung Yü is presented as an account of something that actually occurred, where in the others the writer sets up an imaginary interlocutor to whom he addresses his reply. It is significant that in the last WH example, Pan Ku refers specifically to the two earlier compositions of Tung-fang So and Yang Hsiung; as with the "Sevenses" the form is created by the writer's awareness of a series of similar compositions which he consciously imitates.

There is no reason for associating tzu and hsü (20-21), except that they seem somehow to correspond to the enigmatic group (31-34) in the Preface. Tzu is actually no form at all; at least the two specimens in the Anthology have nothing in common except the term tzu in the title of each. Of the Prefaces it is interesting that no distinction is made between Prefaces written for a book by someone else (the first three are Prefaces to Classics, the Shih, Shu, and Ch'un ch'iu Tso chuan) and the introduction to one's own poem.

Eulogy and Appreciation (22-23) belong together by nature and manner (both are rhymed); it is here too that one would expect the Appreciations from the Histories (26), though they do partake of the nature of Essay, with which Hsiao T'ung puts them.

The next four categories (24-27) could all have been subsumed

---

*The text of almost any verse composition can be introduced with the phrase 其辭曰.*

*Five of the WH prefaces are to the author's own composition. But note that while Huang-fu Mi's Preface to Tao Su's "Three Capitals fu" appears with the Prefaces, Tao Su's own Preface is given in WH 4, before the text of the fu, but still as a separate composition. This sort of difficulty is hardly the fault of either the categories or of the compiler, but is simply one of the occupational hazards of anthology making.*
under the general heading "Essays," which is the only entry in the Preface list which corresponds to any of them. The need for separate headings for 25 and 26 is questionable, since one of the "Essays from the Histories" is in fact the "Appreciation" appended to a Han shu biography. On the other hand, making a separate category for the "Bestowal of the Mandate" essays could be taken as a necessary gesture in the direction of legitimacy; but then why is Pan Piao's "Essay on the Royal Mandate" (WH 52.1a) relegated to the Essays?

The sententious maxims and exhortations going under the name of "Strung Pearls" find no counterpart in the Preface list. They appropriately precede Warning (29) which the Preface pairs with Admonition (5-6). Inscription and Dirge (30-31) go together in both lists. Lament (32) follows reasonably enough, but in the Preface list it is just as reasonably associated with Condolence and Requiem (23-24). Epitaph, Necrology, and Obituary (33-35) make a logical group in both lists; it is after them that the Anthology puts Condolence and Requiem (36-37), the final headings in the book.

From this survey and comparison of the two lists it is apparent that Hsiao T'ung was aware of the problems involved in a systematic arrangement of literary genres, though he did not arrive at any consistent solution. Later anthologists continued to reshuffle the terms, culminating in the thirteen classes of Yao Nai's Ku-wen tz'u lei-tsuan 古文辭類纂, a list as influential as that of the WH, though still far from ideal.

...
THE SHIH-SHUO HSIN-YÜ AND SIX DYNASTIES
PROSE STYLE

by
YOSHIKAWA KÔJIRÔ

Translated by
GLEN W. BAXTER
THE *SHIH-SHUO HSIN-YÜ* AND SIX DYNASTIES PROSE STYLE

BY

YOSHIKAWA KÔJIRÔ

吉川幸次郎

KYÔTO UNIVERSITY

Translated by Glen W. Baxter

(This English version, published with the author's permission, is a condensation of his "Seisetsu shingo no bunshô" 世説新語の文章 ("Shih-shuo hsin-yü and its Style"), which first appeared in Tôhô gakuhô 東方學報 (The Tôhô Gakuhô, Journal of Oriental Studies), Kyôto, 10 (1939) 286-109, and was reprinted with slight revisions in YOSHIKAWA's Chûgoku zambun ron 中國散文論 [Studies in Chinese Prose] (Tôkyô, 1949), pp. 66-91. Professor YOSHIKAWA's final paragraph has been transposed to the beginning of the article. Some of the material has been removed to footnotes; a few other notes have been added by the translator, and are so indicated.)

Among the manifestations of China's culture, Chinese literary style is surely one of the most distinctive. One might say that a comprehensive study of the evolution and metamorphoses of this style would constitute, in a sense, a history of Chinese literature. It is well, furthermore, to recognize the importance of style not only as a vehicle, but as a shaping factor, of philosophical attitudes and concepts. It is with these ideas in mind, rather than with the intent of making a formal linguistic study, that I have prepared this article on one phase of Chinese literary style.

The book known as *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世説新語 is a collection of anecdotes about officials, savants, and eccentrics who lived in the period from the last years of the Han to the close of the Chin dynasty—from the late second century to the early fifth—brought together by LIU I-ch'ing 劉義慶 (403-444), a nephew of the first Sung emperor. The stories, and the manner of their distribution under thirty-odd headings, are of value to the social historian for their reflection of attitudes and trends of thought in the period.
concerned. However, for many centuries the book has been highly esteemed in China and Japan for other reasons as well—notably for its wit, and by no means least of all for its literary style. It is the latter aspect of the book which I wish to treat, in order to consider its position and significance in the history of Chinese prose.

The style and diction of the Shih-shuo cannot be attributed to one writer, because Liu I-ch'ing drew freely from various historical and other writings of the period. (The Liang commentary of Liu Hsiao-piao includes passages which apparently served as source materials.) But if the text is a composite one, it nevertheless has a stylistic consistency which, in addition to justifying the treatment of it as a unity, suggests a common prose style for the period. In fact, comparison of this book with other works shows that its diction and usages are to a very large degree characteristic of post-Han prose down into T'ang times.

The style closest to that of the Shih-shuo is that found in collections of ghost stories such as the Sou-shen chi 搜神記 and the I-yüan 幽苑, and the next closest that of the Kao-seng chuan 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks]. But, in any case, the standard histories of the Northern and Southern dynasties (whether as prepared in that period or as revised under the T'ang) also are composed for the most part in a prose markedly similar to that

---

1 In the same issue of Tōhō gakuhō (pp. 29-85) is an article on the work's historical and social background: Utsumonima Kiyoyoshi (Seikichi) 宇都宮清吉, "Seisetsu shingo no jidai" 世書精要の時代 ("Shih-shuo hsin-yü and its Era"). Cf. also Werner Eichhorn, "Zur chinesischen Kulturgeschichte des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts," ZDMG 91 (1937): 431-483.—Tr.

2 It is noted in the Heian Gengan shomoku 見在書目, and a manuscript copy from that period is still extant. Takugawa Confucianists, in particular Ōyū Sorai, regarded it highly; they produced no less than ten commentaries on it.

3 This abbreviation, used hereafter for convenience, may have been the original title of the book. It is so listed in the Sui History and Old T'ang History; it appears in the New T'ang History as Liu I-ch'ing's Shih-shuo (Liu I-ch'ing's Anecdotes), perhaps to distinguish it from an earlier Shih-shuo now lost. It was also referred to in T'ang times as Shih-shuo hsin-shu 世書 新書 [Anecdotes Newly Written]; Kyōto University has published a photographic reprint of a T'ang manuscript copy so entitled. According to Kondo Moku 近藤圭, Shina gakugei daijū 支那藝術大辭彙 (Tōkyō, 1940), p. 661, the "Bibliography" of the Sung shih contains the earliest known reference to the book as Shih-shuo hsin-yü. The title may be rendered succinctly, if not word for word, as New Anecdotes.—Tr.
of the *New Anecdotes*. This study, then, is not made for the sake of a single text, but because it seems to me that the text under discussion most clearly exhibits the characteristics of narrative and expository composition during the period loosely referred to as that of the Six Dynasties.¹

To illustrate some of the characteristics of these writings, several excerpts from the *Shih-shuo* are reproduced in the course of this article. References are to the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k' an* edition.²

**Excerpt I (1A.4b)**

華歆王朗俱乘船避難，有一人欲依附；歆輒難之，朗曰『幸倉促，何爲不可？』後賊追至；王欲舍所擄人，歆曰『本所以疑，正爲此耳。既已納其自託，寧可以急相棄邪？』遂攜拯如初。世以此定華王之優劣。

HUA Hsin and WANG Lang together were in a boat fleeing the disorders. There was a person who wanted to attach himself to them; Hsin, for his part, objected to this. Lang said, “It happens there is still room, why isn’t it all right?” Later brigands were overtaking them; WANG wanted to get rid of the man they had brought along. Hsin said, “This is just why I hesitated in the first place. Since we have already acceded to his request, can we throw him out on account of an emergency?” So they took their protégé along as before. Society from this has judged the superiority and inferiority of HUA and WANG.

Note in the above passage the large proportion of characters (those underlined) which were grammatically unessential, the elimination of which would still leave a series of complete and intelligible constructions. These characters represent what the Chinese call *chu-tzu* 助字, “aid-words,” since (at least in the sense in which they are used above) they have neither substantive, adjectival, nor verbal force, functioning only to supplement or “aid” the essential characters or *shih-tzu* 實字. To designate these auxiliary or aspective words the often-used term “particles” may be adopted for convenience, though of course they are not particles in the sense used for polysyllabic inflected and agglutinative languages.

In written Chinese it is always possible to form a complete and

¹ The belles-lettres of the period, as represented in the *Wen-hsüan*, are less easy to treat in this connection without lengthy qualifications, but even this type of writing shares with the *New Anecdotes* general tendencies of diction and usage.

² Western style punctuation, and underlines for discussion purposes, have been added by the translator.
intelligible construction from shih-tzu alone, the order of the characters sufficiently indicating their relations. If all the so-called particles are removed from Excerpt I, its basic meaning is still clear. Even without 俱 "together" it is obvious that HUA Hsin and WANG Lang both fled. Omit 有, and instead of "there was a person who wanted to attach himself" we have simply "a person wanted to attach himself," but "there was" is understood. Any one reading the story would also understand that the newcomer "wanted" (or "started") to join them, with or without the character 欲. The character "for his part" 之 is not needed to set off the subject "HUA Hsin," nor is 之 "to this" needed to complete the verb "objected."

WANG Lang's statement, "It happens there is still room," actually could be reduced to the single word 宽 "room" (or "space"). Such extreme terseness is by no means unknown in Chinese, and the ideas conveyed by the two preceding characters would not be lacking in the reader's mind. In "why isn't it all right," 爲 could easily be omitted; logically the clause could be reduced to the single character 可.

Since it is obvious that the pursuit by bandits took place "later," 後 is unnecessary. Where WANG wants to get rid of the extra man, the omission of 欲 might obscure the meaning temporarily, but certainly is grammatically possible. The first part of HUA's protest could be expressed adequately by various shorter combinations, such as 本疑為此耳; it would even be possible for 疑此 to stand alone. As for "Since we have already acceded to his request," either 既 or 且 alone would explicitly place the action in the past, and neither is really necessary because the reader knows from the preceding text that the request had been granted in the past. Similarly the idea here rendered as "his" is redundantly carried by two characters, 其 and 自, both of which could be deleted without causing any misunderstanding as to whose request was granted. The sequel, "can we throw him out on account of an emergency?" is of course a leading question implying a nega-

*Liu Chi 劉淇, Chu-tzu pien-lüeh 助字辨畧 5, s.v. "旅 (p. 288, K'ai-ming edition, Shanghai, 1940), quotes this passage and explains the character as meaning 獨 or 特.—Tr.
tive answer; either the initial 寧可 or the final 也 would be sufficient to give the question such a turn, nor would it be difficult, given the context, so to understand it in the absence of all three characters. Again, there is no real necessity for the presence of 以 to show the causal relation between 急 “emergency” and 棄 “throw [him] out.” Most obviously dispensable of all is the character 相, which here has almost no meaning. (Its slight nuance will be discussed later.)

In “So they took their protégé along as before,” the initial 途 could easily be deleted. Neither 如 nor 初 could very well be omitted singly, but both together could be dispensed with, since they add nothing to the meaning that is not already obvious.

In the final sentence of Excerpt I, elimination of 以 and 之 would not alter the sense, which then might be rendered “Society here judged Hua and Wang superior and inferior.” Nor is 此 “here” essential.

Almost half the characters in this passage are “particles” which could be left out or avoided. Of course the use of such “particles” was nothing new; certain of them are found in the earliest Chinese prose and poetry, sometimes to convey shades of meaning, sometimes for euphony, sometimes for both purposes. They appear increasingly in the ancient philosophical writings, and in such works as Chan-kuo ts‘e and Tso chuan. But in no text prior to the period of Shih-shuo hsin-yü are aid-words employed in such number. If Su-Ma Ch‘ien or Pan Ku had written the anecdote told in Excerpt I, the proportion of non-essential to essential words certainly would have been much smaller.

In Shih chi and Han shu the connections between words or phrases, and the causal or other relations between actions or conditions, ordinarily are left for the reader to infer from the order of the essential words. This terseness is admired as “classic,” but compared with the style of Shih-shuo the prose of these histories is almost primitive. It is like a simple outline drawing; however complex the texture and tension implicit within the outline, there is no modeling or chiaroscuro to show clearly the relation of one surface to another. In Shih-shuo such modeling is effected through the liberal use of particles. As a result the prose
becomes more supple rhythmically, and also more subtle in what it is able to convey. It comes nearer to the rhythms and modulations of speech, with the attendant advantages and disadvantages of greater proximity. As with speech, its subtleties sometimes become vagueness.

Normal speech in any language seldom approaches the density of formal literary composition, which in everyday conversation would be difficult for both mind and tongue. Both difficulties are intensified in the case of monosyllabic Chinese. Apart from the problem of homophones, a rapid succession of independent syllables all charged with definite ideas would be psychologically and physically very taxing. Relaxation and rhythmic flow are achieved in spoken Chinese by the liberal use of particles and by polysyllabic (usually disyllabic) compounds. This is perhaps putting the cart before the horse. It is more logical to conjecture that the Chinese always tended to speak in what, for practical purposes, we may term polysyllables; but that when they began to write, the ideographic nature of their script made it unnecessary to represent by two syllables what could be conveyed to the eye by one, and that the nature of their early writing materials made it undesirable to do so. However, eventually free use of compounds and of particles crept into writing as well. The Shih-shuo hsin-yü is strongly characterized by both.

The stylistic effect of compounds will be dealt with further on. As for particles, the Shih-shuo not only uses them more frequently than does the prose of earlier periods, but uses new ones, and old ones in new ways. One example is 相 in "can we throw him out on account of an emergency?" In Ch'in and Han writings hsiang is used only in the sense of "mutually" or "together with," being limited to cases where the action is reciprocal or equal on both sides. In the present instance hsiang has no very definite or important meaning, merely accompanying the verb for emphasis of a sort and giving the speech a looser texture. The Shih-shuo sometimes uses hsiang in the older, more "correct" sense, but cases of unilateral action such as this hsiang-ch'i are more numerous. Such usages of hsiang have indeed some relation to its stronger sense, in that they are still limited to actions
of which the originator shows consciousness of the feelings or fate of the other party. The new usage probably resulted from overuse of hsiang due to the tendency toward two-syllable combinations.

In modern Chinese the use of hsiang in a unilateral sense has all but disappeared, surviving in a few expressions such as 相信 (to believe or trust, whether or not the trust is mutual) and 相思 (to love, whether or not the love is requited).¹

Similar to the vague uses of hsiang are the cases of pien 便 and fu 復 as they appear in

Excerpt II (IB.25ab)

支道林許謝盛德共集王家，謝顧謂諸人：『今日可謂彦會，時既不可留，此集亦難再。』當共言詠，以寫其懷。』許便問，『主人有莊子不？』正得漁父一卷，謝看語，便各使四坐通，支道林先通，作七百許語，叙致精麗，才藻奇拔，衆咸稱善。於是四坐各言懷，言畢，謝問曰，『卿等感不？』皆曰『今日之言，少不自竭。』謝乃發難。因自敘其意，作陳餘語，才峯秀逸，斂自難于，加意氣振託，蕭然自得，四坐莫不厭心。支道林謂謝曰，『君一往奔詣，故復自佳耳。』

Chin Tao-lin (Chin Tun 通), Hsü [Hsun], Hsieh [An], and Wang Sheng-te (Wang Meng 潔) were gathered together at Wang’s house. Hsieh looked around and said to the group, “Today’s is quite an eminent assembly! The occasion once past will be beyond recall. It’s certainly hard to regard this gathering as routine. It would be well to intone together and thus express our thoughts.” Hsü then asked, “Has our host the Chuang tsu?” and happened to turn to the “Fisherman” passage. Hsieh glanced at the theme, and then each of the party was required to develop it. Chin Tao-lin developed it first, composing more than seven hundred words. His exposition was quintessential, his brilliance outstanding; the group as a whole praised his excellence. Thereafter each of the others present put his thoughts into words, when the speeches were over, Hsieh said, “Is everybody finished?” They all said, “Today’s talk leaves little unexhausted.” Hsieh after this summarily refuted them, and then related his own ideas, composing over ten thousand words. [As for the content,] his talent was of an eminence scarcely to be touched, and [as for the delivery,] his emphasis was so rightly placed as to

¹Dr. Yamada Yoshio has pointed out that the much-used sōrobu expressions aimōyōshi nōko 相催動, ainari sōro 相成候, and aikikae mōshi sōro 相控へ申候 originated in translations of Six Dynasties prose. Cf. his Kambun no hendo i ni yori tenaratari gohō 漢文の訓讀により傳られたる語法: Expressions Handed Down through Japanese Translations from Chinese (Tōkyō, 1935), 196-201.

172
give complete satisfaction. None of the company failed to be impressed. Chih Tao-lin said to Hsiên, "You went straight to the point—it was really superb."

In Ch' in and Han prose pien usually, if not always, has the significance of "instantly;" in the New Anecdotes it often serves only as a kind of connective, with hardly more force than "and" or "so"—something like the Japanese de, or the light use of chiu in modern Chinese. In earlier writings fu always carries its essential meaning "once again," but in Shih-shuo it often has almost no significance, serving merely to keep the prose from being too staccato.

Such shifts of usage from one period to another, or from one style to another, were not taken into account by Japanese kambun scholars. Pien was always given the kun reading sunawachi (in the sense of "thereupon"), the same as 即, 则, 乃, etc., while fu (like 又 and 亦) was invariably read mata, "again." Teachers may have been aware of the differences, but their kun readings must inevitably have caused misunderstandings on the part of students with regard to texts like the Shih-shuo.

A word which assumes a new function in Six Dynasties prose is is, as in

Excerpt III (2B.15b)

林公云：『王敬仁是超悟人。』

Master Lin (a Taoist savant) said, "Wang Ching-jen is a man of superior understanding."

Shih here obviously does not mean "this" or "this one" but acts as a copula precisely as in modern Chinese, e.g., "Wó shih Chung-kuo jen."

In early Chinese, direct juxtaposition of subject and predicate was enough to show that the two were one. In Ch'in-Han writings shih is often used to set off an entire statement as grammatical subject, but there are no more than three or four instances to my knowledge where it acts for a simple sentence-subject, as is common in the Shih-shuo. As in the case of the particles already discussed, the new usage to some extent robbed the character shih of its original meaning, but this time the result was the opposite
of vagueness. If in earlier Chinese direct juxtaposition of subject and predicate indicated that the two were one, the development of a copula made the idea unmistakable.

The new modes of expression described above appear to have developed from careless overuse of certain words until their meanings dwindled or changed. There are other new usages in the Shih-shuo which are difficult to derive from any meaning of the same characters in earlier writings. One of these is the frequent appearance of 都 to reinforce a negative, as in

Excerpt IV (1B.15a)

衛玠始渡江，見王大將軍，因夜坐。大將軍命謝幼與。玠見謝，甚誨之，都不復顧王。遂遂且假言。

Only after Wei Chieh had crossed the River did he meet up with Generalissimo Wang; they then had a night visit. The Generalissimo summoned Hsien Yu-yü. When Wei Chieh met Hsien he was delighted, and paid no attention at all to Wang. And until dawn there was subtle talk.

The use of tu (or tou in modern Peking colloquial) in “paid no attention at all to Wang” is still idiomatic in modern Chinese, fully as much so as that of ping in 並不 or 並沒有, “not at all” or “absolutely none.” It does not correspond to any use of tu in Ch'in-Han texts, where in fact any kind of particle emphasizing a negative is rare. Since a negative is absolute by definition, a terse writer feels no need to reinforce it; not until the more leisurely pace of the Shih-shuo came into fashion did such combinations appear.*

Another expression for which it is hard to find any antecedent is

Excerpt V (3A.45ab)

襄陽羅友有大齋…在益州語雲。『我有五百人食器。』家中大驚其由來清而忽有此物。定是二百五十杏操。

Lo Yu of Hsiang-yang had a grand manner… In I-chou he told his children, “I own a dining service for five hundred persons.” His household was greatly startled that he, who had always been poor, should possess such

* Chūgoku sambun ron includes a chapter (pp. 142-149) on the emphatic negative in Chinese.
a thing. Actually it turned out to be two hundred fifty black [divided] cakeboxes.\(^a\)

_Ting_ seldom appears as a "particle" in the _Shih chi_ or _Han shu_, and from T'ang times on, when used adverbially it either meant "definitely" or implied a conviction of certainty, something like "I'll bet . . ." But to render _ting_ in the above passage as _sadamete_, the reading followed in Tokugawa editions of the _Shih-shuo_, is to miss or at least misrepresent the sense. _Ting-shih_ here is a mode of anticipating surprise at something unexpected, like the modern colloquial _kan shih_. There is nothing to which it corresponds precisely in Ch'in or Han texts.

Apart from frequent two-beat rhythmic units formed by the combination of particles or by attaching them to basic words, the _Shih-shuo_ constantly uses redundant two-syllable compounds where a single character would answer the purpose as far as essential meaning is concerned. Examples are 依附, 既已, 詠言, 忽致, 精麗, 才峯, 奇抜, 才藻, 秀逸, 意氣, 擬託, and 奔詣. Such combinations are by no means unknown in Ch'in-Han texts, but there they are far less frequent. Together with expressions involving unprecedented uses of particles, these compounds add new dimensions to written communication in Chinese.

Where did writers get these new turns of phrase? Their similarity to modern colloquial expressions suggests that they came into literature from the spoken language of those times. It appears that the prose of the _New Anecdotes_ reflects a progressive trend of the Chinese tongue toward greater minuteness and detail through increasing use of particles and the coining of two-syllable compounds, the two factors abetting one another. How far the trend has proceeded today can be illustrated by retelling part of Excerpt I in modern _pai-hua_:

華歆 \(^b\) 王朗一塊兒乘着船去避難...有一個人要來依附他們...後來賊人追到了；王就要捨棄他們所攜帶的人...

Of course, it cannot be proved that the spoken language is much

\(^a\) For explanation of the obscure term 乍鳥撰 cf. _ibid_. , p. 97, where the passage is further dealt with in a chapter (97-141) on the uses of 定, 於無, 將不, 將非, 顙 and 何物 in various Six Dynasties texts.—Tr.
further elaborated in these directions than was the colloquial of the fourth and fifth centuries. Nobody knows exactly how the story might have been told then by word of mouth. Unlike modern pai-hua authors, those who wrote the Shih-shuo and similar texts of its period did not attempt to adopt bodily the patterns of speech. But they do seem to have been influenced by them to a greater extent than earlier literati.

This development is of great significance in the history of Chinese prose. In China there had always been—and there continued to be upheld—the idea that speech and written composition were vastly different things, and that never the twain should meet. Canonical sayings attributed to Confucius express this idea in converse ways: "Writing does not use up all that is in words," and "When words are unpattered, their effectiveness is not far-reaching."

In a sense these statements obviously are true for all languages. An extreme interpretation of them, divorcing literary composition from the development of the Chinese language, eventually lent support to a return to ancient styles as models. In the eighth century Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan, reacting against certain excesses of elaboration which finally vitiated Six Dynasties and T'ang prose, propagated their neo-classic ku-wen, in which they imitated the terseness and directness of Ch'in and Han writings. Though their movement did not immediately achieve a lasting success, it re-emerged in Sung times and thereafter was regarded as the mainstream of prose, being practiced down to the literary revolution of the twentieth century and in some cases even later. Ku-wen also had great influence in Japan; the kambun compositions of the Tokugawa Confucianists were all in this style (despite their admiration for the Shih-shuo), and kambun lessons taught in Japanese schools today are still constructed in imitation of Ch'in-Han prose.

10 Cf. Legge, (1) The Yi King [= SBE XVI], 376-377: "The Master said:—'The written characters are not the full exponent of speech, and speech is not the full expression of ideas . . .'" and (2) The Ch'un Ts'eu; with the Tao Chuen [= The Chinese Classics V], Pt. 2, p. 517: "Chung ne said, "An ancient book says, 'Words are to give adequate expression to one's ideas; and composition, to give adequate power to the words.' Without words, who would know one's thoughts; without elegant composition of the words, they will not go far." . . ."—Tr.
The ku-wen movement largely suppressed the influence of contemporary idiom on formal prose. In fairness, however, it must be remembered that Han Yu and his colleagues were reacting primarily not against "naturalness" in composition, but against the abuses of excessive complication, elaboration, and ornamentation to which increased vocabulary and new modes of expression were put in the later Six Dynasties and the first two centuries of the T'ang. These abuses had not yet gone to extremes in the era of the Shih-shuo, in which elaborate parallelism, for instance, hardly figures; but this text does show signs of the excrescences which later overloaded and weakened the medieval prose structure.

It is not a simple matter to separate these symptoms categorically from signs of strength. On the one hand, the ubiquity of particles and other "extra" words gives the prose of the Shih-shuo a suppleness enabling it to encompass nuances of thought and expression only hinted at in earlier styles, whether those styles be called classical or primitive. On the other hand this elasticity sometimes verges on limpness, probably exceeding the degree of convolution demanded by everyday speech. As a case in point, it is hard to see any real necessity for the involved constructions of Wang Lang's last speech in Excerpt I. Indeed, even in diffuse modern pai-hua one would be hard put to it to duplicate precisely all the twists of those four clauses. There is nothing today to correspond to tsu in 自起, and one suspects that there was nothing like it in Liu I-ch'ing's day either. Such use of tsu may have been a purely literary invention. It is by no means the only particle in the Shih-shuo which gives the impression of artifice. In many cases words of this sort hardly serve the purpose of rhythmic fluency, since in effect they impede the prosodic flow rather than facilitate it. Their presence is often hard to explain except on the basis of a predilection for embellishment.

The impression is inescapable that the Shih-shuo uses particles and compounds to a large extent for ornamental purposes, in contrast to earlier texts such as the Shih chi and the Han shu where they are used almost always for the practical purpose of clarifying the meaning where necessary. True, the Shih-shuo text
often succeeds in expressing its meaning in finer gradation, but
sometimes its particles add nuances so delicate as to be either
pointless or puzzling. Now and then—to the modern reader at
least—they actually obscure the meaning instead of clarifying it.

As observed earlier, the abundance of particles and the vogue
for compounds were mutually propagative. In addition to the
coupling of words meaning virtually the same thing, as in 既 已,
two-syllable units were constantly formed either by attaching
an unnecessary particle to an essential word, or by using the
particles themselves in pairs. *Fu* and *shih* appear in combination
not only with each other (復是), but with countless other words
varying from essential to supererogatory: 故是, 酒是, 直是, 自是,
並是; 正是; and 不復. *
非復, 勿復, 無復, 亦復, 乃復, 已復, 雖復, 時復,
豈復.

What causes brought about the overabundance of “extra”
words in the *Shih-shuo* text? It has already been posed that
sensitivity to a natural trend of the Chinese language was partly
responsible. But the special character of this prose cannot be
understood without considering certain other factors.

One of these is the wide vogue of philosophical disquisition
in the post-Han period. That era was one of those in which the
Chinese philosophical spirit was most unconstrained by precedent
or authority. Political power was so parcelled out that it was to
be centuries before a central power like that of the Han would
again be achieved. As a result, scholars could not effectively be
held to any line of orthodoxy, and were able to indulge in free
speculation. It became the fashion to hold arguments and long
involved conversations like those referred to in Excerpts II and
IV. These were the so-called *ch’ing-t’an* 談 or *ch’ing-yen* 演言
of Wei and Chin times. The chief texts used as points of departure
for these digivations were the *Lao tzu*, *Chuang tzu*, and *I ching*.
Participants in such sessions no doubt tried to present their ideas
and intuitions as fully and minutely as possible. For that reason
the abundance of particles in *ch’ing-t’an* sessions was probably
greater than in everyday speech of the period.11 One plausible

11 Among the papers of Hsi K’ung 稽康 (223–262) in *Hsi Chung-san chi* 稽中
散集 are the only surviving texts which appear to be direct transcriptions of con-
explanation for the unprecedented number of particles in the Shih-shuo is that the text reflects ch'ing-t'an diction, especially in the notably frequent use of words with the flavor of 自, 本, 正, and 亦. The new usage of 是 and emphatic expressions like 都 not may well have passed into literature from ch'ing-t'an.

Significant here is not merely the permeation of the text by modes of expression characteristic of ch'ing-t'an, but the impulse to make language itself a component, rather than simply a carrier, of philosophy. There is a difference between describing or explaining philosophical theory in words, and seeking to embody it in subtle turns of phrase or fragmentary utterances, as does the Kung-yang Commentary to the Springs and Autumns. The ch'ing-t'an conversationalists sometimes went to great lengths in expounding their theories (as indicated in Excerpt II), but on the other hand they often sought to embody basic ideas in the subtle wording of a brief question or reply.

An example is the Shih-shuo passage, in which Juan Hsüantzū 阮宣子 (Juan Hsiu 修), being asked by Wang I-fu 王夷甫 (Wang Yen 雉) the differences and similarities between Taoism and Confucianism, replies "Chiang wu t'ung" 將無同—"Aren't they the same?" This "three-word commentary" promptly became famous for its terseness and subtlety, but if it was readily understood in ch'ing-t'an circles, by Southern Sung times (after the victory of ku-wen) different people interpreted it in diametrically opposed ways—not only because of their varying philosophical preferences but because of their uncertainty as to the exact force of the old colloquial expression chiang-wu. Had

13 In the commentary by Kuo Hsiang 郭象 to the Chuang tsu and in that of Chang Ch'ao 張湛 to the Lien tsu which appear to be derived from such transcriptions.

14 IB.14a-b. Almost the same passage appears in Chin shu 49 (Biography of Juan Chi 範), where the speakers are Juan Chan 謝 (Juan Hsiu's nephew) and Wang Jun 祐, of whom Wang Yen was an admirer. The Po-na edition (ts'e 11, lieh chuan 19.3b) has 无 instead of 無—Tr.

15 This uncertainty has persisted. Lien-sheng Yang, in a review of the Fung-Bodie A History of Chinese Philosophy (HJAS 17 [1954] 247-248) thinks it likely that Fung Yu-lan did not quite catch the nuance. Yang writes (pp. 480-481):

Now the three characters which constituted the famous reply (translated "Can they be without similarity? ") are chiang-wu t'ung . . . . The compound chiang-wu is an old colloquial expression
Juan Hsiu wished to state unequivocally that Confucianism and Taoism were the same, he could have said simply "T'ung." Had he wished to state that they were categorically different, he could have replied "Wu t'ung." But he sought in three words to express something above and beyond either, or perhaps, at least, to give an air of enlightened scepticism toward doctrines. A conscious desire for such refinement of thought and language is evident all through the Shih-shuo.

The other important factor in the overuse of particles and compounds is a formal one: the development of the four-six style. As evidenced by the accompanying excerpts, four-character and six-character clauses are already very frequent in the Shih-shuo. To a certain extent this tendency is as natural as the tendency to two-syllable compounds; two pairs make four, three pairs make six, and more than three pairs becomes unwieldy. A judicious admixture of four- and six-character sentences is rhythmically pleasing. But page after page of them, with scarcely ever any irregularity, is pushing a natural tendency to the point of monotony, and of artificiality as well. At that point writers begin padding. In the time of Liu I-ch'ing and his sources, convenient padding materials were newly to hand in the wealth of particles used in ch'ing-t'an—words which would not change the essential meaning of a shorter phrase, but which in addition to filling it out to the required number of four or six, would add enough nuance to suggest a philosophic attitude. This is not to say that genuine philosophic attitude was absent, or that particles were used in the Shih-shuo primarily for padding; but the impression of superfluity is sometimes almost as strong as the impression of subtlety.

Note that the speech of Wang Lang against getting rid of the extra man, in Excerpt I, is in the four-six form (except for the final 耶, which has the effect of a kind of tailpiece or "end

used to ask a rhetorical question implying the mild suggestion "Wouldn't you agree?"... Its meaning and flavor have been discussed by Chinese and Japanese scholars from Sung times on. For a summary of such discussions, see Yoshikawa Kojiro... Chūgoku sanshūs ran... pp. 107-126, where he translates the reply as 同じのではありませんいか. The main purpose of the reply was to underline the idea of similarity and to echo the suggestion that the difference between Confucianism and Taoism was only superficial. Professor Fuji's interpretation is different in his taking the reply to be a yes-and-no answer. —Tr.
quote”). Though some of the particles might well have been used in an actual speech of this sort, their selection and placement here seem designed to serve the purpose of filling out two pairs of four characters and two of six.

The literary aesthetic of the Shih-shuo writers is articulated, as well as exemplified, in the deliberate word-music (note that the speech is all in sixes) of

Excerpt VI (IA.46ab)

道壹道人好替飾言辭。從都下還東山，經吳中，已而會雪下，未甚寒。諸道人問在道所經。壹公曰：『風霜固所不論。乃先集其殤燼。郊邑正自騷贅，林岫便已皓然。』

The monk Tao-i had a taste for polished diction and euphonious expressions. He left the capital to return to Tung-shan (Chekiang), and passing through Wu ran into a snowfall. It was not extremely cold. The monks asked what befell him on the way. Master [Tao-ji] said, “The wind and frost, certainly, were nothing to speak of. However, as a prelude, [the sky] amassed its gloom. No sooner had the countryside begun twinkling [with snow] before my eyes, than the forested hills were already white.”

In one sense the luxuriance of Six Dynasties prose style shows a reaction against the starkness of Later Han prose style, which is characterized by a kind of neo-classicism as compared with that of the Former Han. To use as illustration the outstanding representative works of the two Han periods, the naturalness of the Shih chi was subjected to some constraint in those portions adapted from it for the Han shu. An example may be given which is directly related to the present study. Ssu-ma Ch’ien occasionally, though rarely, followed a monosyllabic subject with the character 是: e.g., Yuán Ku 轅固 answers Empress-Dowager Tou 賢 (on the subject of the Lao tsu) with the words 此是家人言耳: “These are words for a slave.” 14 Now Pan Ku’s version of this passage omits shih and replaces the final erh with a more literary

particle: 此家人言矣。 It is logical to suppose that the modes of expression which later appeared in the New Anecdotes were already flourishing in the colloquial of Later Han times, but if so, Pan Ku admitted none of them whatsoever.

In another respect, however, the Shih-shuo represents rather a continuation of Later Han literary tendencies: the four-character unit first became frequent in the Han shu, and together with its extension, the six-character clause, it became standard in the Shih-shuo and other works of its period. By adopting on the one hand the symmetrical construction favored by Pan Ku, and on the other hand semi-colloquial elements which he rejected, and by pushing both to extremes, the authors of these writings created a new style quite foreign to the classics. Its luxuriance remained the almost uncontested stylistic criterion of Chinese prose for half a millenium, and its genuine riches have continued to compel admiration.

However, its devices of diction and form were dangerously susceptible to abuse. The indiscriminate use of particles (that is, particles as defined in this study) eventually led to over-refinement and frequently to obscurity, while the ultimate crystallization of the four-six vehicle negated the rhythmic elasticity which gave early post-Han prose much of its freshness. And the constant parallelism which became a concomitant of this form in the late Six Dynasties virtually eliminated all spontaneity, reducing composition to a formula.

Thus a style at first distinguished for pliancy and expressiveness degenerated into the stultifying artificiality and preciosity against which Han Yu and Liu Tsung-yüan rebelled. Although the initial success of their ku-wen movement was short-lived, it reemerged in Sung times to overthrow the "new" style which had outlived both its newness and its effectiveness.

It is ironic that just as Chinese history in other respects was entering "modern" times, formal prose reverted to imitation of the ancients, one kind of artificiality replacing another. However, ku-wen not only had the prestige of association with the Classics; it had the practical advantage of being easy to imitate and hard

---

12 Han shu 88.19a (Po-na ed., tše 26).
to distort. If at its best it lacked the shimmering texture which Six Dynasties prose sometimes had, at its worst it lacked the tangled intricacies which too often made that texture all but impenetrable.

In the matter of long-term comprehensibility, the neo-classic style profited by its independence of contemporary modes of expression, which in a sense placed it outside time. At any rate it remained the standard form of Chinese prose from Sung times down to the literary revolution of the twentieth century.

This did not prevent the best representatives of Six Dynasties prose from being esteemed in retrospect, and the style of the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* in particular has never ceased to have its admirers.
METRICAL ORIGINS OF THE TZ'U

by

GLEN W. BAXTER
METRICAL ORIGINS OF THE TZ’U

GLEN WILLIAM BAXTER

[I am deeply indebted to Professor James R. Hightower, Mr. Achilles Fang, and Professor Lien-Sheng Yang for guidance, assistance, and corrections in the preparation of this study.]

As a literary genre, the Chinese song-form known as tz’u 詞 reached its widest popularity and its most varied practice in the Sung dynasty; readers today associate it chiefly with that period. However, as is suggested by the title of the first extensive tz’u anthology, the tenth-century Hua-chien chi 花間集,¹ the species was already in flower during the Five Dynasties. To pursue the figure, its taproots reached well into the T’ang period; by the middle of the ninth century its early shoots were sufficiently well developed to be distinguishable from the shih 詩, of which it is generally considered a mutation.

The tz’u has been defined as “a song-form characterized by lines of unequal length, prescribed rhyme and tonal sequence, occurring in a large number of variant patterns, each of which bears the name of a musical air.”² It would be hard to phrase a convenient definition more aptly, but before concentrating on the matter of metric it will be useful to comment on or qualify each element.

In origin the tz’u is certainly a song-form, and it remained so during the centuries of its greatest popularity and significance. When it began to be replaced by new song-forms in late Sung and early Yüan times, it became a vehicle for antiquarian literary artifice, and except for isolated instances, thereafter it was a song-form only by courtesy.

It is true that most tz’u are in lines of unequal length, but there

¹ Collected by Chao Ch’ung-tso 趙崇祚 (Preface dated 940), modern editions: Hua Lien-p’u 華連圃, Hua-chien chi chu 花間集 chu (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935); Li Ping-jo 李冰若, Hua-chien chi p’ing-chu 花間集 譯 (Shanghai: K’ai-ming Book Company, 1935).
are numerous exceptions, as will be shown by a glance at the first chüan of the Tz'u-p'u 詞譜 or the Tz'u-lü 律. Those tz'u in regular four-line stanzas are nearly all by T'ang and Five Dynasties writers, and are significant in the ensuing discussion of the origin and development of the form.

It is undeniable that in Sung times some, and later all, of the tz'u writers who copied earlier patterns instead of inventing new ones, bound themselves to the sequences of tones and rhymes used by their predecessors. But those predecessors themselves by no means seem to have been so meticulous. Naturally those writing to the same tune put their end rhymes, at least, in the same places; but where A used rhymes in the level tone, B might use rhymes in a deflected tone. The two might differ quite freely in their sequence of tones within lines. A third poet might write in agreement with A as to rhyme, and with B or with neither as to tonal sequence. However, each of the three specimens could be used as a model by some later poet when the tune itself, being lost, could no longer serve as guide, and when he would simply “fill

* Compendia of tz'u patterns. For a discussion of these and similar reference works, see my "A Bibliographical Note on the Ch'in-ting tz'u-p'u," HIJS 14 (1932) 668-671. The term tz'u-p'u is used generically by bibliographers to cover all such works.

Wherever possible, the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an (abbreviated SPTK) has been used for references to Chinese literary texts, and the Po-na-pen (abbreviated PNP) for references to the Standard Histories. In addition, I have used the Chung-hua Book Company's typeset series, Ssu-pu pei-yao (abbreviated SPPY).

For economy of reference, wherever possible without involving significant textual variation, numerous works are cited from Yüeh-fu shih-chi 樂府詩集 (SPTK ed.) (abbreviated YFSC), an anthology of real and imitation song-words compiled by Ku'o Mao-ch'ien 郭茂倩 (Sung); and from the officially compiled Ch'iüan T'ang shih 全唐詩 (Preface, 1708), in the T'ung-wen shu-chi 同文書局 edition.

Several short T'ang prose works are cited from T'ang-tai ts'ung-shu 唐代叢書 (abbreviated TTS), a collection of uncertain provenience which took its present form in the eighteenth century. The relevant passages have been checked with other texts. This ts'ung-shu was chosen partly for its inclusiveness and partly because readers may find some information on all its component works in E. D. Edwards' Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period (2 vols., London, 1937), which is based on it. The edition I cite is that of the Chin-chang t'u-shu-chi 錦章圖書局 (Shanghai, 1929) in twelve ts'e 冊, in each of which the folios are numbered consecutively.

* See note 60.

* For illustrative versions of "T'ing-hsi-fan" 定西番 by three different authors, see Ts'u-p'u 2.28b-30b.
in a tz'u” (t'ien-tz'u 填追), following a specimen at hand. Accordingly the various tz'u-p'u reproduce a specimen after each model as a separate form (t'i 體) of each pattern (tiao 調); if any poet has added to or subtracted from the number of characters used, yet another form is considered to have been established.

For these reasons Wu Mei-sun 吳眉孫 questions the assumption that rigid tonal prescriptions applied to the tz'u before it became something of a lapidary craft in the twelfth century. Ultimately such prescriptions certainly were accepted.

As for the “large number of variant patterns, each of which bears the name of a musical air,” Tz'u-p'u lists 826 tiao-ming 調名 or “tune titles” (Tz'u-lü gives 875) and illustrates them with specimens of 2,306 variant forms (t'i), ranging from 20 to 240 characters. Of some tiao only one form occurs, of others as many as a dozen or more.

Tiao of course means a tune, but the T'ang and Sung tunes associated with the tz'u have all disappeared. The various tz'u-p'u contain no musical notations but present only the words, or what the music-publishing business calls “lyrics.” Only the title of the tune is given (plus whatever information has been handed down about the musical mode to which it belonged, its derivation,

---

*According to Kondô Moku’s 近藤柵 Shina gakugai daijû 支那學藝大辭彙 (Tokyô, 1940) 445, the expression t'ien-tz'u, meaning to fill in characters after an existing model with a fixed pattern of tones, rhymes, and number of characters, was first used by the Ming writers Wu No 吳訥 and Hsü Shih-tseng 徐師曾. (This does not mean that the practice was not followed much earlier.) It became the standard term for the literary process of writing a tz'u.

“Su-sheng shuo” 四聲說, T'ung-sheng yüeh-k'an 同聲月刊 1:6 (May, 1944) 1-8.

*Tz'u specialists have a generally accepted tradition for the singing of many of the old pieces, but it is not based on transmittal of T'ang or Sung airs. The only surviving tz'u accompanied by musical notations are in the Po-shih tao-jen ko-ch'i 白石道人歌曲 (SPTK ed.) of Chiang K'uei 姜夔 (?1150-?1230), and attempts to decipher the system he used remain conjectural. Cf. Hsia Ch'eng-tao 夏承謙, “Po-shih ko-ch'i p'ang-p'u pien” 白石歌曲旁譜辨, Yen-ching hsüeh-pao 燕京學報 12 (Dec., 1932) 2559-2588; his conclusions as to pitch are indicated in western musical notation by John H. Levi, Foundations of Chinese Musical Art (Peiping, 1936) 61. Ch'ien Wan-ch'ien 錢萬遷 has attempted a complete western-style score for one of Chiang K'uei's tz'u in “Ko-ch'i mei-ling ch'ü-p'u shuo-ming,” 聢溪梅令曲譜說明, T'ung-sheng yüeh-k'an 1:10 (Nov., 1942) 1-4.
alternate names, etc.), not the actual melody. It is therefore more practical to translate tiao as "tune-pattern" or simply "pattern," since it is used to refer to the rhythmic, tonal, and rhyme schemes of the song-words, which can give us at most only a general notion of the outline of the melody.

The text of a given tz'u may or may not have some relation to the title of the musical air with which it is associated. It is as if we should call "Greensleaves" any poem modeled on the length, meter, and vowel distribution of the original words to that tune. In its early days as a pure song-form the tz'u was typically simple in content, and hardly more varied than the songs we hear on the radio today. In Northern Sung times, as poets using the tz'u primarily for literary purposes diversified their subject matter, they added subtitles. Su Shih's 蘇軾 "Nien-nu chiao—Ch'ih-pi huai-ku" 念奴嬌赤壁懷古 indicates both form and subject, as does "Sonnet: On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic." ¹⁰

In partial explanation of some of the tune titles which are identical except for the addition or lack of an extra character such as ling 合, yin 引 or chin 近, and man 慢, it may be noted that these were musical terms which apparently indicated the length and tempo of the composition, though their precise relations to each other are not clear. The original melody might undergo numerous extensions, repetitions, and elaborations; in these successive forms it might take on totally new names, or

¹⁰ Cf. Ts'ou-p'u 28.8ab. This is Su Shih's reworking, in tz'u form, of the first of his two famous fu on the Red Cliff. There are translations of this ts'ü by Ca'u Ta-kao (Chinese Lyrics [Cambridge, 1937] 24) and by Wono Man (Poems from China [Hong Kong, 1950] 85-86). Obviously we must go to the subtitle for the subject of the poem, for the first caption has nothing to do with it, being the name of a tune associated with a popular singing-girl of the time of Emperor Hsiian-tsung (713-755).
might retain the old name plus one of the above terms. Investigation into the early phases of the tz'u requires careful consideration of a number of modern studies in Chinese and Japanese, various earlier shih-hua and tz'u-hua, and, of course, the texts of the early songs.

The tz'u was evolved during the T'ang dynasty, and began to take its characteristic uneven shape in the ninth century. In T'ang times any words which were sung were ko-tz'u 歌 or ch'ü-tz'u 曲子—song-words—and these terms indicated the function of such words, rather than denoting a literary genre. During most of the T'ang dynasty virtually all recorded song-words—

11 These terms and others used in connection with tz'u forms and techniques are discussed, in somewhat statistical fashion, in the first chapter of Feng Shu-lan's *La technique et l'histoire du ts'eu* (Thèse pour le doctorat de l'Université de Paris, 1933).

12 Although the material which follows is drawn from various sources, I am especially indebted to the authors of the following studies:

SUZUKI Torao 鈴木虎雄, "Shigen" 詞源, in his *Shina bungaku kenkyū 支那文學研究* (Kyōto, 1929) 459-478.

AOKI Masaru 青木正明, "Shikaku no chōtanku no hattatsu no genin ni tsuite" 詞格の長短句の作法の原因に就て, in his *Shina bungei ronsō 支那文藝論叢* (Tōkyō, 1925) 67-85.

LIU Yün-hsiang 劉雲翔, "Wu-ko yü tz'u" 歌歌與詞, *T'ung-sheng yüeh-ku'an 諸盡歌唱* 2.2 (Feb., 1948) 119-134. (This article is a reprint, without noticeable change except for the use of what apparently is the author's hao, of an article by LIU Yao-min 劉堯民 in *Kuo-li chung-yang ta-hsiēh pan-yüeh-ku'an 國立中央大學半月刊* [Nanking] 2.5 Dec., 1930) 67-92.

HU Shih 胡適, "Ts'ü ti ch'i-yüan" 詞的起源, reprinted as an appendix to his *Ts'ü-hsian 詞選* (Shanghai, 1937) following page 381, and paginated independently.

13 Some such designation of genuine song-words was needed, because by T'ang times the term yüeh-fu had been preempted by purely literary variations on song themes, just as the various cognates of the old Provençal *sonet*—any song—came to mean a lyric poem and eventually, in Italy and elsewhere, a specific form. Modern writers have sometimes used the word "sonnet" in a less restricted sense; MEREDITH called his "Modern Love" a sonnet sequence, although his stanzas departed from the fourteen-line form crystallized after Petrarch. Yet MEYERHOF was not going back to archaic usage; he was not writing songs. Po Chü-i, when he wrote his "new yüeh-fu," returned to freer line-lengths than those in general use for literary yüeh-fu in his day; yet his introduction to these didactic pseudo-folk-poems indicates that he was not writing real songs to real tunes, and did not expect the poems to be sung. Although the term yüeh-fu has been used by many writers, especially in book titles, to cover virtually all kinds of real songs and pseudo-songs from those officially collected in Han times to those adapted in the early Yüan drama, it is useful for the purposes of this discussion to make a categorical distinction between T'ang yüeh-fu, which were not necessarily to be sung, and ko-tz'u, which were.
that is, lyrics actually intended to be sung, rather than literary mutations of obsolete song-forms—were in symmetrical stanzas with lines of equal length. The problem is to determine how ch'ang-tuan chü 長短句, long-and-short verse, which had become the most noticeable feature of song-words by the time tz'u was recognized as a distinctive musico-literary form, came about. The term ch'ang-tuan chü is one of several often used as synonyms of tz'u. It will be in the interest of clarity to use the term ch'ang-tuan chü in the present study where the matter of unequal line lengths is emphasized.

As Hightower has pointed out, "Poetry with unequal lines is as old as the Classic of Songs; examples occur in the Ch'u tz'u and among the Han dynasty yüeh-fu, where they are definitely associated with musical settings." During the Six Dynasties period the tunes of the Han songs disappeared, and poets who elaborated on their subject matter usually wrote in quite regular forms, progressively anticipating in practice the theories of tonal and formal harmony developed in the fifth and sixth centuries.

However, songs to new tunes (also referred to, loosely, as yüeh-fu) were often in free forms. From the Six Dynasties period may be cited examples both from the works of literary men and from anonymous popular song-words which have survived. Sometimes the irregularities are slight, as in the "Mei-hua lo" 梅花落 of Pao Chao 鲍昭 (d. 466, Sung dynasty), a mixture of five- and seven-word lines (5-5-5-5-5-7-7-7). His "Yeh tso yin" 夜坐吟 (7-7-3-3-3-3-3-3) is a bit more suggestive of the much later tz'u forms. Shen Yo 沈約 (441-513, Ch'i and Liang dynasties) wrote a series of "Liu-i shih" 六憶詩 with one short line (3-5-5-5-5-5).

---

16 Perhaps the most elegant is ch’in-ch’ü wai-p’ien 琴趣外篇, "careless diversions on the lute."
17 See note 2.
18 YFSC 94.1a.
19 YFSC 76.4a.
18 Cf. his collected works, Shen Yin-hou chai 沈隐侯集 2.50ab (in Han Wei Liu-ch’ao pai-san-chia chi 漢魏六朝百三家集. 1879 reprint, ts’e 74). These four shih (not classed as yüeh-fu) might be considered five-word cinquains introduced by three-character phrases something in the nature of subtitles. However, in reading the poems aloud one feels that the three-word lines have a definite rhythmic function.
Long-short verses from the Liang dynasty (502-556) are not rare. They include Hsü Mien’s 徐勉 “Ying-k'o ch'i” 迎客曲 and “Sung-k'o ch'i” 送客 | 19 (both 3-3-7-3-3-7); T'ao Hung-ching’s 陶弘景 “Han-yeh yüan” 寒夜怨 20 (3-3-7-7-3-3-3-5-5); Wang Yün’s 王鈞 “Ch'ü fei yin” 楚妃吟 21 (3-3-3-3-5-3-3-5-7-5-5-5); two “Ch'ang hsiang-ssu” 長相思 by Chang Shuai 長率 and two by Hsü Ling 徐陵 22 (three of these are 3-3-7-3-5-5-5-5-5, one of Chang Shuai’s 3-3-7-7-7-5-5-5); seven “Chiang-nan nung” 江南弄 by Hsiao Yen 蕭衍 (Wu-ti 武帝) 22 (7-7-3-3-3-3); and “Ch'un-ch'ing ch'i” 春情 by Hsiao Kang 蕭綱 (Chien-wen ti 简文帝) 24 (7-7-7-7-7-7-5-5).

From the Sui dynasty (589-618) a slightly irregular lyric, “Yeh-yin chao-mien ch'i” 夜飲朝眠 | 25 is attributed to Yang Kuang 楊廣 (the second Emperor, Yang-ti 楊帝), though ascriptions of some other long-short compositions to him have been discredited. 26

Some Chinese and Japanese writers have regarded such pre-T'ang products as prototypes of the tz'u's long and short verses. Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559) quotes and comments on most of the specimens mentioned above in his Sheng-an tz'u-p'in 升庵品, 27 along with other Liang verses in regular meters in which he finds the germs of certain later tz'u-tiao.

19 YFSC 77.3a. 20 YFSC 76.5b.
21 YFSC 29.11a. 22 YFSC 69.5ab. 23 YFSC 50.1a-3b.
24 Cf. his collected works, Liang Chien-wen-ti yü chih 梁簡文帝御製 (ts'e 67 in collection mentioned in Note 18 above) 2.64b-65a.
25 See Yang Shen 楊慎, Sheng-an ho-chi 升庵合集 158.3b-8a.
26 Most significant of these are eight “Wang Chiang-nan” 望江南, of which not only the title but also the form is identical with a well-known tz'u pattern (also called “I Chiang-nan” 情 | ), “Meng Chiang-nan” 夢 | , and “Hsieh Ch'u-niang” 謝秋娘—see note 75). Various writers have taken the attribution to Yang-ti as a basis for dating the tz'u form from the Sui period. But the ascription is made in a hsiao-shuo 小說 of questionable date and provenience, Hai-shan chi 海山集, considered spurious by the Ssu-k'u editors. Yang Shen (see note 25) noted several specimens of “Wang Chiang-nan” attributed to Yang-ti in various ch'un-ch'i, but observed that they were not in typical Six Dynasties language. The tune itself apparently dates from the early ninth century.
27 Yang Shen’s Ts'u-p'in comprises chüan 151-62 (in ts'e 63-67) of his collected works mentioned in note 25; see chüan 158. Mao Chi-ling 毛奇齡 (1683-1716) adopted Yang’s views on these poems as proto-ts'u in his own Ts'u-hua 話 (cf. his
Such lyrics as these, all written in the Yangtze region, apparently were related to the living body of popular song in South China during the centuries of division—the Wu-sheng ko 威聲歌, “songs in the Wu dialect”—with which they are classified in Yuē-fu shih-chi. Doubtless the poets mentioned above were influenced by popular song words in long-short verses such as those of “Hua-shan chi” 華山畿 (3-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5), “Chiao-nü shih” 嬌女詩 (5-5-4-5-4-5), and “Ch’ing-ch’i hsiao-ku ch’ü” 青溪小姑 (5-3-4-4). Songs like these were apparently still being sung all along the lower Yangtze in the first century of the T’ang dynasty, and they were officially classified among the types of music for various uses at court.

Despite qualifications and reservations, everyone seems to agree that there is some kinship between songs of this sort and the tz’u which evolved later. In the tz’u-ch’ü section of Ssu-k’u ch’üan-shu tsung-mu t’i-yao it is observed that “examining the Wu dialect songs of successive periods, we find that some of the verses are long, some short. They are usually of a delicate and yielding tonality, already approaching the hsiao-tz’u 小 |” —that is, the short and relatively simple tz’u which characterized the genre with T’ang and Five Dynasties poets.

Yang Shen and Mao Ch’i-ling seem to have assumed that T’ang popular and literary poets simply added to the variety of line-lengths they found in the Wu songs until they produced collected works, Hsi-ho ho-chi 西河合集 1[tz’u 88],8ab). Lu Yu-hsiang (op. cit. 120) agrees, saying that the form of these Six Dynasties verses is essentially that of the later tz’u, and that their casualness and facility approach the “tone” of the tz’u. Aoki (op. cit. 83), however, maintains that it is just these qualities that T’ang tz’u lack, the latter showing a discipline of expression and pattern (resulting from the practice of regulated forms) that make their poetic “tone” quite distinct from that of these “Six Dynasties yüeh-fu.”

28 YFSC 46.2b-4a gives twenty-five stanzas, from thirteen to twenty-three characters long. Thirteen of them are 5-5-5, ten are 3-5-5, one 5-5-5-5, and one 3-5-5-5.
29 YFSC 47.6a.
30 YFSC 5b-6a. This is the “Children’s Song” familiar in Arthur Waley’s translation (170 Chinese Poems 123).
31 See note 57.
32 Commercial Press edition (Shanghai, 1932) 4.4442 (entry on Li-tai shih-yü 歷代詩餘).
patterns which ultimately became known as tz'u-tiao. But whatever the significance of the Wu songs as a precedent, it appears that long-short verse had virtually ceased to be written by the beginning of the eighth century—or at least, that if it was being produced in any quantity prior to Li Po's non-musical yüeh-fu experiments, it was regarded as subliterature and was not being preserved.

There seem to have been two reasons for this, one musical and the other literary. The increased importation of foreign music under the cosmopolitan Sui-T'ang dynasties submerged or greatly altered the songs of South China. On the literary side, the prestige of regulated verse (lü-shih 律詩), as finally codified in the early eighth century, overshadowed that of all other types of poetry.

The importation of music from Central Asia, Korea, and other non-Chinese areas had been going on ever since the Han dynasty, but particularly since the alien incursions of the fourth century. Soldiers picked up foreign melodies while garrisoning the frontiers or campaigning beyond them. Foreigners occupied Chinese territories whose native inhabitants took over the music of their conquerors. The Southern dynasties carried on intermittent commerce with the conquered Northern and Western regions, and the traders also brought home new types of music. Buddhist missionaries and pilgrims brought religious and secular melodies from Central Asia and India.²³

It would be rash to assume that the Chinese promptly dropped their "own" music ²⁴ entirely and adopted intact every foreign

²³ A notable combination of the military and religious factors was the marauding expedition against Kucha (a highly cultured Aryan kingdom in the Tarim basin) around 382 by Lü Kuang 吕光 (afterward founder of the "Later" Liang 梁 Kingdom), who brought back to China both the famous Buddhist translator Kumārajīva and a Kuchan orchestra. Of course, music also moved from China outward. For example, "Ch'ın-wang p'o-chen yüeh" 秦王破陣樂 (cf. under its later name "Ch'ı-te wu" 七德舞 in Shina gakugei daijii 485), a song of victory by Li Shih-min 李世民, was carried by his armies to the limits of his far-flung empire after he mounted the throne as the second emperor of the T'ang. Under the Sui and T'ang, envoys and religious pilgrims from Japan took back to their country music in both older and newer styles. The sole survival of the elements of T'ang music today is believed to be found in some of the court music of Japan.

²⁴ That is, what was considered to be their own music at the time.
tune they heard. Undoubtedly they modified the strange melodies to some extent, to suit their habitual ways of singing and playing. On the other hand, the exoticism of the new music formed perhaps its strongest appeal. The Chinese certainly made some changes in their traditional scales and musical devices when they adopted foreign instruments like the p'i-pa 琵琶, and altered many of their older tunes accordingly.  

By the time the empire was reunited under the Sui dynasty, foreign types of music were dominant among virtually all classes of society, and it is said there were few who still appreciated the older “native” styles. Of the ten classes of music officially designated by T'ang Emperor T'ai-tsung all but two, yen-yüeh 燕樂 and ch'ing-shang yüeh 淸商, were of foreign origin.

The “songs in the Wu dialect” were part of the Ch'ing-shang yüeh class. According to the T'ung-tien 通典 this whole class of

---

55 A performer on the p'i-pa, which had only four strings, could not play all the tunes devised for the older seven-stringed ch'in 琴, or at least could not play them the same way.

56 This long continued to be a standard subject for complaint even by writers who amply demonstrated their own fondness for currently popular tunes, such as Po Chü-i (cf. Waley, op. cit. 185: “Ancient melodies—weak and savourless, Not appealing to present men’s taste.”)

57 The others were Hsi-liang yüeh 西涼樂, T'ien-chu 天竺 yüeh, Kao-li 高麗 yüeh, Ch'iu-tzu 龜兹 yüeh, An-kuo 安國 yüeh, Su-le 疏勒 yüeh, Kao-ch'ang 高昌 yüeh, and K'ang-kuo 康國 yüeh (Suzuki, op. cit. 407), all bearing the names of non-Chinese territories stretching from Korea across the Tarim basin to India. (Yen-yüeh does not refer to the territory of the old state of Yen, but means “least music,” music for entertainment, in contrast to the older formal, ceremonial music—ya-yüeh 雅樂—of state functions.) Music of foreign origin was in use at the courts of the contemporary (Southern) Ch'en 陳 and (Northern) Chou 周 dynasties, received official status under their successor the Sui (see L. C. Goodrich, “Foreign Music at the Court of Sui Wen-ti.” JAOS 69.2 [1949]: 148-49), and was firmly established under the first T'ang emperors. Kao-taung specified nine types (pu 部) of music based on Sui regulations; T'ai-taung eliminated one and added two, one of which he called yen-yüeh pu. Suzuki however thinks that all ten types could be called yen-yüeh (= 宴) in the general sense.


195
songs, music and words alike, had fallen into utter desuetude by the middle of the eighth century. In the section on music it is stated that from the Ch'ang-an 長安 period (701, at the close of the reign of the Empress Wu) the old tunes were no longer esteemed at court, and musicians neglected them. Only eight tunes are listed as being playable at that time, and it is said that so many of the words had been corrupted or forgotten that the songs now bore scant resemblance to the old Wu melos. Someone suggested that Southerners should be encouraged to practice and transmit their old songs, but apparently little came of the proposal. In the K'ai-yüan 開元 period (713-741) a Northerner called Li Lang-tzu 李郎子 claimed to have studied the old songs with a Southern master. According to T'ung-tien, after the death of Li both the instrumental and vocal parts of the Ch'ing-yüeh (or Ch'ing-shang yüeh) were wholly neglected.

Tu Yu 杜佑, who compiled the T'ung-tien, died less than eighty years after the K'ai-yüan period, and there is no reason to discredit his information. It may be that it reflects primarily the musical scene at the capital—which was now in the Northwest at Ch'ang-an, far removed from the seats of the Six Dynasties—and that while the Wu songs may have passed out of fashion at court and among the haut monde, provincial Southerners may have continued to sing them. It is at least conceivable that popular songs with some irregular line-lengths continued (though no doubt with changes of style and convention) in an unbroken stream in the South until the ts'ü itself emerged as ch'ang-tuan chü in the ninth century.60

60 T'ung tien (Che-chiang Shu-chü 浙江書局 edition of 1896) 146 (han 4, ts'e 7). 2b-3a.

61 Of the numerous popular ballads and children's songs recorded in the "Wu-hsing chih" 五行志 of Hsin T'ang shu, most are in even quatrains or couplets; but a few are quite assymetrical, such as the following (25.10b) said to have been current in the T'ien-pao 天寳 period (742-755):

燕燕
飛上天
天上女兒鋪白氈
氈上有千錢

196
It is certain, however, that the old Wu songs had ceased to be sung at Court and had ceased to be imitated by literary poets. We may assume then that the long-short verse which often characterized them did not serve as model for the lyrics sung to the foreign-style tunes in the first two centuries of the T'ang. These tunes multiplied both by further importation and by adaptation or imitation in the Chinese musical profession, above all, in the imperial music-factory, the chiao-fang 教坊.\footnote{This office, something like the Han yüeh-fu, was established by Hsüan-tsung in 714 for the collection and preservation of songs and dance music both formal and popular, as well as for the composition and performance of new music for various occasions. It is not to be confused with his private "theater," the famous Pear Garden (Li-yüan 梨園), though the latter presumably made use of the chiao-fang material and possibly some of its personnel. With various modifications of function the office lasted under the name of chiao-fang down to early Ch'ing. For its organization under the T'ang see the "Po-kuan chih" 百官志 of the Old and New T'ang shu; for interesting musical and anecdotal material see Chiao-fang chi 教坊記 (TTTS, ts'e 5). The author of the latter, Tzu-yü Ling-ch'in 崔令欽, apparently lived in Hsüan-tsung's reign (see Hu Shih, op. cit. 19), but a list of some three hundred tune titles appended to the book contains names of tunes elsewhere reported to have originated considerably later, such as "Wang Chiang-nan" (see note 78) and "P'u-sa man" (see below, p. 60). Either the list was not part of the original text or it contains later interpolations. Dr. Hu therefore, in an exchange of letters with Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (see Ts' u-hsien 18-21), maintains that this list cannot be used to prove that such-and-such a tune existed in the first half of the eighth century.}

Although many real foreign tunes were current, the foreign words to them, of course, were not. Many tunes must have become popular in purely instrumental form. But just as any popular instrumental piece of music, if singable, is likely to have words written to it—either more or less spontaneously among the people, or by professional purveyors of entertainment (Finlandia becomes "Dear Land of Home," Ravel's Pavane "The Lamp is Low")—these tunes acquired Chinese words. Often

Fly swallow fly
Up to the sky—
The Girl in the Sky has spread her white rug,
On it are a thousand cash.

Such living songs, as well as the remote precedent of the Han yüeh-fu, may have influenced Li Po and Po Chü-i in the versification of their neo-old-style folk poems. Li Po for instance made telling use of an occasional three-word line. These literary experiments, however, were not written to any known tunes, and there is no evidence that any of them were ever set to music.
they acquired not one set of words but several (as Rachmaninov’s C-minor piano concerto becomes in one version “Full Moon and Empty Arms,” in another “And Still the Volga Flows,” and as Londonderry Air becomes both “Danny Boy” and “Would God I Were the Tender Apple Blossom”).

Since the metrics and musical phrasing of these new tunes were different from those of traditional Chinese music, one might expect that the words now written to them would not be bound by standard Chinese practice in the composition of literary verse at the time, which was concentrated on strictly regulated forms. The fact is, nevertheless, that the surviving Chinese texts associated with these tunes in the first two centuries of the T'ang era are all symmetrical, and nearly all “regulated,” forms. They are invariably four-line stanzas—of six, oftener five, and most often seven-word lines, sometimes written for a specific tune but in many cases borrowed from the works of well-known poets. Occasionally part of a ku-shih 古詩 was used, but more commonly half of an eight-line lu-shih was adapted. Most popular of all was the chüeh-chü 絕句, and the portions of other poems selected were so similar to the self-sufficient chüeh-chü that it will be practical here to refer to all such quatrains as chüeh-chü.

For a short, simple tune a single chüeh-chü would suffice. For longer compositions (ta-ch'ü 大曲) which fell into sections with contrasting tempi or rhythms, sequences of these four-line stanzas were sung, separated by instrumental interludes.43

42 Suzuki (op. cit. 467-69) identifies a number of these. The words to “Kai-lo feng” 蒼羅逢 were those of Wang Ch'ang-ling’s seven-word chüeh-chü “Kuei yüan” 閔怨 beginning 秦時明月漢時關. The words to “Kun-lun tau” 昆崙之子 were the first half of Wang Wei's five-word lu-shih entitled “Ts'ung Ch'i-wang kuo Yang-shih pieh-yeh” 從岐王過楊氏別業, and the words to “Jung hun” 政渾, the last half of his five-word lu-shih “Kuan lieh” 觀獵. The first stanza of “Lu-chou ko” 隆州歌 was the last half of Wang Wei's famous five-word lu-shih “Chung-nan shan” 终南山, with the change of one word. The third stanza of this ta-ch'ü utilized the first four lines of a ku-shih by Kao Shih 高適 beginning 哭單父梁少府, again with a few words changed. (Where Kao Shih wrote 子雲居 the words of the ta-ch'ü are recorded as 紫雲居, obviously a transformation wrought through the ear rather than the eye.)

43 The words to these ta-ch'ü may be examined in YFSC 79, or in Ch'in-ting ts'u-p'u 40.

Ts'u-p'u relegated the ta-ch'ü to its last chüan, presumably because they were not
Even extemporaneous song-words, improvised on the spot for some occasion, were composed in regular quatrains. *Pen-shih shih* 本事詩 44 gives an anecdote of the court of Chung-tsung 中宗 around the year 708, when at a feast the Emperor’s guests in turn sang verses to the tune “Hui-po yüeh” 同波樂. Those of Li Ching-po 李景伯 and Shen Ch’üan-ch’i 沈佺期 are given, and both are in four six-word lines.45

Also in four six-word lines are the six surviving stanzas of “Wu-ma tz’u,” 舞馬, which Chang Yüeh 張說 wrote for a sort of ballet of horses performed at a celebration of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung’s birthday.46 This song-sequence serves the function used as models by later tz’u writers. However, many of their titles, slightly altered (e.g., “Liang-chou ling” 梁朝令 instead of “Liang-chou ko”), were used for later ch’ang-tuan-chü. The foreign origin of the tunes is often hinted in their titles; many bear the names of the northwestern districts of medieval China, through which these non-Chinese melodies streamed in.

In the ta-ch’ü the quatrains are grouped in sections corresponding to the musical divisions of the composition; the first group is the ko 歌, followed by a section called ju-p’o 入破 or g’ai-pien 排遍, according to its length and tempo (Suzuki, op. cit. 468). Both seven-word and five-word quatrains often appear in a single ta-ch’ü. According to Suzuki an eleven-stanza pattern was more or less standard for a full-length ta-ch’ü: the ko in five stanzas and ju-p’o in six, of which the last was called the ch’e 徹.

44 Meng Ch’i 孟啓 (T’ang) here gathers anecdotes purporting to explain the circumstances of the writing of various poems. The stories are ranged under seven categories of which the last, Satire (嘲戲), includes the “Hui-po yüeh” incident (TT8S, tt’e 6, 8a).

45 Suzuki (op. cit. 464-65) suggests that the tune and subject matter of “Hui-po yüeh” (about the pleasures of song and dance) are related to the sixth-century “Kao-chü-li ch’ü” 高句麗曲 and “Huan t’ai yüeh” 頓臺樂 of which surviving lyrics by Wang Pao 王褒 (Northern Chou) and Lu Ch’iung 陸瓊 (Ch’en) respectively are not in four but six lines of six words each. The guests of Chung-tsung’s court still followed the tradition of six-word lines, but at the same time, in using only four such lines, they also followed the growing trend toward the chüeh-chü. It is worth noting that Shen Ch’üan-ch’i was one of the poets credited with explicit codification of the practices of the lü-shih.

46 Chang Yüeh-chih wen-chi 張說文集 (SPTK ed.) 29ab. Two of the stanzas are given in Tz’u-p’u 1.12ab, where an introductory note describes the spectacle as reported in the treatises on ceremony and on music in the T’ang histories. The performance is said to have been a yearly affair. The corps de ballet is reported to have consisted of no less than “four hundred hooves.” The horses were caparisoned in rich embroideries, with gilt and jeweled halters; they lifted their hooves, tossed
of the *tz'u* as well as using the character in its title, since patently it was written for use with specific music, to which the horses were trained. One is not surprised that the words follow an even rhythmic pattern, for the music must have done so too, even though the horses doubtless were more agile and adaptable than the elephants which had so much trouble with Stravinsky's music for the Ringling Brothers. In any event the regularity of the literary form was in accord with poetical fashion. Hsian-tsung's reign was in the heyday of the *chüeh-chü*, when major poets like Wang Ch'ang-ling 王昌齡, Wang Wei 王維, and Li Po 李 白 were turning out by the score quatrains esteemed not by posterity alone, but as popular in their own day as the lyrics of Cole Porter and Oscar Hammerstein in ours.

Their heads, and switched their tails in time to the music, which went on through several dozen choruses. Some of them danced on platforms supported by muscle-men. (These feats are only mildly impressive compared to those of John Banks' horse which in the late sixteenth century danced on the roof of St. Paul's. Banks' horse could also add and subtract, and could "tell maids from mawkins," for which accomplishments Banks rashly took it to Rome where the Pope condemned it to be burned as a witch.)

Wang Wei's seven-word *chüeh-chü* "Sung Yuan-erh shih An-hsi" 送元二使安西, addressed to a friend who was going on a mission to Central Asia, became so popular as a parting song that it is classed as a *yüeh-ju* in many collections under the title "Wei-ch'eng chü" 西城曲, and *Ts' u-p'u* (1.28a-29a) includes it as a *ts'u-tiao* "Yang-kuan chü" 阳关曲. Under this and similar titles (e.g., "Yang-kuan san-tsieh" 陽關三隕), and with various additions and repetitions, it has been used for over a thousand years as a song of farewell. Later poets metamorphosed it into a *ch'ang-tuan-chü* (see "Yang-kuan yin" 阳关吟, *Ts' u-p'u* 18.33b). The tonal pattern of Wang Wei's poem and of later ones strictly modeled on it (including two by Su Shih) is discussed in *Ts' u-p'u*, and at greater length by Mou Taijirō 森泰次郎—cf. *Ts'ei-shih-fa chiang-hua* 作詩法講話 (translations of some of Mou's lectures by Chang Ming-ts' u 張銘慈, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1931) 37-40. According to *Ts' u-p'u*, Ch'in Kuan 秦觀 (1049-1100) wrote that in his time "Wei-ch'eng chü" was sung to the tune of "Hsiao Ch'in wang" (see p. 126), which Chiao-fang chi 蕭坊之 identifies as the same as "Ch'in wang po-chên yüeh" (see note 33).

A tradition originating in Sung times (see Suzuki, op. cit. 475, quoting *Hsiang-shan yeh-lu* 湘山野錄 by the Sung Buddhist writer Wen-ying 文詠; and Liu Yün-hsiang, op. cit. 128, citing T'ung-chik 通志) and questioned in Ming (Suzuki quotes Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟, *Chuang-yüeh wei-t'un* 蕭嶽委譚) made Li Po the originator of the long-and-short *ts'u*. *Ts' u-ch'ien chi* 尊前集, one of the early *ts'u* anthologies, formerly thought to have been put together about the same time as *Hua-chien chi*, but probably of Sung date (see Suzuki Sekkō 齋石皓, "Sonzenshu
The T'ang poets heard their words being sung not only at court but in the wine shops and brothels, in the provinces as well as in gay Ch'ang-an. An anecdote in Chi-i chi  

illustrates this prompt mating of poetry and song. WANG Ch'ang-ling, KAO Shih 高適, and WANG Chih-huan 王之涣 were having supper in a pleasure-house when a group of actors from the Emperor's theater arrived for a banquet, followed by sing-song girls. When the music started the three poets agreed among themselves to determine their relative merits by the number of their poems they would hear sung at the party. By and by an actor sang a chüeh-chü of WANG Ch'ang-ling's, and another sang one by KAO Shih. "These vulgar actors," said WANG Chih-huan, "what do they know? It's their nature to prefer the familiar to the exquisite. But I'm sure that when it comes the turn of the singing-girls, the most beautiful will sing one of my songs." And so she did.

zakkô" 遍前集雜考, Kangakkai zasshi 漢學會雑志 9 [Tôkyô, June, 1941], 97-106 attributed twelve tz'u to Li Po, and Ch'ian T'ang shih gives him fourteen. Both collections include as tz'u the three "Ch'ing-p'ing tiao " 清平調 about YANG Kuei-fei 楊貴妃 which, according to tradition, offended the lady and led to the poet's departure from court. These are said to have been improvised to a tune combining two modes, and straightway sung by the famous vocalist Li Kuei-nien 李龟年 while Hsian-taung himself played the tune on a jade flute. Of the "tz'u" mentioned above these are the only ones which appear in the earliest editions of Li Po's poems after his death, and they are three quite regular chüeh-chü. We need not doubt that they were written as ko-tz'u, and Tz-u-p'u (40.1a) places them at the beginning of its ta-chü section. They certainly are not ch'ang-tuan-chü, as are the other titles attributed to Li Po in the anthologies mentioned. These are in five patterns, "P'u-sa man " 菩薩蠶, "I Ch'in o" 憶秦娥, "Ch'ing-p'ing yüeh " 清平樂 (not to be confused with "Ch'ing-p'ing tiao"), "Lien-li chih," 銘理枝, and "Kuei-tien ch'iu" 桂殿秋. A specimen of each of these, except the last, appears in Tz'u-p'u under the name of Li Po. However, LIU (op. cit. 123), SUEKII (op. cit. 475), and HU (op. cit. 2) adduce various evidence that these attributions are false. Li Po certainly could not have written a poem for the tune "P'u-sa man," which originated around the middle of the ninth century, long after his death (see p. 80). As a matter of fact one of the "P'u-sa man" attributed to Li Po in Tz'u-ch'ien chí is the well-known song in praise of Chiang-nan by Wei Chuang 韋莊, who lived into the tenth century.

Li Po did indeed write what he called yüeh-fu in verses of variable and irregular lengths, but these were literary experiments, not songs to music.

"This account of brief and often incredible incidents, by Hsien Yung-jo 薛用弱 (fl. 830), appears in several collections including T'ang-tai T'ang-shu, ts'e 10; for the story referred to, cf. folio 34a. It is retold by John C. H. Wu in "The Four Seasons of T'ang Poetry," T'ien Hua Monthly 7.4 (Shanghai, 1938). 338-39.
Chi-i chi in recounting the story refers to these song-words as tz'ü and ko-tz'ü. The poems are all quite regular chüeh-chü, as are virtually all extant song-words of that time. As remarked earlier, no distinction as to form was then thought of between shih and tz'ü, the latter term designating not a literary genre but simply the function of the poem as song-words. Even many ku-shih could be sung, and apparently all chüeh-chü.

Now since all T'ang regulated verse maintained a constant rhythm in lines of equal length, a reader who had never seen any comment on the music of the time would suppose that the tunes to which such verse was sung would be likewise four-square in its periods, like the symmetrical music of eighteenth-century Europe. But unless Chinese musicians had transformed the Central Asian and other foreign elements beyond recognition, and had as well completely renounced the tradition of rhapsodical irregularity in earlier Chinese music, such as that of the Songs of Wu, such cannot have been the case.

It might be conjectured then that chüeh-chü were set only to the portion or portions of a musical composition which did happen to be melodically symmetrical, in other words where the poem happened to fit the music, leaving perhaps the introduction, one or more interludes, and finale to the instruments alone. In the case of the ta-ch'ü we know there were such purely instrumental sections. But this does not fully explain the manner in which poems were applied to music, for there is ample evidence that the words were adapted and supplemented in various ways.

Even in the most symmetrical vocal music of the West we do not expect an unvarying word-to-note, or even syllable-to-note, correspondence of text to music. A single syllable may take the shape of a melodic turn or phrase (by what in musical terminology is called melisma), or may be held by the voice on a single note while the instruments execute melodic or harmonic progressions. Or the voice may be given a short or long "rest" while the instruments play on. Often a line of verse is made to conform to the length of the melodic line by repetition of a word or phrase once or several times, or by the use of such interjections as "oh," "ah," "ohimè," "hélias." And how often, when the singer has had no
actual words to sing, has he filled in with "tra-la-la," "hey-nonny-nonny," or more recently "vo-do-de-o-do."

There is reason to believe that T'ang singers made use of most or all of these devices, as the performers in the Chinese "opera" have certainly done down to the present day. According to the most commonly held theory, the expedient of interpolated words or sounds was the major factor in the evolution of T'ang song-words from chiieh-chü to ch'ang-tuan chü.

Chinese writers from Sung to Ch'ing have used various terms in referring to these interpolations: ho-sheng 和聲, hsü-sheng 虛, fan-sheng 泛, san-sheng 散. It is debatable whether any clear-cut distinctions should be or can be made between these terms as to the type or function of the interpolations meant—e.g., emotional interjections, meaningless vocalizations, refrains by the singer, chorus with hand-clapping by the orchestra or the audience. Further on in this study they will be referred to indiscriminately as "expletives"; in the following quotations, the Chinese terms are simply transliterated.

Writing on the relation of poetry to music in earlier times, the versatile astronomer and mathematician Shen K'ua 沈括 (1030-1094) stated:

... Aside from the verse-text (詩) there were also ho-sheng. What we call songs (曲), in the case of the old yüeh-fu always had both notes (聲) and text (詞). When these were written together, "ho-ho-ho" (何 | | or 賀 | |) and the like were all ho-sheng. The ch' an-sheng 粵 (grace notes? connecting passages?) in the music of today are devices which stem from these. In T'ang times, people began to write words directly to music. This form is said to have begun with Wang Yai 王涯 (?764-825), but many followed it in the Chen-yüan through Yüan-ho 元和 periods (785-806).

Hu Tzu 胡仔 (ca. 1147) wrote:

Early T'ang song-words were mostly five-word shih or seven-word shih;

---

83 The nan-ch'i 南曲 or "Southern drama" term for melisma is mo-tiao 磨調 (Shina gakugei daijii 1220). Aoki (op. cit. 76) and Hu (op. cit. 12) speak of the frequency of "helping words" or "ornamental words" (ch'en-ten 節字) in the Yüan and later drama. See note 60 below.

84 Cf. his Meng-ch'i pi-t'an 夢溪筆談 (SPTK ed.) 5.9ab.

85 All Wang Yai's shih and yüeh-fu in Ch'üan T'ang shih (han 3, ts'e 13) 1a-2a are in quite regular forms.
there were no long-and-short verses. From the Middle [T'ang] period on into the Five Dynasties, they evolved into ch'ang-tuan shih, until in our own time this form is practiced generally. [Of the older tz'u complete with words and music?] still extant, the two pieces"Jui che-ku" and "Hsiao Ch'in wang" 小秦王 are simply an eight-line shih and a seven-word chüeh-chü-shih [respectively]. "Jui che-ku" still may be easily sung in accordance with the words. In the case of "Hsiao Ch'in wang" it is necessary to mix in hou-sheng in order to sing it.  

CHU Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) explicitly stated the theory that the use of such extra-textual sounds or words crystallized into irregular verse forms. "The old yüeh-fu were simply shih," he is reported as saying, "into which a number of fan-sheng were inserted. Later, people hesitated to omit these expletives, so for each one they inserted an actual character, producing long-and-short verse. Thus the songs (曲) of today."  

The prestige of any observation of Chu Hsi's may have influenced later writers on the subject; at any rate, the theory has the appeal of any neat categorical explanation. And it fits well with a term used since Southern Sung times as a synonym for the tz'u: shih-yü 詩餘 implies that the form was an extension or outgrowth of the shih.  

Ch'üan T'ang shih 全唐詩 (1708), adapting Chu Hsi's explanation in a note at the beginning of the appended tz'u section,
reverts to the term ho-sheng: “T'ang yüeh-fu at first used such shih [forms] as lü[-shih] and chüeh[-chü], which were sung by mixing in ho-sheng. When for these expletives actual characters were written, lengthening and shortening the lines conforming to the rhythm of the tune, this was ‘filling in (t'ien-) tz'u.’”

Other Ch'ing writers have said more or less the same thing. Fang Ch'eng-p'ei 方成培 (early nineteenth century) differs only in that he uses a different term for the expletives:

In T'ang times people sang for the most part five- and seven-word chüeh-chü, which could be set to music only by mixing in san-sheng. This was a spontaneous expedient. In the course of time these expletives were recorded (譜), being realized with one or more characters and thereby bringing about long-and-short verse. . . . Thus it was the tz'u which relieved the exhaustion of the “modern style” and carried on the evolution of the yüeh-fu.

As indicated earlier, no very determined attempt will be made here to establish hard and fast distinctions between the -sheng compounds which appear in the foregoing quotations, but tentative distinctions may be suggested. Hsü-sheng would seem to indicate sounds without meaning, or at least without relevance to the sense of the song. Aoki (op. cit. 68) equates Chu Hsi's

Ts' u-lü 译律 (Preface, 1087). In 1 (ts'e 2).1a-2a, are reproduced several “Chu-chih”竹枝 tsz'u. In all of them, each seven-word line is divided 5, with the phrase chu-chih in smaller characters after the fourth word, and similarly nü-erh 女兒 after the seventh. Wan Shu comments: “The chu-chih and nü-erh used are sounds with which, during the singing, the crowd joined in (乃歌時參隨和之聲), as with the chü-cho 舉掉 and nien-shao 年少 in ‘Ts'ai-lien chü’ 探連曲.”

For “Ts'ai-lien chü” or “Ts'ai-lien tszu” see p. 129.

Chin-t'ei 今體 = lü-shih and chüeh-chü. Hsiao-yen-chü 香研居塵 (in Hsiao-yüan ts'ung-shu 嘯園叢書; ts'e 31) 1.1a.

Wu Heng-chao 呉衡照 (1771?) in his Lien-tzu-chü tsz'u-hua 遼子居詞話 (Ts' u-hua ts'ung-pien) 1.8b-9a, comments on Hu Tzu's term hsü-sheng: “These are what yüeh-fu chih-mi 樂府指述 speaks of as the musicians' and singers' ch'en-tzu 譜字. . . . They were a convenience to the singer, as in the old yüeh-fu [the words] ‘fei-hu-hsi’ 奇呼殺 . . . As a general rule seven-word chüeh-chü were always handled this way.” The line “fei-hu-hsi” occurs in the anonymous (Han?) “Yu so ssu 有所思 (cf. Ku-shih yüan 古詩源 [SPPY ed.] 3.13a) in which context it is unintelligible; Waley's translation (170 Chinese Poems 55) omits it.

Ch'en-tzu (helping words or ornamental words) is a term associated with the later dramatic songs (particularly the pei-chü 北曲) rather than with the tz'u, and
fan-sheng with them. Both he and SUZUKI (op. cit. 477) think ho-sheng as used in Ch‘üan T‘ang shih refers specifically to refrains (using real words, not vocalizations like “i-a-na” 伊阿那) in which the instrumentalists, or possibly the audience, joined. San-sheng would seem to cover any kind of interpolation.

Why should T‘ang singers have stuck so long to chüeh-chü for their basic song-words, since so much ingenuity was required to make them singable? Or conversely, why should musicians have stuck to tunes that did not fit the words? The answer seems to be that both were what the public wanted. On the one hand, a tune as four-square as a chüeh-chü would be too monotonous to bear much repetition. On the other, the literary prestige of lü-shih and chüeh-chü, as mentioned before, was supreme. It was great even before the rules of regulated verse were codified early in the eighth century, and when the court stipulated regulated forms for the state examinations, they became the stock-in-trade of every writer. The regularity of the chüeh-chü, its compactness, and its capacity for saying much in few words made it catchy and easy to remember. Probably nobody objected to the interpolated asides, refrains, or patter words; people have always liked such things in popular songs, and still do. However, customs and fashions in art and entertainment change, and eventually the chüeh-chü, adapted as a song-form, began to be transformed into something else.

It is assumed that the interpolations were written down as an aid to memory by the singers who originated them or borrowed

refers to short asides or “ad libs” outside the tonal pattern; see Ch‘in-ting ch‘ü-p‘u 钦定曲譜 (1941 photo-reprint of Palace edition), Introduction, 6a.

SHEN I-fu 沈羲父, the thirteenth-century author of Yüeh-fu chih-mi cited by Wu Heng-chao above, does not use the term ch‘en-tzu at all. He does write (8a in the text included in Ts‘u-hua ts‘ung-pien, ts‘e 2): “There are many discrepancies between the old scores. Even [texts to] the same tune may have two or three words more or less. Sometimes the division or length of a line varies, having been changed by music-masters, and words have been added or dropped by one singer or another.”

The Shu-ku entry on the book quotes this passage, commenting that it shows that all Sung ts‘u did not stick to rigid tonal prescriptions, and that Sung singers did not hesitate to “ad lib.” In view of this, the ch‘i-yao continues, WAN Shu’s statement in Ts‘u-lü that the ch‘ü made use of ch‘en-tzu and the ts‘u did not, is inconclusive. Wu Heng-chao must have assumed from this remark that SHEN I-fu himself had used the term ch‘en-tzu.
them from others. Once a performer had worked out an effective rendition of a lyric, one which audiences liked, he (or she) would want to keep it on hand. Rival musicians, hearing it, would take it down too, though they might make some changes. Possibly no two groups of musicians played or sang the same tune in exactly the same way; who has ever heard "St. Louis Blues" reproduced note for note as W. C. Handy wrote it?

Such texts, if they did exist, may even have been for the purpose of preserving the outline of the tune itself, in the absence of any exact system of musical notation. Not much, if anything, is known about T'ang notation, and little enough about that of Sung times.

At any rate, the conclusion drawn from the Chinese comments quoted earlier is that lengthening of chüeh-chü lines here and there, and the accretion of additional lines of varying length, resulted from the eventual acceptance—in the minds of both singer and audience—of these accidentals or ornamentations as integral with the song-words. It may be inferred that other singing devices, such as melisma (stretching a syllable over more than one tone, as in Handel's "Every valley shall be exa-a-a-a-alted") sometimes tended to shorten a chüeh-chü line by prolonging one word and dropping another.

We can find evidence of some of these processes in tz'u texts of the ninth and tenth centuries. Let us begin with song-words consisting of a regular chüeh-chü plus interpolated refrains which remain recognizable as such, and the omission of which would leave a self-contained quatrain. In Hua-chien chi a one of two "Ts'ai-lien tz'u" by Hwang-fu Sung (late ninth century) goes as follows:

菡萏香連十頃陂
小姑貪戲採蓮遲
年少
晚來弄水船頭濕
舉棹
更脫紅裙裏鴨兒
年少

a1 The quotation in note 60 from Yüeh-fu chih-mi, though written in Sung times, probably is equally applicable to T'ang practice.

a2 Hua-chien chi chu 2.12.
Lotus blossoms link their scent for acres along the bank  (Lift oar!)
Where Little Sister, bent on play, takes her time gathering seeds.  (Young folks!)
It’s growing late, but she toys in the water, splashing the prow of the boat—  (Lift oar!)
And now she’s taken her red skirt off, and wrapped her duckling in it.  (Young folks!)

The other specimen contains the same refrains. The tune to which these poems were written was supposed to have been handed down from Liang times, when princes and emperors wrote words to it.\textsuperscript{63} The tune no doubt underwent changes, and many other poets wrote words to it, but none of them before Huang-fu Sung wrote in these bob-lines. Perhaps they originated in group singing among the people; street musicians may have encouraged their listeners to throw in rhythmic accents, in order to increase their interest and attention and therefore their contributions.

Only the “Lotus Gathering” and “Bamboo Branch” ts’u (see n. 59) retained this sort of separable refrain as a convention. These happen to be two of the ts’u patterns in which poets nearly always stuck to subject matter that had some connection with the titles, and in these two cases the standard popular refrains also were connected with the subject matter, rather than being meaningless sounds like i-a-na. Probably the authors felt that writing in the characters for these refrains gave their song-words a rustic effect. In other ts’u patterns (according to the shih-yü or chūeh-chü—plus explanation), poets replaced meaningless or irrelevant interjections with words adding something to the meaning of a text which might have only the most tenuous connection, or none at all, with the title of the tune. Witness some of the “Yang-liu chih.”

All extant T’ang words to this “Willow Branch” tune are straight seven-word chūeh-chü.\textsuperscript{64} If the shape of the tune was

\textsuperscript{63} One of Liang Wu-ti’s “Chiang-nan nung” mentioned on page 9 is subtitled “Ts’ai-lien chü” (cf. YFSC 30.1b).

\textsuperscript{64} Cf. specimens in YFSC, chüan 81. The tune was popular in the time of Po Chü-i (see Waley’s The Life and Times of Po Chü-i (London, 1940) 196). The earliest extant words to it are nine seven-word quatrains which first appeared in the
such that T’ang singers found it necessary or effective to add a refrain or various rhythmic interjections when performing it, these were not preserved. In the tenth century, however, tz’u poets added a three-character phrase after each line. Supposing that these replace with sense what was mere rhythm in T’ang performances, one may analyze a specimen by Ku Hsiung 顧 聢 as follows:

1. Seven-word line: 秋夜香閨思寂寥
   a. Interpolation: 漏迢迢
2. Seven-word line: 鵪鹩羅幌麝香銷
   b. Interpolation: 燭光搖
3. Seven-word line: 正憶玉郎遊蕩去
   c. Interpolation: 無尋處
4. Seven-word line: 更聞簾外雨蕭蕭
   d. Interpolation: 潑篤蕉

On an autumn night in her bedroom she broods in the lonely stillness;
Far off the night-watch sounds.
Incense fades among the hangings embroidered with mandarin-ducks,
The flame of her candle flickers.
She’s thinking now of her lover off roaming the land,
Wondering where he is,
As she listens to the murmur of the rain outside the blind
Where it drips on the plantain leaves.

As translation readily shows, lines a-b-c-d can be omitted leaving a chüeh-chü which makes sense by itself. However, the poet has treated the four three-word lines as integral parts of the song, heightening its languorous sadness not only by their rhythmic monotony, but by what they say.⁶⁵

These tz’u from the late ninth and early tenth centuries are collected works of his friend Liu Yu-hai 劉禹錫 (Liu Meng-te shen-chi 劉夢得文集 (SPTK ed.) 9 (ts’e 2).9b-10b). Hu Shih thinks these were genuine popular songs heard, rather than composed, by Liu Yu-hai. (It seems likely that he at least “doctored” them considerably, as in the case of his “Bamboo Branch” songs—see note 86.) If he also heard refrains or patter-words thrown in between the lines, he did not think them worth recording. Two additional specimens later were inserted in Liu’s collection (9.19b) which may or may not be from his hand; at any rate they are quite regular chüeh-chü. In very late T’ang, Wen Ting-yün and Huang Fu Sung were still writing straight chüeh-chü under this title.

⁶⁵The actual rhythm, as the poem is read, is 4-3-3  4-3-3  4-3-3  4-3-3.
conveniently simple illustrations of tendencies already operating much earlier. Actually a more advanced stage in the transformation of the *chüeh-chü* is indicated in the “T'iao-hsiao” 調笑 written, or at least written down, by Wei Ying-wu 韋應物 in the late eighth century.\(^{66}\)

a. Interpolation: 胡馬胡馬
1. Six-word line: 遠放燕支山下
2. Six-word line: 跑沙跑雪獨嘶
3. Six-word line: 東望西望路迷
b. Interpolation: 路迷迷路
4. Six-word line: 邊草無窮日暮

Tartar horse, Tartar horse
Loosed afar on slopes of Yen-chih-shan
Paces sand, paces snow, neighbors alone,
Looks east, looks west, paths all strange—
Paths all strange, strange paths,
Grass of the marches endless in the sunset.

This rough translation of what in Chinese is a beautifully evocative, though simple, poem is at least accurate enough to show that the four six-word lines cannot stand alone; without the first “extra” line the poem would have no subject. (The word “interpolation” in the above analysis is used only to suggest an origin for the two four-word lines of the “T'iao-hsiao” pattern.) And a glance at the Chinese shows that without “lu mi, mi lu” the last line would have no rhyme.\(^{67}\) Although it seems to show vestiges of the *chüeh-chü* form, we cannot extract

\(^{66}\) In the Sung edition of his collected works reproduced today the title is written 調嘗詞 (Wei Chiang-chou chi 韋江州集 [SPTK ed.] 10[te'e 2],5b-6a). The tune is referred to elsewhere by several other names. Hu Shih (op. cit. 4) says the alternate name “San-t'ai ling” 司臺令 indicates that the tune came from a transformation of the “San-t'ai” air to which quatrains of six-word lines were sung (cf. Wei Ying-wu’s two specimens following his “T'iao-hsiao”); that the name “T'iao-hsiao” itself shows that the original words were connected with some kind of game; and that a third name, “Chuan-ying ch’ü” 轉應曲, suggests that variations were made in the words to provide some kind of “answer” song. We do not know whether Wei Ying-wu simply took down the words of these songs as he heard them, or wrote poems of his own modeled on their patterns and possibly their subject matter.

\(^{67}\) Note that the rhymes are by couplets, regardless of the asymmetry of the rhymed lines.
a *chüeh-chü* from this text. The transformation of that form, under the influence of music, had already reached an advanced stage in this instance.

Meantime the *chüeh-chü* itself, without additional lines, was undergoing some modification. In the poems quoted above it is the quatrain which provides the longer verses, the interpolations which provide the shorter. But many *tz'u* patterns, including some of T'ang date, do not contain any four lines of equal length. Even some of those which are only four lines long fail to qualify, strictly speaking, as *chüeh-chü* because they contain a line or two that is one character short of the prescribed number.

As we have seen, in the seventh and eighth centuries (after the death of Li Po and Tu Fu) the texts which poets wrote for music, or which singers chose for music, had formally correct stanzas; adaptations to make the words fit the music were the business of the musician and not concern of the poet. But from around the beginning of the ninth century a few poets with an absorbing interest in popular music began to take their own liberties with the *chüeh-chü*. Perhaps they were a bit tired of it after all the thousands of correct specimens that had been written. Perhaps they were not conscious of writing altered *chüeh-chü*, but like the musicians, were now thinking in rhythmical terms rather than in terms of literary form. At any rate they produced four-line stanzas like the following:

A. "Yü ko-tzu" 漁歌 by CHANG Chih-ho 張志和 (730-810) **

1. 7 words (4/3) 西塞山前白鹭飛
2. 7 words (4/3) 桃花流水鳜魚肥
3. 6 words (3/3) 青箬笠,緑蓑衣
4. 7 words (4/3) 斜風細雨不須歸

** Cf. *Ts'au-p'u* I.17a. This is the best known of several "Yü ko-tzu" or "Yü-li tz'u" 漁父詞, attributed to a contemporary of Wei Ying-wu, which circulated widely in the Yangtze region. The tune did not outlast the T'ang dynasty; Su Shih, who said CHANG Chih-ho's words could not be sung as they stood, added a few characters to the "Yü-fu tz'u" to fit it to the tune of "Huan-ch'i sh'ia" 潑溪沙, and his cousin Li Ju-ch'i 李如箇 adapted it to the tune of "Che-ku t'ien" 鳥鶼天. Hu Shih (op. cit. 8-9) therefore classifies CHANG Chih-ho's lyrics with the seven-word *chüeh-chü* song-words of the seventh and eighth centuries, regarding them merely as slightly altered *chüeh-chü* rather than consciously long-and-short verse written to
Before Western Pass Mountain white herons soar,
In the stream beneath the peach-blooms the perch are sleek and fat.69
In hat of bamboo leaves and green straw cape
Against the wind and drizzle, one need not go home.

B. "Chang-t'ai li" 章臺柳 by Han Hung 韓翃 (fl. 750) 70
1. 6 words (3/3) 章臺柳 章臺柳
2. 7 words (4/3) 往日青青今在否
3. 7 words (4/3) 縱使長條似舊重
4. 7 words (4/3) 亦應攀折他人手
Chang-t'ai willow, Chang-t'ai willow,
So green in days gone by, do you grow there still?
Though your long green branches trail as they used to do,
Those that reach and break them off are other hands than mine.

C. "Hua fei hua" 花非花 by Po Chü-i 白居易 (772-846): 71
1. 6 words (3/3) 花非花。花非花
2. 6 words (3/3) 夜半來。天明去
3. 7 words (4/3) 來如春夢不多時
4. 7 words (4/3) 去似朝雲無覓處
The blossoms were not flowers, the vapors were not mists; 72
She came in the middle of night, and left with the light of day—
Came like a springtime reverie, stayed but a little while,
Went like the clouds of dawn, and was nowhere to be found.

conform to the demands of musical phrasing. Two or three other "Yu-fu tz'u" are attributed to Chang's elder brother Sung-ling 松齡, and about fifteen anonymous ones are thought to be by contemporaries of theirs.

"Hsi-sai-shan 西塞山 being in Chekiang, the peach-blossom stream does not indicate the geographical locale of T'ao Ch'ien's famous utopian fantasy (somewhere between Hunan and Never-never land); but the allusion helps to evoke the idyllic rusticity celebrated in that piece.

70 For the story behind this, cf. Pen-shih shih (TTTS, ts'e 6, 3b-4a). Han Hung wrote the verses to a woman named Liu 柳 to whose favors men more affluent than he had succeeded. The Chang Terrace was in the suburbs of Chang-an.

71 Ts'u-p'u 1.13a includes this text as a ts'u-tiao, but nothing is known of any tune connected with it. In Po's collected poems it appears with a group of poems of "emotion" (kan-shang 咎傷) in miscellaneous forms (Po Hsien-shan shih chi 白香山詩集 12.12a). It would be stretching a point to classify it as a chüeh-chü even if it were not one word short, since the tonal pattern is unusually free and the rhymes are in the deflected tone.

72 I.e., not the flowers and mists of this world.
Aoki observes that such metrical variations as those shown above do not destroy the dominant rhythm established by a seven-word line which, because of the pause at the end of it, or more normally the drawing-out of the final sound, carries eight beats. Quite aside from hypothetical demands of musical phrasing, if the reader will recite to himself the Chinese of the foregoing poems he will find that the six-word lines do indeed fit this eight-beat rhythm, the third and sixth words each accounting for two beats. It is possible, then, that the slightly altered chūeh-chūi, one or two words short of the standard form, was a purely literary development rather than a musico-literary one. In any event, it was a step toward greater prosodic flexibility and hence toward an easier drawing-together of poetic and musical forms.

Aoki (op. cit. 74) illustrates the eight-beat rhythm of both six- and seven-word lines by musical notation, using lines from the "Yü ko-tzu" above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 1. 西塞山前 白鹭飛</th>
<th>Line 2. 青箬笠 綠蓑衣</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[ \begin{align*}
& \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow | \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \\
& \text{Line 1. 西塞山前 白鹭飛} \\
& \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow | \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \\
& \text{Line 2. 青箬笠 綠蓑衣} \\
\end{align*} \]

or:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 1. 西塞山前 白鹭飛</th>
<th>Line 2. 青箬笠 綠蓑衣</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \begin{align*}
& \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow | \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \\
& \text{Line 1. 西塞山前 白鹭飛} \\
& \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow | \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \\
& \text{Line 2. 青箬笠 綠蓑衣} \\
\end{align*} \]

He contends that in writing or reading Chinese poetry—completely aside from setting it to music—not only six-word lines, but five-word lines as well, are interchangeable with seven-word lines without destroying a basic eight-beat rhythm. The only other normal line being that of four words, the implication is that practically all Chinese poetry is made up of rhythmic combina-
tions of four-beat units. Aoki measures as follows a tz'u containing lines of three, five, and seven words: 78


江南憶——最憶是杭州——山寺月中

Line 4. Line 5.

尋桂子|郡亭枕上|看湖頭|何日更重遊

We have here one of Po Chü-i's three tz'u entitled "I Chiang-nan" 怡江南, which are translated further on in this essay. Except for Wei Ying-wu’s "Tiao-hsiao," which is fairly regular by

78 AOKI (op. cit. 75) notates only the first three lines; the last two are notated here on the basis of his conception of the others, except that the last word of the poem is marked with a half-note instead of being broken off with a rest.

Aoki bases his theory of the ubiquitous four-beat unit on the testimony of his own ear when listening to the verbal rhythms of poems and songs read aloud (not sung) by Chinese. It is unexceptionable to anyone who has listened to such reading that the caesura in a six-word line counts for one beat, whether it is realized by melisma or by an in-breathing, and that a pause or hold at the end of any line counts for one beat. The present author, from his limited experience of hearing Chinese poetry read aloud, would not say that the very slight pauses within five- or seven-word lines account for a full beat. In most cases the "punctuation" (讀) in such lines is realized by emphasizing slightly the first word in the next phrase, rather than by making any significant pause. This listener has never heard a two-word unit in regular five-word poetry rendered as Aoki notates tsui i ( Johannesburg

In a musical setting, even a Western one, it would certainly be easy enough to interchange five- and seven-word lines. In support of his position that such lines are interchangeable even in reading, Aoki suggests that it explains how "P'ao-ch'iü yüeh" 抛遊樂 (see Tz'u-p'u 2.5a), which T'ang poets (e.g., Liu Yü-hai) wrote in six five-word lines, took the pattern 7-7-7-7-7 in the Five Dynasties period. The two versions may well have been sung to the same melody, but the question of purely verbal rhythm is irrelevant. Such songs were never merely "read" aloud; doubtless those who "read" the Hua-chien chi to themselves in the tenth century mentally sang each piece, as do those today who read the lyrics of Oscar Hammerstein II as published in literary form by Simon and Schuster. In most Chinese poetry the rhythmic nature of five-word and seven-word lines appears to be quite different. Although both in the final analysis do contain eight beats, it is submitted that a more general schematization than Aoki's would be:

Seven-word line:  

Five-word line:  

214
comparison, these are the earliest real ch'ang-tuan-chü to be found among the T'ang tz'u.

Whatever the rhythmic basis for the development of such lines from a purely literary standpoint, evidently Po Chü-i was primarily concerned here with reproducing the rhythmic pattern of a popular song. His note following the title "I Chiang-nan" says, "This tune is also called 'Hsieh Ch'iu-niang' 謝秋娘; each stanza is in five lines." Apparently the poet patterned his line-lengths after a lyric which was already circulating among the singing-girls, musicians, and common people of the South with whom he loved to spend his time.

Although Po Chü-i in his shih often referred to the content or atmosphere of popular songs, he does not appear to have said anything about "Hsieh Ch'iu-niang" other than that it was in five lines. Presumably it was the melody which attracted him.

Po Hsiang-shan shih-chi (SPPY ed.), hou-chi 後集, 3 (ts'e 7). 12b. Wang Li-ming 王立名 (whose 1703 ed. is the basis for the above) states (ts'e 1, fan-li 凡例 3b) that notes and comments included with the poems are from the original text unless introduced by the word an 按. Variants, which are noted briefly without this character, obviously cannot have been inserted by Po Chü-i, but other comments are assumed to be the poet's own. As Waley remarks in his biography of Po (p. 217), "his poems, unlike those of Li Po, were not posthumously collected from friends, but were collected and edited by Po himself." The present standard edition of Po Chü-i's complete works, Po shih Ch'ang-ching chi (SPTK ed.) omits notes to the poems.

According to Yüeh-fu tsa-lu 榮府雜錄 (TTTS, ts'e 7, 12a), the t'ai-uei 太尉 Li [Te-yü] 李 (德裕) (787-849) wrote the original song, while he was military governor of Chih 淅 (Chekiang), in memory of his concubine Hsüan Ch'iu-niang 謝秋娘, the title later being changed from that name to "Meng Chiang-nan" 夢江南. (Ts'u-p'u, in the Table of Contents for its first chüen, lists the latter under "I Chiang-nan" as one of several alternate titles.) Liu Yün-hsiang (op. cit. 126) believes the song was already popular some years earlier. Hu Shih (op. cit. 7) is also skeptical of Yüeh-fu tsa-lu's accuracy on this score, though he elsewhere (p. 21) remarks that since its author Tuan An-chieh 段安節 was in Li Te-yü's suite in Chekiang around the middle of the ninth century his stories of that period should be dependable. At any rate, present editions of Li Te-yü's works (cf. Li Wei-kung chi 李衛公集 [SPTK ed.], pieh-chi 別集 4.2a) contain the caption 錦城春事憶江南三首. "Three five-word 'I Chiang-nan' stanzas about spring in the Brocade City (Ch'eng-tu 成都),' but not the texts of the poems, which have disappeared. Note, however, that the caption indicates that they were in five-word lines, not ch'ang-tuan-chü, so that Po Chü-i cannot have been imitating the form of verses written by Li Te-yü. One would further assume from the caption that the latter wrote his three "I Chiang-nan" in Szechuan rather than in Chekiang. If he did write the original
rather than the words. These may well have been lacking in literary merit if they were written by the composer of the tune, or by some prostitute or other entertainer. In either case the concern of the person who devised the words would not have been primarily literary but musical. He or she would not be conscious of whether any given line might resemble part of a chüeh-chü or take one of the shapes characteristic of extra phrases thrown in to fill out the musical beat. The lyricist of the wine-shop or brothel would simply make up words to fit the music, paying attention not to how the words would read as a poem, but to how effectively they could be sung. Hu Shih has in mind cases like this when he says that the long-and-short tz’u originated not among the poets but “among the people.”

Some singing-girls probably did have a certain literary flair and achieved a felicity of expression in their song-words which added to their fame. Unfortunately it is impossible to be sure whether these song-words actually were written by the ladies whose names were often connected with them, or whether the subject matter was in some other manner associated with their private or artistic lives. Po Chü-i several times mentions a Southern tz’u by (or about) a woman called Wu Erh-niang 吳二娘.” His description of this tz’u and quotations from it point to the following text:

words to the song, others soon altered them or wrote new ones conforming more closely to the phrasing of the music.

18 “I suspect that the custom of writing long-short verses following the rhythm of the tunes arose among the people, among the musicians and singing-girls. Literary men were conservative, and kept writing five- and seven-word shih as before. But the musicians and singing-girls were interested only in having songs that were good to sing and good to listen to, so they produced long-short verses.” — op. cit. 15-16.

17 His lü-shih “Chi Yin hsieh-lü” 寄殷協律 (“Sent to the hsieh-lü Mr. Yin,” Po Hsiang-shan shih chi [SPPY ed.]. hou-chi, 8 [ts’e 8].8ab) contains the lines 吳娘暮雨瀟瀟曲,自別江南更不聞: “Miss Wu’s song of the drizzling evening rain, I hear no more since I left the South.” He appends a note that 暮...瀟 is from the words to a tune by Wu Erh-niang of Chiang-nan. Another lü-shih, “T’ing t’an ‘Hsiang fei yüan’” 聽弔湘妃怨 (“On hearing ‘The Hsiang Maidens’ Regrets’ being played,” ibid. 19 [ts’e 6].14b), contains the lines 分明曲裏愁雲雨, 似道瀟瀟郎不歸: “Clearly in the piece [someone] is grieved by clouds and rain [in both the literal and symbolic senses]; it seems to say ‘Drizzle, drizzle, he does not return.’” His note says that the words 暮雨瀟...歸 are from a “new Southern tz’u.”

216
深畫眉
浅畫眉
蟬聲斷斷雲滿衣
陽臺行雨回
巫山高
巫山低
暮雨瀟瀟郎不歸
空房獨守時

Brows pencilled deep,
Brows pencilled pale,

Hair streaming loose, robe girt with cloud,
The Moving Rain has returned to the Southern Crest.
High on Wu-shan,
Low on Wu-shan,

Twilight and drizzling rain, and he does not return.
Alone in the empty house, she passes the time as she can.78

This poem, under the title “Ch’ang hsiang-ssu” 长相思, appears in various collections as the composition of Po Chü-i,79 together with another after the same pattern; but like the two “Ju-meng ling” 如夢令 they are not to be found in his complete works, Po shih ch’ang-ch’ing chi.80 It is evident, however, that he was familiar with this tz’u and fond of it. Whoever wrote it, it bears further evidence that popular song-words were already being written in ch’ang-tuan-chü in Po Chü-i’s time. If he did not directly copy the pattern of the words of Wu Erh-niang’s song,

78 For the erotic symbols in the poem cf. the prose “Preface” to the “Kao-t’ang fu” 高唐賦 (Wen-hsüan [SPTK ed.] 19.1a-2b, translated by Waley, The Temple and Other Poems [London, 1925] 65-66). In the song, a past erotic experience is contrasted—as usual—with an aftermath of uncertainty and frustration. A courtesan would not have to be highly educated to allude to the “Kao-t’ang fu,” which she might never have read; the images in the Preface had long since become standard euphemisms which appear over and over in T’ang song and poetry.

79 The text here is from Ch’üan T’ang shih 32.39b.

80 Po Chü-i’s preface to the last major group included disavows authorship of any poems circulating under his name but not found in Ch’ang-ch’ing chi. This preface (71.18b, translated by Waley in his biography 219) is dated the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Hui-ch’ang 會昌 (845), about fifteen months before his death; he wrote little thereafter, and in sober vein. The “Ch’ang hsiang-ssu” and “Ju-meng ling” tz’u are not in the pieh-chi or pu-i 補遺 sections at the end of Wang Li-ming’s edition.
perhaps he found the pattern of "Hsieh Ch'iu-niang" more workable. On the other hand he may have considered the words of the former admirable as they stood, and have written new words to the latter under the title "I Chiang-nan" because the old ones did not please him. Or perhaps the "Hsieh Ch'iu-niang" tune had already become a customary musical vehicle for celebrating the beauties and joys of Chiang-nan, and Po Chü-i merely wished to add his tribute to China's "Dixieland" in the current manner.

Whether or not he took this experiment in popular-song writing very seriously (his attitude toward his ballads and songs in general hints otherwise), the three "I Chiang-nan" have an evocative magic not wholly dependent on the fact that one comes to them already aware of Po Chü-i's fondness for the South. Perhaps something of their effect will come through in translation: 81

江南好
風景舊曾谙
日出江花紅勝火
春來江水綠如藍
能不憶江南

It's good to be in the South!
Once I knew well all its sights and sounds:
At dawn the River blossoms redder than flame,
In spring the River waters blue as indigo.
How can I help thinking of the South?

江南憶
最憶是杭州
山寺月中尋桂子
郡亭枕上看湖頭
何日更重遊

Memories of the South:
Oftest I think of Hang-chou—
Spying out the cassia tree in the moon from the temple in the hills,
Seeing the lake from my pillow in the rest-house.
When shall I ever have such times again?

81 For the texts below cf. SPPY, hou-chi, 3 (ts'e 7).12b, or SPTK 67 (ts'e 23).12b.
Memories of the South:
Next I remember the mansions of Wu,\textsuperscript{52}
A cup of the native wine, leaves of spring bamboo,
A pair of Wu dancers with their wine-flushed flower-faces—
When shall I see them again!

Po's friend Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫 later followed this pattern exactly in a delicately wistful little song of his own:

\begin{align*}
春去也 & \\
多謝洛城人 & \\
弱柳從風疑舉袂 & \\
叢蘭揺露似沾巾 & \\
獨坐亦含欽 &
\end{align*}

Spring is gone,
Having paid its respects to us here in Lo-yang.
The willows bending in the breeze seem to be waving goodbye,
Clustered orchises shed their dews as if wetting their handkerchiefs.
And I sit alone, with knitted brow.

Liu captioned this poem "A spring tz'u after Lo-t'ien 樂天 (Po Chü-ı), to the rhythm of the tune 'I Chiang-nan.'"\textsuperscript{55} Po Chü-ı had not explicitly stated that he was following his model exactly, but there is no doubt in his friend's case; here we have the first avowed instance of the practice of t'ien-tz'u. Note that Liu Yü-hsi's song has nothing to do with the South. Later poets who used this tune (under the alternate titles "Meng 夢 Chiang-nan" and "Wang 見 Chiang-nan") sometimes celebrated the South (HUANG-FU Sung, LI Yü 李煜) and sometimes used it for other subjects (WEN T'ıng-yün 溫庭筠, NIU Ch'iao 牛嶽).

Like Wei Ying-wu \textsuperscript{54} of the previous generation, Po and Liu

\textsuperscript{52} Pre-Ch'in Wu: the Su-chou region.
\textsuperscript{54} Wei Ying-wu had been Prefect of Soochow when Po Chü-ı arrived there around 785 as a boy of thirteen or so, a refugee from the famine at Ch'ang-an. Po wrote
were Northerners whose government service kept them for long periods in the South. All three became fond of the South by making the best of their provincial "exile," savoring the local color of their various stations, visiting the beauty spots of the countryside, and enjoying the talents and company of singing-girls and musicians. All three were connoisseurs of music and sensitive to the particular qualities of the popular music with which they came in contact. Though they sometimes found the local song-words uncouth, they found their patterns worthy of imitation. Because some of the patterns they imitated were irregular, they produced the first authenticatable T'ang long-short tz'u, "Tiao-hsiao" and "I Chiang-nan."

many years later that he had been too poor to meet the Prefect socially, but as he grew up he admired Wei's didactic poems and was influenced by them. Cf. the Waley biography 14, 223-224.

As Po Chü-i's and Liu Yü-hsi's musical interests are too well known to require further comment here. Yang Chü-yüan's (TTTS, ts'e 6, 27.b) associates Wei Ying-wu with music and musicians, and says he was thoroughly versed in musical procedures (洞曉音律).

As in the case of Liu Yü-hsi and the "Bamboo Branch" songs which so fascinated him in Szechuan. After describing the village performances with flutes, drums, dancing, and group singing, he concludes: "Of old, when Ch'ü Yuan was living in the region of the Yuan and Hsiang [rivers], the people of those parts summoned the spirits in crude and rustic language; he then wrote the Nine Songs, and even today they sing and dance them in Ch'ü. So I also wrote nine 'Bamboo Branch' tz'us and had trained singers perform them."—Liu Meng-t'ung wen-ch'i 9 (ts'e 2) 8b. The texts of Liu's nine songs so introduced do not contain the refrains mentioned in note 57.

"The Chinese had in the ninth century," Waley remarks, "the same complete confidence in the superiority of their own culture that Europeans had in the nineteenth. Liu Yü-hsi found that the shamans of the local aborigines were using in their ceremonies, songs the words of which he considered barbarous and uncouth. He wrote new words in proper literary style, which it is said were used by local singers till long after his time."—Po Chü-i 167.

This does not mean that Liu did not appreciate the native "color" of popular song-words, which he sought to retain insofar as possible in his more polished literary versions. Song-words in more populous regions, such as the cities along the Yangtze, would be more sophisticated, but literary men might still find those by unlettered prostitutes and musicians more touching than tasteful, and undertake to improve them or substitute their own compositions in the same forms. Hu Shih (op. cit. 17) thinks this is the way poets began to write tz'u in irregular patterns.

* The character is a variant of 謀, written with the radical 言 underneath.
The foregoing pages have suggested some of the influences, literary and musical, which may have prepared the way for the drawing-together of text and melody; but whatever the role and force of these influences, by the end of the first half of the ninth century these three poets had broken the ground for writing poetry directly to music.

Any song-words by Po Chü-i were likely to circulate widely and rapidly; we have his own complaint, in his old age, that his more serious pseudo-odes (the hsien yüeh-fu, with their content of social criticism) were neglected while his casual songs and ballads were sung everywhere. Since "Hsieh Ch'iu-niang" or "I Chiang-nan" was already a popular tune, it requires little imagination to suppose that the singing-girls of whom Po Chü-i knew so many, both in his own establishment and elsewhere, took up the words written to it by the famous poet.

One can only conjecture how far the prestige of Po Chü-i stimulated the writing of song-words directly to music regardless of formal irregularities. Since he wrote only three real long-short tz'u, all in the same pattern, I hesitate to accord too much influence in this direction even to so famous a name. But the practice undeniably was widespread shortly after his death in 846. Poets often set words to a tune as soon as it was composed. Su O 蘇鶴, who lived only slightly later, reported that when around the middle of the century a barbarian state sent an embassy whose members wore their hair piled up and coiffed with gold like bodhisattvas, actor-musicians devised a tune called "P'u-sa man" 菩薩蠻 ("Bodhisattva Aliens"), and literati repeatedly set words to it. This tune quickly became one of the most popular tz'u patterns (7-7-5-5-5-5). One of the poets who took it up was a young man from T'ai-yüan 太原, who early became famous for his tz'u in many forms—including the one used by Po Chü-i in the specimens quoted above. Wen T'ing-yün 溫庭筠 (?820-?870) was the first poet who might be called a tz'u specialist; he wrote so many that they filled two collections which circulated separately from his shih. The compiler of Hua-

---

11 Letter to Yuan Chen 元錫 translated by Waley in Po Chü-i, 111 f.
12 Tu-yang tsa-pien 杜陽雜編 (TTTS, ts'e 1, 51a).
chien chi begins his anthology with some sixty specimens by Wen T'ing-yün. There is no doubt that he shaped his words directly to music, for his biography in Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書 says that in his youth he became noted for just that.

Wen T'ing-yün associated with singing-girls and musicians more constantly than did Po Chü-i, and under rather different circumstances. He never became an official, and spent an inordinate amount of his time with other ne'er-do-wells in the wine-shops and brothels. Perhaps he began writing tz'u to improve on the words he heard sung in such places, and finding his versions popular with the girls, continued to write for them new words to old tunes, and sometimes completely new songs. The Preface to Hua-chien chi ⑨ characterizes its manner and social atmosphere as "fanned by the air of the songs of the Northern Lanes (brothels)," ⑩ and the very title of the anthology associates its contents with such a setting.

It is clear then that the forms of Wen T'ing-yün's tz'u were based not on transmutations of literary canons, but directly on the demands of music. The same may be said of the tz'u of his less prolific contemporary Huang-Fu Sung and of those by Wei Chuang 韋莊, who lived past the end of the T'ang. Both these men are also represented in Hua-chien chi; of the six patterns representing Huang-Fu Sung four are ch'ang-tuan-chü, as are all eighteen of Wei Chuang's.

There are a few surviving late T'ang tz'u by lesser poets, and several dozen anonymous ones. Among the latter are the eighteen surviving pieces in the incomplete Yün-yao-chi tsa-ch'iü-tzu 雲巖集雑曲子 recovered at Tun-huang in 1907. ⑪ Their authors

⑨ Hua chien chi chu, "Original Preface." 1.
⑩ A later poet who kept similar company, and carried on Wen T'ing-yün's voluptuous themes in his poetry, often wrote his tz'u on request. "When Lü Yu ⑪ Meng-te 葉夢得 (ch'in-shih 1097), Pi-shu lu-hua 避暑錄話 (in Hsüeh-chin ts'ao-yüan 學津討源, ts'oe 32) 2.1b.
⑪ These have been edited by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 in his Tun-huang ling-shih 燎煌零拾, and by Chu Tzu-mou as the first collection in his Chiang-tz'un ts'ung-shu.
do not appear to have been highly literary, and may well have been entertainers of one kind or another. All eighteen poems are in lines of varying length.

If the principal concern of this discussion has been with the development of ch'ang-tuan-chü, it is not because this is the only approach to a study of the origins of the tz'u, but because metrical irregularity was the most distinctive literary characteristic of the genre when it began to be generally recognized as a separate branch of poetry. On the other hand, the theory that the tz'u is derived from more regular verse forms notably fails to relate it to the ch'ang-tuan-chü tradition which is as old as the Classic of Songs. Approaching the whole problem of the origins of the tz'u from this angle changes the perspective and relegates the aberrant chüeh-chü and lü-siḥ verses to the position of modifications brought about under the influence of popular songs, themselves the immediate prototypes of the tz'u. I propose to treat this aspect of the history of the tz'u in a separate paper.

(see note 56). Yün-yao chi, hitherto lost, had been catalogued as containing thirty pieces, but twelve are missing from the book found at Tunhuang (in which the first character of the title is written 雲). Small as the collection is, the fact that it is thought to be by various hands and the uncertainty of its date account for the qualifying adjective in the statement at the beginning of this article that Hwa-chien chi was the first extensive anthology of tz'u.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 111, line 2: I suggested "tune pattern" as a rendering for tiao. "Does 調 in this context," Arthur Waley later wrote to me, "mean anything quite so definite as a tune? Isn't it perhaps more a 'melody-type' and, in that case, rather nearer to the Indian rāg than to 'tune' as we use the word when we speak of 'Home Sweet Home' or 'Die Lorelei' as tunes?" Dr. Waley is quite right; I think his comparison with the Indian rāgu, insofar as I am familiar with them, very apt.

Page 119, note 41, line 14: For (see below, p. 00) read (see below, p. 143).

Having failed so far to produce the further paper proposed at the end of my article, I hope somebody else will do so. Murakami
Tetsumi 村上哲見 of Koyto University has provided some guidelines and documentation in his study of Wen T'ing-yün, 温飛卿の文學 (Chūgoku bungakuhō 5(1956).19–40), and in his 李煜 (No. 16 in the Iwanami series on Chinese poetry, Tokyo, 1955), to which are appended a discussion of and copious translations from the Hua-chien chi. Jao Tsung-i 高宗顯 includes in his 詞籍考, Part I (University of Hong Kong Press, 1963) some suggestive information on early tz'u.
A COLLOQUIAL SHORT STORY IN THE NOVEL
CHIN P'ING MEI

by
John L. Bishop
A COLLOQUIAL SHORT STORY IN THE NOVEL
CHIN P'ING MEI

JOHN L. BISHOP
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

[The substance of this article was first presented as a paper before the fifth annual meeting of The Far Eastern Association on April 1, 1953.]

It is a generally known fact that the novel, Chin p'ing mei 金瓶梅 borrows as its point of departure an episode from Shui hu chuan 水滸傳 and elaborates the lives and destinies of the characters in that episode. To the best of my knowledge, it has not been pointed out that in chapters 98 and 99 of Chin p'ing mei is to be found one of the colloquial short stories contained in the collection Ku-chin hsiao-shuo 古今小説, a story entitled “Hsin-ch'iao-shih Han Wu mai ch'un-ch'ing 新橋市韓五賣春情 [“Han Wu Sells Her Love in Newbridge”]. Not only do the outlines of the first half of the story appear as a subsidiary episode in the plot of the novel, but both texts show a parallelism of phraseology, extending in passages that vary in length from four or five characters to forty or fifty. The parallelism is interrupted when exigencies of the plot of the novel demand additional or different details from those of the short story, and further variations occur in the names of some of the characters, as well as in orthographic variants and additional colloquial particles. Between the two versions of Chin p'ing mei which have come down to us there are still further deviations; but the extent of identical passages and the agreement of narrative details are pronounced enough to convince that here is a case of literary borrowing.

1 [Ch'üan-hsiang] Ku-chin hsiao-shuo 全像古今小説 (Shanghai, 1947) 3.
2 a. Chin p'ing mei ts'u-hua 金瓶梅詞話, 21 ts'e. (Photolithographic reprint of 1617 edition. Shanghai, 1933.)
b. Tsu-pen Chin p'ing mei 足本金瓶梅, 16 ts'e. (Typeset edition. n.p., n.d.)

* Three random examples will serve to demonstrate the degree of similarity among the three texts. No. 1 compares the following passages: (a) Ku-chin hsiao-shuo 8.2a; (b) Chin p'ing mei ts'u-hua 98.5a; (c) Tsu-pen Chin p'ing mei 98.15a. With the
The inevitable question—which borrowed from which?—is not easily answered, for it is impossible to date precisely either the story or the novel. It is true that the collection, *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo* was first printed in 1620 or 1621; but this publication date merely represents the time when its forty stories, previously existing, were issued as an anthology. The editor, publisher and parenthesized letters representing the same texts, the passages juxtaposed in No. 2 are located as follows: (a) 3.2b; (b) 98.5ab; (c) 98.15b. No. 3: (a) 3.7a; (b) 98.11b; (c) 98.16a. To facilitate alignment of characters, the punctuation used in these editions is here eliminated.

No. 1

(a) 只見屋後河邊泊着兩隻倂船船上, 許多箱籠卓凳家伙四五個
(b) 門里     裝着     椅     活     聶
(c)     

(a) 人盡搬入       空屋裏來
(b) 樓下     禮
(c)     

No. 2

(a) 吳山問    主管道    甚麼人    不問事由擅自搬入我屋    來
(b) 經濟    當    是    自    禮
(c) 敬    也    一聲

No. 3

(a) 自別尊顔思慕之心未忘, 但舊懸懸不忘於心向象期約妾倚門凝
(b)     于
(c)     

(a) 望不見降臨    昨遣八老探拜    不遇而同妾移居在此甚是荒
(b) 蓬華     間起居
(c)     

(a) 涼聽聞貴恙火疼痛使妾    坐臥不安
(b)     欠安    今    空懷恨望    閔懼
(c) 閨知    恨

*For a description of this and other early editions cf. Sun K'ai-ti, *Chung-kuo t'ung-shu hsiao-shuo shu-mu* 中國通俗小說書目 (Peip'ing, 1932) 122-3; So-chien *Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shu-mu ti-yao* 所見中國小說書目提要 (Peip'ing, 1933) 17.*
owner of the library from which the originals were taken has been identified as Feng Meng-lung 彭夢龍, editor and author of many popular works at the end of the Ming dynasty. Other stories in this collection are to be found in prior compilations dating from at least early Ming times. These versions in turn are believed to have been based on hua-pen 話本 or printed versions of the prompt-books used by popular story-tellers, written versions of oral stories which began to be printed sometime in the late Sung or early Yuan period. It is very possible that the particular story with which we are concerned has a similar history, although no earlier version of it has come to light. It might, in short, have been narrated orally and committed to written form at any time between the eleventh century and 1621.

Chin p'ing mei presents a dating problem of a different sort. Obviously written by a single author, it shows no evidence, vestigial or conventional, of an oral tradition of story-telling as do other hsiao-shuo of the period. But the question is who was its author. The earliest mention of the work in the Shang-cheng 順政 of Yüan Hung-tao 袁宏道 places the novel before Yüan’s death in 1610. A more informative reference from a slightly later work is to be found in Ku ch’ü tsa yen 顧曲雜言. The author, Shen Te-fu 沈德符, relates that in 1606 he borrowed a


* Chin p’ing shan t’ang hua-pen 清平山堂話本 compiled by Hung Pien 洪楩 during the Chia-ching 嘉靖 period (1522-1566). A portion discovered in Japan has been issued in facsimile reprint, Tōkyō, 1928 and Peiping, 1929. Another portion recovered in China has been reprinted in facsimile under the title, Yü-ch’u i-chen chi 雨窗歌枕集, Peiping, 1934.

Ching-pen t’ung-su hsiao-shuo 京本通俗小說 (reprinted as Sung-jen hsiao-shuo 宋人小說, Shanghai, 1940) was long considered a compilation of Yuan date, but for recent doubts on this dating cf. Yoshikawa Kojirō 吉川幸次郎, “Shō Chō shukan kyō” 『志誠張主管』評, in his Chūgoku sambun ron 中國散文論 (Tōkyō, 1949) 190-220; and Jaroslav Průšek, “Popular Novels in the Collection of Ch’ien Tseng,” Archiv Orientalni 10 (1928) 292-5.

* Pao yen t’ang pi-chi 寶顏堂秘笈 (Shanghai, 1922) (hsü-chi 繼集 ts’e 8) 2b. 

228
complete copy of the novel from Yüan Hung-tao’s younger brother and made a transcript for himself, which later in Suchow he showed to his friend Feng Meng-lung. The latter, delighted with the novel, urged a printer to buy it; but Shen piously refusing to take the moral responsibility for propagating such an immoral work, locked up his copy. It is not clear whether he relented or whether other copies were circulating, but he adds that a short time later the novel was to be bought all over Suchow. In conclusion he reports having heard that Chin p’ing mei was written by a prominent scholar of the Chia-ching 嘉靖 period (1522-1566) and that it satirizes actual events and personages of that era.8

From this reference it is clear that the authorship of Chin p’ing mei was already a mystery a hundred years after its supposed time of composition. On the basis of the last hint by Shen Te-fu, several authors have been suggested, including Feng Meng-lung himself, but none has been substantiated. Therefore, returning to our two texts, external evidence yields nothing to settle the precedence of either, beyond the inconclusive fact that the compiler of Ku-chin hsiao-shuo, Feng Meng-lung, had read Chin p’ing mei some ten years before his story collection was printed.

An immediate supposition is that Feng may have abstracted a portion of the novel which he had found entertaining to form one of the stories in his anthology. It is true that one story in a subsequent collection9 is known to be his work and others show evidence of restyling by him;10 but internal evidence strongly supports the view that Feng could not have composed this particular hsiao-shuo from incidents in Chin p’ing mei. In fact, such

---

8 Ku-chü tsu-yen (Sung-fen shih ts’ung-k’ao 讀芬室叢刊) (ts’ao 74) 14b-15a. I am indebted to Professor Yang Lien-sheng for calling my attention to a further substantiation of this dating, the fact that of the eighty-eight songs (chü-tzu 曲子) in the novel, sixty appear in Yung-hai yüeh-fu 熙樂府 and forty-six in Ts’u-lin chai-yen 詞林摘畧, both compilations of the Chia-ching period. Cf. Feng Yuan-chün 馮沅君 Ku-chü shuo-hui 古劇說彙 (Shanghai, 1947) 191-5.


10 Compare, for example, from Ch’ing p’ing shan t’ang hua-pen the stories “Li Yuan Rescues a Red Snake in Wu-chiang” (李元與江救朱蛇) and “The Ring” (戒指兒記) with Ku-chin hsiao-shuo 34 and 4.
evidence points to the conclusion that "Han Wu Sells Her Love in Newbridge" is one of that group of stories which stems from narration by marketplace story-tellers.

Structurally the narrative shows its early origins in a formal introduction, consisting of five short sketches of past rulers who were addicted to feminine beauty, each sketch prefaced or concluded by a poem in seven-word lines. Two of the latter are yung-shih 誠史 poems by Hu Tseng 胡曾 (c. 860) and another is a quotation from Po Chü-i, 伯居易, "Ch'ang hen ko"( "Song of the Everlasting Remorse"). The historical anecdote in prose connected with each poem serves as a commentary to clarify the allusions in the verse. This entire introduction, with the exception of the poem and sketch devoted to Duke Ling of Ch'en 陳靈公, parallels a passage in Hsüan-ho 釋和事 where the identical poems and the same anecdotes in slightly different phrasing occur juxtaposed in the same sequence. The narrative method of these two examples conforms closely to the conventional pattern of alternating cryptic poem and explanatory narrative prose to be found in such a work of early vernacular literature as Ch'üan-hsiang p'ing-hua 全相平話 which exists in a Yuan printing. Used to introduce a main story, it becomes a characteristic device in early hua-pen and one which presumably allowed the narrator to go on improvising historical parallels to the tale which was to follow until his audience reached profitable proportions and at the same time hold the attention of early-comers.

The remainder of the story contains an unusual number of intrusions by the narrator in the form of rhetorical questions and of colloquies between narrator and audience. If such rhetorical

---

11 Hsin tiao chu Hu Tseng yung-shih shih 荊楚胡曾詠史詩 (Su-pu ts'ung-k'ao ed.) 2.9b-10a; 2.10b.
12 Po Hsiang-shan shih-chi 白香山詩集 (Shanghai, 1915) 12.6a.
13 Hsüan-ho i-shih (Su-pu pei-yao ed.) (ch'ien chi 前集) 2a-3a.
devices are a survival from an earlier time of oral presentation, they have come to be retained in a written version as literary conventions; but in this particular story their extended use and spontaneous quality differ markedly from their unimaginative use as stereotyped formulae in hsiao-shuo of later composition. In addition, the story is set in and around Linan, the Southern Sung capital where the oral tradition of story-telling flourished most extensively, and many specific references are made to local streets, gates, markets and nearby villages, references which assume an audience's familiarity with this localized topography.

The text of the story as preserved in Ku-chin hsiao-shuo contains some unintelligible passages which can only be regarded as corrupted text. It is inconceivable that FENG Meng-lung could have written such garbled prose, and its presence in his collection of stories even argues against any thorough editing on his part. In the matter of diction, the story version contains peculiar expressions, the meaning of which must be determined from context or, in some instances, by recourse to similar colloquialisms in Shui hu chuan or the Yuan dramas. Where such expressions occur in common passages, the Chin p'ing mei text avoids them, using either a more familiar term or an expanded phrase, the meaning of which is readily apparent. If these expressions are examples of colloquial idiom which by Ming times had become obsolete, it would be natural for the author of Chin p'ing mei to substitute more up-to-date locutions. It should also be noted that in parallel passages the text of the novel generally uses a more vernacular style with a greater number of colloquial particles than does the short story.

The plot as a whole confirms the supposition that the story is an old one. Here is a combination tale of passion and retribution through a supernatural agency, specifically a Buddhist

---

18 The principal account of the prevalence and variety of popular narrators in thirteenth century Linan is Nai Te-weng 耐得翁, Tu-ch'eng chi-sheng 都城記勝 (Lien-t'ing shih-erh chung 棟亭十二種) (ts'e 1).10a-b.
19 Cf. Ku-chin hsiao-shuo 3.4a, lines 11-12.
20 For example: 無用閒閑 (KCHS 3.4a) — 靠老婆衣bff (CPMTTH 98.9b)
坐在街頭石上 (KCHS 3.7b) — 坐在沿街石基上 (CPMTTH 98.10b).
one. In brief, Wu Shan, a well-to-do young man, having fallen victim to the mercenary scheming of a young prostitute named Chin-nü, is possessed by the ghost of a Buddhist monk who has died under similar circumstances in the same house. Possession takes the form of a violent illness by which the ghost intends to bring Wu Shan to hell to keep him company. Only by a last-minute confession on the part of the renegade and the appeasement of the ghost by Wu Shan’s father, is he saved to enjoy the more respectable pleasures of repentance and moralizing. The strong Buddhist element as well as the juxtaposition of highly erotic material with an avowed moral purpose are characteristic of a group of hsiao-shuo which in other respects, such as structure, diction and setting, show evidence of early origins. The plot as a whole has structural unity, the early half dealing with the seduction by Chin-nü and the latter half concerned with the wages of sin, both forming a well-integrated and homogeneous narrative.

Turning the light of such internal evidence on the Chin p’ing mei version, we notice at once that only the first part of the plot is used. The supernatural agent of retribution has been eliminated or has been ingeniously reduced to an episode in which a certain local bully, “Tiger Liu,” who is very much alive, threatens the life of the hero, Ching-chi. The suppression of the supernatural element which is itself characteristic of the colloquial hsiao-shuo, argues for the theory that the realistic author of Chin p’ing mei is the one who is adapting. Of course, all rhetorical interpolations reminiscent of oral presentation are absent in this novel intended to be read.

In a comparison of the two versions designed to catch a narrative inconsistency in one which does not appear inconsistent in the other, the Chin p’ing mei version yielded two definite examples. The first occurs when Ching-chi is compromised by the girl. A prominent incident of the scene is the theft of the hero’s gold hairpin, by which ruse the girl lures Ching-chi upstairs to her room. Since he is all too willing to comply with her plan, the device seems somewhat pointless. In the short-story version, however, Wu Shan, disgusted with the girl’s behavior, is reluctant
to consent to her designs; and her theft of his hairpin is functional as a means of getting him into a compromising position against his will.

The second inconsistency is a more definite one. After the previous scene a long interval elapses before the lovers’ next meeting. In the short story the reason for the delay is Wu Shan’s ghostly illness. In the novel it is the suspicion of the hero’s wife that her husband is philandering and her restricting his liberty. But illness is used as a pretext by Ching-chi to explain to the girl why he cannot come to her. Thereafter, however, in the novel this pretended illness is treated as the reality which it is in the other version. For example, when Ching-chi receives gifts from the prostitute, he explains them away as gifts from the manager of his wine shop who had heard he was ill. His wife believes this fiction, a fact which is odd, knowing as she must that he has not been ill. When he does go out, another member of his household warns him to take a sedan chair lest he overtire himself, indirectly referring again to the non-existent illness. But in the short story, since Wu Shan has been ill in bed for two weeks, it is natural that his wife should believe the lie about the gifts and the solicitude that he not over-exert himself is explicable.

On the strength of internal evidence alone, therefore, it seems certain that the author of Chin p’ing mei has not only taken his prologue from Shui hu chuan, but has incorporated into two of his final chapters a colloquial hsiao-shuo current in his day. The version to which he had access may not have been identical with that now found in Ku-chin hsiao-shuo, but the similarity of their common passages strongly favors the supposition that it was.

Whatever value such a discovery may have lies in the light it can shed on the sudden appearance of a novel which in many respects was an innovation in Chinese fiction. While a series of prototypes can account for the final versions of Shui hu chuan and San-kuo chih yen-i, such a realistic narrative of everyday life as Chin p’ing mei has been regarded as an isolated and spontaneous creation. The presence in it of a colloquial short story suggests that precedents for the use of sublunary rather than legendary fictional material and for a realistic rather than formulistic narra-
tive technique exist in the large body of hsiao-shuo, only a portion of which has probably survived in the three collections edited by Feng Meng-lung. In a certain group of love stories within that genre are to be found narrative techniques which depend upon naturalistic dialogue, use of accurately observed details of domestic life, and attention to the narrative logic of cause and effect in plotting, techniques which the unknown author of Chin ping mei has employed with a greater degree of sophistication and effectiveness.

Rather than stress too much the assertion of "literary borrowing" with its implied accusation of artistic poverty, we might better reemphasize the fact that there existed in Chinese vernacular literature a common fund of narrative materials: tales, stories, and historical anecdotes, upon which dramatist, story-teller and novelist alike might draw without guilt of plagiarism. That the author of Chin ping mei followed this established precedent does not detract from a truly great creation. Rather one must admire the ingenuity and fine craftsmanship with which he has incorporated traditional material into the design of his essentially original novel and has left scarcely a joint to be discovered. If we were to feel that the artistic stature of Chin ping mei was lessened by such a discovery, we would also be forced to lower our esteem for such works as The Canterbury Tales and many of Shakespeare's plays on the same grounds.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 397, note 8, line 4: After Yung-hsi yüeh-fu supply 雅
SOME LIMITATIONS OF CHINESE FICTION

by

JOHN L. BISHOP
SOME LIMITATIONS OF CHINESE FICTION

John L. Bishop
Harvard University

One wonders what the general reading public has made of the translations of traditional Chinese fiction which have recently appeared in bookstores, in several instances in paper-bound series usually devoted to up-to-date novels of violence and vampires. Chinese colloquial fiction before the coming of Western influences certainly contains enough of both murder and adultery to give the average reader a sense of literary familiarity; but the thoughtful reader must be puzzled by an undefinable inadequacy, by a feeling of literary promise unfulfilled, to which even the student of Chinese stories and novels must confess. Unconsciously conditioned as are we all to the premises and achievements of European fiction, we cannot fail to weigh this fiction of another culture in the same balance and find it vaguely wanting. In the following pages I intend to isolate several of the factors which contribute to our impression of disappointment upon reading those works which have long been a source of delight to the Chinese.

In doing so, I must admit to taking arbitrarily the fiction of the West as a standard against which to measure works in a wholly unrelated literature, a questionable procedure if used merely to arrive at a value judgment, but a justifiable method if used to localize and appraise the different development in comparable genres of two distinct literatures. Western fiction, moreover, has always displayed a vitality which makes it an eminent criterion, a vitality which has led to capacity for experimentation, variation and theorizing extending down to the present day. Not for a century at least has the conviction prevailed in the West that "a novel is a novel, as a pudding is a pudding, and that our only business with it could be to swallow it." Once emancipated from the stigma of immorality, European fiction gradually became recognized as a justifiable form of truth, as valid as that offered by the historian, the philosopher or the painter. Henry James's defense of the art of fiction merely served notice on a state of affairs already brought about by the work of Jane Austen, George Eliot and Dickens.

With the recognition of fiction as a form of truth, the reader's concept of fiction shifted from the romance and the tale to the novel and the story. He now expects, however unconsciously, in such literary forms a writer's personal, consistent view of life, and he expects as a concomitant, a personal and consistent literary style. In other words, he takes for granted on the lowest level of his reading some degree of literary realism, some accuracy in the description of the
behavior of human beings as individuals in conformity or in conflict with a plausible social environment, and on the higher levels of his reading he looks for some degree of philosophical realism by which the author's personal judgment of a social condition or of a human problem is made clear. The reader of fiction, then, unless he confines himself to the watered-down and sugar-coated imitations which inevitably swarm in the wake of those original works that appear like revelations, wishes not only to be diverted by "lies like truth" but to be edified by a personal vision of truth seen through the medium of lies or fictions. If we accept this concept of fiction, it seems to me that the traditional colloquial fiction of China is limited in two respects: the one a limitation of narrative convention, the other a limitation of purpose.

Perhaps one should not distinguish so boldly between style and content, between form and function. Recent criticism insists that what is to be said inevitably shapes the manner in which it is said. But the point I wish to make is that in the Chinese fiction we are discussing this integration is imperfect, that in fact, primitive narrative conventions were retained long after the narratives had begun to change in scope and purpose, and that new themes were forced into old molds to the detriment of the final product.

These primitive conventions stem from an earlier period when colloquial fiction was part of an oral tradition of literature. From scattered references in T'ang and Sung sources and from descriptions of the two capital cities of the Sung dynasty, it is clear that the marketplace storyteller was a common social institution with well-established traditions in those periods, if indeed, he has not always been a feature of Chinese urban society. Faced with the problem of entertaining an audience, constantly coming and going, illiterate yet shrewd as are those who rely on the evidence of things seen and heard, rather than read, he evolved in the course of time a narrative genre which solved that problem.

Drawing for his materials upon historical records, Buddhist and Taoist hagiographies, tales in the literary language, and even celebrated local scandals, he was guided by at least one common criterion,—sensationalism, either supernatural, murderous or sexual. These materials he elaborated, giving to the terse originals a wealth of naturalistic, but nonetheless fanciful detail, calculated to convince his auditors of the plausibility of what was inherently incredible.

The form in which these stories were presented to the listening public had several characteristic features. They were introduced by a prologue in which anecdotes and poems related to the theme of the main story were strung out until the audience reached profitable proportions. Poetry was frequently intro-

---

1 Tuan Ch'eng-shih, Yu-yang tso-tsu hsü-chi [Supplement to the Yu-yang miscellanea], 4: 11a in ts'e 56 of Hupei hsien cheng i-shu; Su Shih, Tung-p'o chih-lin [Literary remains of Tung-p'o], 6.

2 The principal descriptions are: Meng Yuan-lao, Tung-ching meng-hua lu [Memories of the eastern capital], 7b in ts'e 3 of T'ang-Sung ts'ung-shu; Nai Te-weng, Tu-ch'eng chi-sheng [The Wonders of the capital], 10a-b in ts'e 1 of Lien-t'ing shih erh chung; Chou Mi, Wu-lin chiu-shih [Hangchow that was], 6: 11a-12b, in ts'e 250-2 of Pi-chi hsiao-shuo t'ai-kuan.
duced into the recital, probably with musical accompaniment. Originally such verses may have had an integral function in the story; later they served as a commentary, a verification, a means of delaying a climax, or merely as an embellishment. The narrator felt free to intrude in his own person into the story, lecturing his auditors on some moral problem raised by the plot, answering questions which he assumed to be in their minds, even exhibiting to them some tour de force of narrative logic which they might have missed. Characters in the story were often made to recapitulate the plot for the benefit of late-comers in the audience. The narrative style relied greatly on the use of dialogue to advance the plot; and presumably such a style allowed the storyteller to differentiate speakers in a semi-dramatic fashion. Also close to theatrical technique is the manner in which the movements of characters are meticulously described, so that by recording their sittings, risings, bowings and the like, we retain a constant and clear picture of the scene. Lastly, the stories are limited in length to what the attention span of a listening audience might comfortably endure. In the few surviving examples where we have stories which were presented in two installments or hui, the break occurs at a point of high suspense in the plot and thus ensures the return of the audience at the next session. In general, these stories betray the narrator's concern with using such conventions with the highest degree of craftsmanship rather than any interest on his part in adapting the old or inventing new narrative devices to fit some particular story.

At this point I must confess that there are no verbatim recordings of a Sung storyteller's recital. The characteristics of his style just enumerated have been drawn from later written versions of his stories, versions which appeared in printed collections during the Ming period but which unquestionably existed in written form in Yüan and Sung times. What is of interest is the fact that during these centuries of development from an oral to a written genre, the oral conventions persisted to such a degree in versions designed to be read. With the conservatism characteristic of Chinese literature, these once functional literary devices have been retained as unessential literary clichés. As a sort of author's commentary on the story he is relating, their cumulative effect is to destroy the illusion of veracity which naturalistic plot details attempt to create; and the retention of such conventions has impeded the development of a realistic narrative technique toward its ultimate goal of producing an effect of actuality.

---

3 Many of the poems used are ts'au, a form originally associated with musical accompaniment. The narrator's cues to his accompanist before each poem have still survived in the text of one story, Ching-shih t'ung-yen, 38.

4 Ch'ing p'ing shan t'ang hua-pen [Colloquial stories from the Ch'ing p'ing shan studio] was compiled by Hung Pi'en between 1522 and 1566; Ching-pen t'ung-ku hsiao-shuo [The capital edition of colloquial stories] is of disputed compilation date but contains materials antedating the Ming period; Ku-chin hsiao-shuo [Stories old and new] with an alternate title Yü-shih ming-yen [Clear words to instruct the world]; Ching-shih t'ung-yen [General words to admonish the world]; and Hsing-shih heng-yen [Constant words to arouse the world] were edited and published as a series by Feng Meng-lung in 1621, 1625, and 1628 and are referred to collectively as the San-yen [The three yen].
Fielding’s digressions on the prose epic in *Tom Jones* and Thackeray’s more intimate intrusions into his novels have called forth similar criticism in the West.

So far I have spoken only of colloquial short stories as they have been preserved in the *San-yen* and other anthologies of the Ming period. While this genre was developing during the Sung and Yüan periods, the colloquial novel was also evolving by a process of accretion from groups of such short narratives, possibly combined with dramatic versions dealing with a common pseudo-historical episode. But the survival of conventions used by oral narrators is still evident in these novels. Prose is mixed with verse and dialogue is used extensively. Chapters, still called *hui*, usually end at a climax; and the reader is urged in a stereotyped formula to hear what happens in the next installment.

Probably the most notable influence of its early origins on the novel and one most disturbing to the Western reader is the heterogeneous and episodic quality of plot. In *Shui-hu-chuan* he is expected to follow a story involving 108 heroes, over a third of whom have a major role, and in *San-kuo chih yen* he must cope with the shifting fortunes and myriad adventures of the rulers and military leaders of three warring states. Not since the Arthurian romances and Malory have Western readers been entertained with such a plethora of characters and incidents within the confines of a single literary work. These accretive novels, then, retain the meticulous narrative style of their original materials, a style which is preoccupied with surface reality, presenting to the reader a clear visual picture of outward appearance and movement and a verbatim account of dialogue. In addition, the structure of their plots is marked by episodic variety, bound by a tenuous unity of historical or pseudo-historical theme.

In the subsequent fiction of the Ming period, writers of novels and short stories accepted the narrative conventions of the *San-yen* collections and the *Shui-hu-chuan*. Aside from an inherent literary conservatism, they probably had an added motive in doing so: the need for the literatus to conceal any connection with the vulgar literature. In an atmosphere where fiction in the colloquial language was considered almost a defilement of the long-treasured and esoteric art of writing, few members of the scholarly élite could risk being known as compilers of a version of popular fiction or as authors of a new specimen in any of its genres. Use of the collective, traditional style of the storyteller, therefore, served as an excellent means of preserving anonymity.

The result of this fact is, to the Western reader, a curious absence of personality in the style of such fiction, a monotonous preoccupation with "story" rather than with an individual mode of telling the story. Chinese fiction for this reason has no Cervantes, no Richardson, no Jane Austen, who, relying to be sure on the work of predecessors, nevertheless gave the literary forms they found at

---


6 Translation: C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, *San Kuo or Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Shanghai, 1925).
hand a turn in a new direction or added new depth of insight, even a new dimension to be afterwards associated with that form.

*Chin p'ing mei*, a novel written in the sixteenth century which is for the most part an original production by a single hand, illustrates this limitation. Its unknown author has taken a narrative form common among traditional short stories, the exemplary tale in which the ultimate penalties of a life of dissipation are presented by graphic illustration. He has, however, expanded this theme by tracing the spread of moral laxity within a large family unit and ultimately among more distant family connections. The originality of his work lies not so much in the novelty of this theme as in the magnitude of its illustration. By extending moral retribution beyond the limit of the individual sinner to the family and, by implication, to society as a whole, he has introduced an innovation into the genre of fiction. While to a limited extent the innovation is prepared for by the large canvas of social forces at work which *Shui-hu-chuan* presents, the earlier novel does not anticipate the masterly depiction of domestic life in all its complicated detail which is one of the principal attractions of *Chin p'ing mei*.

In style and narrative technique, on the other hand, *Chin p'ing mei* is indistinguishable from the fiction which precedes it. It continues quite naturally and without a noticeable variation in style from the *Shui-hu-chuan* incident which is its point of departure. Furthermore, a colloquial short story embedded in one of its later chapters is stylistically indistinguishable from the context in which it appears. In other words, *Chin p'ing mei* employs most of the inept narrative conventions of earlier fiction, except obvious intrusions by the narrator, and binds together a wealth of loosely related episodes, giving these a degree of homogeneity by its implicit unity of theme. To the Western reader its final effect of satiety with the carnal life is a result of an overwhelming accumulation of incident rather than of the careful selection of telling narrative details. Yet it is a testimonial to the fine craftsmanship of traditional narrative technique that, despite its wooden and impersonal style, the novel carries a high degree of conviction in its details and an irresistible impact in its entirety.

Multiplicity of detail, striving to reproduce the social macrocosm rather than to explore the human microcosm, appears to be a characteristic of Chinese fiction inherited from the accretive methods by which its prototypes evolved. It is the rare novel in Western literature—*War and Peace*, Proust, and Dos Passos come to mind—which attempts the panoramic social picture of *Shui-hu-chuan*, *Chin p'ing mei* or *Ju-lin wai-shih*.

Another characteristic of Chinese fiction disturbing to the Western reader is the mingling of naturalism and supernaturalism within the same narrative. Poe's requirement of unity of effect or impression within a single narrative has long prevailed in Western literature. If a novel or story is to be a fantasy, the reader demands to know this from the start and to have the tone of fantasy maintained.

---


consistently. His willing suspension of disbelief varies greatly in degree, if not in quality, when reading for example *Vatek* and *Vanity Fair*. The intervention of ghosts or deities into a perfectly mundane sequence of events disturbs not only his sense of illusion but his standard of literary propriety. When, on the other hand, he opens *Hsi-yu-chi*\(^{10}\) and begins to read of a rock which became pregnant and gave birth to a stone monkey, he is prepared to accept all of the delightful fantasies which follow.

It may be argued that to the society for which these fictions were written, there was no incongruity in the mingling of flesh and blood with ghosts and gods, and hence no violation of plausibility. But it is apparent that at least by Ming times a definite rationalism had begun to make its appearance in fiction. While the legendary story of exemplary behavior and supernatural marvels continues to be repeated, it is the love story or erotic narrative with a domestic setting in which creative effort is centered. Even in the material of the *San-yen* collections we can observe the process by which the love element in some tale of wonder has begun to be expanded with realistic detail until its length is out of all proportion to that of the matrix story and its naturalistic style out of keeping with its original context.\(^{11}\) *Chin p'ing mei* is an excellent example of this trend. Except at the end where the visions conjured up by the mysterious Buddhist priest point up the moral significance of a seemingly immoral story and except for the appearance of Wu Ta's ghost retained from *Shui-hu-chuan*, all marvels have been carefully suppressed, even where borrowed materials suggest their use.

The tendency toward rationalism in fiction can be seen very clearly in the anonymous preface to *Chin-ku ch'i-kuan*\(^{5}\) [Wonders old and new], a late Ming anthology of stories selected from the *San-yen*. The author of the preface felt that some explanation of the character ch'i for "strange" or "wonderful" in the title was needed. "Strange" to him means not the impossible but the unusual, not that which violates natural or human principles, but that which on rare occasions exactly conforms to them. Marvels to him are those paragons of constancy to the cardinal human virtues recorded in history and romanticized in popular fiction. In the preface he attempts to shift the focus of attention from the miracles and ghostly visitations in many of the stories to the exemplary heroes of a few of them. But his rationalization also implies that the newer, more naturalistic love story, recording as it does striking lapses from exemplary behavior, has in this type of "strangeness" a moral value.

But Chinese fiction, while partially developing a naturalistic method, never wholly accepts its obvious concomitant, a naturalistic and purely human view of life. Always behind the plausible interplay of human emotions, human acts and consequences, lies the assumption of supernnal forces directing the ultimate fate of the characters. In the best of the naturalistic stories a high degree of coincidence has taken the place of supernatural intervention; but in many of these stories and novels the religious machinery is deliberately exposed at the


\(^{11}\) For examples, see *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo*, 1, 3, 38; and *Hsing-shih heng-yen*, 15.
end. When a character declares that a certain event is the result of karma, we are prepared to accept this as a social convention debased almost to a figure of speech and do not allow it to influence our understanding of the plot. When, however, the narrator himself concludes so excellent a story as "The Ring" in Ch'ing p'ing shan t'ang hua-pen with an explanation that the whole of the tragic sequence we have just accepted imaginatively as true, is really the result of bad karma stemming from previous incarnations of the two main characters; when he says in effect that the development of the tragic situation has all the time been wholly outside the power of the hero and heroine to control or alter, the Western reader feels that he has been imposed upon and tricked. In the same way he objects to being harrowed by the troubles of Tess of the D'Urbervilles while being told all along that they are merely a cruel jest on the part of the Immortals. Granted that karma is an alien belief in the West, I suspect that even the Chinese reader who may have accepted the explanation as religiously sound, will nevertheless, feel an aesthetic disappointment at its unnecessary use in such a literary context.

If the principle of ultimate motivation in Chinese fiction is ambiguous, its moral purpose is equally so. Much of its traditional narrative material is frankly pornographic or immoral in nature, and much of what remains is amoral inasmuch as it unconsciously pictures a world governed not by the moral order of philosopher or priest, but by the operation of blind chance. The onus of immorality by which fiction was traditionally regarded in China as detrimental to the morals of society, is, therefore, not entirely without justification. To circumvent criticism by Confucian officials, writers stressed the value of fiction as moral instruction and missed no opportunity to include homilies on the Confucian virtues and thus provide a specious pedagogic function which is wholly foreign to such literature. The result is a marked contradiction between the avowed and the implicit moral purpose which destroys that integrity we expect of good fiction.

In the matter of character portrayal, another contrast between Chinese and Western fiction is apparent. Both literatures attempt realistic portrayals of social types and the difference between them is one of degree. Both exploit dialogue as a means of differentiating character and caste. The novel of the West, however, explores more thoroughly the minds of characters, and long familiarity with this realm has made possible whole novels which are confined to the individual mind alone, such as those of Virginia Woolf and James Joyce. But to the Chinese novelist, the mental life of his fictional characters is an area to be entered only briefly when necessary and then with timidity. For this reason, his ability to exploit one of the chief concerns of realistic fiction, the discrepancy between appearance and reality, is severely limited since he can rarely show us the sharp variance between what is said and what is thought.

The writer of colloquial fiction, in spite of his keen eye for movement and his sharp ear for the speech of daily life, is curiously deficient in description of manner which requires a constant and subjective identification with one's imaginary characters. Translators soon notice this lack in the invariable use of
to introduce all speeches. This non-committal "said" often leaves the ensuing speech utterly colorless or ambiguous in tone. When in English such a statement as "I am going" is given emotional color by the verb which follows; as "I am going," she grumbled;" "I am going,' she insinuated;" "I am going," she sighed; " or "I am going,' she screamed;" the Chinese narrator gives no hint of the emotion implicit in each speech beyond that which the speech itself suggests. As a result, even the racy, supple and vital dialogue, which is one of the strong points of colloquial fiction, sometimes has the quality of monotone to the reader conditioned to the subtle overtones suggested by the stage directions in Western fiction.

This limitation of psychological analysis—which is what in general terms it is—seems to be related to a social factor influential in the development of Chinese fiction, and that is the absence of an aristocratic-feminine tradition in this branch of literature. I think most historians of French literature would agree that the psychological perceptiveness of the French novel can be traced to the influence of Mme. de La Fayette and Mlle. de Scudéry as well as their many contemporaries. Certainly the bulk of English fiction from the seventeenth century into the nineteenth was the work of women—not those novels which are read today, but those which were widely admired at the time and which prepared the way for the work of Richardson and his successors. Characteristic of this feminine and quite often aristocratic tradition is a preoccupation with minute analysis of emotions and probing of mental attitudes. In a wholly unrelated literature, one has only to think of the *Genji monogatari* by Lady Murasaki for a strikingly similar example of psychological sensitivity in the work of a woman and one associated with a sheltered and highly sophisticated court circle.

Whether the Chinese civil service system, restricting the growth of a permanent aristocracy isolated from the world of action, or whether the absence of women writers in either the literary language or colloquial genres of fiction, are factors which can account for the psychological immaturity of characterization in novels, is a thesis I am not prepared to defend. As a theme for speculation and study, however, it would be of value in appraising the character of the Chinese novel. Any such speculation must take into account the one isolated specimen of psychological sophistication, *Hung lou meng*, and determine its relationship to the main stream of Chinese fiction.

From the preceding remarks it should be evident that the genesis of a realistic fiction in China and in Europe had many features in common: appeal to a lower class audience uninterested in a past classical tradition; material which in revolt to that tradition was earthy and sensational instead of intellectual and restrained; and a narrative style that was sensuous rather than symbolic, observant rather than contemplative. Yet in spite of the similar origins, Western fiction, freeing itself early from the odium of immorality and confining itself to

---

the realm of mundane fact, was able to progress further in the chosen direction and explore possible byroads. Chinese fiction, on the other hand, constantly defending its right to exist, hampered by anachronistic materials and stylistic conventions, and unable to face frankly the direction in which it tended, traveled more slowly and fitfully along the same road toward realism until the influence of Western models began to be felt at the end of the nineteenth century.

In concluding, I hope my main intention has been clear. Despite the inevitability of a value judgment, that intention has not been to disparage a great tradition of fiction in China, but rather to further in the general reader an appreciation of its works in translation by suggesting what he must not expect of it. Understanding and accepting its unfamiliar conventions, he will find in its works much profit, diversion and an admirable craftsmanship in the art of storytelling.

**ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS**

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.