The Matrix of Lyric Transformation

五言詩之演變

Poetic Modes and Self-Presentation
in Early Chinese Pentasyllabic Poetry

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For my mother
Wei Renqiu 危紉秋
and in memory of my father
Cai Wenxian 蔡文顯

Contents

Acknowledgments

Along with the growth of this study from a dissertation to its present form, my contacts with the academic world have widened, and my debts of gratitude to other scholars have accrued accordingly. It gives me great pleasure to express my heartfelt thanks to all those who have helped me along the way.

I must first thank Professors Yu-kung Kao, Willard J. Peterson, and Andrew H. Plaks, who supervised my dissertation at Princeton and have ever since remained a source of scholarly guidance and encouragement in the preparation of this book. My greatest debt of gratitude is owed to Professor Kao, under whom I studied classical Chinese poetry. I have constantly drawn from his tremendous scope of knowledge and benefited from his advice and criticism through conversations and correspondence.

I am immensely grateful to Professor Shuen-fu Lin, who guided my postdoctoral work at Michigan, to Professor Dore J. Levy, who offered constructive comments on the substance and style of my manuscript, and to Professor David L. Rolston, the Director of Publications of the Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, who oversaw the review process in a thoroughly professional manner and yet never ceased to be thoughtful and supportive.

Other scholars, friends, and colleagues have also read my manuscript, either in part or in its entirety, at different stages of its preparation. Professors Eugene C. Eoyang, Donald Holzman, Victor H. Mair, and Donald Munro read different parts of the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions and criticisms. Professor Jonathan Chaves and my colleagues William L. MacDonald and Chuan-kang Shih recommended various useful works on Chinese oral traditions. My colleague Patricia Ebrey first read the introductory and concluding chapters and suggested ways to improve their form and content. Later she read through the entire manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions. My friend Xiaobing Ji gave generously of his time to read the entire manuscript and suggested stylistic improvements. I am deeply

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List of Abbreviations

CKLT   Kuo Shao-yü 郭紹虞, ed. *Chung-kuo li-tai wen-lun hsüan* 中國歷代文論選. Rev. Ed. 4 vols. Shanghai: Ku-chi ch' u-pan-she, 1979-80.

HCHW   Lu Ch' in-li 逯欽立, ed. *Hsien-Ch' in Han Wei-Chin Nan-Pei-Ch' ao shih* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983.

JCCC   Juan Chi 阮籍. *Juan Chi chi chiao-chu* 阮籍集校注. Ed. Ch' en Po-chün 陳伯君. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1987.

KSSC   *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou chi-shih* 古詩十九首集釋. Ed. Sui Shu-sen 隋樹森. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1955.

SPPY   *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要.

SPTK   *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊.

STTL   *San Ts' ao tzu-liao hui-pien* 三曹資料彙編. Ed. Department of Chinese, Hupei Normal Institute. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1980.

TCCC   Ts' ao Chih 曹植. *Ts' ao Chih chi chiao-chu* 曹植集校注. Ed. Chao Yu-wen 趙幼文. Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch' u-pan-she, 1984.

Introduction

The aim of this book is to undertake a systematic study of the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry through Han *yüeh-fu* (Music Bureau poems), Han *ku-shih* (ancient-style poems), Ts' ao Chih (192–232), and Juan Chi (210–263). It has two main thrusts. The first is to set forth thematic, formal, and generic transformations in these four groups of works and to examine these transformations in the larger framework of the development of four distinct poetic modes in early pentasyllabic poetry. The second is to understand the inner dynamics of this poetic evolution in terms of the poets' continual endeavors to broaden and deepen their self-presentations by adapting and transforming existent poetic modes, and to consider to what extent these endeavors for self-presentation are impacted by the poets' changing relationships with their sociopolitical worlds, their audiences, and their poetic traditions.

Critical studies of pentasyllabic poetry date back to the earliest systematic works of Chinese literary criticism by Liu Hsieh (ca. 465 to ca. 532) and Chung Hung (468 to ca. 518), two of the greatest Chinese critics. When Liu Hsieh discusses poetic evolution after the Han in *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wen hsin tiao lung*), he almost completely ignores tetrasyllabic poetry and makes pentasyllabic poetry his sole subject of study.[1] In elevating the status of pentasyllabic poetry, Chung Hung went one step further than Liu Hsieh. In *Grading of Poets* (*Shih-p' in*), he declares that he "limits himself to a discussion of pentasyllabic poetry" and excludes all other poetic types.[2] Throughout the subsequent dynasties, traditional Chinese critics continued to examine pentasyllabic poetry as a leading poetic type in their writings, and to compile various comprehensive anthologies of it. In *Anthology of Literature* (*Wen hsüan*), Hsiao T' ung (501–531) collects a preponderance of pentasyllabic poems, more than all other poetic types in his twelve chapters on *shih* poetry.[3] Hsü Ling (507–583) makes his anthology, *New Songs from a Jade Terrace* (*Yü-t' ai hsin yung*), almost exclusively a collection of pentasyllabic poetry.[4] Later, Shen Te-ch' ien (1673–1769) devoted more than half of his anthology *Source Book of Ancient-Style Poems* (*Ku-shih yüan*) to it. Wang Shih-chen (1634–1711), another leading Ch' ing critic, gives it

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equally extensive coverage in his anthology *Commentaries on Ancient-Style Poems* (*Ku-shih chien*).

   When traditional Chinese critics discuss pentasyllabic poetry, they usually give allegorical interpretations of individual works, make general observations about social backgrounds and the lives of poets, or offer impressionistic comments on the aesthetic qualities of the works of given poets. Based on what they discover in these studies, they sketch a broad outline of similarities and differences among poets of different dynasties. Although such an outline points to the path of the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry, it does not reveal the changing configurations in terms of thematic, formal, and generic transformations. Nor does it shed any light on the motive force behind this poetic evolution. The challenge to a modern critic is to transcend these limitations of traditional Chinese criticism and set forth the evolution of this poetic form in an analytical, systematic manner. In spite of the dearth of Western language publications on pentasyllabic poetry as a separate entity, we do find examples of an admirable critical endeavor to systematically examine the development of it over different dynasties in scholarly works such as Kang-i Sun Chang' s recent book, *Six Dynasties Poetry*, and Burton Watson' s earlier book, *Chinese Lyricism*.[5] The present study intends to continue the critical endeavors begun by these scholars and trace the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry through its formative stages from the first to the third century.

   The analytical frame of this study emerges from the concept of the "mode" borrowed from Western poetics. In *Poetics*, Aristotle distinguishes epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyramb, and other genres on the basis of their different objects, means, and manners of imitation or representation.[6] In adopting the "mode of representation" as the determinant of generic distinctions, he establishes the concept of "mode" as the highest critical category. That other classical and neoclassical Western critics followed his lead is only natural: as long as they saw literature as a process of imitating or representing a kind of universal, absolute Truth, they could not but embrace the "mode of representation" as the highest category in the taxonomy of literary analysis. Since the Romantic Movement, however, many critics have chosen to talk about a mode of "presentation" rather than "*re*presentation," aptly reflecting their rebellion against the classical and neoclassical tenet of representation or mimesis. Nonetheless, whether couched as presentation or representation, the concept of "mode" retains its preeminent importance in the domain of Western critical discourse. In fact, it lies at the very core of some of the most important theoretic formulations in modern Western criticism. It has led to the emergence of some of the most sophisticated and

integrative analytical schemes, such as, M. H. Abram' s scheme of four critical coordinates, René Wellek and Austin Warren' s typology of criticism, Northrope Frye' s anatomy of criticism, and Roman Jakobson' s analysis of poetic creation.[7]

Unlike many recondite categories and paradigms we encounter in contemporary Western criticism, the concept of "mode" is readily understandable and, in fact, universally applicable in the study of literature in that it elegantly integrates the four most important aspects of artistic creation—artist, universe, work, and audience—or the four critical coordinates as M. H. Abram calls them. Whenever we talk about the presentation of a literary work, we must, of necessity, consider these four artistic aspects, not in isolation, but within a unique pattern of relationship. This is true of the study of any literature, Western or otherwise. So, if one adopts the concept of "mode" as the highest category for classifying and analyzing literature, one can set up an integrative analytical framework within which one may not only examine in depth any of the four artistic aspects, but also explore how the interplay of these four aspects shapes the configurations of a work, a subgenre or a genre, or a tradition.

Traditional Chinese critics, however, do not privilege a mimetic concept of literature and hence have not developed the concept of modes of representation or presentation as an overarching analytical category superseding that of the genre. Introducing the concept of "mode" in this study allows me to construct an integrative, analytical framework for examining the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry in the light of the interplay of its four artistic aspects.[8] On the one hand, this critical framework will help me overcome various one-sided views of poetic evolution stemming from the almost exclusive attention to "universe" and "artist" in traditional Chinese allegorical and biographical criticisms, to the origins and transmissions of "work" in traditional Chinese and Sinological textual criticisms, and to the aesthetic impact of "work" in traditional Chinese impressionistic criticism and Western New Criticism. On the other hand, this critical framework will enable me to draw useful insights from all these critical schools and integrate them into my investigation of the dynamic interplay of artistic aspects in the development of pentasyllabic poetry.

In constructing this critical framework, I must first identify a complex array of literary and extraliterary phenomena to be studied under the four artistic aspects. Since what one can include under these aspects is, theoretically, inexhaustible, I must choose only what is the most relevant to the specific subject in each chapter as well as to the overall goal of this study. Under "artist" and "universe," I will discuss

the lives of common folks in an oral community, the Han literati class, Ts' ao Chih, the princely poet, and Juan Chi, one of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. Under "audience," I will consider the different impacts of an interactive audience, a noninteractive audience, and silent readership on the process of poetic composition. Lastly, under "work," I will document the thematic, formal, and generic features in Han *yüeh-fu*, Han *ku-shih*, and in the works of Ts' ao Chih and Juan Chi. I will assess the innovative character of these features in the context of the poetic traditions that precede and follow them.

Next, I must establish a principal axis along which I am to organize my discussion of the four artistic aspects. To establish this axis I must first evaluate their relative importance. They cannot be construed as constants with a fixed scale of importance; rather, they are variables that differ in significance according to the purpose and subject under investigation. Since this study aims to approach the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry as a literary issue, it goes without saying that "work" should be the primary focus of my investigation. Since lyric poetry, the subject proper of this study, is born of the poet's self-presentation, I should examine "work" from the angle of "artist." Given the importance of these two artistic aspects, I will establish the "artist"– "work" relationship as the principal axis and incorporate into it my considerations of "universe" and "audience." I will examine the four groups of works as unique, evolving forms of self-presentation, and will also give due attention to the impacts of "universe" and "audience" on the development of these forms of self-presentation.

My application of this critical framework entails three kinds of inquiry—synchronic, diachronic, and theoretical. My synchronic inquiry attempts to bring forth major thematic and formal features in the four groups of works. My chapter organization reflects this synchronic con-centration. Chapter 2 is devoted to Han *yüeh-fu*, chapter 3 to the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," chapter 4 to Ts' ao Chih, and chapter 5 to Juan Chi. While I give close readings of representative works by these poets, I will focus on the development of the central theme of incon-stancy and constancy and the unique formal qualities of each group of these works.

My diachronic inquiry is an effort to see the interconnectedness of the four groups of works. I will arrange my explication of poetic texts under the rubric of genre and subgenre, hoping thereby to reveal the complex pedigree of generic and subgeneric transformations. When I analyze one particular text, I will compare it with a similar text from an earlier group or set the context for subsequent comparisons. I seek not only to distinguish the unique qualities of the text in question, but to

reveal the diachronic development of motifs, topoi, themes, structures, and formal devices. In the course of my comparative analyses, I will show how this development results from the poets' efforts to adapt and transform poetic conventions in order to find new, effective ways to present their outer and inner lives. Through such comparative analyses I wish to bring into sharp focus the thematic, formal, and generic transformations of pentasyllabic poetry and to delineate its four major modes of presentation.

If my synchronic and diachronic inquiries represent my effort to trace the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry along the principal axis of the interaction between the poets and the poetic traditions, my theoretical inquiry attempts to explore the causes and conditions for this interaction by bringing various modern and contemporary critical theories to bear. Some of these theories yield insights into the inner dynamics of this interaction itself, as they deal with issues such as self-reflexivity, symbolization, intertextuality, or originality and tradition. Others address issues such as politics and aesthetics, orality and literacy, and are therefore applicable to my analysis of the impact of "universe" and "audience." These theories furnish me with new ways to see how the poets' changing relationships with the sociopolitical world led them to adapt and transform the poetic traditions in different ways and how their changing relationships with the audience opened up new horizons for self-expression and self-contemplation.

It is my hope that these three kinds of inquiry, pursued within an integrative analytical framework, will not only set forth the outer configurations of early pentasyllabic poetry as marked by four distinct poetic modes with their attendant thematic, formal, and generic features, but will also reveal the inner dynamics of its evolution as defined by the poets' ceaseless endeavors to present their own lives by adapting or transforming the existent poetic modes. In my opinion, it is this continual interaction between the thrust of self-presentation and the limitations of existent poetic modes that constitutes the very matrix of the transformation of early Chinese pentasyllabic poetry, and perhaps of Chinese lyric poetry as a whole.

CHAPTER 1

An Overview:
Pentasyllabic Poetry
from the First to the Third Century

What a reader wishes to find at the outset in a scholarly work is perhaps comparable to what a tourist looks for in a tour book: a marking of points of interest, an outline of areas for exploration, a description of various routes to follow, and a proposed plan for the journey. The primary goal of this chapter is to provide such information and to prepare the reader for an exciting journey into the world of Chinese pentasyllabic poetry from the first to the third century. In the Introduction, I proposed the outlines of this journey, explaining the analytical framework and theoretical perspectives I have adopted in the chapters that follow. The first section of this chapter will define the metric and aesthetic qualities of pentasyllabic poetry, marking it off as our principal subject of investigation. The second section will situate pentasyllabic poetry within the development of classical Chinese poetry as a whole and outline the formative stages of early pentasyllabic poetry for our exploration. The third and fourth sections will map out the routes of our inquiries. We will follow the bypaths of themes, forms, and genres through four groups of works and trace the evolution of dramatic, narrative, lyrical, and symbolic modes.

This overview is intended for general readers who have had little exposure to Chines prosody. I must beg the indulgence of my specialist readers who may ignore the first two sections on metric rules and historical development, or even skip this chapter altogether. Perhaps, without being influenced by the frame of reference to be established here, they will examine my readings in a more critical light and come to insights of their own to enrich our understanding of pentasyllabic poetry.

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Metrical Rules

Before beginning my discussion of metrical rules, I must first explain my choice of "pentasyllabic poetry" as the translation of *wu-yen shih*. Pentasyllabic poetry is one of the three most frequently used translations of *wu-yen shih*. The literal meaning of these three Chinese characters are "five," "character," and "poetry." However, the literal translation "five-character poetry" can be quite misleading for someone without prior knowledge of classical Chinese poetry, as it may give the mistaken impression that *wu-yen shih* is an extremely truncated form of poetry with a total of only five characters. In reality, "five-character" does not denote the fixed length of an entire poem but of a poetic line; an unregulated poem written in five-character lines has no fixed length and can well exceed one hundred lines. "Five-character-line poetry" is a less literal translation that seems to aim at avoiding this confusion. But although this translation comes closest to the actual meaning of the Chinese term, it is too cumbersome to use, especially when we want to employ it as an adjectival modifier. Just imagine the translation of the poetic genre *wu-yen yüeh-fu*: "five-character-line Music Bureau poetry." One may wonder whether such a phrase is intelligible at all in English.

"Pentasyllabic poetry" is yet another translation of *wu-yen shih*. Since all Chinese characters are monosyllabic, a five-character line is technically a pentasyllabic line. Since the stem "syllabic" is a concept pertaining to line length in Western prosodies, the prefix "penta" is unlikely to be mistaken as anything other than an indicator of line length by a Western reader. However, this translation may give rise to a confusion of a different kind with regard to versification. In Western prosodies, both the prefix "penta" and the stem "syllabic" usually pertain to the syllable count of a particular metrical system such as iambic pentameter. Consequently, pentasyllabic poetry may wrongly suggest that Chinese poetry has a metrical system comparable to Western ones. Chinese prosodies operate through tonal variations rather than syllabic variations (long versus short syllables, stressed versus unstressed syllables, etc.). Therefore, syllable count (as opposed to character count) is of no consequence in Chinese prosodies. Of these three imperfect translations, I choose the last one simply because it is the least cumbersome to use when writing in English.

What distinguishes pentasyllabic poetry from other Chinese poetic types are the following metrical rules: 1) there are five characters per line; 2) the number of lines in a poem is variable; 3) the lines are usually organized into couplets; 4) rhyme occurs every other line, or in

other words, at the end of the second line of each couplet; 5) all five characters in a line are monosyllabic, the first two making up an initial disyllabic unit (a disyllabic compound) and the remaining three a final trisyllabic unit (a monosyllabic word and a disyllabic compound or vice versa). All these five metrical rules are illustrated in the following four lines taken from the first of Juan Chi's eighty-two poems in the collection *Yung-huai*:

	It is far into the night and I cannot sleep,	夜中不能寐
2	I sit up to strum my melodious zither.	起坐彈鳴琴
	Thin curtains reflect the bright moonlight,	薄帷鑒明月
4	A pure wind blows against my lapels.[1]	清風吹我襟

Metric Breakdown

	Compound		*Monosyllable*	*Compound*		
	ye night	*chung* middle	*pu* not	*neng* can	*mei* sleep;	
Couplet						
	ch'i rise	*tso* sit	*t'an* strum	*ming* melodious	*ch'in* zither.	*Rhyme*
	po thin	*wei* curtains	*chien* reflect	*ming* bright	*yüeh* moonlight	
Couplet						
	ch'ing pure	*feng* wind	*ch'ui* blows	*wo* my	*chin* lapels.	*Rhyme*
	Disyllabic Unit			*Trisyllabic Unit*		

The first and second rules set forth the spatial configuration of a pentasyllabic poem; the third and fourth, the rhyming pattern; and the fifth, the semantic rhythm. Of these five rules, the last represents an important metrical innovation. Before the rise of pentasyllabic poetry, disyllabic compounds were the basic metrical unit in Chinese poetry. A tetrasyllabic line is normally made up of two disyllabic compounds and consequently a 2 + 2 beat constitutes the standard semantic rhythm in tetrasyllabic poetry from the *Book of Poetry* onwards. With the addition of one monosyllabic word, pentasyllabic poetry creates a semantic rhythm less monotonous than the even beat of tetrasyllabic poetry. In a pentasyllabic

line, a semantic pause, generally treated as an unmarked caesura, falls between the second and third characters and divides the line into an initial unit and a final one. Thus, a 2 + 3 semantic rhythm becomes a distinctive trait of pentasyllabic poetry. This semantic rhythm can be further divided because there is a secondary caesura between the monosyllabic word and disyllabic compound in the final unit. Depending on whether the secondary caesura occurs after the third or fourth character, a 2 + 3 semantic rhythm can be broken down into either a 2 + (2 + 1) rhythm as in line 1 cited above, or a 2 + (1 + 2) rhythm as in the other three lines. In short, the imbalance of the disyllabic and trisyllabic units, together with shifting of the secondary caesura, creates a varied, fluid rhythm hitherto unseen in Chinese poetry.[2] This new rhythm is often thought to mark the change from what Northrop Frye calls "song melos" (a rhythm determined by external music) to "speaking melos" (a rhythm determined by internal semantics),[3] or the change from what Cheng Ch'iao (1104–1160) calls the "poetry with music" to "poetry without music."[4]

Stages of Development

Pentasyllabic poetry is one of the most enduring poetic types of classical Chinese poetry. It arose after the *Book of Poetry* (*Shih ching*) and *Songs of Ch'u* (*Ch'u tz'u*) at the beginning of the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 25), achieved predominance over all other poetic types from the end of the Later Han dynasty (25–220) through the T'ang dynasty (618–907), and remained a dynamic, important poetic type until the beginning of this century. A glance at the major practitioners of pentasyllabic poetry will yield a list of the most famous Chinese poets: Ts'ao Chih and Juan Chi in the period of Three Kingdoms (220–280) and Western Chin (265–317); T'ao Ch'ien (372–427), Hsieh Ling–yün (385–433), Pao Chao (414?–466), Hsieh T'iao (464–499), and Yü Hsin (513–581) in the Six Dynasties; Ch'en Tzu-ang (661–702), Chang Chiu-ling (673–740), Wang Wei (669–759), Li Po (701–762), Tu Fu (712–770) in the T'ang; Mei Yao-ch'en (1002–1060), Su Shih (1037–1101), and Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105) in the Sung dynasty (960–1279).

The development of pentasyllabic poetry before the Six Dynasties[5] may be traced through these successive stages of growth: a period of germination in the folk *yüeh-fu*; a period of burgeoning in the literati *yüeh-fu*[6] and the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" ("Ku-shih shih-chiu shou") during the Later Han; a period of full flowering in Ts'ao Chih's *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* and in Juan Chi's *yung-huai shih* (introspective po-

etry) during the transitional period between the Wei and Chin; and a period of fruition in T'ao Ch'ien's self-reflective poetry around the end of the Eastern Chin (317–420). This pattern of development is neither the work of my imagination nor an imposition of a teleological scheme. Rather, it is a summation of the time-honored opinions held by traditional Chinese critics on the achievements of pentasyllabic poetry at different ages.

Both Liu Hsieh and Chung Hung perceive periods of incubation, formation, and maturation in the growth of pentasyllabic poetry. They hold that it developed its embryonic form in the popular traditions of songs and ballads reaching from the Former Han back to ancient times. In *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, Liu Hsieh devotes one chapter ("An Exegesis of Poetry") to tracing poetic evolution from the earliest days to his own time. He reckons that pentasyllabic poetry originated not in literary compositions, but in the popular songs found in the *Book of Poetry* and *Songs of Ch'u*:

> When Emperor Ch'eng (32–7 B.C.) ordered the examination and collection of poetry, more than three hundred poems were collected. As this collection includes works collected from inside the court and from throughout the country, it can be said to be a comprehensive one. However, in the writings left behind by men of letters, we find no trace of pentasyllabic poetry. Therefore, there are doubts about the authenticity of [the pentasyllabic poems attributed to] Li Ling (?–74 B.C.) and Pan Chieh-yü (fl. 58–75 B.C.). In "Hsing-lu," half the lines are in pentasyllabic lines.[7] "Ts'ang-lang," a song sung by boys, is entirely in pentasyllabic lines.[8] "Hsia yü," a song of a court jester, dates far back to the time of the Ch'un-ch'iu period,[9] and the folk song "Hsieh-ching" is as recent as the time of Emperor Ch'eng.[10] So when we examine different times and look for evidence, it is evident that the pentasyllabic form has long been in existence.[11]

In his "Preface" to the *Grading of Poets (Shih-p'in hsü)*, Chung Hung also cites titles and lines of quasi-pentasyllabic poems from the *Book of Poetry*, the *Book of Documents*, and *Songs of Ch'u*, and regards those works as the origin of pentasyllabic poetry.[12]

These two prominent critics also agree that pentasyllabic poetry goes through its formative stages within the *ku-shih* tradition, culminating in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Although Liu Hsieh acknowledges the origin of pentasyllabic poetry in popular songs and ballads, he contends that it is brought to a fixed form by Mei Sheng (?–140 B.C.), Fu I (fl. 58–75), Chang Heng (78–139) and the anonymous poets of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems."[13] So he does not even mention

pentasyllabic poetry in connection with popular songs and ballads in his chapter on *yüeh-fu*.[14] Like Liu Hsieh, Chung Hung maintains that Li Ling first "introduced verse in five-character lines as a form in its own right" and that the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" demonstrate distinctive literary qualities.[15] However, Chung notes the difficulty of taking the formation of pentasyllabic poetry as an exclusively literary development, as he underlines the dearth of pentasyllabic poetry during the period between Li Ling and Pan Chieh-yü and in the 200 years of the Later Han.[16]

According to Liu Hsieh and Chung Hung, pentasyllabic poetry attains maturity in Ts' ao Chih' s *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* and Juan Chi' s introspective poems. They both regard Ts' ao Chih as a major milestone in the development of pentasyllabic poetry. Liu writes, "At the beginning of the Chien-an reign (196–220), pentasyllabic poetry advanced by leaps and bounds. Emperor Wen [Ts' ao P' i, 187–226] and Ch' en Ssu [Ts' ao Chih] galloped ahead with a free rein, while Wang [Ts' an, 177–217], Hsü [Kan, 171–218] and Liu [Chen, ?–217], with eyes fixed on the road, raced along in competition."[17] Chung Hung echoes these laudatory remarks with his own enthusiastic praise: "Ts' ao Chih is the towering literary figure in the Chien-an period, flanked by Liu Chen and Wang Ts' an."[18] As for Juan Chi, Liu Hsieh considers his poetic achievements to be the equal of Ts' ao Chih' s and regards him as a poet "who had far-reaching and profound ideas and thus acquired outstanding stature."[19]

When later critics discuss the history of pentasyllabic poetry, they often seek to improve on the evolutionary pattern envisaged by Liu Hsieh and Chung Hung. For instance, both Shen Te-ch' ien and Wang shih-chen include the Han *yüeh-fu* in five-character lines under pentasyllabic poetry in their poetical anthologies. Shen Te-ch' ien includes pentasyllabic *yüeh-fu* compositions in *Source Book of Ancient Poems* and considers them to be as important as *ku-shih* for the development of pentasyllabic poetry. In the preface to his anthology, he presents a cogent argument to justify his revision of the traditional lineage of this form:

> Within pentasyllabic poetry there are two genres. Su [Wu]' s and Li [Ling]' s poems of presentation and reply *(tseng-ta)* and the anonymous "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" are of the *ku-shih* genre. "The Wife of a Petty Official of Lu Chiang," "The Yü-lin Official," "Mulberry along the Lane" are of the *yüeh-fu* genre. Chao-ming [Hsiao T' ung, 501–31] was merely fond of courtly expression and left out all *yüeh-fu* compositions [in his *Anthology of Literature*]. Nevertheless, *yüeh-fu* excel in poetic expression and in narration of events. For this reason, I will add what Chao-ming did not select in his anthology.[20]

Wang Shih-chen also seeks to broaden the traditional scope of pentasyllabic poetry delimited by Hsiao T' ung. For him as well as for Shen Te-ch' ien, it is a poetic type that encompasses both *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih*. And when he justifies his inclusion of pentasyllabic *yüeh-fu* in *Commentary to Ancient Poems*, he follows Shen Te-ch'ien's line of arg ument:

> *Yüeh-fu* possesses its own musical pattern and its own shape, and reveals a notable difference from *ku-shih*. Nonetheless, the Han pieces like "Petty Official of Lu Chiang," "The Yü-lin Official," and "Mulberry along the Lane" display great ingenuity in their expression and narration. I am so fond of those pieces that I cannot bring myself to exclude them. Why are Consort Pan [Chieh-yü's] "Song of Lament" and Cho [Wen-chün's] "The White Head Lament"—though labeled as *yüeh-fu*—not regarded as *shih* poetry? The Ts' aos, father and brothers, often used *yüeh-fu* titles for accounts of events that took place toward the end of the Han. At places I have included many of those *yüeh-fu* pieces, although it is quite acceptable for me to label them as *ku-shih* as well.[21]

Both Shen and Wang add T' ao Ch' ien, who was ignored in his own time but canonized after the T' ang, to the list of the leading practitioners of pentasyllabic poetry. They are of the opinion that pentasyllabic poetry approaches perfection in the work of T' ao Ch' ien. Shen Te-ch' ien writes that "toward the end of the period after the river-crossing [the move of the Chin capital to Chien-k' ang south of the Yangtze] there emerged T' ao Ch' ien, a poet who wrote poetry spontaneously and yet reached perfection and who was nothing less than the greatest poet of the Chin."[22] While Shen regards T' ao Ch' ien as the greatest poet of his time, Wang pays homage to him as the greatest poet of all time. Wang writes that "after the river crossing, there emerged Yüan-ming [T' ao Ch' ien] whose accomplishments cannot be rivaled by his predecessors and successors and cannot be assessed within the confines of a single age."[23]

      If we survey pentasyllabic poetry in relation to other poetic types, especially tetrasyllabic poetry, we will discern its distinctive stages of evolution. When pentasyllabic poetry was in its nascent form among popular traditions of songs and ballads, it was a poetic type whose contents were deemed too immoral and whose form too undignified to be used on ceremonial occasions.[24] Neither of the two kinds of ceremonial *yüeh-fu* (*ta-yü yüeh* and *ya-sung yüeh*) were composed in pentasyllabic meter. It is in the two lesser kinds of *yüeh-fu* (*huang-meng ku-ch' ui yüeh*, and *tuan-hsiao nao-ko*), which were collected from the populace and per-

formed for entertainment at banquets, that pentasyllabic *yüeh-fu* works were found.[25]

When pentasyllabic poetry assumed a more developed form in the hands of professional musicians, it began to gain popularity over tetrasyllabic poetry and became the preferred poetic type in the realm of public entertainment. Half of the extant "harmonious pieces" (*hsiang-ho*) were composed in pentasyllabic lines.[26] With the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," it became a written genre widely practiced by intellectuals at the end of the Han. And when it flourished during the Chien-an period, it acquired the importance and prestige of an elevated poetic type sanctioned by the court. Ts' ao Ts' ao, Ts' ao P' i, Ts' ao Chih, and the Seven Masters of the Chien-an period all developed a special liking for this new poetic type.[27] They composed pentasyllabic poems not only on the traditional subjects for *ku-shih* and *yüeh-fu*, but also on military campaigns, courtly banquets, imperial excursions, and other subjects belonging to tetrasyllabic poetry in earlier ages.

After the Chien-an period, pentasyllabic poetry became the primary poetic medium through which poets could strive to achieve fame and distinction. While Juan Chi gained prominence through his merging of diverse pentasyllabic subgenres in his introspective poetry, T' ao Ch' ien rose to eventual preeminence through his perfection of various existing pentasyllabic subgenres and his creation of new ones. Those generally regarded as a lower order of poets achieved recognition mainly by excelling in one subgenre or another—*eh' ing shih* (poems on love) for Chang Hua (232–300), *ni ku-shih* (imitation *ku-shih*) for Lu Chi (261–263), *tao-wang* (elegiac poems) for P' an Yüeh (247–300), and *yung-shih* (poems of historical reflection) for Tso Ssu (250?–305?), *tsa-shih* (miscellaneous poems) for Chang Hsieh (?–307), and *yu-hsien* (poems on visiting the land of immortals) for Kuo P' u (276–324). The flowering of all these subgenres attests to the popularity of pentasyllabic poetry at that time.

Thematic, Formal, and Generic Transformations

In tracing the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry, Liu Hsieh considers it essential to grasp the patterns of change in poetic theme, form, and genre. Summarizing the guidelines for his study of poetic development, he writes:

> As we trace the poetic development through successive periods, we can detect a developing trend in poetic sentiments. And as we single out

which features are common to and which are unique in various periods, the main outline of the trend will become clear.[28]

Of all extant traditional Chinese poetic types, pentasyllabic poetry displays the most unheroic kind of sentiment. The great majority of early pentasyllabic poems deal with these unglamorous subjects: the routines of farm work, courtship, laments over separation from loved ones, the sorrow of the neglected wife, the homesickness of the fortune-seeking wanderer, desires for sensual pleasure and longevity, dreams of immortality, nostalgia for ancient times, the anguish of political alienation, the bewailing of dynastic changes, and mental conflicts between Confucian commitments and Taoist withdrawal. The development of these subjects revolves around two central issues: inconstancy and constancy in the human world.[29] Most of these poems deal with instances of human inconstancy—a lover's change of heart in folk *yüeh-fu*; the abandonment of a wife, the broken promise of a one-time friend, and the transience of human life in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems"; the violation of brotherly bonds and political vicissitudes of an exiled prince in Ts'ao Chih; a shift of dynastic loyalty and change of doctrinal belief in Juan Chi. These subjects reveal a gradual thematic shift from the external observation of inconstancy in the realm of action to the inward reflection on treachery in relationships, inconstant values, beliefs, and the ephemeral nature of human existence itself. While these poets sometimes conjured up an unchanging world like the land of immortals or set forth an abstract ideal of constancy like an immortal reputation, as Ts'ao Chih did, most often they seemed to think that the only constant in the world was the constancy of human fickleness. In any event, they were almost uniformly given to an ever deepening sense of despair at the disaffection all around them. It is this existential sorrow that prompts them to contemplate the ultimate meaning of human existence in the changing contexts of their lives and from their diverse philosophical perspectives. Indeed, this brooding melancholy was so pervasive that they could not but succumb to it even when they wrote about the most joyful occasions in their lives. In the final analysis, an incessant struggle to deal with human inconstancy is the unifying theme of pentasyllabic poetry in its various subjects, forms, and genres.

Pentasyllabic poetry also underwent gradual formal changes. We can observe a shift from the composite structure in folk *yüeh-fu*, to a sequential structure in literati *yüeh-fu*, to a binary structure in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," to a tripartite structure in Ts'ao Chih' *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih*, to the nonlinear, and often disjointed structures in Juan Chi's introspective poems. In poetic texture, we see an evolution

from stock situations, dramatic characters, multiple points of view, heavily formulaic syntax and word-for-word repetitions in folk *yüeh-fu*; to more varied situations, first-person storytellers, dual points of view, less heavily formulaic syntax and diction in literati *yüeh-fu*; to abundant emotional expressions, inward-turning personae, single point of view, nonformulaic syntax, covert repetition in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems"; to personal situations, blending of the poet's experiential self with personae, parallel syntax, and refined diction in Ts' ao Chih; and finally to the symbolic use of *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* images, motifs, and topoi in Juan Chi.

A poetic genre is, as James J. Y. Liu says, what we perceive to be "the appropriate interrelations between forms, subjects, and styles."[30] So our investigation of thematic and formal changes naturally leads us to consider how thematic and formal changes result in generic transformation in pentasyllabic poetry. Through the thematic and formal changes described above, we can trace a gradual process of generic transformation. The trajectory from dramatic, interactive performance in folk *yüeh-fu* to the narration of interior experience in literati *yüeh-fu* marks the departure of the *yüeh-fu* genre from collective oral composition. The ascendancy of the lyrical over the narrative elements in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" signifies the disappearance of storytelling and the rise of the nonperformative *ku-shih* genre. Ts' ao Chih' s merging of his experiential self with various *yüeh-fu* characters brings about a transformation of both folk and literati *yüeh-fu* into vehicles of lyric expression. Similarly, his introduction of scenes from his private life heralds the evolution of the *ku-shih* genre into a form of personal lyric. Juan Chi' s symbolic use of both *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* elements gives birth to his unique subgenre of introspective poetry. All these generic and subgeneric transformations mark the evolution in pentasyllabic poetry from the first to the third century.[31]

Modes of Poetic Presentation

On a more general level, we can conceive of these thematic, formal, and generic changes as the result of the evolution of four major poetic modes: dramatic, narrative, lyrical, and symbolic.

Before proceeding to my analysis of these modes over the next four chapters, let me first give a brief sketch of their main characteristics. The dramatic mode is the representative mode of presentation in folk *yüeh-fu* compositions in the Han. A folk *yüeh-fu* piece like "Mulberry along the

Lane" ("Mo shang sang," *HCHW*, 259) seems to contain many vestiges of collective oral composition and performance in a communal setting. In such a work, we often find traces of dramatic interaction among diverse characters responding to an external event. All internal textual evidence— multitude of characters, ongoing dialogs, ahistorical presentation, multiple points of view, and so on—suggests that the speaking characters in such a composition are not figures in the mind of a single composer, but dramatic roles played by different people in the course of collective composition and performance, probably in front of a live communal audience. Insofar as folk *yüeh-fu* works were born of collective oral composition and continued to be performed by multiple performers at later times, and insofar as the performance of those works necessarily involved some kind of meaningful interaction among multiple performers, it seems appropriate to use the term "dramatic" to describe the mode of presentation in folk *yüeh-fu*. The term is used in this qualified sense throughout the book. It is not my intention to suggest that Han folk *yüeh-fu* are dramatic compositions involving stage action and theatrical trappings.

The narrative mode prevails in literati *yüeh-fu*. A literati *yüeh-fu* composition is chiefly a reenactment of an event or a series of events in the mind of a single composer. A literati *yüeh-fu* composer usually plays the role of a third-person narrator or a first-person character (a human or nonhuman being) or both, telling us the stories of immortals, ordinary men, historical personages, animals, or plants. Sometimes his stories unfold in the land of immortals and provide a mental escape from the cares of our world. Sometimes his stories are set within the mental horizon of a human character, as in "Ballad to a *Yen* Song" ("Yen ko hsing," *HCHW*, 273), an account of the sorrow of a homesick husband. Sometimes his stories involve a group of historical figures living in different times, as in "Ballad of Breaking the Poplar and Willow" ("Che yang liu hsing," *HCHW*, 268), a didactic argument against committing oneself to a political cause. At other times his stories are cast in an explicitly allegorical frame, as in "Yü-chang Ballad" ("Yü-chang hsing," *HCHW*, 263–64), a lament of political estrangement and dislocation. Notably, such stories contain few elements of living drama involving real people, as occurs in folk *yüeh-fu*. All such stories happen merely on the mental screen of a composer and, therefore, should be taken as narration of inner experience, interspersed with brief emotional utterances. It is quite conceivable that some critics may object to my use of the term "narrative" to describe the storytelling in literati *yüeh-fu*. In the studies of Western fiction, the term "narrative" usually carries a narrowly defined meaning as a fully developed story structure, in which the narrator recounts a sequence of situations or

events for the purpose of guiding the audience to the discovery of certain facts or the attainment of certain knowledge, and meanwhile entertaining the audience through the exploitation of surprise and suspense in arranging those situations or events.[32] This narrow definition of "narrative" is surely inapplicable to the storytelling in literati *yüeh-fu*. The real intention of a *yüeh-fu* storyteller is usually not to reveal facts or communicate knowledge, but to project his feelings into a series of stock situations and events so that the audience can experience his feelings vicariously as they go through those familiar situations and events. Such an inwardly oriented storytelling offers a counterpoint to the more externally oriented storytelling in the West and compels us to broaden the definition of "narrative" to accommodate the former tradition.[33] It is in this spirit of revision that I choose to use "narrative" in a broadly defined sense to characterize the mode of presentation in literati *yüeh-fu*.

The lyrical mode predominates in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" and later pentasyllabic poetry. Unlike the storytellers in literati *yüeh-fu*, the anonymous poets of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" tend to cast themselves in the role of a lyric speaker and express in the first person their emotional responses to an external scene or event. The lyrical mode in this group of works is an outgrowth of the narrative mode. We can easily see this metamorphosis if we compare literati *yüeh-fu* with them. In both traditions the lyrical and the narrative blend together, but in reverse proportion.[34] Whereas literati *yüeh-fu* subordinate lyrical elements to a narrative sequence, the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" foreground the lyrical process and minimize the significance of narrative elements. Narrative elements occur mostly at the beginning of these poems, and even there, are frequently punctuated by emotional utterances. Truncated and fragmented, these narrative elements do not form a sequence of action as in literati *yüeh-fu*. Instead, they merely indicate the barest outline of an event—a peg on which to hang the poet' s sentiments. Narrative elements are more radically reduced in Ts' ao Chih' s *ku-shih* works, where lyrical elements hold an absolute sway. Having so outgrown the influence of the narrative tradition, the lyrical mode attains its full maturity and begins its long dominance of pentasyllabic poetry after the Han.

The symbolic mode is used by introspective poets like Juan Chi who wish to maintain a measure of aesthetic distance when they explore their inner experience. The symbolic mode is distinguished from the narrative and lyrical modes by its innovative use of poetic images. In the narrative mode, poetic images are used chiefly for a referential function—to depict the details of a concrete place or event. In the lyrical mode, poetic images are interwoven with the process of emotional expression.

They call forth emotional responses when they occur at the beginning of a poem (a function described as *hsing* in traditional Chinese criticism) and enhance emotional responses through metaphorical correspondence.[35] In the symbolic mode, poetic images are used chiefly to convey the poet's inexpressible thoughts, feelings, and moods. Like the narrative mode, the symbolic mode represents a tendency to express oneself indirectly. Whereas a *yüeh-fu* composer communicates his own thoughts and feelings by telling stories of stereotyped characters or historical figures, a symbolizing poet like Juan Chi expresses his innermost self through an adroit exploitation of the rich connotations of imagery.

Juan Chi exploits the evocative power of imagery on both the textual and intertextual levels. On the textual level, he often maneuvers along what Roman Jakobson calls the axis of selection (semantic choice) and deliberately mixes disparate categories of images in order to divert our attention from a narrative or descriptive continuum to the symbolic significance of images themselves. He also maneuvers along what Jakobson calls the axis of combination (syntactic connection).[36] He often substitutes poetic parallelism for the ordinary syntax based on a sequential relationship. In so doing, he manages to suspend the temporal flow and intensify the interplay of diverse images for the greatest aesthetic effect. On the intertextual level, Juan Chi taps beneath words and images into a rich reservoir of meanings from earlier texts. He draws images from a wide range of early poems and brings into a poem a plenitude of thoughts, feelings, and moods associated with their images.

CHAPTER 2

Han Yüeh-fu:
Dramatic and Narrative Modes

This chapter closely examines those Han *yüeh-fu* works composed in pentasyllabic lines in order to shed light on the earliest stages of the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry. Here, I wish to accomplish three things: first, I will argue for the reclassification of Han *yüeh-fu* poems into two broad groups—folk *yüeh-fu* and literati *yüeh-fu*—on the basis of their intrinsic qualities. Second, I will set forth the features of dramatic presentation in folk works and trace them to collective performance in a folk community. Third, I will examine the features of solo narrative presentation in the literati works and relate them to the inner lives of the Han literati.

Intergeneric Distinction: *Yüeh-fu* versus *Ku-shih*

In the extant corpus of Han poems, the number of pentasyllabic poems exceeds those of tetrasyllabic poems and other poetic types. Fang Tsu-shen estimates that there are as many as 280-odd pentasyllabic poems out of some 600 surviving Han poems. Even if all the poems written during the Chien-an period are excluded, there are still about 120 pentasyllabic poems.[1]

Han pentasyllabic poems are traditionally divided into three major groups: 1) *tsa ko* (miscellaneous songs), *yao* (folk rhymes), *yen-yü* (proverbs), and *t'ung-yao* (children's rhymes); 2) *yüeh-fu*; and 3) *ku-shih*. The miscellaneous pieces in the first group have attracted little critical attention because they are regarded by literary critics as a hodgepodge of crude emotional utterances. They are mostly words of explicit praise or

condemnation of the administrative performance of local officials, as indicated by the titles such as "The Pa People Sing in Praise of Ch'en Chishan"(*HCHW*, 214) and "A Song [Complaining] about Fan Yeh by the People of Liangchou" (*HCHW*, 208).[2] Short and often fragmentary, these pieces are gleaned from a wide range of nonliterary sources: political works like *Discourses on Salt and Iron (Yen-t'ieh lun)*; philosophical works like *Huai-nan Tzu*; local records like *Records of the Hua-yang Region (Hua-yang kuo chih)*; and official histories such as *Records of the Grand Historian (Shih chi)*, *History of the Former Han (Han shu)*, and *History of the Later Han (Hou Han shu)*.

The *yüeh-fu* poems in the second group are performative works. As I shall explain, these pentasyllabic *yüeh-fu* poems can be classified into two subgroups: folk *yüeh-fu* and literati *yüeh-fu*. Like the songs and ballads in the first group, folk *yüeh-fu* pieces are sung, with or without musical accompaniment, in response to everyday occurrences in a folk community. However, they demonstrate a measure of artistic distance from the social concerns of the day. They seldom involve specific personages and events that could be verified by historical sources. Nor do they give vent to untutored expressions of social praise or condemnation as do the first group. The titles of folk *yüeh-fu*, a tell-tale sign of this artistic distance from social and political issues, seldom contain explicit references to specific persons or places as do the titles of the first group. The folk *yüeh-fu* titles are normally taken from an external description in the opening line of a poem (e.g., "South of the River" [*HCHW*, 256]) or from the general setting of a poem (e.g., "Mulberry along the Lane" [*HCHW*, 259–61]). Folk *yüeh-fu* pieces were born not of a sociopolitical need but of a psychological one—to transform immediate emotions into an artistic experience through a rhythmical use of language. With literati *yüeh-fu*, this artistic distance between text and social phenomena becomes even greater. Literati composers distanced themselves from the concrete events in daily life and turned inward in search for the general meaning of their lived experience. Their reflections on the historical past, the prospect for transcendental escape, the dangers of political life, and the melancholy of homesickness constitute the staple themes of songs to be performed in literate or semi-literate circles.

The *ku-shih* in the third group are considered by most traditional and modern critics to be nonperformative works written by and for the literati class. As noted in the previous chapter, the birth of the nonperformative *ku-shih* was a difficult one. Although Han poets like Pan Chieh-yü and Pan Ku (32–92) tried their hands at the pentasyllabic form early on, they could not establish a nonperformative pentasyllabic genre that would appeal to the literati class. The few pentasyllabic poems they

wrote, like Pan Ku's "On History" (*HCHW*, 170) are described by Chung Hung as "unadorned and wooden in style."[3] Not until the end of the Later Han did the literati class begin to appropriate the pentasyllabic *yüeh-fu* form as a vehicle of inward reflection and gradually transform it into the nonperformative pentasyllabic genre later known as *ku-shih*.

In studying the evolution of Han pentasyllabic poetry, critics concentrate their attention on *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih*. But they usually treat these two major pentasyllabic genres separately in spite of their close kinship. This is largely due to the difficulty in dating and assigning authorship to many *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* works. *Yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* works are preserved not in dynastic histories or local gazetteers written during or close to the Han, but in literary anthologies compiled many centuries after the Han, such as Hsiao T'ung's *Anthology of Literature* and Hsü Ling's *New Songs from a Jade Terrace*. To propose a date or authorship for a *yüeh-fu* or *ku-shih* composition, critics would have to draw from these three sets of circumstantial evidence: 1) elusive comments by the early critics on its possible date or authorship, 2) discovery of allusions to particular places, events and persons during the Han, and 3) identification of certain stylistic features in poetic writings of particular periods during the Han.[4] Since such evidence is never conclusive, critics find it difficult to convince one another of their proposed dates and authorship for various *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* compositions.

Probably out of a desire not to compound the controversies over dates and authorship, critics seldom venture to explore the interaction between *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* or to trace the thematic, generic, and formal evolution of Han pentasyllabic poetry as a cross-generic development. They tend to conceive Han pentasyllabic poetry either in terms of the elite tradition of *ku-shih* or in terms of the popular tradition of *yüeh-fu*. As noted above, traditional critics like Liu Hsieh and Chung Hung seek to establish a lineage of literary pentasyllabic poems through the Han, although they do acknowledge the ultimate origin of Han pentasyllabic poetry in popular songs. As modern critics tend to set great store by the popular tradition, they are often tempted to minimize the significance of the *ku-shih* tradition and identify the development of Han pentasyllabic poetry with that of Han *yüeh-fu*. For instance, Hsiao Ti-fei discusses the growth of Han pentasyllabic poetry in terms of a four-stage development of *yüeh-fu* alone: 1) a seminal stage from the beginning of the Former Han to the time of Emperor Wu (r. 140–86 B.C.); 2) a burgeoning stage during the time between Emperor Wu and Emperor Hsüan (r. 73–48 B.C.); 3) a stage of rapid growth from the time of Emperor Yüan (r. 48–32 B.C.) and Emperor Ch'eng (r. 32–6 B.C.) to the beginning of the Later Han, and 4) a

stage of generic fruition from the middle of the Later Han to the Chien-an period.[5]

To reduce the growth of Han pentasyllabic poetry to the lineage of *ku-shih* or to equate it with the development of *yüeh-fu* is equally undesirable. The Han dynasty was a time of great cultural dissemination and assimilation. Confucian scholars were sent out in large numbers by the imperial court to educate the populace on Confucian moral values as part of the program of *chiao-hua* (moral transformation). Moreover, elements of popular culture—divination, astrology, folk beliefs, and so on—were assimilated into the Confucian cosmological and ethical systems and in some cases were even incorporated into the Confucian classics.[6] In the realm of poetry, the influence of folk traditions on the elite tradition can be seen in the collecting, editing, and imitating of popular songs and ballads by members of the Han literati, especially those working for the Music Bureau. The counterinfluence of the elite on popular culture is borne out by the metamorphosis of folk *yüeh-fu* into literati *yüeh-fu* as a result of the intrusion of literati concerns. In view of the active interchange between the Han elite and popular cultures, we cannot possibly isolate the oral and literary traditions from each other in our study of Han pentasyllabic poetry.

Intrageneric Distinction:
Folk *Yüeh-fu* versus Literati *Yüeh-fu*

Having clarified the relationship between between *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih*, I can now address the issue of differences within the genre of Han *yüeh-fu*. To identify intrageneric differences in Han *yüeh-fu* and construct a scheme of classification have long been central tasks in both traditional and modern studies of Han *yüeh-fu*. Due to the limitation of space, I will give only a brief review of traditional and modern classification schemes before I present my own two-fold scheme.

Most traditional Chinese critics foreground the issue of oral performance when they classify Han *yüeh-fu* works. They often go to great lengths to search for information about various aspects of musical performance: the use of instruments, the performative occasion, the sources of musical tunes in Han times. On the basis of their findings, they seek to classify Han *yüeh-fu* works into increasingly minute categories defined by these performative aspects. According to the "Treatise on Music" in *History of the Sui (Sui shu)*, *yüeh-fu* is classified for the first time during the reign of Emperor Ming. This classification contains four broad categories

defined by music types and ceremonial functions: 1) *ta yü yüeh*, music for suburban and temple sacrifices; 2) *Chou sung ya yüeh*, music of Chou hymns and banquet songs; 3) *huang-men ku-ch'ui yüeh*, music for the entertainment of ministers in the imperial court; and 4) *tuan hsiao nao-ko*, songs for military occasions.[7] When Ts'ai Yung (132–192) discusses *yüeh-fu*, he adopts these four categories without modification.[8] In the "Treatise of Music" of *History of the [Liu] Sung (Sung shu)*, Shen Yüeh expands the number of categories to six by adding *hsiang-ho* and other types of folk music and songs.[9] In *Commentary on the Essentials of Ancient Yüeh-fu Titles (Yüeh-fu ku-t'i yao chieh)*, Wu Ching (670–749) comes up with eight categories after excluding most courtly music types and more than doubling the number of folk music types.[10] In *Compendium of Historical Information (T'ung chih lüeh)*, Cheng Ch'iao (1104–1162) devises five broad categories and further divides them into fifty-three subcategories.[11] In *Anthology of Yüeh-fu Poetry (Yüeh-fu shih-chi)*, Kuo Mao-ch'ien (fl. 1084) incorporates most of the existent categories and brings forth a grand twelve-fold scheme of classification, replete with minute subcategories based on the differentiation of musical modes.[12] Tso K'o-ming (Yüan dynasty), Wu Na (1372–1457), Hsü Shih-cheng (1517–1580), Feng Ting-yüan (Ch'ing dynasty), Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1876–1929), and most others remain content to stay within Kuo's grand scheme while making rearrangements of his categories.[13]

If traditional Chinese critics show a predilection to multiply and refine the music-based categories and subcategories, modern critics exhibit a countertendency to simplify the music-based categories and to introduce new categories unrelated to musical performance. In reclassifying *yüeh-fu*, Lo Ken-tse subsumes most of the traditional music-based categories under five broad categories: 1) folk works adapted by musicians, 2) literati works adapted by musicians, 3) original works composed by musicians themselves, 4) works that imitate old music, and 5) works that radically change the style of old music. Meanwhile, he conceives of a broad nonmusic category that includes three major groups of nonperformative works (those with old *yüeh-fu* titles, those using old *yüeh-fu* verse as titles, and those on traditional *yüeh-fu* themes).[14] While Lo's conception of the nonmusic category seems rather pedestrian, his reclassification of the traditional music-based categories strikes us as truly innovative in that it marks a significant shift of the ground of classification from technical matters of performance (types of musical instruments, musical modes, contexts of performance, etc.) to matters concerning the origin and transmission of *yüeh-fu* works.[15] What is particularly noteworthy is his distinction between folk *yüeh-fu* (*min-chien yüeh-fu*) and literati *yüeh-fu* (*wen-jen yüeh-fu*). The former denotes those works of anonymous

origin, presumably composed by common, illiterate folks; the latter des-
ignates those works of known authorship, written by members of the
literati class. This distinction came to be used ever more frequently by
other modern critics as the ground for reclassifying *yüeh-fu* in their criti-
cal studies or anthologies of *yüeh-fu* poetry. For instance, Liu Ta-chieh
adopts it to organize his discussion of *yüeh-fu* poems,[16] as do modern
Western critics like James Robert Hightower, whose distinction between
ritualistic *yüeh-fu* and popular *yüeh-fu* apparently derives from this folk-
literati opposition.[17] Likewise, Hans Frankel's five-fold scheme of classifica-
tion—an elaboration of Hightower's two-fold scheme—is founded on the
same folk-literati distinction. Three of his five categories ("ritual hymns
of the Han dynasty," "a special class of ritual hymns from the Southern
Dynasties," and "ballads in *yüeh-fu* style by men of letters") are sub-
divisions of literati *yüeh-fu*, while the other two categories ("anonymous
ballads of the Han period," and "anonymous ballads of the Southern and
Northern Dynasties") are subdivisions of folk *yüeh-fu* according to histori-
cal periods.[18]

All these modern reclassifications of *yüeh-fu* based on the folk-
literati distinction represent an important progress in our understanding
of the evolution of the *yüeh-fu* genre in general and Han *yüeh-fu* in par-
ticular. In my opinion, the traditional music-based classifications of Han
yüeh-fu are not only unreliable as a historical description of actual *yüeh-fu*
performance in Han times, but they are also unserviceable for literary
studies. When Chinese critics first wrote about Han *yüeh-fu*, even though
it was not long after Han times, they could not personally observe per-
formances of Han *yüeh-fu*. The music, dance, and performed rituals for
Han *yüeh-fu* had already disappeared. They could only conjecture and
generalize based on indirect and often scattered accounts. Even if we
grant their descriptions a measure of credibility, we still cannot find
much use for such descriptions in our literary study. What is essential to
our study of Han *yüeh-fu* as literature is internal textual evidence, not
nontextual evidence of oral performance. Unlike historians of music, lit-
erary scholars inquire into the performative aspects of Han *yüeh-fu* to
enrich our understanding of the texts as a unique form of literature. In
other words, it is the intrinsic features of Han *yüeh-fu* texts, not the ex-
trinsic factors of performance that should be our primary concern. Unfor-
tunately, many literary critics often become so preoccupied with ex-
traliterary issues like the differentiation of music types that they pay little
attention to the intrinsic literary qualities of Han *yüeh-fu* works. For in-
stance, in their chapter on Han *yüeh-fu* in *A History of Chinese Poetry*
(*Chung-kuo shih-shih*), Lu K'an-ju and Feng Yuan-chün devote nearly the
entire forty-seven pages to discussing the classification of Han *yüeh-fu*

according to music types; they do not offer a detailed analysis of any extant text.[19]

The emergence of the folk-literati distinction in modern studies of Han *yüeh-fu* seems to be a mixed blessing. On the one hand, it helps us to go beyond unessential issues about musical instruments or musical modes to consider the dynamic interchange between folk and literati traditions in the development of Han *yüeh-fu*. On the other hand, it tends to distract our attention from a study of the texts to issues of dating and authorship of specific works. This unfortunate distraction is due largely to an unhappy definition by Lo Ken-tse and other modern critics of folk and literati *yüeh-fu* on the basis of anonymity and identifiable authorship, rather than on the basis of their intrinsic qualities. As long as they attempt to distinguish "folk" and "literati" on the ground of authorship, they have no choice but to commit themselves to the task of determining the nonauthorship or authorship. Only after they have ruled on the "folk anonymity" or "literati authorship" of a particular work can they go on to classify it as a folk or literati composition.

To determine the authorship or nonauthorship of Han *yüeh-fu* works is an impossible and fruitless task for two historical reasons. First, there exists no primary evidence of authorship or nonauthorship for any Han *yüeh-fu* works. They are not signed compositions like most pentasyllabic poems written after the Chien-an period. Nor are they unedited transcriptions of a live collective composition and performance. Rather, they are the finished products of several or all of the processes a work passes through over the course of oral and textual transmission: the original composition, selection and editing by an initial collector, subsequent revising or editing by additional performers, compilers, commentators and so forth. Considering this multiparty involvement in the course of composition and transmission, it is meaningless to talk about a purely folk or, to a lesser extent, a purely literati origin of any Han *yüeh-fu* composition.

Second, there exists no reliable secondary evidence concerning the origins of Han *yüeh-fu* works. In traditional Chinese criticism, comments on the origins of specific Han *yüeh-fu* works do abound. However, most of these comments are nothing more than guesswork that merely reflects commentators' preference for folk or literati traditions. For every assertion about the origin of a single composition, we are bound to find an assertion to the contrary. "South of the River," one of the simplest Han *yüeh-fu* works, is a case in point. While some critics like Ch'ih Ang (Ch'ing dynasty?) take this poem to be an anonymous folk song that depicts the beautiful scenery south of the Yangtze River, others like Ch'en T'ai-ch'u (Ch'ing dynasty?) consider it to be a political satire by a literary

hand against the debauchery of a ruler.[20] Unreliable as they often are, such highly subjective comments often constitute the only available historical material upon which a modern critic must depend—however unwillingly—in tackling the issues of dating and authorship. To handle such secondary sources is a frustrating and perilous business, entangling the scholar in a maze of contradictory arguments that produce merely a defense or modification of an existing opinion.

Given the impossibility of assigning authorship reliably, we will do well to abandon the traditional distinction between folk and literati *yüeh-fu*. Here I propose to redefine these *yüeh-fu* types so that this distinction is made on the basis of a work's intrinsic qualities. By my redefinition, what matters is not a poem's assumed origin or mode of transmission. If a work demonstrates artistic features stemming from collective oral composition and performance in a communal setting, I will call it a folk piece, regardless of whether it may have been created by illiterate people, with or without minor editing by collectors, or written in faithful imitation by a literati author. By the same token, if a work displays qualities that I will show are associated with the solo narrative presentation of the literati composer, I will call it a literati piece. It does not matter whether it was composed and circulated solely among the literati, or a literati composition that was taken up by the folk community and went through modifications in the process of collective oral transmission. The redefinition of these categories will, I believe, enable us to bypass the unsolvable issue of authorship and focus on the thematic, formal and generic evolution of Han *yüeh-fu*.

Crucial to my classification scheme is the distinction between the qualities of an oral folk composition as opposed to those of a written work by a literary hand. This seemingly impossible distinction has been made possible by the discovery of a repertoire of thematic and formal features common to both ancient and living oral traditions across different cultural systems.[21] As extensive cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary (literary, historical, anthropological, etc.) studies of oral poetic traditions have time and again proved this repertoire to be nearly universal,[22] it may very well serve as the basis for distinguishing the degree of "folkness" in a Han *yüeh-fu* piece.[23] To the extent that a Han *yüeh-fu* piece operates solely within these traditions, we may assume that it demonstrates folk qualities to the fullest. But to the extent that a Han *yüeh-fu* piece transcends these traditions to deal with the concerns of the literati and remold oral forms for the expression of personal experience, we may take it to demonstrate literati characteristics. The borderline between these two categories is not always clear-cut. Some poems may fall under both categories. However, this borderline actually enables us

to observe the transition from the dramatic mode of presentation in folk *yüeh-fu* to the narrative mode in literati *yüeh-fu*. The outline of this poetic evolution will become clearer as we examine representative works from both categories.

Folk *Yüeh-fu*: Collective Composition and Performance

The extensive studies of Western oral poetry in recent decades have yielded a long list of its thematic and formal features. Anne Birrell holds that many of these features are present in Han *yüeh-fu* works and summarizes them as follows. I have taken the liberty of rearranging her list and dividing it into three clusters because, as I will show below, these features are by no means uniformly present in all Han *yüeh-fu*.

> 1) detachment, impersonality, and objectivity in presentation; commonplace phrases; nonsense words; alliteration; re frain; repetition; colloquialism;
> 2) universality of view; stereotyped characterization, situation, and plot;
> 3) dialog; ahistoricity; no analysis; no introspection; no localized action or setting; little plot; weak narrative line; abrupt entry into the balladic story and equally abrupt transi tions; understatement; a homely style drawing on famil iar material rather than from the literary tradition.[24]

Of the three clusters, only the first comprises the commonly shared features of all nonritualistic Han *yüeh-fu*. The second cluster reveals the distinctive features of narrative *yüeh-fu* works: point of view, characterization, and plot are the three most important aspects of the narrative mode of presentation. The third cluster sets forth the distinguishing features of *yüeh-fu* works of dramatic character. Dialog, ahistorical presentation, absence of introspection, abrupt transition, and weak narrative line are all essential attributes of the dramatic mode of presentation.

The dramatic features in this third cluster seem to have arisen from the exigencies of collective composition and performance in a folk community. Insofar as Han folk performers were preoccupied with their present existence, they would naturally adopt an ahistorical manner of presentation and shy away from any historical perspective even when dealing with past occurrences. Insofar as they engaged themselves in direct, multiparty verbal communication, they would not need localized

action or setting as much as a storyteller did. Insofar as they mainly sought to express their commonly shared feelings, they would allow little room for personal expression, analysis, introspection and would remain impersonal and objective throughout. Insofar as they responded impromptu to one another in the form of dialog, they could make abrupt entries or transitions and therefore weaken or even eliminate a narrative line. Insofar as they did not have written script as an *aide-mémoire*, they would have to use repetition more frequently than a script-based performer in order to carry on their thought process.

It is now impossible for anyone to prove the inherent relationship between the third cluster and collective composition/performance by observing live *yüeh-fu* performances. However, this relationship can be explored indirectly by comparing internal textual evidence with extant historical accounts of folk performance in the Han and also with the findings of anthropological fieldwork in a living oral tradition in China. Using critical comparison, I will examine two famous Han *yüeh-fu* pieces: "South of the River" and "Mulberry along the Lane," for the features highlighted above in cluster three.

Solo and Choral Singing

"South of the River" (*HCHW*, 256) is often regarded as a Former Han composition on the grounds of its stark simplicity.[25] It displays the thematic and formal features of a work song born of collective composition and performance. In this work song, the lotus pickers sing about what they were doing at the time of composition and performance:

	South of the River	江南
	South of the river [we] can pick lotus,	江南可採蓮
2	The lotus leaves are so luscious, luscious.	蓮葉何田田
	Fish play among lotus leaves.	魚戲蓮葉間
4	Fish play east of lotus leaves.	魚戲蓮葉東
	Fish play west of lotus leaves.	魚戲蓮葉西
6	Fish play south of the lotus leaves.	魚戲蓮葉南
	Fish play north of the lotus leaves.	魚戲蓮葉北

Here, the poetic lines seem to arise simultaneously with the actual action of lotus picking: looking around and around, spotting fish hither and thither. Through this verbal, rhythmic articulation of what they are doing, the lotus pickers seek to turn their physical experience into an artistic

pleasure of the crudest kind. We may assume that they would repeat this work song again and again in the course of their lotus picking. So bound up with the present work activities, this song allows no room for looking back on the past or looking ahead into the future. In "Eastern Light" (*HCHW*, 256) and "Ancient *Yen* Song" (*HCHW*, 292) and other folk *yüeh-fu* works, we notice the same persistent concern with the present and the same neglect of the past and the future. Such a persistent concern with present activities, or "homeostasis" as Walter Ong calls it,[26] is one of the most prominent thematic features of folk poetry of the simplest kind. Seen in a larger historical perspective, "South of the River" continues the homeostatic tradition developed in *kuo-feng* (folk songs) in the *Book of Poetry*.[27]

"South of the River" is characterized by word-for-word repetitions. For instance, the word "lotus" is repeated 7 times, once in each line. From line 1 through line 3, this word performs different syntactical functions: that of an object in line 1, and (together with the word "leaves") that of a subject in line 2, and that of an adverbial of place in line 3. As this central image shifts from one syntactical position to another, it performs the function of a nexus interweaving different images into a coherent, vibrant scene of spring. As we follow the continuous shifts of this central image, we mentally replicate this sequence of perception: a broad view of lotus plants south of the river, then a glimpse of the lotus fields, and then a close-up of fish playing among the lotus plants. The way the repetitive images link in the first two lines seems to typify "thimble phrasing" (*ting-chen t'i*; also known as *lien-chu ko*), first seen in poem 247 in the *Book of Poetry* and used extensively in Han *yüeh-fu*.[28] Such a use of repetitions is also quite common in Western folk poetry and is described by Ong as "'beads on a frame,' the formulaic and aggregative mode of oral culture."[29]

The repetitions in lines 4–7 are quite different, as the phrase "lotus leaves" occurs four times in the same syntactical position, that of an adverb of place. Set within such a rigid syntax, these repetitions function mainly to amplify an emotion by the sheer force of repetition. These four lines have the absolute minimum of four variant words (east, west, south, north) and are generally thought of as a continuous choral response to the first three lines. The chant-like repetitions effectively intensify the lotus pickers' joyous emotions.

Both traditional and modern critics point to these four lines as an evidence of collective composition and performance. In "A Great Preface to *Yüeh-fu*," for instance, Fan Hsiang (Ch'ing dynasty) writes that "The song 'South of the River' does not employ a rhyme except for its first three lines, and shows the traces of the practice seen in ancient *yüeh-fu* of

'one verse sung solo and three verses sung in a choral response (*i ch'ang san t'an*).'"[30] Modern critics also hold that the first part of the poem is sung by a lead singer, and the second part is sung in unison by other singers.[31] To support this view they often identify the poem with instances of collective oral performance revealed in ancient ritualistic texts. For instance, they relate the poem to the following lines inscribed on an oracle bone dating back to the Shang times:

	Crack-making on the day *kui-mao*,	癸卯卜
2	Today comes the rain.	今日雨
	From west comes the rain?	其自西來雨
4	From east comes the rain?	其自東來雨
	From north comes the rain?	其自北來雨
6	From south comes the rain?[32]	其自南來雨

These lines are believed to be divinational prayers for rain—with the first two lines uttered by a chief diviner and the other lines chanted by all present for the occasion.[33] Whatever its function, this inscription strikes us as an archetype for later folk songs like "South of the River." To it, we can trace not only the model for interaction between the solo singer and the chorus, but also the formulaic use of the four directions as a means of emotional intensification. The obvious structural similarity between this oracle inscription and "South of the River" seems to be yet another strong piece of evidence for the collective oral composition and performance in the latter piece.

In sum, "South of the River" represents the simplest kind of folk *yüeh-fu* work born of a collective rhythmic utterance in the course of a work activity. Such a piece does not contain a story line, nor any direct expression of emotion, still less a clearly stated meaning. Its very meaning seems to be a vocal replication of the rhythm of actual physical work—an imitative activity that helps maintain the work rhythm and affords a sense of pleasure over the proper execution of the work. This kind of "nonsensical" work song is often regarded as the origin of poetry in traditional Chinese criticism. For instance, in *Huai-nan tzu*, we find a mention of the origin of poetry in a nonsensical work song: "When lumberjacks lift a heavy log of wood, those in the front utter, 'Heave ho!' and those at the back join in. Thus a song is sung while trying to put together bodily strength to lift a heavy object."[34] Although "South of the River" is made up of far less ejaculatory utterances than this lumberjack song, it is nonetheless similar in kind and betrays the same process of collective composition and performance in an early oral poetic tradition.

Dramatic Situations

The vestiges of collective composition and performance can be found not only in simple, rhythmical work songs like "South of the River" but also in songs about normal events or situations in a folk community. "The Treatise on Food and Commodities" ("Shih huo chih") in *History of the Former Han* includes an account of how the common people went about their collective composition and performance during the winter season:

> In winter time, people were indoors. Women stayed in the same alley and went about spinning thread day and night.... If men and women could not live their normal lives, they would come and sing together, telling their sorrows to one another.[35]

"Mulberry along the Lane," one of the best-known Han *yüeh-fu* compositions, seems to belong to this kind of folk compositions. Unlike "South of the River," it is not a simple transformation of the rhythm of bodily movement into nonsensical rhythmic speech, but rather it reenacts an event, the dramatic encounter between Lo-fu, a mulberry picker working in the fields, and her unwanted suitor.

	Mulberry along the Lane	陌上桑
	The sun rises at the southeast corner	日出東南隅
2	It shines on our house, the Ch'ins.	照我秦氏樓
	The Ch'ins have a pretty daughter,	秦氏有好女
4	She is called Lo-fu.	自名爲羅敷
	Lo-fu likes to raise silkworm and pick mulberry,	羅敷善蠶桑
6	She picks mulberry at the south corner of the wall.	採桑城南隅
	Green silk for [her] basket strap,	青絲爲籠係
8	Cassia branch for [her] basket handle.	桂枝爲籠鈎
	On her head a curving-down hairdo,	頭上倭墮髻
10	At her ears bright moon pearls.	耳中明月珠
	Below, apricot silk for [her] skirt ,	緗倚爲下裙
12	Above, purple silk for [her] blouse	紫倚爲上襦
	Passers-by, on seeing Lo-fu,	行者見羅敷
14	Lay down their loads and stroke their beards.	下擔捋髭須
	Young men, on seeing Lo-fu,	少年見羅敷
16	Take off their caps and arrange their headbands.	脫帽著帩頭

The plowmen forget their plows, 耕者忘其犁
18 The hoers forget their hoes. 鋤者忘其鋤
They come home angry with one another 來歸相怨怒
20 All because they have seen Lo-fu. 但坐觀羅敷

A prefect comes from the south, 使君從南來
22 His five horses stop and stand waiting. 五馬立踟躕
The prefect sends his attendant forward: 使君遣使往
24 "To whom does this pretty girl belong?" 問此誰家姝
"The Ch'ins have a pretty daughter 秦氏有好女
26 She is called Lo-fu." 自名爲羅敷
"Lo-fu, how old is she?" 羅敷年幾何
28 "Twenty, not quite yet, 二十尚不足
Fifteen, a bit more." 十五頗有余
30 The prefect asks Lo-fu: 使君謝羅敷
"Why don't you ride with me?" 寧可同載不
32 Lo-fu comes forward and replies: 羅敷前置辭
"Prefect, why so foolish! 使君一何愚
34 The Prefect has his own wife, 使君自有婦
Lo-fu has her own husband. 羅敷自有夫

36 "In the east more than a thousand cavalry steeds, 東方千余騎
My husband takes the lead. 夫婿居上頭
38 How would you recognize my husband? 何用識夫婿
His white horse is followed by a black colt, 白馬從驪駒
40 Green silk decks his horses' tails, 青絲係馬尾
Golden bridles on his horses' heads. 黃金絡馬頭
42 At his waist hangs a Lu-lu sword 腰中鹿盧劍
Its worth more than ten million cash. 可值千萬余

44 "At fifteen [he was] a 'small clerk,' 十五府小吏
At twenty a 'big master,' 二十朝大夫
46 At thirty a 'middle courtier,' 三十侍中郎
At forty lord of a city of his own. 四十專城居

48 "His is a complexion of pure white 爲人潔白皙
How very fine the whiskers on his face! 鬑鬑頗有須
50 So majestically he strides into court! 盈盈公府步
How solemnly he walks in the Hall! 冉冉府中趨
52 Of the several thousand in audience 坐中數千人
All say my husband is extraordinary!"[36] 皆言夫婿殊
(*HCHW*, 256)

This folk song depicts the multiple facets of Lo-fu the heroine through different concrete situations drawn from her life.[37] It consists of three major parts that can be further divided into seven segments as indicated by my stanza divisions. The three segments in the first part reveal her family background through a glimpse of her residence and daily routine, her elegant and dignified carriage through a description of her clothes and ornaments, her physical charm through the bewitchment of passers-by. The fourth segment in the second part reveals Lo-fu's moral chastity through a rapid exchange of flirtation and repartee between the prefect and the heroine. The remaining three segments in the last part display Lo-fu's unbounded admiration for her husband as expressed in her praises of his equestrian spirit, his administrative accomplishments, and his majestic manner at court. This portrayal of Lo-fu exemplifies what Ong calls "situational thinking," a prominent mode of thought in an oral culture.[38] When the performers come to depict Lo-fu, they simply think in terms of concrete situations that can most effectively evoke their images of her. Indeed, admiration of Lo-fu's upbringing, deportment, beauty, and moral virtues is not expressed in any of those abstract terms, but through an array of concrete situations shedding light on all those facets of her character.

It is important to note that all these situations are organized in the form of a "mini-drama," replete with highly interactive characters. Those in the first part are *mute* characters engaged in nonverbal interaction. The encounter between Lo-fu and her admirers—young men, a plowman, and an hoer—is told to us by an invisible narrator. All the characters in the second part play speaking roles. Lo-fu engages the messenger and then the prefect in brief, yet lively, sharp-witted exchanges. In the last part, Lo-fu assumes the role of a solo speaker. In response to the prefect's flirtatious remark, she launches into a laudatory description of her husband, and thus tactfully silences the aggressive suitor. The blend of silent and speaking characters, the swift changes of scene, the forthright dialogs, and the successive appearance of different characters all indicate the dramatic nature of this composition.

Although the dramatic qualities of "Mulberry along the Lane" are hardly disputable, the poem itself is seldom regarded by critics as a specimen of the dramatic mode of presentation. More often than not, critics account for the shifts of character within a broad narrative scheme. In his study of Han and post-Han *yüeh-fu*, Hans H. Frankel conjectures that it is a single performer who plays the multiple and shifting roles of "narrator and actor, impersonating one or more characters."[39] Accepting this explanation, Anne Birrell identifies a *yüeh-fu* performer as a storyteller and considers his composition a work of narration enlivened by

dramatic techniques.[40] While we may do well to take many *yüeh-fu* pieces as narrative poems, we run into difficulty if we attempt to turn a dramatic piece like "Mulberry along the Lane" into a narrative. The bulk of internal textual evidence stands at odds with the idea of this poem being a narrative work.

Ahistorical Presentation

"Mulberry along the Lane" does not contain the temporal scheme essential to a narrative work, though it presents a wide range of situations. Although an invisible narrator does control the opening two segments, that narrator disappears soon afterwards. The narrator's function is to introduce a dramatic presentation rather than to act as a storyteller who controls the development of an entire composition. No words or phrases indicate the concrete times in which the activities take place. Nor do any textual elements suggest a particular order to those activities. If we suspend our customary inclination to impose temporal order on a long poem, we will be able to perceive this poem as an accumulation of momentary observations of the heroine rather than the sequential development of events in a story about her encounter with an unwanted suitor.

The ahistorical aspect of the poem lends support to a dramatic interpretation of it. When folk performers depict a past occurrence in a dramatic context, they normally see its significance only in terms of the present. Unlike a storyteller, they do not seek to organize past events into a temporal sequence. Rather, they strive to recreate those events simultaneously as a living drama unfolding in the present moment. This dramatic transformation of past occurrences into immediate, tangible actions clearly reflects homeostasis, the persistent preoccupation with present experience typical in folk composition. So we may very well take the ahistorical aspect of "Mulberry along the Lane" as a textual vestige of a homeostatic, dramatic presentation. Indeed, when reading this poem, it is not at all difficult to picture multiple performers playing different characters in an effort to imitate Lo-fu's dramatic encounter with the prefect.

Abrupt Transitions

Abrupt transitions constitute still another form of textual evidence illustrating the importance of collective role-playing in "Mulberry along the Lane." In the poem we can easily find at least four abrupt transitions among its seven segments. We note an abrupt shift in the appearance of

Lo-fu from a peasant girl working in a mulberry grove to an elegant, well-dressed and bejeweled lady in the second segment; an abrupt shift of scene from Lo-fu's private life to her exposure to the public gaze in the third segment; an abrupt shift of people from a group of uncouth peasants to a prefect and his entourage in the fourth segment; and an abrupt shift of speech form from snappy repartee to an earnest enumeration of merits by Lo-fu in the last three segments.

All these abrupt shifts seem to underscore the kind of freedom the folk *yüeh-fu* performers enjoyed in the course of their collective role-playing. When one performer took up the action, replacing a fellow performer, he was free to introduce a new point of view and switch to the level of language most familiar to him. He might either compose his own lines or simply draw lines from one or more existing compositions—without worrying too much about whether his lines would follow what had been going on. The immediacy of the interactive role-playing more than compensates for any abrupt shifts in content or form.

Composite Structure

In consequence of these abrupt transitions, the poem demonstrates a composite structure. Although this structure is likely to be regarded as a serious fault in a literati narrative work, it is perfectly acceptable in a folk *yüeh-fu* piece. In fact, it has been hailed as a hallmark of *yüeh-fu* artistry, for it creates ambiguities that make a composition dramatic, provocative, and intriguing.[41] Shen Te-ch'ien praised the unique charm of the composite structure in "Mulberry along the Lane" when he said "there seems to be structural coherence, yet there seems not to be structural coherence. This is where the ancients entered the realm of spirit."[42]

Yü Kuan-ying developed a "jigsaw" theory of *yüeh-fu* composition and listed eight different ways a *yüeh-fu* performer may piece together borrowings from diverse sources: 1) combine two borrowed parts into a new piece; 2) combine two borrowed parts with an interlude; 3) intermingle one piece with stock phrases and formulas from other works; 4) break down one piece and use its fragments for a new piece; 5) put in one section from other texts; 6) piece different fragments into a new one; 7) use the ending of a piece as the beginning of a new piece; and 8) use formulaic expressions.[43] While Yü has aptly spelled out the features of composite structure with this eight-fold categorization, he has erred in seeing composite structure as the brainchild of a single *yüeh-fu* performer. The bulk of internal textual evidence and external evidence to be examined later suggests quite the opposite: composite structure is the

outcome of collective role-playing. A folk *yüeh-fu* work displays a composite structure simply because it involves the participation of several performers who each bring to the work a different point of view, a different set of oral formulas or expressions, and probably a different style of performance as well.[44]

My analysis of the composite structure in "Mulberry along the Lane" falls in line with some *Ch'u tz'u* scholars' attempts to envision dramatic performance through an analysis of the composite structures in "Nine Songs" ("Chiu-ko") in *Songs of Ch'u*. Among the eminent *Ch'u tz'u* scholars, Ch'en Pen-li (1739-1818), Aoki Masaru, and Ch'en Tzu-chan all regard the composite structures in "Nine Songs" as solid textual evidence of collective role-playing, though they disagree about who the performers were and how they went about their collective role-playing. Ch'en Pen-li holds that collective role-playing takes two forms in *Songs of Ch'u*. He writes that "there is the case of female shamans (*wu*) and male shamans (*hsi*) dancing and singing together, and there is also the case of solo singing by one female shaman with choral responses by multiple female shamans."[45] Aoki Masaru also thinks the composite structures in "Nine Songs" attest to two forms of collective role-playing. In contrast to Ch'en, he holds that the two forms are: 1) antiphonal singing and dancing between a male shaman playing the role of a god or a chief sacrificer and a female shaman playing the role of either a chief or assistant sacrificer; and 2) choral singing and collective dancing by multiple shamans.[46] Ch'en Tzu-chan seems to have synthesized the views of Ch'en Pen-li and Aoki Masaru. For him, the composite structures indicate different dramatic situations: solo, choral, and/or antiphonal singing and dancing by different combinations of male and female shamans.[47] All three views are relevant to our understanding of the composite structures in Han *yüeh-fu*, a genre that has descended from the southern oral traditions represented by *Songs of Ch'u*. If the two-part division in "South of the River" reveals the kind of the solo singing and choral response proposed by Ch'en Pen-li, the tripartite division of "Mulberry along the Lane" seems to signify the combined solo singing (first section), antiphonal singing (second section), and perhaps choral singing as well (last section may be joined by a chorus) as adumbrated by Ch'en Tz'u-chan.

Compendium of Repetitions

The abundance of repetitions is still another kind of internal textual evidence for collective role-playing in "Mulberry along the Lane." Jean-Pierre Diény identifies six types of repetitions in this work:

1) repetition of words that serve to link verses (2.3–4 [namely verse 2, words 3–4] and 2.1–2; 4.4–5 and 5.1–2; 5.5 and 6.2; 26.4–5 and 27.1–2)
2) repetition of words in consecutive verses at identical places (7.3–4 and 8.3–4; 11.3 and 12.3; 17.2–4 and 18.2–4; 33.1–2 and 34.1–2; 34.3–4 and 35.3–4; 40.4 and 41.4)
3) remote echoes (1.4–5 and 6.4–5; 7.1–2 and 40.1–2; 21.1–2 and 23.1–2 and 30.1–2; 33.1–2 and 34.1–2).
4) repetition of an entire verse (3–4 and 25–26)
5) progressive numerals (44.1–2, 45.1–2, 46.1–2, 47.1–2)
6) repetition of grammatical constructions (4.3, 7.3, 8.3, 11.3, 12.3, 26.3; and 49.1–2, 50.1–2, 51.1–2).[48]

These six types of repetition almost amount to a compendium of repetitions used in Chinese poetry up to Han times. While these six types of repetition frequently appear in both folk and literati *yüeh-fu*, they are seldom employed all together in a single poem. This unusual concentration of the six forms in "Mulberry along the Lane" may very well be due to the consecutive use of repetitions by different performers. Each performer may have chosen a particular type of repetition to frame the syntactical formulas best suited to conveying his thoughts. In the first segment, for instance, the third-person narrator uses the first type of repetition to construct a "thimble phrasing" frame. This enables him to arrange the miscellaneous details of Lo-fu's family background:

The sun rises at the *southeast corner*	日出東南隅
It shines on our house of the *Ch'ins*.	照我秦氏樓
The Ch'ins have a pretty daughter,	秦氏有好女
She is called Lo-fu.	自名爲羅敷
Lo-fu likes to raise silkworm and pick *mulberry*,	羅敷善蠶桑
She picks *mulberry* at the *south corner* of the wall.	採桑城南隅
(Lines 1–6)	

In the second segment, the narrator uses the second type of repetition to construct three couplets, which effectively convey Lo-fu's charming appearance :

Green silk *for* [her] *basket* strap,	青絲爲籠係
Cassia branch *for* [her] *basket* handle.	桂枝爲籠鉤
On her head a curving-down hairdo,	頭上倭墮髻
At her ears bright moon pearls.	耳中明月珠
Below, apricot *silk for* [her] skirt,	緗綺爲下裙

> Above, purple *silk for* [her] blouse 紫倚爲上襦
> (Lines 7–12)

In the fourth segment, a performer repeats verbatim two verses from the first segment (the fourth type of repetition) in order to link the encounter between the prefect and Lo-fu with the earlier narrative segments. In the sixth segment, the performer who plays the role of Lo-fu uses not only progressive numerals (the fifth type of repetition) but also three spatial coordinates to construct a syntax which helps him enumerate the important official posts allegedly held by Lo-fu's husband:[49]

> *"At fifteen* [he was] a 'small clerk,' 十五府小吏
> *At twenty* a 'big master,' 二十朝大夫
> *At thirty* a 'middle courtier,' 三十侍中郎
> *At forty* lord of a city of his own. 四十專城居
> (Lines 44–47)

In the last segment, the performer makes use of reduplicatives (*lien-mien tzu*), the sixth type of repetition, and vividly conveys his impressions of the majestic manner of Lo-fu's husband:

> "His is a complexion of pure white 爲人潔白皙
> How *fine (and fine)*, the whiskers on his face! 鬑鬑頗有須
> So *majestically (and majestically)* he strides into court! 盈盈公府步
> How *solemnly (and solemnly)* he walks in the Hall! 冉冉府中趨
> Of the several thousand in audience 坐中數千人
> All say my husband is extraordinary!" 皆言夫婿殊
> (Lines 48–53)

My analysis shows that "Mulberry along the Lane" exhibits most of the prominent features of folk *yüeh-fu* outlined at the beginning of this section.[50] Those thematic and formal features constitute evidence of collective composition and performance in a communal setting. Situational thinking rather than conceptual thinking predominates in folk performances. The direct nonverbal and verbal communication among the narrator and characters provide clues to the original context of collective role-playing at the time of composition and performance. The poem reveals an almost exclusive interest in immediate experience (homeostasis). The composite structure reflects abrupt shifts of character and multiple points of view characteristic of spontaneous collective composition. The presence of six different repetitions perhaps indicates the performers' freedom to introduce new patterns of expression in the course of performance.

Hence we have good reason to argue that a folk *yüeh-fu* composition like "Mulberry along the Lane" is not in its original form a narrative work by a single storyteller. Rather, it is likely to have been a dramatic composition born of collective effort and kept alive through collective performance until the work was collected and edited by Music Bureau officials. As a subgenre, folk *yüeh-fu* represents a unique dramatic mode of presentation in the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry, standing in contrast to the narrative mode in the literati *yüeh-fu* and the lyrical mode in the *ku-shih*.

Corroborative Evidence of Folk Dramatic Performance

My analysis of the two poems has yielded much internal evidence of collective composition and performance in a folk community and has led me to conceive of the existence of a distinctive dramatic mode in Han *yüeh-fu*. My discussion of this dramatic mode represents a rather radical departure from the prevailing view of the entire Han *yüeh-fu* corpus as narrative works. So it is incumbent on me to provide corroborative external evidence in support of my argument. I will seek to corroborate my textual analysis with three kinds of evidence: 1) historical accounts of folk collective performance in Han times, 2) the testimony of drama historians on the protodramatic nature of such collective performance, and 3) anthropological findings on the living tradition of oral performance in a Chinese minority group in southwest China.

In my discussion of "South of the River," I have already cited an explicit description in the *Huai-nan Tzu* of the process of composing a work song collectively. Although we cannot find a similar description of the collective composition of a Han *yüeh-fu* piece, we do have a detailed description of evolving forms of collective performance in the Han *yüeh-fu* tradition in "The Treatise on Music" of the *History of the [Liu] Sung*:

> The four *tan-ko* pieces originated in the Han. They were sung without the accompaniment of stringed instrument and rhythmic beat and without a dance performance. First, a leader would sing, then three other singers would respond in chorus. The Martial Emperor of Wei [Ts'ao Ts'ao, 155–220] was particularly fond of them. There was then a person called Sung Jung-hua, who had a clear and beautiful voice and was good at leading this song and achieving a marvelous effect. However, these songs have been lost since Chin [times]. *Hsiang-ho* pieces are old songs from the Han. Stringed and pipe instruments were brought into harmony, and those who used clappers did the singing."[51]

According to this passage Han folk *yüeh-fu* were originally sung collectively without musical accompaniment and were called *tan-ko*. Wang Yün-hsi argues that such *tan-ko* pieces can be traced back to songs of the Ch'in dynasty, such as those mentioned by Sung Yü (Warring States) in his famous "In Reply to the King of Ch'u" or the famed "Song of the Great Wind" attributed to Liu Pang (256?–195 B.C.), the founder of the Han. Wang also believes that *tan-ko* pieces evolved into *hsiang-ho* or "harmonious pieces" after they were collected and set to music at a later date.[52] In *Records of Music Ancient and Present (Ku-chin yüeh-lu)*, we are told that the performance of "harmonious pieces" in Han times involved the use of seven different musical instruments by multiple performers.[53] Further developing Wang's argument, Masuda Kiyohide contends that the transition from *tan-ko* to *hsing-ho* occurred during the reign of Ts'ao Jui (r. 227–238) when a large number of folk songs were collected and adapted to musical instrument.[54] In the opinion of Wang I[a], such a musical adaptation entails only a minor addition or subtraction of words to fit certain tunes and hardly changes the configuration of the original work.[55]

If the evolution from *tan-ko* to *hsiang-ho* marks a process of complication in the manner of collective performance, the development from *hsiang-ho* to *ta-ch'ü* (songs of the grand mode) in the Chin court represents a stylization of collective performance. In the *ta-ch'ü* form, a *yüeh-fu* work is divided into two or more fixed performative blocks known as *chieh*. Each block constitutes a stylized performance of songs, music, and dance by multiple performers. The sequence of these blocks is also set. The beginning block is called *yen*; the middle block, *cheng-ch'ü*; and the ending block, *ch'ü*. As a *ta-ch'ü* piece is normally made up of at least two blocks, its performance necessarily involves coordinated execution of these blocks by multiple performers. In "Treatise on Music" of the *Sung shu* Shen Yüeh confirms this sequence for the *ta-ch'ü* form of "Mulberry along the Lane." He writes that the poem has a complete set of "three *chieh*, begun by a tune of *yen* and ending with *ch'ü*."[56] According to Shen, lines 1–20 (first part) are *yen*, which serve an evocative function like an overture; lines 21–34 (second part) are *cheng-ch'ü*, which brings forth the central action; and lines 35–52 (third part) are *ch'ü*, which bring the story to a climax through a quickened tempo of performance.[57]

In the development of Han *yüeh-fu*, the rise of the *ta-ch'ü* did not by any means displace the *tan-ko* and *hsiang-ho* forms. It is generally believed that all three forms coexisted in Han and Wei–Chin times. Masuda Kiyohide holds that "Mulberry along the Lane" continued to circulate in its unrefined form among common folk even after it was adapted for performance in the Chin court in the form of *ta-ch'ü*.[58] This coexistence of

the three forms suggests not only the vitality of collective performance in Han folk traditions, but also its influence on Chin courtly traditions.

As collective performance is one of the most essential attributes of a dramatic work, it is no wonder that some modern drama historians came to regard works like "South of the River" and "Mulberry along the Lane" as prototypes of Chinese drama. An anonymous scholar in the 1920s considers Han *yüeh-fu* to be the *pan-pen* ("texts for dramatic perform- ance") of Han times and the prototype of modern *pan-pen*.[59] In his *A History of Chinese Drama* (*Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih*), Chou I-pai contends that the performance of "harmonious pieces" should be called dramatic for three reasons: 1) the use of multiple musical instruments by multiple per- formers; 2) the harmony of singing, musical accompaniment, and danc- ing; 3) the sequencing of performative blocks that anticipates the use of song set in the fully developed drama of later ages.[60] This assessment of "harmonious pieces" seems to be accepted by many drama historians. When tracing the origins of Chinese drama, Meng Yao offers similar ob- servations about the dramatic performance of some Han *yüeh-fu* works.[61] In his own *A History of Chinese Drama*, Wei Tzu-yün maintains that some Han *yüeh-fu* works are dramatic not just because of collective perform- ance of songs, music, and dance, but also because of the dramatic actions in the texts themselves. In commenting on the dramatic situations in "Mulberry along the Lane," he goes so far as to argue that the poem's three parts represent three acts of a mini-drama.[62] Whether or not we agree with these drama historians that Han *yüeh-fu* are a form of proto- drama, what they say does shed light on the dramatic mode of presenta- tion in Han folk *yüeh-fu* works like "South of the River" and "Mulberry along the Lane."

Recent anthropological fieldwork on a Chinese ethnic group turns up factual evidence of folk dramatic performance not dissimilar to what we have envisioned in "Mulberry along the Lane." In 1988, 1989, and 1993 Shanshan Du studied the relationship between the collective singing of love songs and love-suicide songs and the unusually high rate of love- pact suicide among the Lahu Na (the Black Lahu), a preliterate ethnic group living in the Lancang Lahu Autonomous County in the southwest- ern province of Yunnan in China. The following passages describe in detail the dramatic performance of these songs:

> During the process of singing, both the romantic emotions and the sui- cidal decisions of the lovers are constructed. In extreme circumstances, some of the enchanted listeners to love-suicide songs can be so moved that they accompany the singers in committing suicide because of in- tense aesthetic satisfaction and deep sympathy for the lovers.

> The sessions of singing love songs are arranged antiphonally between females and males, who sit separately beside camp fires outside the village at night during the courting seasons. The courting season extends from the end of harvesting (October) to the beginning of spring ploughing (February), but is especially intense during the Lahu New Year celebration.
>
> Like most of the Lahu Na folk songs, love songs and love-suicide songs are sung in the form of antiphonal questioning and answering. The optimum composition for the performing group is two people—one male and one female singer. The singing of love songs is scrupulously restricted to the courting context: sung by the unmarried for the purpose of courting. The antiphonal songs are usually listened to by many people with the purpose of gaining aesthetic satisfaction, accumulating knowledge, or practising the antiphonal responses silently. In this sense, many of the silent listeners are, in fact, active participants in the antiphonal singing....
>
> There is great variety in the degree of flexibility one has in singing the texts of the Lahu folk songs. The singing of certain texts requires absolute accuracy. Any error in the singing of the "Year Song" to celebrate the New Year is believed to result in destruction of the crops during the coming year. But the singing of the texts of most songs is modular and flexible and the singers need to have not only enough knowledge but also the creativity to piece the parts together.... The love-suicide songs are among those with the greatest flexibility. In addition to piecing together the fixed modules, the singers of love-suicide songs have to spontaneously create metaphors, puns, and verses related to the context of the antiphonal singing.[63]

This description seems to match well my textual analysis of "Mulberry along the Lane." While I have reconstructed the scene of a dramatic folk performance on the ground of internal textual evidence, Du here gives a factual account of a folk dramatic performance and briefly comments on some of the formal features shaped by such a performance. Du tells us that during the off-season the Lahu Na people have communal gatherings in which they sing together various folk songs depicting courtship, marriage, and other aspects of their life. Such a communal singing reminds us of what the *History of the Former Han* says about the practice of collective singing in folk communities in Han times. By the same token, what Du says about the dramatic interaction among the singers and between the audience and singers seems to bear out my discussion of the shifts of voice in"Mulberry along the Lane." Her description of the antiphonal singing offers a ready comparison with the pattern of questioning and answering in that work. Her comments on the use of modules in the Lahu songs lend support to my analysis of the composite structure

and abrupt transitions in "Mulberry along the Lane." Finally, her obser-
vation about the freedom the Lahu singers have in modifying and creat-
ing the language of songs accords with what I have said about shifting
levels of language when commenting on the presence of six patterns of
repetition in this poem. Du's account of the Lahu Na traditions provides
a living example of the kind of folk dramatic performance envisioned in
"Mulberry along the Lane." Her findings constitute valuable corrobora-
tive evidence in support of my effort to distinguish a dramatic mode in
Han *yüeh-fu* and trace its origin to collective composition and perform-
ance in a folk community.[64]

To support my analysis further, let me cite the Ch'ing scholar Li
T'iao-yuan (1734–?) who wrote of dramatic performances akin to what I
have envisioned in "Mulberry along the Lane" in his study of *Lang-ko* or
the songs of the Lang people (a non-Han ethnic group in eighteenth-
century Nan Yüeh, or present-day Kuang-hsi Province). In his *Random
Notes on Nan Yüeh* (*Nan Yüeh pi-chi*), he gives this account of the dramatic
performance of Lang love songs:

> In the customs of the Lang, people begin to practice singing when they
> are young. Men and women depend on singing to find their mates.
> When a woman comes of age, she is set alone in the wild hills. Young
> men who follow her number in the dozens. They take turns singing to
> her. Depending on the responses shown by the intent of her song, one
> of these young men stays on. Then the two exchange gifts. The man
> leaves the woman with a shoulder-pole inscribed with the words of a
> few songs.... The woman presents the man with an embroidered pouch
> and a decorated silk belt to be engaged as husband and wife.[65]

In this passage, we witness the *actual* unfolding of a dramatic situation
similar to what we encounter in "Mulberry along the Lane": the appear-
ance of a woman, a parade of her admirers, the emergence of a dominant
admirer, and the interaction between that admirer and the woman. Of
course, in "Mulberry along the Lane," the suitor is a married man and
the woman is also married. As the identities of the characters are differ-
ent, so is the nature of the courtship. A natural search for a marital bond
is replaced by an unnatural endeavor to undermine a good marriage.
Consequently, the courtship does not lead to a happy engagement, but
ends with an angry condemnation of the suitor by the woman. While
Lang singers go through a rite of singing love songs in a genuine search
for a mate, the performers of "Mulberry along the Lane" act out a de-
based version of the rite of courtship in order to denounce the unnatural
sabotage of a marriage. Li T'iao-yüan's account of the dramatic performance

of courtship by the Lang people is indeed reminiscent of what we have seen in "Mulberry along the Lane."[66]

Is it possible, we may ask, that this poem and the Lang songs may be connected in some way? If we accept Aoki Masaru's view that Lang songs can probably be traced to the southern folk traditions of *Songs of Ch'u*,[67] we may speculate that a similar courtship rite was practiced by the Miao and other ethnic groups in and around the Ch'u areas during Han and earlier times and that "Mulberry along the Lane" may imitate such a rite. This courtship rite must have been practiced in more or less the same way century after century. A testimony to the continuation of this Miao tradition is Shen Ts'ung-wen's account of courtship songs performance practised by another Miao tribe in "Lung Chu," a short story he wrote in 1929, based on his knowledge of the Miao tribes living in the western part of Hunan province:[68]

> The boys and girls of the Lang Chia tribe came together through sing-ing. At the Greater New Year's Festival, the Dragon Boat Festival, the Mid-Autumn Festival of the eighth month, and the great sacrifices of Dancing for the New Year and Stabbing the Ox, boys and girls would form into groups to sing and dance. Each of the girls would be decked out in a tunic and skirt of tribal brocade, with flowers in her hair and a carefully powdered face, to offer herself to a boy. Ordinarily, when the weather was good, whether it was early or late in the day, in a deep mountain valley or by a riverbank, boys and girls would be drawn to-gether by their singing. Then, under sunlight or moonlight, they could come to know each other and do those things that can only be done by the most intimate of lovers. With these customs, a boy who could not sing was in disgrace, and a girl who could not sing could not get a good husband. Plucking out one's heart and tendering it to one's lover de-pended not on money, appearance, family status, or anything of pre-tense, only on genuine and passionate songs.[69]

This account is practically identical with what Li T'iao-yüan tells us about the rite of courtship in the Lang tribe. Apparently, early in this century the Lang Chia tribe of west Hunan practiced the same rite as the Lang tribe of Kuang-hsi had done in the eighteenth century.[70] This leads us to believe that this singing rite is indeed an unbroken Miao custom observed by the Miao tribes of different places and times. Although there are not definitive records of this tradition among the Miao and other mi-nority groups in Han times, there is little reason to doubt the existence of such a custom in minority communities then and earlier. In the opinion of Shen Ts'ung-wen, similar customs must have existed in Han folk communities as well, since he envisions the "Miao life as that of the Han

when they 'were young.'"[71] Probably what Shen has in mind is the primitive life of the Han people in the period of the *Book of Poetry*, the early Chou. As Jeffrey C. Kinkley points out, Marcel Granet's detection of "signs of similar customs among the ancient Han" in the love songs of the *Book of Poetry* seems to bear out Shen Ts'ung-wen's vision of ancient Han Chinese culture.[72] In fact, there is strong evidence to support Shen's assumption about the existence of collective singing among ancient Han Chinese groups. In *Comprehensive Discussions at the White Tiger Hall (Pai-hu t'ung)*, Confucius is said to condemn such singing and to hold this custom responsible for the debased qualities of the airs of the Cheng state in the *Book of Poetry*:

> Confucius said, "Why are the airs of Cheng licentious? The indigenous people of Cheng lived in the mountains and bathed in the valleys. Men and women mingled together. With the airs of Cheng, they seduced each other with sensual pleasures. Therefore, they were perverse and indecent, and their airs are all airs of licentious qualities.[73]

Except for its moral condemnation, this account is very similar to those of Li T'iao-yüan and Shen Ts'ung-wen. If we agree with Granet's and Shen's views, we can then see a meaningful connection between "Mulberry along the Lane" and the Lang songs. This connection may be understood in three different ways. We may see "Mulberry along the Lane" as a reflection of the custom of collective singing in the *Book of Poetry*, a custom that resembles the one practiced by the Miao peoples. Or we may attribute the dramatic qualities of "Mulberry along the Lane" to the influence of the rite of courtship being practiced by the Miao and other minority groups in Han times. Or we may assume that "Mulberry along the Lane" is also influenced by the ancient customs of the *Book of Poetry* and contemporary non-Han traditions of love-song singing.

In addition to his account of the Lang rite of courtship, he collected eleven Lang love songs in his *Airs of Yüeh (Yüeh feng)*, an anthology of popular songs in *Yüeh* or Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. Like "Mulberry along the Lane," these love songs are all pentasyllabic poems. They may be conceived either as eleven antiphonal songs, or as a loosely connected song sequence with eleven antiphonal sections sung by a girl and her suitor(s) during a prolonged singing session. The reliability of these song texts as records of live dramatic performance is enhanced by the fact both the original transcriber and the annotator sought to present the songs as faithfully as possible. The original transcriber, a man identified as Wu Tai by Li T'iao-yüan, recorded the songs in a mixture of Chinese and the Lang language, often transliterating into Chinese written characters.

Recorded in such a macaronic form, these songs were comprehensible only to those who knew both languages. To make these song texts accessible to the general reader, Li T'iao-yüan glossed most of the characters as sound indicators of Lang speech and provided a rough paraphrase of each line. Thanks to these efforts, Wu and Li successfully preserved the original character of these songs and passed on to us a reliable record of live dramatic performance. Due to the limits of space, I cite only the first two of the eleven antiphonal songs and offer a literal translation of them based on the Li's annotations.

	Yüeh Feng: Lang Songs	粵風 · 狼歌
	Singing:	唱
	Sing to me, you sister,	寬介留麼往
2	The song you sing [is like] a small yellow flower.	寬的歌智廣
	Sing to me, you sister,	寬介留麼往
4	Sing two lines to relieve my boredom.	寬解悶雙巡
	I brother do not deal with others well,	皮是伝布寨
6	But if you love me, I will respond.	往買皮就呵
	If you meanto follow me,	往懇皮就籠
8	I will not let go the one that matches my years.	不貧同不放
	Replying:	答
	Sing, so I will sing, you brother,	寬便寬麼皮
10	[What] I sing [is not as] dark as ink.	寬敗岑樣墨
	Sing, so I will sing, you brother,	寬便寬麼皮
12	[What] I sing [is not as] firm as stone.	寬敗匿樣辛
	Seeing you are so fine,	吞同厘伶俐
14	I feel my heart itching.	約友二何行
	One loves, one plays along,	扶買扶過尋
16	My heart itches, and I won't let you go.	何行也不失
	Singing:	唱
	Today I come by here,	艮爾留相過
2	Like water returning to river.	如水還到江
	Today I meet [you] here,	艮爾留度讓
4	Like being two butterflies.	如貧雙品巴
	Days are gone, so are months,	日往月又移
6	The one that matches my years, where are you?	同厘幼閭往
	P'ing-nan, T'eng, and Kui [counties],	平南藤貴縣
8	I come and see you sister, so beautiful.	斗吞妹王還

Replying: 答

Today I meet [you] here, 艮爾留度立

10 Like bamboo greeting spring. 如個菉逢春

Today we meet here, 艮爾留相逢

12 Like clouds dropping down from heaven. 如懇吞籠斗

Waiting until the door shed tears, 咳當臨他流

14 Waiting until the doorpost shed more tears. 咳秋臨他篤

? ? ? [meaning unclear]. 扶台使斷派

16 ? ? ? [meaning unclear].[74] 扶在使度辛

In these Lang song texts, we can observe practically all of the prominent formal features seen in "Mulberry along the Lane": situational thinking, ahistorical presentation, abrupt transition, and composite structure.[75] As these texts are reliable records of live dramatic performance, we can maintain that their formal features are undoubtedly shaped by the dynamics of dramatic presentation. Once we can see the inherent connection of these formal features with dramatic performance, we can say that other songs in which we find a preponderance of these formal features are likely to have been born of dramatic performance as well. Thus, the fact "Mulberry along the Lane" shares the same repertoire of formal features with these Lang songs is particularly revealing. It not only constitutes what may be the strongest corroborative evidence of the dramatic nature of the former work, but also reaffirms the advisability of taking these formal features as textual evidence of dramatic performance in this study of Han folk *yüeh-fu*.

Literati *Yüeh-fu*: Noninteractive Storytelling

The next four Han *yüeh-fu* poems present textual evidence of noninteractive storytelling by a solo performer and illustrate the narrative mode of presentation in literati *yüeh-fu*.[76] To accentuate the sharp contrast between dramatic and narrative modes and between two clusters of artistic features germane to these two modes, let us first compare the following poem by Hsin Yen-nien, an obscure poet in the Later Han, with "Mulberry along the Lane":

The Yü-lin Official 羽林郎詩

Once there was a servant in the house of Huo, 昔有霍家姝

2 His name was Feng Tzu-tu. 姓馮名子都

	Presuming on the general's power,	伊倚將軍勢
4	He teased a foreign girl in a wineshop.	調笑酒家胡
	The pretty foreign girl was fifteen.	胡姬年十五
6	In spring she was tending the bar alone.	春日獨當壚
	The halves of her long skirt were tied together with ribbons;	長裾連理帶
8	Her broad-sleeved coat had a floral design of happy union.	廣袖合歡襦
	On her head she wore jade from Lan-t'ien,	頭上藍田玉
10	Behind her ears, Byzantine pearls.	耳後大秦珠
	Her hair in two buns, so attractive,	兩鬟何窈窕
12	Surely without equal in her time,	一世良所無
	One bun worth five million.	一鬟五百萬
14	Two buns more than ten million.	兩鬟千萬餘
	Surprise! An imperial guard officer,	不意金吾子
16	A show-off, passes my bar.	娉婷過我壚
	His silver saddle, how it glitters!	銀鞍何煜爚
18	His carriage, decked with kingfisher feathers, loiters in idleness.	翠蓋空踟躕
	He comes to me and asks for clear wine;	就我求清酒
20	By the silk cord I lift the jade pot.	絲繩提玉壺
	He comes to me and asks for a choice dish;	就我求珍肴
22	On a gold platter I serve him thin-sliced carp.	金盤鱠鯉魚
	He gives me a green bronze mirror,	貽我青銅鏡
24	And ties it to my red silk skirt.	結我紅羅裾
	I don't care if the red silk gets torn,	不惜紅羅裂
26	Not to mention my unworthy body.	何論輕賤軀
	A man always desires a second wife,	男兒愛後婦
28	A woman esteems her first husband.	女子重前夫
	In human life there is new and old;	人生有新故
30	Noble and base can't trespass on each other.	貴賤不相踰
	No, thank you, Officer of the Guard!	多謝金吾子
32	Secret dalliance can't ever amount to anything.[77]	私愛徒區區
	(*HCHW*, 198)	

This poem dwells on a theme identical to that of "Mulberry along the Lane": a virtuous beauty's triumph over her unwanted suitor in a dramatic confrontation. However, the handling of the theme is radically different in the two poems. The dramatic features prominent in "Mulberry along the Lane" are now all gone. First, there is a marked shift from multiple to dual points of view. While "Mulberry along the Lane" suggests a dramatic reenactment by multiple performers, this poem is un-

doubtedly a narrative account by a single performer, who first speaks as a third-person narrator and then assumes the voice of the heroine herself. Second, the number of characters has been greatly reduced. There are no longer a host of minor characters parading before the heroine. The heroine and the suitor are the only two characters. Third, the dramatic confrontation has become less intense, as they are no longer engaged in repartee. The heroine's narrative account has taken much of the dramatic tension out of the confrontation. Fourth, ahistorical presentation has given way to a temporally coherent description begun by "hsi yu" (line 1), a phrase equivalent to "once upon a time" in English. Fifth, composite structure is replaced by a sequential structure without traces of abrupt transition. Sixth, folk situational thinking has all but disappeared, as the heroine expresses her thoughts in abstract conceptual terms (lines 27–32) unseen in "Mulberry along the Lane." From this brief comparison of the two poems, we can catch a glimpse of the transition from dramatic mode in folk *yüeh-fu* to the narrative mode in literati *yüeh-fu*.[78] To deepen our understanding of the narrative mode, let us examine its three essential features (literati concern, sequential structure, and dual points of view) and consider how these features result from the efforts by Han literati to contemplate their own inner experience.

Literati Concerns

While the dramatic mode contains vestiges of collective composition and performance in a folk community, the narrative mode bears the imprint of solo presentation of a storyteller struggling to convey his inward experience to his audience in a story form. I have already noted that folk collective composition and performance usually revolve around an external event affecting the life of a folk community. By contrast, we shall see in the next four poems that the solo presentation of a storyteller tends to center on his inner awareness of the impermanence of human life, values, and relationships—a perpetual Han literati concern. This thematic shift from external occurrences to inner experience is evident in "Ballad to a Long Song," a poem on the subject of transcendental escape where the performer depicts his flight to the fairyland of immortals:

Ballad to a Long Song	長歌行
The immortal rides a white deer,	仙人騎白鹿
2 His hair is short and his ears so long.	髮短耳何長
Having led me up to Mount T'ai Hua,	導我上太華

4　He picks magic mushrooms
　　　and gathers red fungus.　　　　　　攬芝獲赤幢
　　When I arrive at the Master's gate,　　來到主人門
6　I offer the Master the drug in a jade box.　奉藥一玉箱
　　The Master takes the drug,　　　　　　主人服此藥
8　His body becomes healthier and stronger each day.　身體日康彊
　　His white hair has turned black again,　　髮白復更黑
10　His years are extended and he will live long.[79]　延年壽命長
　　(*HCHW*, 263)

Short as it is, this piece contains all the situations essential to its
type: an encounter with an immortal, a ride with an immortal to a heav-
enly paradise, a search for a cure for aging and mortality, and an instan-
taneous rejuvenation after taking a drug of longevity. The order in which
all these situations are presented is unambiguously sequential and gives
the illusion of a real journey. By taking us along his journey, the per-
former intends us to share his illusionary escape from the cares of our
mundane existence and achieve, however momentarily, a mental tran-
scendence of human transience.

　　This poem has two major components: abstract concepts—"lifespan"
(*shou-ming*) and "extending one's life" (*yen-nien*)—as well as concrete im-
ages—long ears, flying deer, drug of immortality, and so forth. Both
components can be traced not to folk origins, but to earlier courtly and
literati traditions. Konishi Noboru points out that conceptual terms like
"human existence" (*jen-sheng*), "everlasting life" (*ch'ang-sheng*) "lifespan"
(*shou-ming*), and "extending one's life (*yen-nien*) are practically nonexist-
ent in the Han and preHan folk songs. According to Konishi, these ex-
pressions were first used by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (179–117 B.C.) and other
court poets in "Songs for Suburban Sacrifices" ("Chiao-ssu Ko") for the
purpose of wishing the Emperor immortal life; later they appeared in
court banquet songs (i.e., *tuan-hsiao nao-ko*) for the same purpose. In
"Ballad to a Long Song" and similar pieces in the "harmonious mode,"
these terms began to be used together with concrete images of an immor-
tal.[80] In Konishi's opinion these concrete images also trace back to earlier
literary sources. He argues that they derive not from popular cults of
immortality but from the written Taoist classics *Chuang Tzu* and *Huai-nan
Tzu*.[81] This argument is supported by the fact that the immortal in
"Ballad to a Long Song" fits perfectly the descriptions of an immortal in
those two Taoist texts—a human being with superhuman abilities (e.g.,
flying, living a celestial life).[82] Moreover, this immortal does not exhibit
any nonhuman physical features (e.g., the feet of a beast, the wings of a
bird, a feathered body) characteristic of immortals in the folk cult.[83]

Having identified literary origins for both abstract terms and concrete images used in "Ballad to a Long Song," we have good reason to regard the poem and other similar pieces as literati *yüeh-fu* works.

"Ballad of Breaking the Poplar and Willow," a poem of historical reflection, bears unmistakable signs of the Han literati concern about the impermanence of human relationships. It is simply inconceivable that the composer of this poem could be anyone other than a literate person well versed in the classics and historical texts. The composer introduces, often obliquely, scores of historical figures, events, anecdotes and legends which attest to the danger of committing oneself to a political cause:

Ballad of Breaking the Poplar and Willow	折楊柳行
Darkly, darkly the ruler acts in a perverse way,	默默施行違
2 Punishments will always follow his acts.	厥罰隨事來
As he doted on Mei Hsi and slew Lung-feng,	末喜殺龍逢
4 Chieh found himself exiled to Ming-t'iao.	桀放于鳴條
As Tsu I's advice was not taken;	祖伊言不用
6 Chou's head got hung from a white standard.	紂頭懸白旄
[As he trusted Chao Kao] who would point to	
A deer but say it was a horse,	指鹿用爲馬
8 Hu Hai ended up losing his life.	胡亥以喪軀
Fu-ch'ai, approaching the end of his life,	夫差臨命絕
10 Then said that he had wronged Tzu-hsü.	乃云負子胥
The Jung king accepted girl musicians as a gift,	戎王納女樂
12 For this reason he lost Yu-yü.	以亡其由余
When jade tablets and horses	
brought disaster to K'ui,	璧馬禍及虢
14 The two states both fell into ruins.	二國俱爲墟
A rumor from three men,	
loosed a tiger in the market.	三夫成市虎
16 A kind mother threw down her shuttle and ran.	慈母投杼趨
Pien Ho got his feet amputated.	卞和之刖足
18 Chieh-yü returned to his thatched cottage.	接與歸草廬
(HCHW, 268)	

Unintelligible as it is to us today without copious explanations, this poem would have been readily understandable to a literate audience in the Han. Its extensive historical allusions center on the evils of court

politics—intrigues, assassinations, betrayals, mutilation, and annexation of kingdoms. Most of the allusions tell of catastrophes that befell ancient kings and their ministers. Of those kings—Chieh, the last king of the Hsia dynasty (ca. 2100–1600 B.C.); Chou, the last king of the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–1000 B.C.); Fu-ch'ai, king of the state of Wu (ca. 500–400 B.C.); and the King of the state of Jung—all but one (King Hu-hai in line 8) came to tragic ends because they did not heed the admonitions of their loyal ministers. Similarly, of those ministers—Lung Feng, a worthy minister of King Chieh; Tsu I, a worthy minister of King Chou; Wu Tzu-hsü, an old, loyal minister of the Wu state; and Yu Yü, a worthy minister of the Jung state—all but one (the Chao Kao alluded to in lines 7–8) wasted their talents and even lost their lives because they served their sovereigns blindly. So the tragic ends of both groups mock their blindness to fate. This motif of blindness is, in the last stanza, carried further by two allusions about the difficulty of telling truth from rumor—the story of a rumor becoming truth after being repeated by three different persons, and the story of a mother believing a false accusation of murderagainst her son. This motif receives its most poignant expression in the story of Pien Ho, who twice suffered the amputation of a foot because two kings failed to see a rare gem embedded within an uncut jade he presented. The story of Pien Ho leads to the moral of the poem—that political involvement should be avoided. Having suffered enough to see the treachery of politics, Pien Ho rejected the honors offered him by a third king, who recognized the worth of the jade. This didactic message becomes explicit in the final line, which alludes to the story of the Madman of Lu, who refused an offer of a high official post and returned to his hermitage.[84]

Sequential Structure

A famous composition often attributed to Ts'ai Yung (132–192) is a ballad about a neglected wife (hereafter refered to as "Watering Horses"):

Ballad of Watering Horses at a Long Wall Hole 飲馬長城窟行

	Oh, how green is the grass on the river bank,	青青河邊草
2	How endless is my longing for the distant road.	綿綿思遠道
	The distant road I long for only in vain,	遠道不可思
4	In bed last night I saw him in a dream.	宿昔夢見之
	In the dream I saw him by my side,	夢見在我傍
6	Suddenly I awoke to find him	
	still in another town.	忽覺在他鄉

	Another town, each of us in different counties,	他鄉各異縣
8	Tossing and turning, I could see him no more.	展轉不可見
	Bare mulberry knows wind from the skies,	枯桑知天風
10	Sea water knows chill from the skies.	海水知天寒
	All have gone indoors, each to his loved ones,	入門各自媚
12	Who cares to speak with me?	誰肯相爲言
	A traveler comes from far away,	客從遠方來
14	He brings me a doublecarp. [85]	遺我雙鯉魚
	I call my servant boy, "Cook the carp";	呼兒烹鯉魚
16	Inside there is a white silk letter.	中有尺素書
	I kneel down and read the white silk letter,	長跪讀素書
18	What in the world is in the letter?	書中竟如何
	First it says, "Try and eat more";	上有加餐食
20	Last it says, "I'll always miss you."	下有長相憶
	(*HCHW*, 192)	

Like "Mulberry along the Lane," this poem depicts the life of a woman character through an array of stock situations. However, it displays none of the dramatic qualities of a folk *yüeh-fu* composition. We do not find a multitude of characters, nor direct verbal and nonverbal interaction among characters, nor abrupt shifts of speaking roles, nor multiple points of view, nor the instantaneous unfolding of events. Instead, the poem unfolds in the mind of one singer-performer who plays the role of a neglected wife absorbed in a process of recollection. This handling of stock situations betokens the thematic shift from external occurrence to inner experience in literary *yüeh-fu*.

"Watering Horses" has also outgrown the composite structure of folk *yüeh-fu*. The wife's recollective process helps establish a well-defined narrative line with a single, consistent point of view. At the sight of the green grass by a river, the wife abandons herself to an endless yearning for her husband. Absently, she turns her gaze to the distant road on the horizon and wanders into a world of reverie. She revisits the dream scene of a happy reunion with her husband in a foreign land, only to suffer once more that disheartening moment of awakening to the real world. After a brief lyrical outpouring (8–12), she relapses into the world of memories. What crosses her mind are a visit from a traveler, a doublecarp brought by the traveler, her discovery of her husband's letter, and her holding dear her husband's pledge of love. This narrative account of the wife's inner experience manifests a sequential structure characteristic of literati *yüeh-fu*.

The new sequential structure in "Watering Horses" is, however, built with old syntactic formulas borrowed from folk *yüeh-fu*:

> … the distant road …The distant road …. in dream, In dream … another town … Another town … from the skies … from the skies … a doublecarp … to "cook the carp"… a white silk letter… the white silk letter … First it says … Last it says….

Most are of the first two types of repetition used in "Mulberry along the Lane." They form "thimble phrasing" formulas that contribute to the sequential development of the poem. The reason for the continued use of such repetitions in literary *yüeh-fu* may be twofold. First, they function as welcome *aides-mémoire* for the oral performance of literary *yüeh-fu*. As long as a literary *yüeh-fu* composition is still orally delivered to a real audience, such repetition helps a performer memorize his story and an audience comprehend it. Second, literati *yüeh-fu* performers had yet to outgrow their habit of thinking in terms of repetitions and formulas.[86]

Dual Points of View

"A *Yen* Song, Whenever" is a variation on the theme of separation in the form of animal allegory. The performer takes us into a world of nonhuman beings and enables us to examine the miserable experience of separation through the eyes of two swans.[87] He first plays the role of a third-person narrator and sets the scene by explaining the cause of the separation. From line 9 onward, he shifts to the voices of the male swan and its mate to give a first-person account of their unending sorrow:

A *Yen* Song, Whenever	豔歌何嘗行
Flying this way are two white swans,	飛來雙白鵠
2　From the northwest they have come.	乃從西北來
Ten pairs, five pairs,	十十五五
4　They follow one another in formation.	羅列成行
The wife suddenly becomes ill,	妻卒被病
6　Flying hard she can't keep up.	行不能相隨
Five leagues and the other looks back,	五里一返顧
8　Six leagues and the other hesitates.	六里一徘徊
"I would carry you away in my beak,	吾欲銜汝去
10　But my beak is closed and will not open.	口噤不能開
I would carry you on my back,	吾欲負汝去
12　But how badly my feathers would be crushed!"	毛羽日摧頹
"So happy are those new pairs of flock-mates!	樂哉新相知

14　Such sorrow comes with this parting. 憂來生離別
　　Looking at all those couples, 躇躕顧群侶
16　I cannot even feel my tears falling 淚下不自知

　　"Thinking of this parting with you, 念與君離別
18　My breath stops, and I can't utter a word. 氣結不能言
　　Let us each care for ourselves, 各各重自愛
20　The way is far, a return is hard to expect. 道遠歸還難
　　I will keep myself in an empty bedroom, 妾當守空房
22　Shut the door and let down the double-bolt. 閉門下重關
　　If we live, we will see each other again, 若生當相見
24　If we die, we'll meet in Yellow Springs. 亡者會重泉
　　Today rejoice for your happiness, 今日樂相樂
26　May you extend your life to ten thousand years!" 延年萬歲期
　　(*HCHW*, 272)

After the narration section, the poem moves smoothly from one realm of inner experience to another—the male swan's sorrow over his inability to carry his mate, his sense of loneliness aroused by the sight of the other pairs of swans, the female swan's fear of separation and loneliness, her vain hope for a union in the afterlife, and her wish for her mate's longevity. These segments, though presented by two characters, do not give the impression of a live dialog like that between Lo-fu and the Prefect in "Mulberry along the Lane." Instead, they strike us as a sustained monologue of the performer who empathizes with the two swans and expresses his own thought through them. Anne Birrell has noted this kind of noninteractive role-playing in her quote of Hans Frankel, "What particularly distinguishes the genre [Han *yüeh-fu*] is the 'multiple and shifting role of a single performer as narrator, actor, impersonating one or more characters.'"[88]

　　The shifting of roles in this poem betrays a mental habit traceable to the collective role-playing in folk *yüeh-fu*. However, these two kinds of role-playing must be clearly distinguished. While the role-playing in folk *yüeh-fu* is person-to-person interaction in the real world, the role-playing in literati *yüeh-fu* takes the form of a poetic speaker who impersonates multiple characters in a sustained monolog. In "A Yen Song, Whenever," the performer has no other people to interact with and carries his monologue to the very end, giving a strong sequential coherence to the poem's second half. When the second part is juxtaposed with the narrative section, the poem reveals dual points of view seldom found in folk *yüeh-fu*. Such dual points of view abound in literati *yüeh-fu* and can be seen as a

transition from multiple points of view to a single point of view charac-
teristice of Han *ku-shih*.[89]

The poems I have just examined exemplify the four major thematic
categories in literati *yüeh-fu* and mark a shift from external occurrences to
inner experience.[90] They set forth four of the most common kinds of in-
ner experience shared by the Han literati class: their lamentation of
physical separation from loved ones or political alienation from the
court, their emotional empathy with nonhuman beings plagued by the
same fate, their imaginative flight to the world of immortals, and their
reflection on past political events.[91] These four kinds of inner experience
are born of the same effort by the Han literati to grasp the meaning of
their fleeting earthly existence. Given this, we may say that the internali-
zation of subject matter in literati *yüeh-fu* toward the end of the later Han
results from literati concerns about the impermanence of political and
moral order and the transience of human existence. In the vast corpus of
poetry composed before the Later Han, including the *Book of Poetry* and
all but a few of the *Songs of Ch'u*, there are no reflective poems on the
transience of human existence. Toward the end of the Later Han, how-
ever, the issue of human transience suddenly looms prominently and
becomes the thematic matrix in both the *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* genres.[92]

These four poems also attest to the major formal changes in literati
yüeh-fu. A sequential structure takes the place of the composite structure;
single or dual points of view replace multiple points of view; and a fairly
free flow of lines often substitutes for the chain of syntactical formulas in
folk *yüeh-fu*. These formal changes can be attributed to the new role of
the performer as a narrator or single speaker. Since the performer in lite-
rati *yüeh-fu* no longer interacts with other performers, he can engage in
an uninterrupted mental process and set forth his inner experience in a
narrative form. In the process he naturally develops a sequential struc-
ture and dispenses with syntactic formulas that impede the flow of his
thought. However, insofar as he continues to compose his work for pub-
lic performance, he still needs to engage the audience. He cannot turn
inward completely, but must maintain a considerable amount of story
interest and retain oral devices familiar to the audience. Notably, this
compromise between narrative and lyrical needs is reflected in the use of
dual points of view. By adopting dual points of view, the performer
seeks on the one hand to play the part of a third-person narrator and ob-
serve his inner experience as if it were someone else's, and on the other
hand to assume the role of a character and describe his inner experience
in a first-person voice. Dual points of view are particularly well suited to
recounting one's inner experience to a live audience. The initial third-
person point of view establishes a narrative frame that provides a famil-

iar context for the experience in the poem and evokes in the audience a heightened sense of sympathy. The ensuing first-person point of view compels the audience to overcome any lingering sense of separation from the story and achieves the illusion of immersion in the experience.

CHAPTER 3

Han Ku-shih:
The Emergence of the Lyrical Mode

The "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" are generally considered to be the most coherent and most representative group of Han *ku-shih* works. The dating and authorship of this group have long been a subject of critical controversy. A number of traditional Chinese critics attribute some of the nineteen poems to certain famous writers in the Former Han. For instance, Liu Hsieh says that the poems may be called the work of Mei Sheng (d. 140 B.C.) and singles out Poem 8 as written by Fu I (fl. 58–75).[1] Hsü Ling identifies Poems 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, and 19 as the work of Mei Sheng and thus moves the dates of these poems to as early as the T'ai-ch'u period (104–100 B.C.) in the Former Han.[2] In our time, however, the great majority of critics tend to discredit the traditional views for these six reasons: 1) lack of a similar poetic style in the Former Han, 2) appearance of taboo words for the Former Han, 3) borrowing from *yüeh-fu* works supposedly composed in the Latter Han, 4) use of object names unknown in the Former Han, 5) use of Latter Han idioms, and 6) use of place names particular to the Latter Han.[3] On the ground of such internal textual evidence, they come to the conclusion that the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" are anonymous works written toward the end of the Latter Han by a literati group living in the capital city of Lo-yang.[4]

  This collection of Han *ku-shih* works, though quite small in number, occupies an unusually prominent place in the history of traditional Chinese literature, as it marks the transition from a performed to a nonperformed tradition in the evolution of pentasyllabic poetry. If Han *yüeh-fu* is distinguished by its ties with singing, music, and dance, this collec-

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tion of Han *ku-shih* works is characterized by its complete separation from oral performance. The nonperformed nature of these *ku-shih* works is one of the least debated issues in the study of Han pentasyllabic poetry. Few critics doubt the divorce of Han *ku-shih* from oral performance, even though they often regard this or that particular *ku-shih* work as performed and argue for its reclassification as a *yüeh-fu* composition. The disappearance of oral performance is a matter of the greatest significance. It opens up an entirely different mental horizon for the anonymous poets of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Since they are freed from any need of communication with a live audience, they now turn deeply inward and pursue a process of self-reflection. As they brood over their inner experience, they explore the meaning of their lives on an abstract, philosophical level unseen in earlier poetry.[5] This transition to nonperformed poetry brings about fundamental changes with respect to thematic emphasis, lyrical process, structural organization, and textural arrangement.[6]

Thematic Emphasis: Lamentation over Human Transience

Perhaps no Chinese critic, traditional or modern, has given a more concise and penetrating description of the theme of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" than Shen Te-ch'ien:

> "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" mostly dwell upon the life of disfavored officials and abandoned wives; the long separation of friends; and feelings about life and death, the new and that which is past. Of these poems, some are direct and some are allegorical in their expression.[7]

This passage covers the three important thematic aspects I will examine in this section: the identity of the speaking subjects, the new treatment of the time-honored subject of separation, and the evolution of this subject into a hitherto unknown theme on human transience.

Neglected Women and Fortune-Seeking Wanderers

In Poems 1, 2, 8, 9, 17, 18, and 19, the speaking subjects are abandoned wives or neglected women. They bear a remarkable resemblance to the group of female characters or personae we have encountered in

Han *yüeh-fu*. In Poem 1, for instance, the speaking subject endures the sorrow of separation commonly depicted in Han *yüeh-fu*:

	On and on, and on and on [you go],	行行重行行
2	I cannot but live apart from you.	與君生別離
	The distance has grown ten thousand *li* and more,	相去萬餘里
4	We are now at opposite ends of the sky.	各在天一涯
	The road is rugged and long,	道路阻且長
6	How can I know when we shall meet again?	會面安可知
	The Hu horse leans toward the north wind,	胡馬依北風
8	The Yüeh bird nests among southern branches.	越鳥巢南枝
	Day by day our parting seems more remote,	相去日已遠
10	Day by day robe and belt grow looser.	衣帶日已緩
	Drifting clouds hide the white sun,	浮雲蔽白日
12	The wanderer does not care to return.	遊子不顧返
	Thinking of you makes one old,	思君令人老
14	Years and months are suddenly gone.	歲月忽已晚
	Abandonment—I will say no more about it,	棄捐勿復道
16	But exert my utmost to eat my meals.[8]	努力加餐飯

(*KSSC*, 2.1–3)

Her keen awareness of the passage of time since the separation, her lament over the widening distance from her husband and her abandonment all remind us of similar motifs in a Han *yüeh-fu* piece like "Watering Horses." A highly conventional figure, this speaker may very well be taken as a poetic persona or a fictional mask through which the male poet conveys his feelings of estrangement. If we accept the consensus view that the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" were written by a group of literati men living in the capital city of Lo-yang who were out of favor, we can take it that the author of this particular poem is adopting the persona of a neglected woman as a vehicle for the subtle expression of his personal grievances. By depicting the miseries of a neglected wife, he may be trying to express his sense of alienation from court politics, his grief over abandonment by his powerful friends, or his forlorn pledge of loyalty in the hope of regaining trust and favor from his former patrons.

   If the allegory of love is a vehicle of political satire or remonstration in the *Book of Poetry* and *Songs of Ch'u*, it is a thinly disguised form of self-pity in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Through emotional empathy with a frail, sad woman, the poets try to express how miserable, how wretched, and how helpless they themselves are. In Poems 5, 10, and 12, we can actually find a description of such an empathetic process by the poets themselves. In Poem 5, for instance, the poet breaks through

the normal neutrality of a third-person observer and explicitly expresses his wish for a spiritual union with a sorrow-ridden sing-song girl:

> Alas, so few people understand this song! 　　但傷知音稀
> If only we were a pair of whooping cranes, 　　願爲雙鴻鵠
> And could beat wings and soar into the sky! 　　奮翅起高飛
> (Lines 14–16, *KSSC*, 2.7–8)

In Poems 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, the speakers appear as weary fortune-seeking wanderers (*yu-tzu*). Through the lives of such wanderers, the poets project their bitter despondence onto a strange, friendless landscape, their endless longing for the warmth of their native homes, and their anguish over the inevitability of death. Here is Poem 11:

> 　　I turn my carriage and set out on a long trip, 　　迴車駕言邁
> 2　Far, far away over unending roads. 　　悠悠涉長道
> 　　All around, the wilderness stretches on and on, 　　四顧何茫茫
> 4　East wind sways the hundred grasses. 　　東風搖百草
> 　　Of everything I meet, none is familiar, 　　所遇無故物
> 6　How can man not grow old swiftly as well? 　　焉得不速老
> 　　Growth and decay, each has its own time, 　　盛衰各有時
> 8　Success in life, why didn't I strive for it sooner? 　　立身苦不早
> 　　Man is not made of metal or stone, 　　人生非金石
> 10　How can he live long and not grow old? 　　豈能長壽考
> 　　As all things pass, his life will end, 　　奄忽隨物化
> 12　To him, the only thing precious is a glorious name. 榮名以爲寶
> 　　(*KSSC*, 2.17–18)

The image of this wanderer seems less fictional than the neglected woman in Poem 1. This is partly because of the disappearance of gender difference between the speaker and the poet and partly because of some genuine reflections about the conditions of the poets' actual world. What we encounter in this and seven other poems about wanderers are these two recurrent motifs: 1) a lonely wanderer contemplating a desolate scene (either a wintry landscape or a graveyard) and 2) a group of wanderers reveling in wine, music, and women. Drawn from the *yüeh-fu* repertoire, the first motif strikes us as quite stereotyped.

　　The second motif is less frequently seen in Han *yüeh-fu* and seems to reflect the actual decadent life of this group of poets in the capital. Indeed, we find in Poem 3 some explicit references to the capital city and its major landmarks:

	Green, green, grows the cypress on the hilltop,	青青陵上柏
2	Heap upon heap stand stones in mountain streams.	磊磊澗中石
	Between heaven and earth is man's life,	人生天地間
4	Rushing like a traveler with a long way to go.	忽如遠行客
	Let this dipper of wine be our entertainment;	斗酒相娛樂
6	Little as it is, we do not think little of it.	聊後不爲薄
	I drive my carriage and whip my slow horses	驅車策駑馬
8	To roam and seek pleasure in Wan and Lo.	遊戲宛與洛
	Here in Lo-yang, what a hustle and bustle!	洛中何鬱鬱
10	Those who wear caps and belts chase one another.	冠帶自相索
	Long thoroughfares flanked with narrow alleys,	長衢羅夾巷
12	Mansions of princes and nobles arranged in ranks.	王侯多第宅
	The two palaces look at each other from afar,	兩宮遙相望
14	Paired towers rise over a hundred feet.	雙闕百余尺
	Let me feast to my heart's content,	極宴娛心意
16	Why should I let worries oppress my heart.	戚戚何所迫
	(KSSC, 2.4–5)	

According to Sui Shu-sen, "Lo" and "Wan" on line 8 are, respectively, the capital city of Lo-yang and a smaller city south of Lo-yang; lines 9–14 are realistic descriptions of the royal palaces and mansions.[9] However, even when we encounter a wanderer in such a realistic locale, we still find it difficult to identify him with the poet as a unique individual. In this and seven other poems, the real world of the wanderers, their pursuit of worldly pleasure, their existential anxiety, and their solutions to emotional crises are too general and too uniformly described. As a result, they still seem too fictional or too conventional to be perceived as portraits of individual poets in real life. Indeed, it is practically impossible to find any evidence of outward or inward life of a unique individual behind the persona of the wanderer. This is even more true of the persona of a neglected woman. So if we want to assign any measure of selfhood to these two personae in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," that selfhood must be the group identity or the collective selfhood (if this oxymoron can be accepted) of a disenchanted literati group.

Sorrows of Aging

By casting themselves in the roles of the neglected woman and the male wanderer, the authors of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" did not merely intend to mourn over their political misfortunes and express their bitter despondence. They also reflected on the sorrows of aging

and the fear of death through these two personae. By foregrounding the issues of aging and death, they transformed the sorrow at separation into a deeper pain over life's transience. Human transience, hitherto unknown as a poetic theme, was to become central to Chinese pentasyllabic poetry.

Let us first see how these poets handled the sorrow of aging, again using Poem 1 as our example. In demonstrating the conventionality of the neglected woman in this poem, I have pointed out her resemblance to female *yüeh-fu* characters and identified her life situation with the common separation motif in *yüeh-fu* works. But there are differences in the treatment of the separation motif in Poem 1 and in Han *yüeh-fu*. The *yüeh-fu* piece I have chosen for comparison is "A *Yen* Song, Whenever," already discussed in the previous chapter.

When we compare these two poems, we find that both begin with the motif of departure. However, the two personae describe the departure scene from different angles of time. In "A *Yen* Song, Whenever" the composer projects himself to the time of the departure and recounts the event as if it were happening then and there. As a storyteller, he follows the sequence of events and provides many narrative details. He tells us about the setting for the separation in lines 1–4, the reason for this separation in lines 5–6, the male's reluctance to leave behind his mate in lines 7–8, and his parting words in lines 9–12.

By contrast, in Poem 1 the poet enters the mind of the neglected wife at a particular moment of reflection. This moment is what we often call the lyrical present, in which all temporal elements become irrelevant, leaving only the present emotional state of the poet. In other words, the lyrical present frees the poet to arrange all temporal experiences in whatever way appeals to his imagination at the moment of composition. The reason a lyric poet can have this license is rather simple: a he does not speak to others, but murmurs to himself in such a way that he can be overheard. He need not tell himself what has happened or will happen—and where, when, how, or why—when speaking to himself. So, he can reorder all temporal experiences in whatever way seems most meaningful to him at that moment. Instead of recounting the story of her husband's departure the way the swan does, the wife of Poem 1 condenses what takes twelve lines in the other poem to a single line: "On and on, and on and on [you go]." This single line captures what her husband's departure means for her: the beginning of an endless process of waiting, yearning, and pining. With the reduplicatives, "on and on (*hsing-hsing*)," the wife conveys how painful it was to watch her husband disappear down the long road, and how slowly time dragged on as she waited for him at home, knowing that he was moving from place to place, but not

returning to her. The third and fourth lines show her husband eventually reaching his destination, but the completion of this journey does not mean the end of her waiting. Since her husband now lives at the opposite end of the world, she begins a new kind of waiting—waiting for him to return. Awaiting his return proves even more painful than enduring his outbound trip, since she cannot know when, if ever, he will make his return. So, she sighs, "The road is rugged and long, / How can I know when we shall meet again?" Judging by this treatment of the departure motif, what affects the persona most is not so much her husband's physical separation as her painful awareness of the slow passage of time measured by her waiting for his news, by the accumulation of geographical distance from him, and by the endless deferment of his return.

Both poems end with reflections on the duration of life. Where the swan in "A *Yen* Song" concludes her lament by using a stock expression to wish for her husband longevity, the wife in Poem 1 deepens her reflection on the time's passage by measuring it against her own lifespan. Up to line 10, her sense of time is measured by unhappy events. Time seems to drag because she yearns for the end of the separation. But when she notices how pining has changed her body, she awakens to a different kind of time measured against her own biological life. As life is one of the few things, if not *the* thing, we treasure most, any passage of time is too swift and any sign of aging is too saddening for us. Seeing time's passage in this light, the wife breaks into this lament: "Thinking of you makes one old, / years and months suddenly go by." This dramatic, ironic shift in her perception of time marks the transformation of her sorrow at separation into a profound sorrow about aging. To distinguish this sorrow from the doleful responses to specific events described in earlier poetry, Yoshikawa Kōjirō describes it as a "shifting sorrow" (*suii nō hiai*),[10] that is, a sorrow that permeates the entire life of the poetic persona and sublimates into an enduring mood of dark melancholy over the inexorable passage of time.[11]

Indeed, we can regard Poem 1 and other similar pieces in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" as the earliest Chinese poems with the sorrow of aging as the central theme. The phenomenon of aging does appear in pre-Han poems. But when this phenomenon occurs, it normally serves as a foil to the pursuit of pleasurable activity or a political enterprise. Here it suffices to give two examples, one from the *Book of Poetry* and the other from Ch'ü Yuan's "Encountering Sorrow" ("Li Sao"):

If today we are not merry,	今者不樂
In time we shall be too old....	逝者其耋
If today we are not merry,	今者不樂
In time we shall be gone.[12]	逝者其亡

(*Book of Poetry*, Poem 126, lines 9–10; 15–16)

Swiftly I sped, as in fearful pursuit,	汩余若將不及兮
Afraid time would race on and leave me behind.	恐年歲之不吾與
In the morning I gathered the mountain angelica;	朝搴阰之木蘭兮
In the evening I plucked the islet sedges.	夕攬洲之宿莽
Days and months hurried on, never delaying;	日月忽其不淹兮
Springs and autumns sped by, one after the other.	春與秋其代序
I thought of the trees and flowers fading and falling,	惟草木之零落兮
And feared that my fairest's beauty would fade too.	恐美人遲暮

("Encountering Sorrow," lines 13–20)[13]

In the first example, the speaker merely sees aging as a limitation to the ability to make merry and reveals no sign of sorrow about it. In the second example, the approach of old age does cause sorrow in the heart of the poet, but that sorrow is essentially over the time he's lost for making a name through great accomplishments, a sorrow that reminds us of a remark Confucius made before the swift flow of a river: "Could one but go on and on like this, never ceasing day or night."[14] In neither example is aging, in and of itself, something to be mournful about. But in Poem 1, aging means not an inability to act, but the gradual destruction of one's very physical being. This important difference becomes even clearer if we compare briefly Ch'ü Yuan's passage with this passage from Poem 8:

I am saddened to see those orchids and angelica,	傷彼蕙蘭花
Opening their petals and radiating glory.	含英揚光輝
If not plucked in their time,	過時而不采
They will wither along with the autumn grass....	將隨秋草萎

(Poem 8, lines 11–14, *KSSC*, 2.12–14)

For Ch'ü Yuan, the change of seasons, the fading of flowers and the aging of beauties are metaphors for the loss of time needed to fulfill his ideal. But for the persona in this poem, these same phenomena give a truthful reflection of the loss of her youthful looks and the deterioration of her physical body.

Lamentation over Human Transience

By now it should be clear that what distinguishes the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" from earlier poetry is first and foremost its theme of human transience. Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582–1664) points to this distinguishing trait when he remarks: "'Man's life is between heaven and earth, /Rushing through like a traveler with a long way to go.' These poetic lines convey a meaning not to be found either in the *Three Hundred Poems* [*Book of Poetry*] or in *Songs of Ch'u*."[15] As we have seen, all the poems of neglected women treat the theme of human transience in a subtle way. Instead of dealing with death directly, they focus on the sorrow of aging and merely imply the approach of death through metaphor. By contrast, the poems of fortune-seeking wanderers confront death head on—imagining scenes of an underworld and expressing fear of it, lamenting death's inevitability, and groping for the meaning of life in the face of impending doom. It is probably for the sake of decorum that the authors of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" choose to address these themes through the voice of a wanderer, since they may seem too morbid or horrid to be described by an exquisite woman. Moreover, neglected women confined to their native places probably would not wander alone past the graveyard on Mount Mang, as does the wanderer in Poem 13:

	I ride my carriage to the Upper East Gate,	驅車上東門
2	Gazing at the graves north of the wall.	遙望郭北墓
	White poplars, how they weep in the wind!	白楊何蕭蕭
4	Pine and cypress flank the broad paths.	松柏夾廣路
	Underneath them, the dead from long ago,	下有陳死人
6	Dark, dark is their long night.	杳杳即長暮
	Lost in sleep beneath the Yellow Springs,	潛寐黃泉下
8	Come a thousand years, they will not awaken.	千載永不寤
	Seasons of growth and decay march on and on,	浩浩陰陽移
10	The years allotted to man are like morning dew.	年命如朝露
	Man's life is as transient as a sojourn,	人生忽如寄
12	His frame is not as firm as metal or stone.	壽無金石固
	Ten thousand years have gone by,	萬歲更相送
14	No sages or worthies can cross the flow of time.	賢聖莫能度
	Some take drugs and hope to become immortals,	服食求神仙
16	Many of them only end their life with poison.	多為藥所誤
	Far better to drink fine wine	不如飲美酒
18	And wear clothes made of choice white silk.	被服紈與素
	(*KSSC*, 2.20–21)	

This poem contains three recurrent motifs: that of visiting the world of the dead (lines 1–8), that of lamenting the fleetingness of human life (lines 9–12), and that of searching for the best solution to human transience (lines 13–16). I shall examine these three motifs and locate their sources in earlier poetic, historical, and philosophical texts.

The first motif normally consists of descriptions of a graveyard and the underworld beneath it. In Poem 13, the speaker first tells us that he catches a glimpse of the grave yard on Mount Mang when his chariot passes through the northern gate of Lo-yang. What he sees there are white poplar trees weeping in the wind, and pine and cypress standing sparsely by the roads. All three trees are associated with the dead because they were often planted to mark grave sites. At the sight of these trees, he feels a dark mood of melancholy welling up in his heart. This leads him to conjure up an even more dismal and pathetic world below. There, there is no life, but a mass of dead bodies from long ago; there is no light, but an everlasting darkness; and there is no awakening, but an eternal sleep. If we cannot imagine a more poignant description of the world of the dead, we need only to look at Poem 14, the next piece in the sequence:

> "Day by day those who are gone go farther away,　　去者日以疏
> 2　Day by day those who have come
> 　　become closer to one another."　　來者日以親
> 　Go outside the gate of the wall and look afar:　　出郭門直視
> 4　All you see is hills and graves.　　但見丘與墳
> 　Ancient tombs have been plowed into fields,　　古墓犁爲田
> 6　Pine and cypress have been chopped into firewood.　　松柏摧爲薪
> 　White poplars sigh and weep in the wind,　　白楊多悲風
> 8　Their sounds send sorrow deep into the heart.　　蕭蕭愁殺人
> 　"I long to go back to my native land,　　思還故里閭
> 10　But cannot find a way to return."　　欲歸道無因
> 　(*KSSC*, 2.21–22)

This poem is rightly regarded by many critics as a companion piece to Poem 13. Here the speaker also catches sight of hills and graves when he goes out a city gate. However, he finds that ancient tombs have been leveled off and turned into farmed fields, and pine and cypress have been felled and chopped into firewood. So even the dead cannot have the peace of eternal sleep; nor are they spared the woes of temporal change. This is indeed an even more disturbing picture than the one in Poem 13. Gazing at white poplar trees left weeping in the sad wind, the speaker finds this scene utterly unbearable. What makes the poem a truly

heart-rending depiction of the underworld is its beginning and ending couplets. In a normal reading of the poems, we would take it that these four lines are direct observations made by the speaker. The opening couplet is his observation about the dead fading from the memory of the living; and the ending couplet is his expression of homesickness. When read in this way, the poem does not seem to be at all out of the ordinary. However, if we follow Wu Ch'i's (Ch'ing dynasty) suggestions and take those four lines as spoken by the dead (in the imagination of the speaker), this poem becomes much more compelling.[16] When the dead arise to tell us how they sink deeper and deeper into oblivion with each passing day and how they struggle in vain to return to their home on earth, they strike the horror of death deep into the heart of the living. Not only do the dead suffer eternal darkness and oblivion, they have to endure the gnawing consciousness of their suffering and of their failure to rid themselves of that suffering. In my opinion, this is an excellent reading of the poem, for it not only reveals the otherwise unnoticeable link between the beginning and the ending couplets, it also helps us to place the poem in relation to other works with an imaginary posthumous speaker. On the one hand, the poem reminds us of the speaking skeleton's account of his experience in *Chuang Tzu*.[17] On the other, it looks forward to T'ao Ch'ien's description of his own funeral in his three self-mourning songs.[18]

The second motif is usually made up of laments about the evanescence of human existence. As we can see in the passages cited below, these statements display a typical "topic + comment" syntax. Almost without exception, the topic is this binome: *jen-sheng* (human life); and the comment is a simile (formed with the function words *ju* or *jo*) comparing human life to an evanescent phenomenon like dew or dust, or comparing it unfavorably with something firm and durable like metal or stone. A brief look at the following examples will confirm this point:

Between heaven and earth is man's life	人生天地間
Rushing through like a traveler with a long way to go.	忽如遠行客
(Poem 3, lines 3–4; *KSSC*, 2.3–5)	

Man's life is as transient as a sojourn;	人生忽如寄
His frame is not as firm as metal or stone.	壽無金石固
(Poem 13, lines 11–12; *KSSC*, 2.20–21)	

Man's life does not reach a hundred years,	生年不滿百
Yet his heart is filled with the worries	
of a thousand years.	常懷千歲憂
(Poem 15, lines 1–2; *KSSC*, 2.22–23)	

Ch'ien Ch'ien-i is right to point out that such statements are not found in pre-Han poems. Only in historical or philosophical writings before the Han do we occasionally run across statements on the brevity of human life:

> Human life races along between heaven and earth. Just like a galloping white colt seen through a hole, it is gone in an instant.[19]
> (*Chuang Tzu*, chapter 22)

> Man's life in this world is a brief as the passing of a white colt glimpsed through a crack in the wall. Why do you punish yourself like this?[20]
> (*Records of the Grand Historian*, chapter 55)

The statement in *Chuang Tzu* is intended to warn against a stubborn attachment to human life; that in *Record of the Grand Historian* urges one to treasure one's time and not impose suffering on oneself. Neither of these writers sees the brevity of human life itself as a cause for sorrow, nor do they show signs of sorrow like those in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." In fact, the *Chuang Tzu* passage leads directly to a dismissal of human sorrow over death. Not until Han times do we find expressions of sorrow at life's brevity in *yüeh-fu* works like these two famous funeral songs:

Dew on the Shallot   薤露

Dew on the shallot,	薤上露
2 How easily it dries away.	何易晞
Drying away as it does, it falls again 　　　the next morning.	露晞明朝更復落
4 But after a man dies and goes away, When can he return? (*HCHW*, 257)	人死一去何時歸

Wormwood Village   蒿里

Wormwood village, whose home is this?	蒿里誰家地
2 It is for the gathering of spirits and ghosts— with no distinction between the worthy and the stupid.	聚斂魂魄無賢愚
4 The Lord of Ghosts, how he hurries all along,	鬼伯一何相催促
Man's life gets not even a short reprieve. (*HCHW*, 257)	人命不得少踟蹰

With the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" we notice that such elegiac expressions have evolved into a uniform kind of lament, and that these laments appear in contexts other than that of a funeral. As these statements occur with a frequency probably unrivaled by any earlier or later poetic collection, they become an important thematic feature of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems."

The third motif entails a sustained reflection on the efficacy of different philosophies in coping with human transience.[21] In Poem 13 the speaker first dismisses the Confucian pursuit of *ming* (a name) as useless, since even sages and all others of great name must die just as common people do. Then he ridicules the popular Taoist practice of taking longevity drugs, declaring that those taking such drugs will only shorten, if not end, their own lives. Finally, he settles on the idea of *carpe diem* as the only sensible thing to do here on earth. So he exhorts himself and all others to seek the pleasure of wine and fine clothes. Advocacy of *carpe diem* abounds in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems":

Let this dipper of wine be our merriment;	斗酒相娛樂
Little as it is, we do not think little of it.	聊後不爲薄
(Poem 3, lines 5–6)	

The day is short and the night is too long to bear,	晝短苦夜長
Why not take a candle and go out wandering?	何不秉燭遊
Seek out pleasure in time,	爲樂當及時
How can we wait for next year?	何能待來茲
Fools are those who grudge all expenses,	愚者愛惜費
Only to be laughed at by later generations.	但爲後世嗤
(Poem 15, lines 3–8; *KSSC*, 2. 22–23)	

This Chinese version of *carpe diem* seems to be the poetic rendering of hedonist ideas attributed to Yang Chu (fl. third century B.C.) in this passage:

> The myriad creatures are different in life but the same in death. In life they may be worthy or stupid, honorable or humble. This is where they differ. In death they all stink, rot, disintegrate, and disappear. This is where they are the same.... The man of virtue and the sage die; the wicked and the stupid also die. In life they were Yao and Shun [sage-emperors]; in death they are rotten bones. In life they were Chieh and Chou [wicked kings]; in death they are rotten bones. Thus they all became rotten bones just the same. Who knows their difference? Let us

enjoy our present life. Why should we worry about what comes after death?"[22]

Here Yang Chu elucidates three points central to his hedonist philosophy: 1) death is the final end for the existence of an individual; 2) man cannot overcome death, that is, the destruction of his physical form, with something extraneous to his body such as fame and glory; and 3) given the preceding two points, man must enjoy the present and forget about death. Yang Chu's argument appears to underlie the entire reflective process in Poem 13. Although Yang Chu's hedonist ideas echo in many Han *yüeh-fu* works, they are never so fully expressed and so systematically advanced as in Poem 13 and other similar pieces. The predominance of hedonist ideas has long been seen as another important thematic feature of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems."

My thematic analysis here is merely a footnote to the excellent summary of the thematic features of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" given by Shen Te-ch'ien. I have merely pointed out the inherent relationships of those features he identified. These relationships may be summarized in one sentence: in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" there are two alternate speaking subjects (neglected women and fortune-seeking wanderers), who dwell upon two aspects of human transience (aging and death) and who express their sorrow over human transience in two different ways (melancholic brooding and outright lamentation).[23]

Lyrical Process: Self-Reflection

I have already touched upon two distinct poetic processes in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems."[24] If the poet assumes the persona of a neglected wife, he normally explores the sorrow of separation through the life history of an individual and expresses his hedonistic desires as an understatement of sorts—a quiet wish for eating well and living a long life. If a poet takes on the persona of a fortune-seeking wanderer, he usually contemplates the sorrow of separation as a general issue in human life in general, decries the pursuit of wealth and fame, and launches into an unabashed *carpe diem* exhortation. To grasp the lyrical nature of these two poetic processes, we can do no better than to compare them with the process of storytelling in Han literati *yüeh-fu*.

From Storytelling to Lyrical Expression

Both Han literati *yüeh-fu* composers and the authors of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" shared the same goal of exploring their inner experience. However, the ways they presented it are markedly different. *Yüeh-fu* composers set forth their experience in story form; they foreground concrete situations and keep their emotional responses in the background. In the four literati *yüeh-fu* pieces discussed in the previous chapter, the composers project their experience through the life stories or situations of a neglected wife, a swan, a transcendental roamer, and historical figures.

The authors of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" wrote chiefly for the purpose of self-reflection. They chose to reveal their inner experience, not by arranging stock situations into a story sequence, but by describing emotional responses to those situations. They dispensed with the narrative frame characteristic of literati *yüeh-fu*, and cast themselves directly in the roles of a wanderer or a neglected wife. In this way they manage to establish a single point of view and control the development of the entire poem. In the process, they reduce narrative elements to a bare outline and fill in emotional descriptions of all kinds. We can observe the reversed balance of narrative and lyrical elements by comparing "Watering Horses" with three different pieces from the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems":

Watering Horses

Oh, how green is the grass on the river bank,	青青河邊草
How endless is my longing for the distant road.	綿綿思遠道
The distant road I long for only in vain,…	遠道不可思
(Lines 1–3)	

Poem 6   第其六

	I cross the river to pluck hibiscus flowers,	涉江采芙蓉
2	In the orchid swamps grow many fragrant herbs.	蘭澤多芳草
	After I gather them, whom shall I send them to?	采之欲遺誰
4	The person in my thoughts lives far away.	所思在遠道
	I turn and look toward my home village,	還顧望舊鄉
6	The long road stretches off into the distance.	長路漫浩浩
	We are of the same heart, but live separately,	同心而離居
8	This sorrow will always be ours until the end of our days!	憂傷以終老
	(*KSSC*, 2.9–10)	

"Watering Horses" opens with a neglected wife standing by a grassy river bank, gazing down a long road. The performer uses the word "longing" twice to indicate her emotional state. Poem 6 introduces a similar situation: a fortune-seeking wanderer plucking flowers by a river. But here the poet does not merely touch on the emotional state of the wanderer; he lets him complain about the distance preventing him from sending flowers to his wife, lets him look longingly toward home and lament their separation.

In bed last night I saw him in a dream,	宿昔夢見之
In the dream I saw him by my side.	夢見在我傍
Suddenly I awoke to find him 　　　　still in another town,	忽覺在他鄉
Another town, we each in different counties.	他鄉各異縣
Tossing and turning, I could see him no more. (Lines 4–8)	展轉不可見

Poem 16 古詩十九首其十六

	Having given the embroidered quilt to 　　　　the Beauty of the Lo River,	錦衾遺洛浦
6	He is now estranged from me, his bedfellow.	同袍與我違
	I sleep alone night after night	獨宿累長夜
8	In my dream I see the radiance of his face.	夢想見容輝
	My dear one thinking of our old joys,	良人惟古歡
10	Graciously comes and extends to me the rope 　　　　handgrip for boarding his carriage.	枉駕惠前綏
	"I hope to see your beautiful smile often,	願得常巧笑
12	Let us hold hands and return together in my coach."	攜手同車歸
	Come as he did, he would not stay long,	既來不須臾
14	Nor did he go with me to the inner chamber.	又不處重闈
	Truly without the wings of a soaring bird,	亮無晨風翼
16	How can I ride on the wind [and fly to him]?... (*KSSC*, 2.23–25)	焉能凌風飛

The contrast between narrative and lyrical treatments of a similar situation can also be seen in these two passages. The only major difference is that here we deal with a dream, a different kind of inner experience. Both pieces describe a neglected wife's dream of a reunion with her husband. In "Watering Horses" the performer merely tells us when the neglected wife falls asleep, whom she sees in her dream, and where

she finds herself to be upon waking. In Poem 16, by contrast, the poet looks into the neglected wife's changing emotions throughout her dream. He describes how her feeling of estrangement accompanies her into her dream (lines 6–7); how she gleefully renews her old joys with her husband—a subliminal fulfillment of what she cannot fulfill in her waking life (lines 9–12); and how she mournfully awakens to the impossibility of regaining her lost love (lines 13–20). With this detailed description the poet lets us experience her complex emotions changing from elation to utter despair.

A traveler comes from far away,	客從遠方來
He brings me a doublecarp	遺我雙鯉魚
I call my boy, "Cook the carp."	呼兒烹鯉魚
Inside there is a white silk letter.	中有尺素書
I kneel down and read the white silk letter.	長跪讀素書
What in the world is in the letter?	書中竟如何
First it says, "Try and eat more."	上有加餐食
Last it says, "I'll always miss you."	下有長相憶
(Lines 13–20)	

Poem 17 古詩十九首其十七

A traveler came from far away and	客從遠方來
Handed a letter to me.	遺我一書札
First it says, "I am always thinking of you,"	上言長相思
Last it says, "What a long parting!"	下言久離別
I keep the letter inside my robe;	置書懷袖中
After three years, not a single word has faded.	三歲字不滅
My whole heart is devoted to you,	一心報區區
But I fear you may not see that.	懼君不識察
(Lines 7–14; *KSSC*, 2.25–26)	

The similarities between these two passages are conspicuous. Both pieces depict a neglected wife's receiving a letter from her husband. They are of the same length and begin with an identical line. Against the background of these similarities, we can clearly see the difference between a narrative and lyrical presentation. In "Watering Horses" the performer devotes six of the eight lines to a description of the event itself. To enhance the story interest, he includes the detail of the surprise discovery of the letter in the doublecarp. Not until the last two lines does he reveal the emotive purport of this event: a pledge of love. While the narrative elements prevail

over the emotive purport in "Watering Horses," the reverse is true in Poem 17. There, all but two lines are devoted to the wife's self-scrutiny. With narrative elements kept to a minimum, the poet can within the same space of eight lines explore a much richer world of feelings and thoughts, describing not only the husband's profession of love but more importantly the wife's complex responses to it.

Complex Time-Frames

The shift of balance from the narrative to the lyrical in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" is undoubtedly a consequence of the disappearance of oral performance. Once oral performance is gone, the poets no longer need to assume the role of a storyteller. As they begin to turn inward, a scrutiny of their own emotional condition becomes the central concern of their works. In exploring their own inner worlds, they are no longer bound by a temporal sequence as the composers of literati *yüeh-fu* are when telling stories to a live audience. Very often they survey their present condition in the first breath, drift back into memory in the second, and then leap into an imagined future in the third. Following their reflective impulse, they move among these three temporal realms in any order they please. These complex timeframes of emotional response in fact occur in twelve of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems".[25]

Poetic Structure: From Sequential to Binary Structures

Considering the preponderance of complex timeframes, we can almost automatically rule out the existence in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" of a sequential narrative structure. In the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" the poets usually let their personae observe one or more external situations in the first part of a poem and respond to them emotionally in the second part. This gives rise to a distinctive binary structure of external observation and inward reflection. We can easily perceive such a binary structure in Poem 17:

	The first winter month and the cold air comes,	孟冬寒氣至
2	North wind, sharp and relentless.	北風何慘慄
	Full of sorrow, I know how long the night is,	愁多知夜長
4	As I look up at the myriad clusters of stars.	仰觀眾星列
	On the fifteenth, a bright moon waxes;	三五明月滿
6	On the twentieth, toad and hare wane.	四五蟾兔缺

A traveler came from afar and	客從遠方來
8 Handed a letter to me.	遺我一書札
First it says, "I am always thinking of you,"	上言長相思
10 Last it says, "What a long parting!"	下言久離別
I keep the letter inside my robe;	置書懷袖中
12 After three years, not a single word has faded.	三歲字不滅
My whole heart is devoted to you,	一心報區區
14 But I fear you may not see that.	懼君不識察
(*KSSC*, 2.25–26)	

In the first half of the poem, we enter a desolate wintry scene through the mind's eye of the lonely lady. The bitter, forlorn winter becomes increasingly unbearable as there appear a succession of chilling images. "North wind" stirs the sense of touch; "stars" appeal to the sense of sight; "the moon" and its metaphor "toad and hare" arouse through a mythical association the imagination of supernal coldness in the Cold Palace (another metaphor for the moon). All these images convey a compelling scene of desolation in the mind of the lonely lady. In the second part of the poem, we probe deeper into her mind and go through the entire process of her reflection: her memory of her husband's first and only letter, her gratitude for the words of love from him, her pledge of loyalty to him, and her fear of his failure to see her fidelity and profound love.

This binary structure represents a merging of the *yüeh-fu* narrative tradition and the lyrical tradition of the *Book of Poetry*. In this structure we find on the one hand the kind of narrative or descriptive coherence characteristic of Han literati *yüeh-fu* but seldom seen in the popular songs. On the other hand, we see a dichotomous presentation of natural description and emotional responses unknown to Han literati *yüeh-fu*. In Han *yüeh-fu*, emotional responses seldom exceed two couplets and are generally tacked on to the end of a poem. Apparently, the even balance between natural description and emotional responses in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" should be traced to the *hsing* construction in the *Book of Poetry*, which has long been regarded as the source of the lyricism of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Chung Hung argues that "old poems originated in the *kuo-feng* (songs from particular states)."[26] Wang Shih-chen assumes that the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" carry on early lyrical traditions: "after *feng* (songs) and *ya* (odes) there came the *Songs of Ch'u*; after the *Songs of Ch'u* there came the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." [The] *feng* [form] has gone through various changes by itself, not through human efforts; but its source remains the same."[27] Modern critics, too, like to place the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" in a direct line of lineage from the *Book of Poetry*.[28] However, few critics have

undertaken formal analyses to reveal the intrinsic relationship between these two lyrical traditions.

In my opinion, the evolution of *pi-hsing* from a binary syntagm in the *Book of Poetry* to a binary structure in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" constitutes an important link between the two lyrical traditions.[29] *Pi* and *hsing* are the two major lyrical modes in the *Book of Poetry*. When "*pi*" and "*hsing*" first appeared in the text of the *Rites of Chou* (*Chou Li*), they were not clearly defined. It was Cheng Hsüan (127–200) who used the term for the first time to denote two of three major poetic modes in the *Book of Poetry* in his annotation to "Preface to the Mao Text of the *Book of Poetry*" ("*Mao-shih* hsü").[30] Both the *pi* mode and the *hsing* mode present natural phenomena and human situations in a binary syntagm as shown in the following examples:

Big rat, big rat,	碩鼠碩鼠
Do not devour my millet.	無食我黍
Three years I have toiled for you,	三歲貫女
Yet you do not care about me.[31]	莫我肯顧
(*Book of Poetry*, Poem 113)	

"Kuan, kuan," cry ospreys	關關雎鳩
On the islet in the river.	在河之洲
Lovely is this fine maiden,	窈窕淑女
Good bride for a gentleman.[32]	君子好逑
(*Book of Poetry*, Poem 1)	

These two modes are differentiated on the basis of the perceived relationship between the natural phenomena and human situations in a binary syntagm. *Pi* describes an analogical and allegorical relationship, as shown in the first example; and *hsing*, an associational and psychological relationship, as shown in the second example. In practical criticism, however, *pi* and *hsing* are often indistinguishable. The reader can take a syntagm as *pi* or *hsing*, depending on whether he sees it as an allegorical reference to a historical event or reads it solely in aesthetic terms. At an early stage Chinese critics became aware of the intricate interpenetration of the two modes and began to discuss them together, creating the compound *pi-hsing*.[33] I have adopted this inclusive compound because the present study is concerned with the evolution of poetic structure, not the distinction of *pi* or *hsing* in particular poems.

In the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" *pi-hsing* has evolved from a syntactic construction to an organizing structure for an entire poem. In other words, the presentation of natural phenomena and human situa-

tions has been extended from syntactic level (as shown in the two examples above) to structural level (as shown in Poem 17). Indeed, we can locate a binary structure of external projection and inward reflection in all but one of the nineteen poems. We see a binary structure identical to that of Poem 17 in Poem 2 (6:4, namely, six lines for external projection and four lines for inward reflection), Poem 4 (8:6), Poem 5 (8:8), Poem 6 (4:4), Poem 7 (8:8), Poem 9 (4:4), Poem 10 (6:4), Poem 11 (6:6), Poem 13 (10:8), Poem 14 (6:4), Poem 17 (8:6), Poem 18 (6:4), and Poem 19 (6:4). In addition, we find a binary structure in reverse order—namely, inward reflection coming before external projection—in Poem 3 (8:8); and two binary structures in Poem 1 (4:2/6:4), Poem 8 (6:2/4:2), Poem 12 (6:4/6:4), and Poem 16 (6:6/4:4).[34]

The transformation of *pi-hsing* from a binary syntagm to a binary structure has greatly extended the scope of the description of nature and emotional expression. In the *Book of Poetry*, natural images are few in number and variety and often highly repetitious. Cast in a rigid syntagm, these images usually do not link up consecutively and thus cannot form a coherent scene. As Ch'ien Chung-shu points out, "in the *Three Hundred Poems* there are 'descriptions of objects,' but no descriptions of scenes; what the pen touches upon is confined to single objects: grass, wood, water, or stone."[35]

In contrast, natural images not only abound in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," they coalesce into a coherent scene through the process of perception in Poems 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 14; and following a narrative outline in Poems 1, 4, 6, 8, 13, 16, 18, and 19. The extended scope and internal coherence of the description of nature in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" have not gone unnoticed by critics. For instance, the early T'ang poet-critic Wang Ch'ang-ling (d. 756) attempts in his *Shih ko* to explain the new features of the evolved *pi-hsing* in pentasyllabic poems like the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems."[36] First, Wang indisputably recognized the extension of the description of nature beyond the fixed length of two lines in the *Book of Poetry*, for he cited the extended descriptions in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" (four lines from Poem 16, six lines from Poem 1) as characteristic of the evolved *hsing*. Indeed, had he not recognized the substantial extension of the description of nature, he would not have devised his laborious, fourteen-fold categorization of *hsing*. Second, Wang was aware of the emergence of perceptual and narrative coherence within descriptions of nature,[37] as he organized his fourteen categories of *hsing* largely on the basis of these two underlying processes. Of the twelve categories illustrated with poetical citations, eight categories can be subsumed under these two processes. Categories 1, 11, 12, 13 bear upon the perceptive process, focusing

respectively on its temporal, visual, auditory, and emotive aspects.[38] Categories 4, 5, 6, 9 deal with the narrative outline, spelling out its varied orders and modes.[39] Third, Wang considered the evolved *hsing* best exemplified in "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," as he cited that collection with greater frequency than other works—four times in the discussions of the fourteen categories of *hsing* and six times on other occasions in *Shih ko*.[40] What Wang failed to point out is that the emergence of perceptual and narrative coherence in these new *hsing* categories attests to the beneficial influence of the *yüeh-fu* narrative tradition on the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems."

The presentation of the inner world also underwent profound changes as a result of the structural reordering of *pi-hsing*. The emotive speeches of these two collections strike us as being very different. While in the *Book of Poetry* we hear short, emphatic emotional utterances about a particular external event, we find in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" sustained melancholic reflections on the meaning of human life.

Poetic Texture: Dynamics of Silent Writing and Reading

Of all the changes brought about by the disappearance of oral performance in "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," the formation of a new kind of poetic texture is perhaps the most noteworthy. If poetic structure is the framework of a poem, poetic texture is the interface process—if I can borrow a catch phrase from computer science—whereby each word is linked to every other word in an organic whole. Just as networking denotes a process of multilateral linkage, poetic texture means a process of multilateral interplay among words of a poetic text. In examining poetic texture we seek to understand not only the contiguous relationship of any word with other words in the same line or the same syntactic unit, but also the noncontiguous relationship of that word with other words placed in either a corresponding or noncorresponding position in different lines. To take a concrete example, when we focus on the third word of the fourth line of a pentasyllabic poem, we must consider on the one hand how it links up with the other four words in the same line, and on the other how it relates to, say, the fifth word of the second line or with the third word of the sixth line. The contiguous relationship is a temporal organization of words to indicate the sequence of an external or internal activity. The noncontiguous relationship is a spatial arrangement of words to create mutual correspondence or echoing that enhances their evocative power.[41] In performed and nonperformed poems alike we can

find these two kinds of relationship at work. Owing to the different dynamics of oral and written communication, these two relationships demonstrate different kinds of importance. Generally speaking, they are established by different means and serve different purposes in a poem.

In performed poetry, to establish and maintain a tight contiguous relationship of words is a task of primary importance. An oral presentation is essentially a temporal sequence of sounds or auditory signs delivered within an expected duration of time. Once a composer or performer has started his oral presentation, he cannot stop it at will or else he will frustrate the live audience. To maintain a smooth, rhythmic flow of words without the aid of a script is a great challenge for an oral composer or performer. He must retain the memory of what he has just said, while figuring out what he is to say in the next breath. In making this effort, he depends greatly on the use of repetitions as his *aides mémoires* and his cues for the continuation of his presentation. The beginning passage of the *yüeh-fu* piece, "Mulberry along the Lane," provides a typical example of this use of repetition:

The sun rises at the *southeast corner*	日出東南隅
It shines on our house, the *Ch'ins*.	照我秦氏樓
The Ch'ins have a pretty daughter,	秦氏有好女
She is called Lo-fu.	自名爲羅敷
Lo-fu likes to raise silkworm and pick *mulberry*,	羅敷善蠶桑
She picks *mulberry* at the *south corner* of the wall.	採桑城南隅
Green silk *for* [her] *basket* strap,	青絲爲籠係
Cassia branch *for* [her] *basket* handle.	桂枝爲籠鉤
On her head a curving-down hairdo,	頭上倭墮髻
At her ears bright moon pearls.	耳中明月珠
Below, apricot *silk for* [her] skirt,	緗綺爲下裙
Above, purple *silk for* [her] blouse.	紫綺爲上襦
(Lines 1–12)	

In the first segment, the composer or performer uses interlocking repetitions, the so-called "thimble phrasing," to link different details about the life of Lo-fu. In the second segment, he begins to use syntagmatic repetitions, that is, repetitions of words in positions corresponding to a preceding line. This seems to be a very primitive kind of repetition in the sense that it often allows a composer or performer to repeat many words and introduce merely one or two new words per line (as in the case of most *pi-hsing* syntagm in the *Book of Poetry*). Yet, rather ironically, it is this kind of repetition that establishes a noncontiguous relationship of words. As

these repetitions replicate the same syntax, they tend to create the illusion that the temporal flow of words has been suspended, and we leap from a word back to the word in the corresponding position of the previous line. For example, when hearing lines 7 and 8, we feel compelled to relate "green silk" to "cassia branch," and "handle" to "pole." The contrast between these four words seems to represent a meaningful, though primitive, noncontiguous relationship of words in an oral composition.

In nonperformed poetry, the importance of the contiguous relationship decreases as the noncontiguous relationship of words strengthens. This change has much to do with the different dynamics of written communication. Writing and reading are not as immediate and instantaneous a form of communication as speaking (or other ways of oral delivery) and listening. In most circumstances, when two parties are in the presence of each other, they will choose to address each other orally. Only when the parties are separated from each other, or when one party is not quite sure how to best express his thoughts impromptu, or when one party wants to convey thoughts that are too awkward or too embarrassing to say out loud, or when one party wants to say something that he thinks the other party will need time to think about before responding, will he decide to write to the other party. Judging by these common circumstances for the use of writing, we can see that writing, as compared with speaking, is a delayed (often purposely) form of communication. In most cases the writer and the reader are not compelled to respond to each other within a certain time. Consequently, a writer may pause as many times as he wants to think about how to better put his thoughts into words. By the same token, a reader may freely go over the words of a writer again and again before deciding what they mean.

As written communication allows ample time for the coding or decoding of messages, neither the writer nor the reader need depend on word-for-word repetitions to maintain a smooth temporal flow of words. A writer may leave considerable gaps between his words and reasonably expect his reader to work out their contiguous relationships. The great advantage of leaving many gaps between his words is that he can compel the reader to conjure up a series of images and place them in a meaningful continuum.[42] In this way he not only makes his feelings and thoughts known to his readers, but lets them go through his contemplative process and experience his emotional condition as if they were their own. In short, for a writer to establish a contiguous relationship of words is an effort to oblige his reader to transform a continuum of written signs into a vision of the mind. For this reason, the authors cease to weld their words together with word-for-word repetitions and other oral formulas, and begin to develop new devices like rhetorical questions and linking

couplets which effectively lead the reader through in the process of inward visualization.

The process of written communication also allows the writer and the reader to explore noncontiguous relationships of words for the purpose of enhancing emotive impact. As a writer pauses to review what he has written and makes revisions in light of what he is to write next, he naturally builds a system of textual resonance among words placed in different parts of a poem. And in fact, this is exactly what the authors of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" began to do in their works. When they described a natural scene in the first part of a poem, they were already anticipating the feelings and thoughts to be expressed and deliberately blended words suggestive of the emotive tenor of the second part into the initial scene. This device is called the "verse eye" (*shih yen*) in traditional Chinese criticism. Conversely, when they wrote out their feelings and thoughts in the second part, they often harked back to the initial natural scene, purposely using metaphors that would resonate with the natural images there. This device I will tentatively call "metaphoric resonance."

Of course, this intricate poetic texture, marked by sophisticated devices for temporal linkage (rhetorical questions, linking couplets, etc.) and for spatial correspondence ("verse eye," metaphoric resonance, etc.), cannot be lost on readers of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." In a sense, those readers enjoy even greater freedom in making associations of poetic words than the authors themselves. While the authors do not have the spatial configuration of the poem in their mind until they complete it, readers always have the entire poem, a short lyric at that, spatially set out before their eyes. So a single glance can draw their attention to both the temporal linkage and the spatial correspondence of the words. This interplay of temporal and spatial imagination affords a kind of intense aesthetic experience unknown to the audience of performed poetry but accessible to the readers of well-wrought written poetry like the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." In the last section of this chapter, we will see how traditional Chinese critics not only intuitively grasp the nature of this new aesthetic experience, but actually explain it in terms of the dynamics of temporal and spatial movements in the course of reading. But first let us look at the devices that make this temporal and spatial resonance possible.

Temporal Linkage: Rhetorical Questions and Linking Couplets

In the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" the poets successfully adapt a number of syntactic formulas from the *yüeh-fu* tradition for their

exploration of inner experience. Here it suffices to discuss how these po-
ets transform the function of the question-answer formula. In the folk
yüeh-fu, a question-answer formula is nothing more than a linking
mechanism, as shown in the following passage (lines 13–35) from
"Mulberry along the Lane":

Passers-by, on seeing Lo-fu,	行者見羅敷
Lay down their loads and stroke their beards.	下擔捋髭須
Young men, on seeing Lo-fu,	少年見羅敷
Take off their caps and arrange their headbands.	脫帽著帩頭
The plowmen forget their plows,	耕者忘其犂
The hoers forget their hoes.	鋤者忘其鋤
They come home angry with one another,	來歸相怨怒
All because they have seen Lo-fu.	但坐觀羅敷
A prefect comes from the south,	使君從南來
His five horses stop and wait around.	五馬立踟躕
The prefect sends his attendant forward:	使君遣使往
'To whom does this pretty girl belong?'	問此誰家姝
'The Ch'ins have a pretty daughter,	秦氏有好女
She is called Lo-fu....'[43]	自名為羅敷
'Why don't you ride with me?'	寧可同載不
Lo-fu comes forward and replies:	羅敷前置辭
'Prefect, why so foolish!	使君一何愚
The Prefect has his own wife,	使君自有婦
Lo-fu has her own husband.	羅敷自有夫

This question-answer formula (lines 24–26) serves as a transition be-
tween two compositional motifs. On the one hand, the question estab-
lishes a link with the previous segment on Lo-fu's physical charm (lines
13–20); on the other, the answer leads into the ensuing segment on Lo-
fu's moral chastity (lines 31–35). As the answer repeats verbatim lines 3–
4 of the poem, it should also be taken as a rote response intended to con-
tribute to the structural cohesiveness of the entire composition.[44]

    In the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," the question-answer
formula evolves into rhetorical questions that facilitate inward reflection
in various ways. When rhetorical questions occur at the end of the outward
observations in Poems 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, they usher in emotional responses to
the outside world and thus begin a long contemplative process. In Poem
11 a rhetorical question launches the speaker into a melancholy contem-
plation of human transience:

> Of everything I meet, none is familiar, 所遇無故物
> How can man not grow old quickly as well? 焉得不速老
> Growth and decay, each has its own time, 盛衰各有時
> Success in life, why didn't I strive for it sooner? 立身苦不早
> (Lines 5–8)

When rhetorical questions occur at the end of the first binary structure in Poems 1, 8, 12, they significantly prolong the contemplative process by bringing in another round of external projection and inward reflection. In Poem 12 a rhetorical question leads the speaker from his autumnal lament to a narration of the life of sing-song girls, which in turn will strike an even more melancholy chord in him.

> Let us give free rein to our passions. 蕩滌放情志
> Why should we impose bondage on ourselves? 何為自結束
> Yen and Chao boast many fair ladies: 燕趙多佳人
> Beautiful ones whose faces are like jade. 美者顏如玉
> All wear clothes made of fine silk, 被服羅裳衣
> In the doorway they practice music in the pure mode. 當戶理清曲
> These strains of music, how sad they are! 音響一何悲
> (Lines 9–15, *KSSC*, 2.18–19)

When rhetorical questions occur amidst the emotional responses in Poems 4, 11, and 19, they prompt the speakers to grope for a solution to their predicaments and pursue their contemplative process into the realm of future. In Poem 11, a rhetorical question prompts the speaker to ponder the worth of a glorious name in the future.

> Man is not made of metal or stone, 人生非金石
> How can he live long and not grow old? 豈能長壽考
> As all things pass, his life will end, 奄忽隨物化
> To him, the only thing precious is a glorious name. 榮名以為寶
> (Lines 9–12)

Finally, when rhetorical questions occur toward the end of the contemplative process, in Poems 7, 8, 10, 18, they signify the speakers' despairing recognition of their wretched fates. In Poem 4 the speaker, having lamented human transience in general terms, asks himself:

> Why shouldn't I make a leap upward 何不策高足
> And be the first to command the path to power? 先據要路津

> What is the point in remaining poor and humble,　無爲守貧賤
> Stranded forever in misery and hardship　　　　轗軻長辛苦
> (Lines 11–14, *KSSC*, 2.6–7)

This question can be seen as the culmination of his soul searching in the face of human transience. It reveals his bitter realization of the irony of fate: his moral and intellectual cultivation did not bring the reward of a great name, but wasted his precious, evanescent life.

In the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" the interaction of the two binary parts is also enhanced by transitional couplets placed between them. These couplets are generally less imagistic than the description of nature in the first part, but more concrete than the emotional expression in the second part. Thus they provide a smooth transition between the two parts; Poem 13 provides a clear example of this:

> Underneath them, the dead from long ago,　　　下有陳死人
> Dark, dark is the long night.　　　　　　　　杳杳即長暮
> Lost in sleep beneath the Yellow Springs,　　　潛寐黃泉下
> Come a thousand years, they will not awaken.　千載永不寤
> *Seasons of growth and decay march on and on,*　浩浩陰陽移
> *The years allotted to man are like morning dew.*[45]　年命如朝露
> Man's life is as transient as a sojourn,　　　　人生忽如寄
> His frame is not as firm as metal or stone.　　壽無金石固
> Ten thousand years have gone by,　　　　　　萬歲更相送
> No sages or worthies can cross the flow of time.　賢聖莫能度
> (Lines 5–14)

The transitional couplet sums up the preceding observation of the grave-yard and leads into a contemplation of human transience. Similar transitional couplets are employed in Poems 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, and 19. Often they are so interwoven with the two parts that they can be interpreted either as the ending of one part or as the beginning of the other. Thus they fuse external projection and inward reflection into a coherent, sustained mental process. Internal coherence has long been recognized as the distinguishing trait of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Wang Shih-chen writes, "The Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" are as seamless as clothes made by heaven."[46] Indeed, it is such an uninterrupted process of thought that warrants the treatment of each poem as an undivided piece in modern Chinese typeset editions and in English translations.[47]

Spatial Correspondence:
Covert Repetition, Verse Eye, and Metaphor

The function of repetition changes from a linking mechanism to a device of spatial correspondence for exploring inner experience in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." The literary *yüeh-fu* performers use word-for-word repetitions mainly to link words into a syntactical formula such as a "beads-on-a-frame" construction. But in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" the poets seldom use word-for-word repetitions. Few phrases or words are repeated in adjacent lines. Instead, we observe the semantic categories of one line being matched in the corresponding positions of the next line. For instance, in Poem 17 the noun "winter" is coupled with "north wind"; the verb "wane" with "wax"; the substantive "moon" with its traditional metaphor, toad and rabbit; and the phrase "undying remembrance" with "parting long endured." Such coupling becomes complete in lines 5 and 6 and lines 9 and 10—that is, all the semantic elements of these lines correspond to one another.

The use of such covert repetition is not limited to adjacent lines. At the beginning of Poem 1 the sorrow of separation is effectively enhanced by covert repetitions in alternate lines:

On and on, and on and on [you go],	行行重行行
I cannot but live apart from you.	與君生別離
The distance has grown ten thousand *li* and more,	相去萬餘里
We are now at opposite ends of the sky.	各在天一涯
(Lines 1–4)	

In this passage, line 3 may be construed as a covert repetition of line 1 because both lines lament the separation in terms of physical distance measured by walking feet. By the same token, line 4 may be taken as a covert repetition of line 2 because both lines deplore the separation in terms of psychological distance, as indicated by the idea of remoteness in the phrases "away from," "live apart," and "at opposite ends of the sky."

Clearly repetition has shifted in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" from the verbatim repetition characteristic of Han *yüeh-fu* to covert substitution of semantic elements belonging to the same grammatical category. This radical shift enhances the sense of unity without the monotonous effect of mechanical repetition and increases the evocative or associative power of semantic elements through imagistic correspondence. This shift signifies important changes from a rhythm of recurrence

to that of association, "from the *Shih-ching* meter to the *wu-yen* meter, or from representational poetry to reflexive poetry."[48]

In addition to the internalization of existing formal devices, we must look at two new devices which enhance the interplay between external description and inward reflection—the "verse eye" in the first part and metaphorical resonance in the second.

"Verse eye" is a term used in traditional Chinese criticism to describe words, mostly verbs or adjectives, that animate the description of nature in a verse.[49] In Poems 1, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, and 19, such "verse eyes," or animating words, vividly embody the speaker's emotional involvement in the external scene. For instance, in the famous lines "The Hu horse leans toward the north wind; / the Yüeh bird nests in southern branches" (Poem 1, 7–8), the words "leans" and "nests" unmistakably bring into the scene the speaker's own sense of homesickness. Without them, these lines would reveal far less of the speaker's inner world. The animation of a natural scene through emotion-suggesting words so revamps the *hsing* construction that Wang Ch'ang-ling in *Shih ko* marks it off as a distinct category of *hsing*, using as his example a very similar couplet by Wang Tsan (?–311): "North wind *disturbs* the autumn grass, / The border horse *harbors* the intent of returning" (my emphasis).

While "verse eyes" anticipate the emotional developments in the second part of a poem, metaphorical resonance in the second part harks back to the natural scene in the first part.[50] Poem 7 provides a good example:

	Bright moon shines in the clear night,	明月皎皎光
2	Crickets chirp near eastern wall.	促織鳴東壁
	The jade handle points to early winter,	玉衡指孟冬
4	The myriad stars, how they crowd into one another!	衆星何歷歷
	White dew gathers on the wild grasses,	白露霑野草
6	The cycle of seasons suddenly changes again.	時節忽復易
	Cicadas buzz among the trees,	秋蟬鳴樹間
8	Dark swallows, where have they gone?	玄鳥逝安適
	Once we were friends studying together,	昔我同門友
10	High you soared, strong, beating wings.	高舉振六翮
	Our friendship you have not remembered,	不念攜手好
12	And abandon me like a footprint left behind.	棄我如遺跡
	Southern Winnow, Dipper in the North,	南箕北有斗
14	Or Draught Ox that cannot carry a yoke.	牽牛不負軛
	Truly, without the firmness of a rock,	良無盤石固
16	What good you can gain from these empty names?	虛名復何益

(*KSSC*, 2.10–11)

The flight image "soared on high, beating strong wings" in line 10 appears as a metaphor for unscrupulous self-advancement. The constellation names Southern Winnow (13), Dipper in the North (13) and Draught Ox (14) appear as metaphors for empty, false friendship. These three images acquire the same metaphorical meaning of emptiness and falsehood because they "falsely" use concrete things to represent intangible or even "nonsubstantial" stars. Meanwhile, the images recall what we have seen in the first part. The beating wings (10) evoke the flight images of cicadas (7), and dark swallows (8); the three stellar names recall the polar star or "jade handle" (3) and the crowding stars (4) in the first part. Through such imagistic resonance, the four metaphorical images endow the opening autumnal scene with strong emotional overtones, intensifying the interaction between the binary parts, but in the reverse direction of "verse eyes."

We should note that "verse eyes" and metaphorical resonance each introduce alien elements into binary parts, destabilizing the structure. However, they do not subvert the structure, but instead make it more dynamic and more aesthetically engaging. They intensify our aesthetic responses by opening up new channels for the outer-inner-world interaction. Like aesthetic catalysts, they oblige the mind to transcend the boundary between the outer and inner worlds and to constantly move back and forth between them.

Aesthetic Movements: Temporal and Spatial Imagination

In the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" both the binary structure and the multilateral texture are born of the constant movement back and forth between the outer and inner world in the poets' process of imagining. In turn, they activate similar movements of the temporal and spatial imagination of the silent reader. In the mind of poet and reader alike, the intensification of these two aesthetic movements will lead to a point where the boundary between the outward and the inward dissolves and a timeless and spaceless poetic vision emerges.

Traditional Chinese critics often go to great lengths to praise this transforming aesthetic effect and attribute it to the perfect fusion of all poetic elements within the seamless poetic structure and texture in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." For instance, Wang Shih-chen[a] writes:

> There are no syntactic rules in the 'Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems,'
> some people say. That is not true. Those poems surely follow syntactic

rules of their own, but leave no signs of their distinctions for us to trace.[51]

Wu Ch'i is also of the opinion that the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" are so seamless that "one cannot find meaning by just picking up an individual sentence or by looking at individual words."[52] Ho Yang-ling, a modern critic, seems to elaborate on Wang's and Wu's view when he says: "'Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems' have almost reached the perfection of a transformed vision, as they leave no traces of segments, no clues of division and combination, no signs of a seam in their intricate texture."[53] While these critics merely point out the seamless fusion of all poetic elements, Fang Tung-shu (1772–1851) tries to explain how the authors achieve this fusion:

> When these ancient people wrote, if there was a forward movement there must have been a backward movement; if there was a thrust downward there must be a thrust back upward. To soar like a startled wild goose or to wind along like a swimming dragon: this is the way we follow their rules of composition and the way we seek to understand their meaning. Having grasped this point, we will understand why these poems are thought to be "seamless like clothes made by heaven."[54]

In this single passage Fang sums up all I have said about the two aesthetic movements—the thrust of temporal imagination led by devices like rhetorical questions and linking couplets and the counterthrust of spatial imagination aided by devices like "verse eye" and metaphoric resonance—and identifies the interplay of these two movements as the new aesthetic principle for written poetry. While this aesthetic principle was established with the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," it became the ultimate matrix for all the intricate rules of temporal progression and spatial correspondence—in rhythm, meter, grammatical category, and semantic meaning—in T'ang regulated verse. Later this aesthetic principle is often spoken of with this common phrase "moving in a circle; going and returning" (*hsün-huan wang-fu*), and is observed as a golden rule for writing and reading Chinese poetry.

Of course, this aesthetic principle is not for Chinese poetry alone, but for the written poetry of all nations. To prove this, we need only to read the following passage by Coleridge, where he not only explains the aesthetic principle in similar terms as the interplay of forward and backward movements, but actually compares the ideal aesthetic process to the winding movement of a snake:

> The reader should be carried forward, not merely or chiefly by the me-
> chanical impulses of curiosity, or by a restless desire to arrive at the fi-
> nal solution; but by the pleasurable activity of the mind excited by the
> attractions of the journey itself. Like the motion of a serpent, which the
> Egyptians made an emblem of intellectual power; or like the path of
> sound through the air; at every step he passes and half recedes, and
> from the retrogressive movement collects the force which again carries
> him forward.[55]

This passage vividly depicts the aesthetic process of our minds excited
by the attractions of the binary structure and multilateral texture in the
"Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Our minds are flooded with abundant
images and in their wake come the emotions and thoughts. As the im-
ages collide with the thoughts, the sense with the emotion, they interact
intensely and modify one another, the images being colored by the emo-
tions and the emotions being objectified by the images. Thus our minds
get caught in cycles of progressive movement from nature to feelings and
back again—absorbed in a pleasurable journey of aesthetic appreciation.

For Coleridge as well as for traditional Chinese critics, such an
aesthetic process culminates in a perfect blending of subject and object,
thus raising the reader's consciousness from a mundane to a transcen-
dental vision of poetry. For this reason Coleridge regards the aesthetic
movement as indicative of the loftiest human faculty: the creative imagi-
nation that "reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or
discordant qualities: of sameness, with difference; of the general, with
the concrete; the idea, with the image; the individual, with the represen-
tative...."[56] In a similar fashion Chinese critics praise and idealize the
imaginative modification of discordant qualities in the "Nineteen An-
cient-Style Poems." In doing so, they emphasize the inexhaustibility of
their own aesthetic responses. For instance, Chung Hung holds that the
poems are "tragic and far-reaching, capable of touching the heart and
moving the soul to the extent that one can almost say one word is worth
one thousand pieces of gold."[57] Lü Pen-chung (1084–1144) contends that
"the poems all express profound thoughts and possess inexhaustible
meanings; the words have their boundaries but meanings are boundless."[58]
Ch'en Tso-ming (fl. 1665) believes that "the capacity to express [common
human feelings] but not exhaust them in words reaches perfection in the
"Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems."[59] Like Coleridge, Hu Ying-lin (1551–1602)
holds that the inexhaustible aesthetic responses ultimately penetrate the
realm of the spirit. He observes that, "the Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems
and miscellaneous poems ... with luminous images, and profound, sub-
tle meanings, are really capable of bringing ghosts and spirits to tears,

and moving the heaven and earth," and "[these] poems embody miraculous meanings and probe the *li* [inner principle of things] in the metaphysical realm; they contain what the ghosts and spirits cannot comprehend and what nature cannot claim as its own."[60]

Ts'ao Chih:
The Development of the Lyrical Mode

Of all the poets living between the Chien-an and the T'ai-ho periods (227–232), Ts'ao Chih left us with the greatest number of poetical and prose works. His extant corpus includes twenty-seven *ku-shih* poems,[1] forty-two *yüeh-fu* poems, ten poems in tetrasyllabic line, forty-five rhapsodies (*fu*), about thirty-five memorials (*piao*), and many other types of prose.[2] His poetical works are unrivaled by his contemporaries not only in quantity but also in quality. In *Grading of Poets*, Chung Hung places him in the first rank of Chinese poets while relegating his father Ts'ao Ts'ao (155–220) to the third rank and his brother Ts'ao P'i (187–226), the Emperor Wen (reigned 220–226), to the second rank.[3] In *Anthology of Literature* Hsiao T'ung collects as many as thirty-eight poems and three prose pieces by Ts'ao Chih, a number exceeding that of any other poet of his time.[4] Perhaps no one more eloquently and more dramatically speaks to Ts'ao Chih's stature as the finest poet of his time than does Hsieh Ling-yün in this passage:

> All the talent under the heaven amounts to one bushel: Ts'ao Tzu-chien [Ts'ao Chih] alone got eight-tenths, I got one-tenth, and all others from ancient antiquity to the present share one-tenth.[5]

Ts'ao Chih's greatest literary achievement is his creation of a multifaceted individual self in his poetical works. He is among the first Chinese pentasyllabic poets to step out of anonymity and make his own individual life the center of his poetic compositions. This new tendency to cast one's own life into poetry owes much to the influence of a new conception of literature as a way to achieve immortality. Ts'ao Ch'ih himself and by his brother Ts'ao P'i both championed this conception. Long before them, language (*yen*) had been acknowledged as a way to immortality, but it was moral teachings, not *belles-lettres*, that were then thought to have an immortalizing power. Only after Ts'ao P'i and Ts'ao Chih glori-

fied literature in this way did literary writings begin to enjoy a status comparable to that of moral teachings by sages. In his famous treatise "On Literature" Ts'ao P'i declares:

> Literature, like the grand task of governing a state, is a great enterprise that promises immortality. One's life has its allotted span and ends in due course. Honors and pleasures end with one's body. The certainty of the end of both does not compare with the eternal existence of literature. Authors of antiquity entrusted themselves to brush and ink and transcribed their thoughts onto writing slips. Thus, though unaided by the words of a fine historian or the status of a high-riding official, their names and reputation were nonetheless passed on to posterity.[6]

Like his elder brother, Ts'ao Chih considers literature as a means of achieving immortality or, metaphorically speaking, a way "to pass on flower-like fragrance" to posterity. In his poem "Dew on the Shallot," he unabashedly compares his writing of belletristic works to Confucius's editing of ancient classics:

> Confucius edited *Poetry* and *Documents*,   孔氏刪詩書
> And his kingly enterprise was luminously clear. 王業粲已分
> I race with my inch-thick brush,   騁我遫寸翰
> To display literary elegance and
> Leave a wake of flowery fragrance.[7]   流藻垂華芬
> (*TCCC*, 433)

However, Ts'ao Chih's glorification of literature was not as unqualified as Ts'ao P'i's. On some occasions he deplored the business of writing poetry as an ineffectual substitute for political accomplishments in an effort to establish one's eternal fame. In his famous letter to his friend Yang Hsiu (175–219), he writes:

> Yet *tz'u* [songs in the style of *Songs of Ch'u*] and *fu* [rhapsodies] are but a minor endeavor that is not capable of illuminating great truths and enlightening future generations. Even Yang Hsiung [53 B.C.–A.D. 18] a mere lance-bearer of the last dynasty, said that it was unworthy of a man in his prime. Although my virtue is limited, I as a feudal lord long for an opportunity to serve the country, to benefit the common people, to carve out a career that will be known by all generations, and to strive for accomplishment worthy of inscription on metal and stone. How can I allow myself to be known only for my accomplishment in ink and brush and to be regarded as a gentleman only for my *tz'u* and *fu*?[8]

This passage stands in sharp contrast to Ts'ao P'i's view that literature is no less glorious an activity than the governing of a state. It seems that Ts'ao Chih and Ts'ao P'i came to hold conflicting views on the comparative merits of literature and politics largely because political power meant different things to these two brothers of the same royal family. If the governing of a state meant to Ts'ao P'i a free exercise of his birthright based on primogeniture, it meant to Ts'ao Chih only a conditional right to be granted or revoked at the whim of his brother, Ts'ao P'i, the Emperor Wen. Given this fundamental difference, it is quite natural that Ts'ao P'i could—graciously or rather condescendingly—assert that literature was as noble an activity as the governing of a state, while Ts'ao Chih would think of literature as a lesser endeavor and would always strive for an opportunity to serve, if not to rule, his state. Yet in spite of the fact that he thought less of literature than politics, Ts'ao Chih did devote himself to literature after his defeat in the political rivalry for the throne, for it became the only way left for him to achieve an immortal name. His political failures contribute to his literary successes in more ways than one. He not only took his literary pursuits more seriously, but his constant inward struggle with political setbacks became the very source of complex feelings and thoughts that enrich his poetry.

In view of his conception of literature, we may assume that for Ts'ao Chih writing poetry was not just a natural mode of emotional expression, but also a way to create an individual self for recognition by future generations. Indeed, no Chinese poets before or contemporaneous with him created a more multifaceted or compelling self-image. This poetic self is neither an actual image of his experiential self nor a fictional poetic speaker, but a seamless merging of both. The significance of this creation is two-fold: 1) the poet's private emotions and thoughts were transformed into artistic presentations with universal appeal for readers of all generations; and 2) the generalized, collective modes of presentation in Han *ku-shih* and Han *yüeh-fu* became vehicles of personal reflection for an individual poet.[9]

The Poet's Life: Experiential Self and Poetic Self

Ts'ao Chih (courtesy name Tzu-chien) was born in 192 to Ts'ao Ts'ao and Lady Pien, who had become Ts'ao Ts'ao's principal wife in 179.[10] When he was just over ten years of age, he was able to recite poems, essays, and rhapsodies—totaling several hundred thousand words. When Ts'ao Ts'ao asked his sons to compose a rhapsody to mark the

completion of the Bronze Bird Terrace in the city of Yeh, Ts'ao Chih dashed off a rhapsody in an instant, much to the amazement of his father. He had an ingenuous and easy-going disposition and did not bother to cultivate a dignified demeanor. Each time he was summoned for an audience, he would answer hard questions the moment they were put to him. For this, he won the affection of his father.

In 211 (Chien-an 16) he was enfeoffed as Marquis of P'ing-yüan; his enfeoffment was changed to Marquis of Lin-tzu in 214. Although Ts'ao Ts'ao appreciated his literary talent and several times came close to making him heir apparent, he eventually chose his eldest son, Ts'ao P'i, as his successor partly because he hesitated to break the rule of primogeniture and partly because he disliked Ts'ao Chih's willful temperament, his neglect of self-cultivation, and his habit of excessive drinking. The decline of his favoritism toward Ts'ao Chih has been attributed to two incidents, Ts'ao Chih's breach of imperial protocol by refusing to get out of his carriage when passing through a palace gate and his failure to come to the rescue of Ts'ao Jen (168–223) because he was drunk. Indeed, after the latter incident, Ts'ao Ts'ao not only removed Ts'ao Chih from his post, but also executed his close friend and adviser Yang Hsiu.

When Ts'ao P'i ascended the throne in 220 (Huang-ch'u 1), he executed Ting Í and Ting Ì and all of their sons and sent Ts'ao Chih and other feudal lords to their principalities.[11] Under the reign of his brother, Ts'ao Chih's life went from bad to worse. In 221, because of his drunken and disrespectful behavior before an imperial envoy by the name of Kuan Chün, Ts'ao Chih was demoted to Marquis of An-hsiang. Had not his mother, the empress dowager, intervened on his behalf, he would have been subjected to a much more severe punishment. From this point onward, he began to lead the rootless life of an exiled prince. In the next two years, his fief was changed twice. He became Marquis of Juan-ch'eng with a fief of only 2,500 households in 222 and Lord of Yung-ch'iu in 223.

When his nephew Ts'ao Jui succeeded to the throne, Ts'ao Chih's life improved somewhat because he now did not have to fear for his life and could now submit memorials frequently to the new emperor. In his memorials he rather explicitly expressed his resentment at not being given a chance to serve in court and implored the emperor not to put members of other powerful families in key positions for fear of usurpation. Apart from this greater freedom of speech, however, Ts'ao Chih's exiled life remained unchanged under his nephew's reign. His fief was changed to Chün-i in 227 (Tai-ho 1) and then back to Yung-ch'iu in 228, and then to Tung-e in 229. In the first month of Tai-ho 6 (232), he was summoned, together with other feudal lords, to the imperial court, and in the next month he was given four counties of Chen and became Prince of Chen.

Although he repeatedly sought a private audience with the emperor to talk about the current state of government and to express his hope for a trial term of office, he failed. Despondent and despairing, he returned to his tiny fief, staffed with inept officials and sick and disabled soldiers totaling less than 200. Only a few months later he died at the age of forty-one.

Chinese scholars have used this outline of the poet's life under three different reigns as the basis for periodizing and classifying his works. The two earliest comprehensive editions of Ts'ao Chih's writings—Chu Hsü-tseng's (fl. 1837) *Ts'ao Chih k'ao-i*,[12] and Ting Yen's (1794–1875) *Ts'ao Chih ch'üan-p'ing*[13]—both classify his poetical works under generic headings such as *shih* and *yüeh-fu*. While Huang Chieh (1874–1935), in his *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih-chu*,[14] follows this traditional scheme of generic division, Ku Chih (1887–?) in *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih-chien* integrates a chronological arrangement within the larger framework of generic division. Specifically, he introduces two chronological subheadings (Chien-an period versus Huang-ch'u and Tai-ho periods) under his two generic headings (*shih* versus *yüeh-fu*).[15] Most recently, Chao Yu-wen has dispensed with generic division altogether and simply classifies Ts'ao Chih works under the three different reign periods.

In yet another variation, critics have periodized Ts'ao's poetic works not by the broad division of reign periods, but by a chronology of events that affected his personal life. Lu K'an-ju and Feng Yuan-chün regard Ts'ao Chih's youthful life *before* and *after* his becoming the Prince of P'ing Yüan as two distinct periods (192–211 and 211–220), thus substituting a four-fold scheme for the traditional three-fold scheme solely based on reign periods.[16] Itō Masafumi adopts Lu and Feng's four-fold scheme but redefines the periods as follows: 1) the period of his cultivation and learning from his birth to 210, the year before he became Marquis of P'ing-yüan; 2) the period of his happy and carefree youth, beginning with the conferral of his feudal title in 211 and ending in 217 with his defeat in the rivalry with Ts'ao P'i for the throne; 3) the period of his political ostracization by his brother, extending from 218 to 226 or the last year of the Huang-ch'u reign period; and 4) the period of his continued political exile under the reign of his nephew from 227 to his death in 232. Itō Masafumi further characterizes Ts'ao Chih's works as impassioned and forlorn in the first period, melancholic yet ardent in the second period, melancholic and lamenting in the third period, and gloomy and despairing in the fourth period.[17]

For more than a thousand years, the relationship of Ts'ao Chih's life to his poetical works has been the central issue not only for the classification and periodization of his works but also for their critical inter-

pretation. Most traditional Chinese critics see his poems as a faithful, unmediated representation of the historical Ts'ao Chih. They simply identify the life experience of his poetic speakers with that of the poet himself. Regarding his poetic works as his biographical records, they scrutinize them as part of a moral examination of his life. This moral examination in turn becomes grounds for assessing the literary merits of his poetical works. The more highly they regard his moral character, the more generously they acclaim his poetic achievements. Over the centuries traditional Chinese critics have gradually formed into two major camps: those who extol Ts'ao Chih as a moral paragon and poetic genius, and those who find fault with his character and decry the imperfections of his poetic art.[18]

There are four major figures in the first camp. Chung Hung implicitly praises Ts'ao Chih's moral character and explicitly lauds his poetic accomplishments by saying "Ts'ao Chih is to the art of literary composition what Confucius is to the principle of human relationships."[19] Wang T'ung (584–618) depicts Ts'ao Chih as moral paragon whose sagely "abdication from the throne was not recognized by his contemporaries" and whose "literary writings are profound and abound in allusions."[20] Chang Pu (1602–1641) presents Ts'ao Chih as a Han loyalist "whose entire life was devoted to the Han court and whose heart was like that of Duke Wen of Chou."[21] And Ting Yen concludes that "Tzu-chien displayed his loyalty for the monarch and his patriotism, and established himself through his moral virtues and his literary works. Even if we speak of literary talent, feeling, and form alone, Ts'ao P'i cannot come close to him."[22]

Among the important figures in the second camp, Liu Hsieh is the first to challenge the popular tendency to underestimate Ts'ao P'i's literary talent because of the dubious basis of his political success and to overestimate Ts'ao Chih's poetic achievement because of sympathy for his political failure. "Since critics followed popular sentiment to elevate [Ts'ao Chih] and demote Ts'ao P'i," Liu Hsieh observed, "they tend to echo one another and strike a uniform note."[23] To counter this prevailing tendency, Liu Hsieh brushed aside all moral questions about Ts'ao P'i and claimed only literary merit for him. Moreover, he went to considerable lengths discussing the faults of Ts'ao Chih's works in spite of the popular adoration for Ts'ao Chih the man.[24] Wang Fu-chih (1619–1692) goes much further than Liu Hsieh in promoting Ts'ao P'i and demoting Ts'ao Chih. While Liu Hsieh refrained from giving a moral assessment of Ts'ao P'i, Wang actually called him a poet-sage (*shih-sheng*),[25] the highest possible praise of any poet of moral character. Moreover, Wang Fu-chih sought to demote Ts'ao Chih by discounting the importance of Ts'ao

Chih's poetic achievement. In his *Ancient Poetry: Commentaries and Selections* (*Ku-shih p'ing-hsüan*), he included sixteen poems by Ts'ao P'i but only two by Ts'ao Chih in the *yüeh-fu* section, and nine poems by Ts'ao P'i with only three by Ts'ao Chih in the *ku-shih* section.[26] In addition, he consistently compared Ts'ao Chih's works unfavorably with those of Ts'ao Ts'ao and Ts'ao P'i. That he called Ts'ao Chih's poems "bug-infested peaches and bitter plums"[27] reveals quite clearly his attitude toward Ts'ao Chih's poetic achievement.

These two critical camps not only persist in modern studies, but have actually become radicalized, due largely to Kuo Mo-jo's controversial article "On Ts'ao Chih."[28] In that article Kuo launches a relentless attack on Ts'ao Chih's moral character and his poetic style. In demoting Ts'ao Chih, traditional detractors normally compared his works unfavorably with Ts'ao P'i's or Ts'ao Ts'ao's; they seldom foregrounded his moral character. But when Kuo Mo-jo seeks to diminish Ts'ao Chih, he begins by exposing three serious faults of his character: his flamboyant and irresponsible early lifestyle; his political ineptitude, shown in his choice of incompetent advisers; and his predilection for incessant self-pity after his hopes for the throne were dashed. Kuo contends that, on the occasion of the abdication of the Han dynasty, Ts'ao Chih actually wept at his lost opportunity to ascend the throne, rather than for the demise of the Han as those in the first camp would have it. Kuo also holds that in his famous rhapsody "The Goddess of the Lo River" Ts'ao Chih does not seek to offer a loyal minister's remonstrance with his monarch, but to express a depraved youth's secret love for his brother's wife. Next, Kuo proceeds to associate Ts'ao Chih's frivolous life with his fondness for novel expressions and florid rhetoric. He argues that Ts'ao Chih's imitative, highly rhetorical style goes against the healthy trend of lyricization in both *ku-shih* and *yüeh-fu* at the time and leads to the vogue of grandiose rhetoric in the ornate parallel prose of the Six Dynasties.

To counter Kuo's wholesale denigration of Ts'ao Chih, Chia Ssu-jung essentially reiterates the view of Ts'ao Chih held by the first camp, portraying him as a great moralist and a poetic genius. In doing so, however, he seeks to recast the traditional praise of Ts'ao Chih's moral character and his poetic achievement in terms of what he sees as a remarkable display of "critical realism" in Ts'ao Chih's poetical works. In a way, Chia Ssu-jung's critique of Kuo Mo-jo serves to resituate the centuries-old debate on Ts'ao Chih within the purview of Marxist criticism and leads to the establishment of "critical realism" as the new criterion for evaluating Ts'ao Chih.[29] Indeed, even when Chang Te-chün rises to defend Kuo Mo-jo from Chia's criticism, he cannot but frame his argument around the issue of critical realism. He argues that Ts'ao Chih should be

relegated to the status of a lesser poet because his critical realism is not so penetrating and soul-searing as is that of contemporaries like Wang Ts'an.[30]

Conflicting though they are, these two views of Ts'ao Chih each result from a "biographical reduction" achieved by obscuring the complex relations the poet established between his experiential self and his poetic texts.[31] When the poet projects his experience into his works, he does so through the prism of poetic form. Hence the individual self in Ts'ao Chih's poems is not a truthful record, but a *virtual* presentation of the poet's life, an artistic presence that arises out of the interaction between his inward experience and poetic form.

In his seminal article "Fifteen Poems by Ts'ao Chih: An Attempt at a New Approach," Hans Frankel challenges the long tradition of biographical reduction in both traditional and modern Chinese criticism, redirecting critical attention from the poet's experiential self to the formal characteristics of his poetical self. Influenced by New Criticism, Frankel believes that the individual self in Ts'ao Chih's poems was a purely artistic entity, completely separate from the poet's experiential self and understandable solely in terms of the aesthetic interplay of formal elements. So when he discusses the fifteen poems by Ts'ao Chih, Frankel dismisses the relevance of his biographical data to the interpretation of those poems and focuses almost exclusively on the formal techniques (mobile images, etc.) the poet used to create a distinct poetic self.[32] While Frankel's formal analysis of this poetic self yields fresh insight into Ts'ao Chih's art, his arbitrary separation of this poetic self from the experiential self introduces the practice of "biographical exclusion" into Ts'ao Chih scholarship.

Komori Ikuko takes issue with both the biographical reduction of most traditional and modern Chinese critics and the biographical exclusion of New Critics like Frankel.[33] In launching her two-pronged critique, Komori first takes on the practitioners of biographical reduction. Like Frankel, she draws a clear distinction between Ts'ao Chih's experiential self and his poetic self, between a moral opinion of his life and an artistic evaluation of his poetical works. She believes that it is undesirable and unjustifiable to let an uncomplimentary view of the poet's personal life obscure the merits of his poetry or, alternatively, to be led by a zealous veneration of his personal life to an overestimation of his poetic success. She expresses her strong opposition to either form of "biographical reduction". For instance, she relentlessly criticizes Kuo Mo-jo's denigration of Ts'ao Chih's poetic accomplishments on account of flaws in his character, even though she agrees with Kuo's unfavorable assessment of Ts'ao Chih's personal life.[34]

In the second part of her critique, Komori goes on to expose the faults of biographical exclusion. While she sides with Frankel in fighting biographical reduction, she disapproves of his New Critical reading of Ts'ao Chih's poems and deplores his unfortunate disassociation of Ts'ao Chih's poetic self from his experiential self.[35] Even though she herself refrains from identifying details of Ts'ao Chih's poems with concrete events in his life, she makes a point of examining his evolving patterns of outward observation and inward reflection in the context of his changing sentiment about himself and those around him at different stages of his life. Having negotiated a passage between these two extremes, she manages to complete a careful formal analysis of representative works, a thematic reclassification of them, and an appropriate placement of various thematic groups into a general outline of his personal life.[36] This integration of formal analyses and biographical consideration marks an important breakthrough in the recent study of Ts'ao Chih.

Following the path of Komori Ikuko, I propose to go beyond biographical reduction and exclusion to examine the dynamic relationship between Ts'ao Chih's life and poetical works in terms of his life-long process of self-transformation and generic transformation. How for instance, does the poet blend his changing sentiment with the feelings customarily expressed in early *ku-shih* to transform his experiential self into an appealing poetic self? How does he cast himself in conventional poetic roles (the abandoned wife, the wanderer, the anthropomorphic object, etc.), identifying their stories with his own experience and conveying his complex feelings about his close friends, his brotherTs'ao P'i, his other brothers and his nephew?

I will consider how his thematic and formal innovations lead to significant reconfigurations of all major *ku-shih* and *yüeh-fu* subgenres. Specifically, I will observe how he enriches the repertoire of topoi, motifs, and images by adding details of his outer and inner life; how he reshapes conventional structural principles through an introduction of his modes of outward observation and inward contemplation. Finally, I will identify the connections between his transformation into a poetic self with his sweeping transformations of the *ku-shih* and *yüeh-fu* subgenres.

Early *Ku-shih*: Moral Encouragement for Friends

Of the extant corpus of Ts'ao Chih's works, only about ten *ku-shih* poems are believed to have been written before 220. Of these the most noteworthy are five poems he wrote for presentation to his four

close friends: Wang Ts'an, Hsü Kan, Ting Í, and his elder brother Ting Ì. Ts'ao Chih and his friends' innovative use of the *ku-shih* form for personal communication gave birth to a new *ku-shih* subgenre: poetry of presentation and reply (*tseng-ta*). In *Anthology of Literature* Hsiao T'ung traces the origin of the *tseng-ta* subgenre to Ts'ao Chih and his friends and includes their works as its earliest examples.[37]

In his poems of presentation, Ts'ao Chih identified his intended readers in the titles and exhorted them to a Confucian moral ideal in the final lines. Within these structural brackets he encapsulated his personal reflections on important political and social issues affecting the lives of his readers and himself. In this manner he strove to achieve a communicative purpose without sacrificing the intensity of lyrical expression. The emergence of this format signals a gradual evolution of *ku-shih* from a generalized and publicly transmitted discourse to a kind of personal communication between two or more friends in a semi-private context.[38] As we examine the many thematic and formal changes in *ku-shih*, we will see to what extent Ts'ao Chih has transformed the existing form into a vehicle for conveying his thoughts and feelings to his close friends.

To begin with, let us consider how Ts'ao Chih's compositions generate a tripartite structure in place of the binary structure typical of Han *ku-shih*. The rise of his new structure results from a lyrical process different than that of Han *ku-shih*.[39] The authors of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" produced a binary structure simply because they all proceeded from outward observation to self reflection or vice versa. By the same token Ts'ao Chih produced a tripartite structure simply because he followed a three-step process: observing his own surroundings, contemplating the difficult circumstances of his friends, and exhorting them to a moral ideal. This structure may be clearly observed in this poem:

To Ting Í and Wang Ts'an　　　　　　　　贈丁儀王粲

	With the army I cross Han-k'u Pass,	從軍度函谷
2	Driving my horse, I pass the Western Capital.	驅馬過西京
	The mountain peaks are high without end,	山岑高無極
4	The Ching and the Wei raise waves, turbid and clear.	涇渭揚濁清
	How magnificent! this home of emperors and kings,	壯哉帝王居
6	Its grandeur and beauty surpass a hundred cities.	佳麗殊百城
	The Round Gatetowers rise above wafting clouds,	員闕浮出雲
8	The Dew Receptacles rub up against the Empyrean.	承露槃太清
	The Imperial Aide extends his heavenly kindness,	皇佐揚天惠
10	And within the four seas there is no armed conflict.	四海交無兵
	While his strategists love victory in the battlefield,	權家雖愛勝

12 He makes his good name by conquering a state
   without destroying it.   全國爲令名
   You gentlemen are both in low positions,   君子在末位
14 And cannot join us in singing praise of his virtues.   不能歌德聲
   Mister Ting resents being left behind at court,   丁生怨在朝
16 Master Wang finds joy in leading a life of his own.   王子歡自營
   But neither joy nor resentment show the right principle. 歡怨非貞則
18 Moderation and harmony truly can be the norm.[40]   中和誠可經
   (*TCCC*, 133)

The poem begins with a view of the capital city from which a military expedition heads for the western regions. This opening is anything but a conventional *ku-shih* topos. In the Han *ku-shih* we do not encounter either a military campaign or the panoramic view of a metropolis so vividly described here. What meets the eye in this poem is the impressive outline of the capital: the great mountains rising beyond the waters of the Ching and Wei rivers, the grand imperial dwellings standing out among myriads of houses, the dome-shaped watchtowers piercing the wafting clouds, and the palm-shaped receptacles for celestial dew. The images afford a glimpse of the poet's actual world and reveal the intensity of his emotional engagement with it.

In the middle part of the poem the poet expresses his emotional responses to the sublime vista of the capital city. First, he thinks of the magnitude of his father's (the Imperial Aide) accomplishment in restoring peace throughout the country. But no sooner has he finished praising his father than he begins to lament the absence of his two friends on this occasion. He regrets that they do not have high enough a position to join the expedition and sing praise of his father with him. His emotional responses strike us as spontaneous and genuine, for they reveal his deep regret at the exclusion of his friends. If we compare his personal responses with the stock responses of Han *ku-shih*—the sorrow over separation and human transience—we see how far Ts'ao Chih has gone in personalizing the emotional response in *ku-shih*.

The close of this poem shows a marked contrast to the endings of most Han *ku-shih*. It is not a conclusion reached linearly from what has been said, but rather a sudden turn of thought. Ts'ao Chih abruptly shifts from a sympathetic observation of the conditions of his two friends to a moral commentary. He reproaches Mister Ting for his resentment and Mister Wang for rejoicing at his exclusion from court. For both, he recommends the Confucian norm of moderation and harmony and encourages them to adopt a correct attitude toward political life. With this

moral commentary, he hopes to raise their spirits in the face of their personal setbacks and misfortunes.

His four other poems of presentation demonstrate a comparable tripartite structure. More often than not, his opening scene is drawn from the world around him. Instead of employing Han *ku-shih* topoi—the chamber of a lonesome lady, the sight of a graveyard, a desolate wintry scene, or the revelry of a fortune-seeking wanderer—he depicts the courtyard in the Wei Palace in "To Hsü Kan" and a private drinking party in "To Ting Ì."

For a while I stroll in the night,	聊且夜行遊
And wander between the twin gatetowers.	遊彼雙闕間
The Wen-ch'ang Hall rises like brooding clouds,	文昌鬱雲興
The Ying-feng Tower stands piercing the sky.	迎風高中天
Spring pigeons coo among the flying roof beams,	春鳩鳴飛棟
Gusts of fierce wind swell the latticed porches.[41]	流猋激欞軒
("To Hsü Kan," lines 7–12, *TCCC*, 42)	

Distinguished guests fill the wall tower,	嘉賓填城闕
Fine delicacies come from the inner kitchen.	豐膳出中蔚
I and two or three friends,	吾與二三子
Hold a private feast in this corner of the city wall.	曲宴此城隅
A Ch'in lute plays the airs of the west,	秦箏發西氣
A Ch'i zither raises songs of the east.	齊瑟揚東謳
Meat dishes come, and do not go back finished,	肴來不虛歸
Wine cups arrive, but they return emptied.	觴至反無餘
("To Ting Ì," lines 1–8, *TCCC*, 141)	

Similarly, Ts'ao Chih's emotional responses in the middle sections are markedly different from what we have seen in Han *ku-shih*. In responding to opening scenes, he does not lament the sorrow of separation and mourn over the inevitability of death. Instead, he proceeds to dwell upon the deplorable conditions of his friends and look for ways to console them. In "To Ting Ì," the spectacle of this joyful party leads him first to hail the abundance of talents in his state:

A great country abounds in fine talents,	大國多良才
Just as the sea teems with bright pearls.	譬海出明珠
The gentleman is never in want of goodness,	君子義休偯
Small men have no source of virtue.	小人德無儲
One who accumulates goodness	
gives blessings to his posterity,	積善有餘慶

One's fortunes may rise or fall at any moment.　榮枯立可須
August are those who adhere to great principles,　滔蕩固大節
Most commoners cling to trivial rules.　世俗多所拘
The gentleman understands the great way,　君子通大道
And does not want to be a worldly scholar.[42]　無願為世儒
(Lines 11–20, *TCCC*, 141)

In line 10, Ts'ao Chih turns to the miserable life of his friend. As if not to spoil the joyful occasion, he does not explicitly describe his friend's circumstances as he does in "To Ting Í and Wang Ts'an." Instead, he tries to alleviate his situation by exhorting him to emulate a gentleman (*chün-tzu*) who stands firm on moral principles and does not take to heart success or failure in worldly affairs.

When Ts'ao Chih responds to a sad scene, he thinks of the wretchedness of his friends. In "To Ting Í," as he looks on the devastation from excessive autumn rains, he thinks about his friends being as helpless and destitute as the farmers who have lost their crops to flooding:

The millet lies abandoned in the fields,　黍稷委疇隴
What can the farmers gather in?　農夫安所獲
Those in eminent positions
　　mostly forget the humble ones,　在貴多望賤
In extending charity, who can embrace all?　為恩誰能博
As white fox fur shields one from the winter cold,　狐白足禦冬
How can one even imagine
　　strangers without warm clothes?[43]　焉念無衣客
(Lines 7–12, *TCCC*, 129)

In "To Wang Ts'an," when he sees a lone bird hopelessly crying for its mate, he thinks about his friends in need of his help:

In the pond is a solitary mandarin duck,　中有孤鴛鴦
Crying dolefully in search of its mate.　哀鳴求匹儔
I want to be a companion to this bird,　我願執此鳥
Alas, I have no light boat.　惜哉無輕舟
I want to return, but I've forgotten the old path,　欲歸忘古道
Looking around, I am filled with grief.[44]　顧望但懷愁
(Lines 5–10, TCCC, 29)

In "To Hsü Kan," he sees birds perched on the beams of palace buildings and immediately thinks about his friends in dire straits:

Spring pigeons coo among the flying roof beams,　　春鳩鳴飛棟
Gusts of fierce wind swell the latticed porches.　　流猋激櫺軒
I think longingly of the thatched hut gentleman,　　顧念蓬室士
Who is poor, humble, and truly pitiful.　　貧賤誠足憐
Wild beans and greens do not fill his empty stomach,　薇藿弗充虛
Skins and coarse clothes do not cover his whole body.　皮褐猶不全
Noble and lamenting, he has a woeful heart,　　慷慨有悲心
Whatever he feels compelled to write
　　becomes a good piece on its own.　　　　興文自成篇
(Lines 11–18, *TCCC*, 42)

What passes through his mind is his friend's impoverished life, his end-
less struggle with cold and hunger, and his efforts to console himself
through writing literary works. When he pictures his friend's thatched
hut, his coarse food, and his scanty clothes, Ts'ao Chih suffers a painful
sense of guilt for letting such a genius go to waste, but he comes to a bit-
ter realization of his own powerlessness (lines 19–22). Yet even after he
has gone through this emotional ordeal, Ts'ao Chih does not sink into the
depths of despair. In a typically abrupt turn of thought, he ends the
poem with the unflagging optimism of a Confucian moralist:

The duty of a close friend is to encourage,　　親交義在敦
Having written this piece,
　　what more do I have to say?[45]　　　　申章復何言
("To Hsü Kan," Lines 27–28)

Each poem of presentation ends with the same kind of enthusi-
astic didacticism. In one Ts'ao Chih urges his friends to uphold moral
principles and free themselves from worldly cares; in another he reminds
them that the accumulation of virtuous deeds is a reward in itself; and in
the last he simply reassures them of his continued help:

You dust off your cap and wait for your friends,　　彈冠俟知己
But who among them is not in the same sorry state?　知己誰不然
("To Hsü Kan," lines 21–22)

August are those who adhere to great principles,　　滔蕩固大節
Most commoners cling to trivial rules.　　世俗多所拘
The gentleman understands the great way,　　君子通大道
And does not want to be a worldly scholar.　　無願爲世儒
　("To Ting Ì," lines 17–20)

> You ought to set your mind at ease 子其寧爾心
> The loyalty of your close friends is not tenuous. 親交義不薄
> ("To Ting Í," lines 15–16)

These persuasive endings strike a note of unfailing optimism unknown in Han *ku-shih* works. This overflow of optimism not only attests to Ts'ao Chih's extraordinary gift for hope in the face of adversity, but also underscores his persistent efforts to raise the spirits of his downtrodden friends.

To sum up, it can be said that in his poems of presentation Ts'ao Chih has personalized the three essential *ku-shih* components (opening scene, emotional response, modal ending) and established a tripartite structure unknown in Han *ku-shih*. The greatest merit of this tripartite structure is that it allows the poet to introduce his own personal world into an otherwise non-self-reflective subgenre. While Wang Ts'an and Liu Chen efface themselves, focusing solely on those they address in their poems of presentation, Ts'ao Chih often lets his own world take center stage and relegates the life of the addressee to the background. This shift of emphasis is desirable insofar as it enables the poet to reflect on his own life. Indeed, in adapting the *ku-shih* form for personal communication, Ts'ao Chih has boldly replaced fixed topoi, motifs, and images with the details of his own world; stock emotional responses with his own thoughts and feelings; and melancholy brooding over human transience with spirited moral suasion. This personalization of the three *ku-shih* components contributes to our sense of a tangible presence of the poet in these texts, who speaks to us as well as to his intended readers in his own voice. It is in these poems of presentation that we may come close to identifying the poetic speaker with the poet himself.

Yet in spite of this most remarkable personalization of the *ku-shih* form, these poems are not generally regarded as Ts'ao Chih's finest works. This is largely due to the rough transitions between the three parts.[46] Ts'ao Chih has not taken enough care to weave the parts into a seamless whole. First of all, there is an imbalance between the depiction of his own surroundings in the first part and the depiction of his friends' worlds in the second. In "To Ting Í and Wang Ts'an" the first part runs several times longer than the second part, even though he apparently aims to describe his friends' lives rather than his own. Then, there is an abrupt transition between the second and third parts. In "To Hsü Kan" a sudden shift from a melancholy observation to a spirited moral encouragement strikes us as abrupt and clumsy. Finally, there is disharmony between the abundance of images in the first half and the wealth of abstract ideas and thoughts in the second half of the poems. In "To Ting Í"

imagistic description (lines 1–12) and the nonimagistic speech (lines 13–20) seem placed together at random. Unlike the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," we do not find evidence in Ts'ao Chih's *ku-shih* of efforts to enhance the unity of the imagistic and nonimagistic parts through textural devices such as "verse eye," metaphoric resonance, and rhetorical questions. Having identified these imperfections, we must nonetheless extend full credit to him for establishing the *tseng-ta* subgenre and opening a new avenue for the development of *ku-shih* poetry.

Early *Yüeh-fu*: Ideal Image of Self

If Ts'ao Chih aimed to set up a moral ideal for his friends in his poems of presentation, he strove to create an ideal image of self in his imitations of folk *yüeh-fu*. The folk *yüeh-fu* form is, as shown in "Mulberry along the Lane," marked by a plurality of speakers or voices. Because of this, the form was ill-adapted for lyric purposes and thus was largely ignored by the increasingly self-reflective poets of the Chien-an period. Among the major poets of the time, only Ts'ao Chih sought to revive the folk *yüeh-fu* form. When Ts'ao Chih wrote a poem in this form, he kept its generic configurations largely intact in the sense that he continued to give exclusive attention to a central character and held off the intrusion of a self-scrutinizing speaker. But he also managed to project an ideal vision of himself through an array of characters ranging from a beautiful girl to a flamboyant youth to a heroic soldier on horseback. To understand his unobtrusive but effective transformation of the folk *yüeh-fu* form into a vehicle for self-presentation, let us examine how he created a semblance of his own image by remolding a conventional *yüeh-fu* character or introducing characters unknown to *yüeh-fu* tradition. We will also consider how he conveyed his profound admiration for his characters through intense, sustained observation of their outer and inner lives and how he, through this empathetic observation, transformed them into ideal images of what he himself aspired to be.

Of his *yüeh-fu* poems written before 220, I will discuss the three best known pieces: "Beautiful Girl," "Famous Capital," and "White Horse." In the first, Ts'ao Chih reworks "Mulberry along the Lane." He reshapes the traits of Lo-fu so that her beauty comes to stand for his own moral purity and her quest for love symbolizes his yearning for political patronage.

The Lo-fu in "Mulberry along the Lane" is static and unchanging. Her beauty is conveyed through a series of concrete images: her

clothes, jewelry, hairpins, silk clothes, and other personal paraphernalia. She is an immobile object of beauty, attracting admirers ranging from young men, to farmers in the fields, to a prefect. Even though we take the last section of the poem as Lo-fu's reply to the prefect, we have no details indicating how she delivers her reply. Throughout the poem she remains a static center upon which various details hinge: a general description of her family history (lines 1–6), the responses of passers-by to her beauty (lines 15–20), and the suitor's dialog with an onlooker and with Lo-fu herself (lines 21–35). These fragments reflect the diverse perspectives of the poem's multiple characters.

In "Beautiful Girl" Ts'ao Chih does not call the heroine by the name of Lo-fu. Yet few are likely to mistake her for anybody else because Ts'ao Chih depicts her with motifs and images drawn from "Mulberry along the Lane"—a glimpse of her residence, a view of her picking mulberry by the roadside, her fine clothes and ornaments, her encounters with admirers. However, unlike the heroine in "Mulberry along the Lane," this Lo-fu is vibrant and changing. Her beauty is revealed not so much through static objects (clothes and ornaments) as by her physical grace:

Beautiful Girl 美女篇

	A beautiful woman bewitching and graceful	美女妖且閑
2	Picks mulberry leaves by the fork in the road.	采桑歧路間
	Slender branches hang, luxuriant and swaying;	柔條紛冉冉
4	The falling leaves, how they flutter and float!	落葉何翩翩
	Her rolled-up sleeves reveal her white hands,	攘袖見素手
6	Her fair wrists are clasped with golden bands.	皓腕約金環
	On her head, gold bird pins;	頭上金爵釵
8	At her waist, she wears green jade.	腰佩翠琅玕
	Bright pearls adorn her delicate body,	明珠交玉體
10	Corals beads interlaced with green pearls.	珊瑚閒木難
	Her gauze clothes, how airy and graceful!	羅衣何飄飄
12	Her light skirt dances in the wind.	輕裾隨風還
	Her backward glance casts a brilliant radiance,	顧盼遺光采
14	Whistling the while, her breath fragrant as orchids.	長嘯氣若蘭
	Travelers halt their carriage,	行徒用息駕
16	Those who are resting forget their meal.	休者以忘餐

Here the tender, waving branches set off the elegant figure of the lady. Her joy at work reflects the vivaciousness of her spirit. Her bodily movement communicates her gracefulness. The way she casts her glances

and whistles has an air of elegance. All these images of movement take us beyond visual pleasure to an intangible sense of beauty which emanates more from her character than from her physical appearance.

The change of Lo-fu from a static figure to a vibrant character results from the change of the perceptual mode, marked by reversed relations between the observed and the observer. In "Mulberry along the Lane" the observed (Lo-fu) remains static while the admirers revolve round her, observing her from changing points of view. This shifting, multifocal observation yields a series of fragmented impressions but provides no direct entry into Lo-fu's inner life. In Ts'ao Chih's "Beautiful Girl," however, a single observer sustains an intense, prolonged observation, in which he not only penetrates the heroine's inner life through her outward actions, but also achieves a great measure of empathy with her. He begins to see her beauty as an ideal image of his own vibrant personality.

The corroborative evidence of Ts'ao Chih's empathetic identification with Lo-fu is his alteration of some important aspects of her love life. Judging by her responses to the prefect, the Lo-fu in "Mulberry along the Lane" seems to be a faithful, happily married woman. The heroine in Ts'ao Chih's poem, however, is an unmarried woman confined to her maiden's chamber:

	"May I ask, where does this girl live?"	借問女何居
18	"Right near the south gate of the city wall."	乃在城南端
	A green house stands near the main road,	青樓臨大路
20	Its tall gate is bolted by double bars.	高門結重關
	Her face glows like the radiant morning sun,	榮華耀朝日
22	Who would not long for her beautiful face!	誰不希令顏
	What can the matchmakers plan to do next?	媒氏何所營
24	The gifts of jade and silk were given inopportunely.	玉帛不時安
	The fair one admires lofty virtue,	佳人慕高義
26	To find a worthy man is for her truly hard.	求賢良獨難
	This many people in vain clamor for her,	衆人徒嗷嗷
28	But how can they know whom she looks for?	安知彼所觀
	In her prime she dwells in her chambers,	盛年處房室
30	In the night she rises and gives long sighs.[47]	中夜起長歎
	(*TCCC*, 384)	

Because this heroine rejects the betrothal gifts of many wealthy suitors and longs for a noble-minded gentleman, she seems to personify an earnest quest for moral perfection. And this recreation of Lo-fu perfectly suits Ts'ao Chih's allegorical needs. Not only does her quest for a worthy husband serve as an allegorical reference to his efforts to gain the trust of

his father, the *de facto* sovereign, but her symptoms of love-sickness (lines 28–30) help convey Ts'ao Chih's frustration at his inability to secure his father's support in his rivalry for the succession.

If in "Beautiful Girl" Ts'ao Chih crosses the gender line and projects an ideal image of self onto the well-known *yüeh-fu* figure, Lo-fu, in "Famous Capital" he creates a flamboyant, carefree youth who embodies both his own youthful *joie de vivre* and melancholia. Although the figure of a flamboyant youth crops up here and there in Han folk *yüeh-fu*, it never becomes the central figure of a poem like the hero of this one:

Famous Capital   名都篇

A famous capital has many bewitching girls,	名都多妖女
2 From the Capital of Lo come many young men.	京洛出少年
Their precious swords are worth a thousand in gold,	寶劍直千金
4 Their clothes are beautiful and bright.	被服麗且鮮
They fight cocks on the road to the eastern suburb.	鬥雞東郊道
6 They race their horses between tall catalpas.	走馬長楸閒
I have not galloped half through the course,	馳騁未能半
8 When I see two rabbits dash out before me.	雙兔過我前
I grab my bow, draw out a whistling arrow,	攬弓捷鳴鏑
10 And race in pursuit of them up Southern Mountain.	長驅上南山
On the left I draw my bow, to the right I shoot;	左挽因右發
12 A single arrow shoots through both rabbits.	一縱兩禽連
Before the remaining feats are performed,	餘巧未及展
14 I raise my hands and shoot right into a flying kite.	仰手接飛鳶
All the spectators say my skills are excellent,	觀者咸稱善
16 The expert bowmen lavish praise upon me.	衆工歸我妍
We return and feast at the P'ing-lo Gatetower,	我歸宴平樂
18 The fine wine costs ten thousand a quarter gallon.	美酒斗十千
The minced carp and stewed shelled prawn,	膾鯉臇胎鰕
20 Roast turtles and broiled bear paws.	炮鱉炙熊蹯
I called out loud for my companions,	鳴儔嘯匹侶
22 And we sit in a row, filling the long mat.	列坐竟長筵
Then we dash back and forth, kicking a ball and tossing woodpegs,	連翩擊鞠壤
24 Quick and nimble we play, in ten thousand ways.	巧捷惟萬端
The white sun rushes to the southwest,	白日西南馳
26 Time cannot be brought to a halt.	光景不可攀
We go back to the city, scattering like clouds,	雲散還城邑
28 But come morning we will return again.[48]	清晨復來還
(TCCC, 484)	

Just as Ts'ao Chih displays Lo-fu's gracefulness and vivacious-
ness through her bodily movement, he demonstrates this hero's admira-
ble qualities through a succession of his feats—his keen vision in sighting
the rabbits and kite, his horsemanship, his nimble drawing of the bow,
his expert marksmanship transfixing animals on the run, and above all
his exuberant disposition, shown in his delight at the spectators' ap-
plause. Next, Ts'ao Chih captures the protagonist's carefree spirit through his
wild merrymaking—filling wine cups by the hundreds, eating one ex-
quisite course after another, calling his companions and shouting for his
friends, seating them along a long mat, playing kickball and pegs, and
showing off his quickness and nimbleness. Finally, Ts'ao Chih reveals the
hero's melancholy over the onset of sundown following the frenzy of his
day's activities.

In "Famous Capital" Ts'ao Chih compellingly reveals many as-
pects of the hero's inner life by controlling the tempo of his movement.
As we follow the three paces of progression—a rapid series of feats
within seconds, the hour-long feasting, and the day-long revelry—we do
not merely enter the hero's world, we also experience the poet's empathy
with the hero during an intense perceptual process. When commenting
on this poem, Wu Ch'i (Ch'ing dynasty) explains how the poet blends his
own life into the whirl of the hero's activities:

> Of this youth, there are only two events described: one is his trotting
> and galloping; and the other is his drinking and feasting. But what the
> poet wishes to tell us through these two events is this: before one event
> ends, comes another; before one day ends, comes another. Only because
> he is full of grievances and sorrow and wishes to kill the time, does this
> hero indulge himself in these activities. He has a great ambition but
> finds no way to fulfill it. The poet's intent to identify himself with this
> hero is, we can say, very sincere and noteworthy.[49]

Wu Ch'i argues that Ts'ao Chih's intense perception of the hero's suc-
cessive actions leads to his empathetic identification with him. Moreover,
he asserts that through this sympathetic identification Ts'ao Chih effec-
tively conveys the alternating sense of *joie de vivre* and melancholia which
characterized his inner life during his father's reign. Wu Chi's interpre-
tation is certainly sound and judicious, since details of the poem not only
call up these two moods, but do so in a context that resembles Ts'ao
Chih's actual life. The hero's proud display of archery brings to mind Ts'ao
Chih's fondness for showing off his literary talent during poetry competi-
tions or audiences with the sovereign. The hero's feasting reminds us of
Ts'ao Chih's excessive drinking, his love of the companionship of close

friends, and his enjoyment of the good life at the capital. If the bulk of the poem is imbued with Ts'ao Chih's *joie de vivre*, the darkening mood that colors its ending may well have arisen from the waning of his father's trust and affection.

"White Horse" is often treated as a companion piece to "Famous Capital" because it also depicts a young man through a demonstration of his horsemanship and archery and reveals the poet's empathy with him:

White Horse 白馬篇

	The white horse adorned with a gold bridle,	白馬飾金羈
2	Gallops in a winged flight toward the northwest.	連翩西北馳
	"May I ask, whose household the rider is from?	借問誰家子
4	He is a knight-errant from Yu and Ping.	幽并遊俠兒
	At an early age he left his hometown,	少小去鄉邑
6	And made his name known across the desert frontier	揚聲沙漠垂
	For many years he has carried his fine bow,	宿昔秉良弓
8	See his *hu* arrows—long and short!	楛矢何參差
	Drawing his bow, he shatters the left target,	控弦破左的
10	Shooting right, he smashes the *yüeh-chih* [target].	右發摧月支
	Lifting his hands, he shoots into a flying monkey,	仰手接飛猱
12	Bending down, he breaks up the horse-hoof [targets],	俯身散馬蹄
	More nimble and speedy than a monkey or ape,	狡捷過猴猿
14	And as fierce and fleet-footed as a leopard or a dragon-like beast.	勇剽若豹螭
	Many a time the border towns are on alert,	邊城多警急
16	The mounted barbarians are often on the move.	虜騎數遷移
	A feathered dispatch comes from the north,	羽檄從北來
18	And he gallops off to a high embankment.	厲馬登高堤
	On and on he charges to crush the Hsiung-nu;	長驅蹈匈奴
20	Turning to the left, he overruns the Hsien-pei.	左顧陵鮮卑
	He would throw himself onto the tip of a blade,	棄身鋒刃端
22	His life—how little he cherishes it!	性命安可懷
	He does not even think of his father and mother,	父母且不顧
24	Not to mention his sons and wife!	何言子與妻
	With his name in the book of brave soldiers,	名在壯士籍
26	He cannot think of himself.	不得中顧私
	He lays down his life to relieve his country's woes,	捐軀赴國難
28	Seeing death as just a matter of going home.[50]	視死忽如歸

(*TCCC*, 411)

When this young man appears on the scene, he impresses us as a prodigal turned warrior. If his gold bridle reveals his old penchant for flamboyance, his embrace of the frontier life attests to his new ideal of patriotic heroism. We find a confirmation of this initial impression as we watch his display of horsemanship and archery against the background of a battle. This shift from hunting field (lines 9–14) to battlefield (lines 15–22) seems to reflect the growth of the young man from a carefree, flamboyant youth to a lofty-minded, valorous warrior. The young man goes through the same series of rapid motions as does the flamboyant youth in "Famous Capital"—the drawing of a bow, rapid shooting of arrows, swift bodily movement on horseback. But now he is not showing off his horsemanship and marksmanship by shooting small animals before spectators. Instead, he is charging and shooting enemy troops in defense of his country. This greatness of action is matched with the nobleness of his thoughts on the battlefield. Confronting the fierce enemy, he strengthens his courage by thinking about the insignificance of his life, the pettiness of his worries about his family, his sacred duty as a soldier, and the great honor of sacrificing his life for his country.

Ts'ao Chih's empathetic presence in this poem has long been noted. Chu Ch'ien (Ch'ing dynasty) argues that "this poem conveys its meaning through a portrayal of a knight-errant in the area of Yu and Ping; it is actually the poet's self-description."[51] Chu Ch'ien identifies this heroic warrior with Ts'ao Chih because he believes that "the ideals of sacrificing one's life (*chüan-ch'ü*), facing calamities head on, and seeing one's death merely as homecoming had long been Ts'ao Chih's own and therefore are not a general description."[52] Komori Ikuko identifies the warrior with the introspective Ts'ao Chih in the late Chien-an period and the flamboyant youth in "Famous Capital" with the carefree Ts'ao Chih in the early Chien-an period. In her opinion, the shift from his *joie de vivre* to his quest for a heroic name marks the turning point in the poet's emotional life.[53] While Komori's identification of the flamboyant youth with the young Ts'ao Chih seems firmly grounded, her identification of the heroic warrior with the older Ts'ao Chih is somewhat problematic. Although Ts'ao Chih was by his father's side during numerous military campaigns, he is not known to have led any battle himself or to have proved himself to be a heroic warrior. On the contrary, what we know about his military career in *Chronicles of Three Kingdoms* is his failure to lift the siege of Ts'ao Hung, an unpardonable negligence of duty that costs him his father's trust and his candidacy for the throne. Given this, it seems better to take the hero of "White Horse" not as the poet himself, but as the ideal man the poet wishes to become. In his "Memorials Seeking to Prove Myself" Ts'ao Chih declares that he wishes to emulate one

who "would worry about the fate of the country and forget the need of one's own family, and would sacrifice one's body to help the country in times of calamity."[54] The hero of "White Horse" fits every description of such an ideal man.

In "Beautiful Girl," "Famous Capital," "White Horse," and his other early *yüeh-fu* works, Ts'ao Chih introduces a new kind of tripartite structure. While the tripartite structure in his poems of presentation is marked by three different subjects of contemplation (the poet's actual world, his friends' way of life, the meaning of an active political life), the tripartite structure in his early *yüeh-fu* is defined by three different ways of observing one single hero or heroine. The poet first sketches a profile of his heroine or the hero against the background of the outside world—a mulberry grove, a playing field in the capital, a battlefield at the frontier. Then he takes a closer view of the central figure through a series of bodily movements—Lo-fu's graceful gait and gestures, the flamboyant youth's flurry of feats, and the warrior's courageous charge against the enemy. Last, he empathetically follows the process of thought behind the central figure's outward actions—Lo-fu's conflicting passions for moral perfection and tender love, the flamboyant youth's sudden change from gaiety to melancholia, and the warrior's somber mood and lofty thoughts of self-sacrifice.

This tripartite structure bears the imprint of three different poetic traditions. The imitation of Han folk *yüeh-fu* is conspicuous in the opening section. In profiling his central figures, Ts'ao Chih does exactly what the composers of Han folk *yüeh-fu* do—describes their dress and places them in a setting that best reveals their way of life. So it is not surprising that his sketch of the beautiful girl is almost identical with that of Lo-fu in "Mulberry along the Lane" or that his sketch of the flamboyant youth is very similar to that of the equestrian noble in that same poem (lines 39–42). Ts'ao Chih's prodigious use of elevated words and parallelisms in the middle section has long been attributed to his adoption of the grand descriptive style of Han rhapsodies. Some critics, like Hu Ying-lin, disapprove of his use of this style because they find it incompatible with the simplicity and directness of *yüeh-fu* works.[55] What these critics fail to see is that his elevated description sets forth not an aggregation of lifeless things, but a living human being and that this aesthetic effect more than offsets the imperfect unity of style. His creation of dynamic movement contributes to the lyricization of not only the folk *yüeh-fu* but also the rhapsodic form itself. For instance, in "Goddess of the Lo River" (*TCCC*, 282), his best-known rhapsody, he accomplishes on a grander scale the same task as he set himself in "Beautiful Woman": to capture the beauty and complex feelings of a female figure, a goddess this time, through a

felicitous description of her outward and inward movements. The influence of Han *ku-shih* is readily noticeable at the close of these poems. After Ts'ao Chih has achieved an empathy with his characters in the course of observing their movements, he delivers their thoughts in a manner reminiscent of a *ku-shih* speaker. For instance, in conveying the flamboyant youth's melancholic thoughts, he laments the swift passage of time the way Han *ku-shih* poets do time and again. We cannot fail to notice a strong lyrical thrust unknown in Han folk *yüeh-fu* but characteristic of Han *ku-shih*.

In sum, Ts'ao Chih's early *yüeh-fu* works are a hybrid of Han folk *yüeh-fu* and the other two Han poetic traditions: rhapsody and *ku-shih*. On the one hand, they retain the recognizable folk *yüeh-fu* depiction of a single character through the eye of a non-self-reflective speaker. On the other hand, they introduce new characters and new methods of observing them from the Han *fu* and *ku-shih* traditions. This deft integration of three divergent traditions enables the poet not only to select a character whose life resembles his own, but also to observe the character so intensely that he becomes one with the character in spirit. What emerges from such an empathetic observation is an ideal image of the poet's own self.

Seen in the larger perspective of Han–Wei culture, Ts'ao Chih's method of penetrating a character's inner life constitutes a literary counterpart of the "characterology" developed in the philosophical and political discourses of the day. Characterology refers to a method of observing a human being's inner life through his physical appearance and actions, developed by Liu Shao (fl. 240–250) in *A Study of Human Abilities* (*Jen-wu chih*) and Liu I-ch'ing (403–444) in *A New Account of Tales of the World* (*Shih-shuo hsin-yü*). Ts'ao Chih and these characterologists shared the same aesthetic ideal that set store by the evocation of inner spirit rather than mere representation of external features. Hsieh Ho (fl. 500), the first great Chinese art critic, formulated this new aesthetic ideal when he pronounced "spiritual resonance and rhythmic vitality" (*ch'i-yün sheng-tung*) to be the guiding principle of painting. Ts'ao Chih's portrayal of human characters not only exemplifies this new aesthetic ideal, but anticipates the *élan vital* in later figure paintings. Whereas, centuries later, great painters like Wu Tao-tzu (c. 689–c. 758) brought out the spirit of human figures with the dynamic movement of their brushstrokes, Ts'ao Chih captures the spiritual life of his characters through the dynamic interplay of his poetic images. Furthermore, just as later painters endowed paintings with their own feelings, Ts'ao Chih reveals his spirituality through his portrayals of human characters. As he creates his portraits—a beautiful girl, a flamboyant youth, a heroic warrior, and so on, he imbues them with his own ideals. For this reason we cannot fail to

find in his folk *yüeh-fu* works ideal visions of himself: his romantic temperament, his carefree lifestyle, his mastery of military arts, and his aspiration for political success. It is these visions of self that form the basis for the romanticization of the poet's life in later centuries.

Later *Ku-shih*: Lamentation of an Exile

Upon ascending the throne in 220, Ts'ao P'i not only banished Ts'ao Chih to a small principality, but he also executed Ts'ao Chih's close friends Ting Í and Ting Ì in an effort to isolate him from the political world. This physical and mental isolation took a heavy toll on Ts'ao Chih's emotional life. With his political ambitions shattered and his spiritual companions executed, he grew ever more despondent and introspective with the passage of time. In utter despair, he frequently gave himself up to lamenting the life of an exile and expressing his vain hope for political rehabilitation. This drastic change is clearly reflected in his *ku-shih* poems written after 220. The predominant note changes from uplifting didacticism to disheartened lamentation here. I will discuss how Ts'ao Chih lamented the misery of his exile in his most famous poem of presentation, how he allegorized his grievances against his brother the emperor in his poems of the neglected wife, and how later he conveyed his yearning for an opportunity to serve the nephew who succeeded to the throne in his poems of the fortune-seeking wanderer.

Tseng-ta: The Misery of Banishment

After 220 Ts'ao Chih all but ceased to write poems of presentation for a simple reason: the friends to whom he used to present poems were now all dead either from natural causes or by execution. "To Ts'ao Piao the Prince of Pai-ma" may very well be the only poem of presentation Ts'ao Chih actually wrote after 220. Judging by its preface, the poem was composed for the occasion of his parting with his half brother, the Prince of Pai-ma, on an extremely harsh journey to their respective fiefs.

To Ts'ao Piao, the Prince of Pai-ma

In the 5th month of Huang-ch'u 4th year (A.D. 223), the Prince of Pai-ma, the Prince of Jen-ch'eng, and I all went to court at the capital to attend a gathering for marking the seasonal change. Upon his arrival in Lo-yang, the Prince of Jen-ch'eng passed away. In the 7th month, the

Prince of Pai-ma and I returned to our fiefs. Before long the officials in charge decided that we the two princes, on the way back to our fiefs, should stop and lodge at separate places along the road. I was incensed and resentful of this. Because in a matter of days we would have to part for a very long time, I took occasion to unbosom my feelings and bid farewell to the Prince, writing this poem in bitter resentment.[56]
(*TCCC*, 294)

Despite some lingering doubts about its authenticity, this preface is undoubtedly a fitting introduction to Ts'ao Chih's longest *ku-shih* poem. By specifying the time, place, people, events, and emotional conditions surrounding the composition of the poem, it helps provide a historical context for our interpretation of the poem.[57] By all accounts this poem represents Ts'ao Chih's poetry of presentation at its best: an intensely self-reflective monologue encapsulated within the frame of a genuine communication between the poet and his brother. Annotators ordinarily divided it into seven pieces or sections. Self-contained as its sections are to some degree, the poem as a whole displays a well-defined tripartite structure: 1) opening scenes (Section I and Section II); 2) sustained emotional responses (Section III, IV, V); and 3) the closure (Section VI, VII).

Section I gives a brief account of the poet's meeting with his brother and describes what he saw when he set out on his journey of exile from the capital city:

	After an imperial audience in Ch'eng-ming Hall,	謁帝承明廬
2	Now I am to return to my old territory,	逝將歸舊疆
	In the early morning I left the imperial city,	清晨發皇邑
4	At sunset I went past Mount Shou-yang.	日夕過首陽
	The Yi and the Lo are wide and deep,	伊洛廣且深
6	I want to cross over but there isn't a bridge.	欲濟川無梁
	I board a boat and cut through the great waves,	汎舟越洪濤
8	While I lament the length of this eastward journey.	怨彼東路長
	I turn back and linger over the sight of city gates,	顧瞻戀城闕
10	My neck stretched, my heart numbed with pain.	引領情內傷

This opening scene contains many details which we have encountered in "To Ting Í and Wang Ts'an": an outgoing procession, a backward glimpse at the capital city, a vista of mountains and rivers. But now the panoramic view no longer evokes an uplifting sense of the sublime in the poet. Great mountains and rivers appear as insurmountable obstacles that will forever separate the poet from the capital. When he casts his last

look at the city gates, he simply cannot hold back his sorrow and bursts into sighs.

In Section II Ts'ao Chih turns to behold the T'ai-ku Pass and again confronts gloomy and treacherous mountains. He observes the depressing weather, unfriendly terrain, and the tortuous path of his grueling journey. He feels as if all these adversities are conspiring to exacerbate his suffering and crush his spirit:

	This great valley, so vast and wild,	大谷何寥廓
12	The mountains trees grow thick and dark green;	山樹鬱蒼蒼
	Endless rains turn my path into mud,	霖雨泥我塗
14	Torrents of rain run wide, flooding everywhere.	流潦浩縱橫
	Midway the tracks of the road are gone,	中逵絕無軌
16	I change my tack and ride up a high ridge,	改轍登高岡
	A lofty slope reaches clouds and the sun,	修坂造雲日
18	My black horses have turned yellow with fatigue.	我馬玄以黃

Hereafter Ts'ao Chih makes use of "thimble phrasing" and introduces each new section by repeating the last word or phrase of the previous section. The image of the exhausted horses on line 18 ushers in the poet's emotional responses in Section III:

	Yellow with fatigue, they can still go on,	玄黃猶能進
20	But my thoughts are in the grip of gloom;	我思鬱以紆
	In the grip of gloom, what can I think of?	鬱紆將難進
22	My next of kin dwells in a separate place.	親愛在離居
	At first we expected to keep each other company;	本圖相與偕
24	But that changed midway—we couldn't go together.	中更不克俱
	Kites and owls screech at the carriage yoke and bar,	鴟梟鳴衡軛
26	Jackals and wolves prowl in the road.	豺狼當路衢
	Blue flies turn white into black, black into white,	蒼蠅間白黑
28	Slander and glib talk cause estrangement of kin.	讒巧令親疏
	I wish to return but my road is cut off,	欲還絕無蹊
30	Holding the reins, I halt and hesitate to go on.	攬轡止踟躕

That the image of horses has a pivotal role in the transition from external descriptions to emotional responses may strike us as incidental. But if we recall how the sight of birds sends the poet brooding over his friends' misfortunes in "To Hsü Kan," we will see that Ts'ao Chih tends to be prompted by an animal image into reflecting on the conditions of his friends and loved ones. He has scarcely finished his thoughts about his brother Ts'ao Piao when images of kites, owls, jackals, and wolves

crop up in his mind. These four animal images seem to exist in the bor-
derline between a literal scene and a mental landscape. While they are
plausibly part of the actual journey scene, they are also unmistakably
symbolic descriptions of the despots and usurpers who infest the impe-
rial court. From this point onward, Ts'ao Chih ceases to use images to
suggest a real scene from his journey.[58] The blue flies in the next couplet
betray little connection with his journey but express his deep hatred for
the court sycophants. By comparing them to a swarm of flies, Ts'ao Chih
exposes their ulterior motives and vents his outrage at their insinuations
which estranged him from his brother and caused his banishment from
the imperial court.

In Section IV Ts'ao Chih conveys his sense of alienation and
deprivation through a cluster of generalized images:

	Hesitate to go on, but why stay here?	踟躕亦何留
32	My loving thoughts of you are endless.	相思無終極
	Autumn wind brings a light touch of chill,	秋風發微涼
34	Cold cicadas are chirping by my side;	寒蟬鳴我側
	The vast wilderness, how bleak and desolate!	原野何蕭條
36	The white sun suddenly hides in the west.	白日忽西匿
	Homing birds fly into the tall trees,	歸鳥赴喬林
38	Their swift wings flapping and flapping.	翩翩厲羽翼
	A lone animal roves in search of its mates,	孤獸走索群
40	Having no time even to eat the grass in its jaws.	銜草不遑食
	Moved by them, my chest fills with anguish,	感物傷我懷
42	I pass my hand over my heart and heave a long sigh.	撫心長太息

Taken on their own terms, all the images in this section are highly con-
ventional. They do not contain any references, explicit or implicit, to a
real locale; nor do they give traces of the poet's journey. Images of
autumn winds, cicadas in the cold air, the desolate plain, rays of the set-
ting sun, homing birds, and lonesome beasts all come from the existing
repertoire of images developed in the *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* traditions.
However, when these images occur in a personal context established by
the beginning and ending couplets, they cease to be stock elements and
become symbols of the poet's sentiments. In early pentasyllabic poetry,
we have not seen such a symbolic revelation of the inner world through
an interplay of images, unhindered by formulaic syntax like *pi-hsing* in
the *Book of Poetry* or by a prescribed process of observation in Han *yüeh-
fu* or *ku-shih*. Ts'ao Chih's transformation of conventional images into
personal symbols represents an important breakthrough in Chinese po-
etic imagery. It shows that the Chinese pentasyllabic poets were awaken-

ing to the art of symbolic creation through a recasting of conventional images within a new private mental horizon. Juan Chi, whom we will examine in the next chapter, was the first Chinese poet to consistently recast traditional images as symbolic visions of his own.

Section V marks the climax of Ts'ao Chih's emotional responses. His remembrance of the pitiable departure scene, his lament at the hardship of his journey, his contemplation of the causes of his exile, his sense of alienation and deprivation all lead up to this moment of existential crisis:

	I heave a long sigh, but of what avail is that?	太息將何爲
44	Heavenly fate goes against me.	天命與我違
	What can come of this longing for my flesh and blood?	奈何念同生
46	Once gone, his body cannot return.	一往形不歸
	His lonesome soul flies to his old domain,	孤魂翔故域
48	While his coffin still remains in the capital.	靈柩寄京師
	The living, how swiftly they pass,	存者忽復過
50	Upon death, their bodies rot away.	亡歿身自衰
	Man lives only a single lifetime,	人生處一世
52	And vanishes like the drying of the morning dew.	去若朝露晞
	Our years are now between Mulberry and Elm,[59]	年在桑榆間
54	Like a shadow or echo, they cannot be recaptured.	景響不能追
	Thinking how I am not durable like metal or stone,	自顧非金石
56	I burst out wailing, my heart filled with grief.	咄唶令心悲

Here Ts'ao Chih is struggling to come to grips with the meaninglessness of human life. The sudden, suspicious death of his brother Ts'ao Chang during a sojourn to the capital shocks him into a recognition of the frailty of the human frame and the utter helplessness of man in the hands of fate. When he turns to examine his own wretched circumstances at this nadir of his personal and political life, he cannot help bemoaning the inevitability of his own death. This lamentation of human transience, though couched in stock phrases, conveys a personal agony unknown in Han *ku-shih* works.

In Section VI Ts'ao Chih lays aside his personal sorrows and addresses his brother on a more positive note. Just as he has done in his other poems of presentation, he seeks to end this poem with a dramatic turn of thought:

My heart filled with grief, my soul is stirred,	心悲動我神
58 But set it aside, I shall say no more!	棄置莫復陳
A heroic man fulfills his ambitions within the four seas;	丈夫志四海
60 Ten thousand *li* are like next door for him.	萬里猶比鄰
So long as our affection does not wane,	恩愛苟不虧
62 Being far away will bring us closer each day.	在遠分日親
Why must we share the same quilt and bed curtain	何必同衾幬
64 Before we can unbosom our deepest feelings?	然後展慇懃
But if we let melancholy become a serious illness,	憂思成疾疢
66 Our affection will only be that of boys and girls!	無乃兒女仁
So compelled by feelings for my own flesh and blood,	倉猝骨肉情
68 Can I not be weighed down with pain and suffering?	能不懷苦辛

But here Ts'ao Chih cannot launch into a didactic Confucian homily, nor does he intend to inspire his implied reader to a heroic course of action for the country. The optimism that characterizes his other poems of presentation has all but disappeared. Now he merely tries to persuade his brother to make light of their separation for a mundane purpose: to preserve health and prolong life. His spirits have sunk to an unheroic plane.

In Section VII, his inability to pull himself out of his depression becomes even clearer. He again breaks into a pathetic lamentation, a self-pitying act he had decidedly shunned in the closure of his other poems of presentation.

Pain and suffering, but why worry and ponder?	苦辛何慮思
70 Heavenly fate can surely be doubted.	天命信可疑
Purely illusionary is the pursuit of the immortals,	虛無求列仙
72 Master Sung has deceived us for a long time!	松子久吾欺
Change and calamity are brewing this very moment,	變故在斯須
74 Who can manage to live to a hundred years?	百年誰能持
We part, never to see each other again,	離別永無會
76 When will we be able to clasp hands again?	執手將何時
My prince, take care of your precious self,	王其愛玉體
78 May we both live to enjoy a ripe old age.	俱享黃髮期
Drying my tears, I turn back to my long road,	收淚即長路
80 Holding up my brush, I bid you farewell here.	援筆從此辭

This closing brings back the very sorrows the poet resolved to lay aside at the very beginning of Section VI. Having suffered this relapse into his dark mood, he cannot possibly end the poem on a positive note. The best

note. The best he can do is to bid what may be a final farewell to his brother and to wish for his good health and long life.

In "To Ts'ao Piao, the Prince of Pai-ma," Ts'ao Chih has effected a personalization of the opening, the emotional responses and the closure. Just as in his other poems of presentation, he successfully merges his poetic voice and his experiential self, introduces a real historical person as his intended reader, and replaces *ku-shih* topoi and motifs with details of his personal life. Moreover he has smoothed all the transitions left rough in his earlier poems of presentation because he no longer has to move back and forth between his life and that of his addressee. As both are suffering the same physical hardship and spiritual ordeal, he need only describe what meets his eyes and what arises in his heart. In so doing, he can evoke the same powerful emotional responses from the addressed as he might by writing from the addressee's point of view. For this reason he can undertake a thorough scrutiny of his own emotional life and broaden the expressive spectrum to cover the full gamut of his inward experience—ranging from his pathetic remembrance to his profound grievances, from his poignant sense of mortality to his yearning for a heroic life, and from his self-pitying lamentation to his compassionate concern for his brother. Because of its depth and breadth of emotional expression, this poem remains to this day one of the most intensely lyrical pieces ever written in the *tseng-ta* sub-genre.

Ch'i-fu and Yu-tzu: Yearning for Reconciliation and Heroic Action

Ts'ao Chih wrote approximately ten *ku-shih* poems in the style of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." As in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," they fall into two groups defined by the gender of poetic persona: *ch'i-fu* (the neglected wife) and *yu-tzu* (the fortune-seeking wanderer). His poems of the neglected wife include "Miscellaneous Poems" (Nos. 3, 4, and 7) and "Seven Sorrows." His poems of the fortune-seeking wanderer are "Miscellaneous Poems" (Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6), another separate piece titled "Miscellaneous Poem," and "Poem of Sentiment."[60]

Ts'ao Chih's poems on the neglected wife represent no significant improvement on their antecedents in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," except for a further reduction of narrative elements. In those works the structural principle has already shifted from a narrative sequence to an internal observer's mental process, but there still remains an implicit order of events beneath images knit together by that mental process. In Poem 8, for example, the poetic persona reveals an outline of her life

through a series of plant images: a lonesome maiden (solitary bamboo, winding plant), a woman at her prime (flower in full bloom), and an abandoned wife (withering flowers).

A reduction of such narrative remnants is quite evident in Ts'ao Chih's poems on this theme. For instance, in the following poem, we can find neither an implicit narrative order among the images nor a linear process of reflection:

	Miscellaneous Poem, No. 7	雜詩 其七
	I, taking out my robe, leave the inner chamber,	攬衣出中閨
2	And leisurely walk around the two porch columns.	逍遙步兩楹
	The vacant bedroom, so still and silent,	閒房何寂寞
4	Green grass blankets doorsteps and the courtyard.	綠草被階庭
	The empty house itself produces winds,	空室自生風
6	The myriad birds fly southward.	百鳥翩南征
	Springtime passion, how can I forget?	春思安可忘
8	Worry and sorrow are my companions.	憂戚與我并
	My loved one stays out on the distant road,	佳人在遠道
10	My humble self is alone and solitary.	妾身單且煢
	A joyful meeting is unlikely to happen again,	歡會難再遇
12	Sweet iris does not show its glory twice.	芝蘭不重榮
	Men all cast off their old loves,	人皆棄舊愛
14	How can you remain faithful all your life?	君豈若平生
	Cleaving to pine, I am the dodder;	寄松爲女蘿
16	Depending on water, I am like floating duckweed.	依水如浮萍
	I keep myself tidy, minding my belt and collar,	齊身奉衿帶
18	Morning to evening I do not let them fall awry.	朝夕不墮傾
	If only you'd bestow upon me a backward glance,	倘終顧昐恩
20	Forever fulfilling my deepest affection.[61]	永副我中情
	(*HCHW*, 457)	

This poem contains an abundance of plant images similar to those seen in the eighth of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems": grass, orchids, winding plants on a pine tree, and leaves of duckweed. However, we can no longer find in these images the biographical outline of the persona. They are either records of her sensory impressions (green grass) or metaphors of her bygone love life (sweet iris) and her continued loyalty to her husband (dodder and duckweed).

In adopting the conventional persona of a neglected wife, Ts'ao Chih apparently aims to convey a kind of sorrow quite different from that of the title character of "Beautiful Girl." While the beautiful girl

pines for the end of her confinement in her chambers and for the arrival of her ideal lover, the personae in poems on the neglected wife bemoan their virtual imprisonment in an empty house and vainly yearn for the return of their husbands. Assuming that the poet is exploiting the conventional allegory of love in this and other poems of this type as he has done in "Beautiful Girl," we may see this new kind of sorrow as a reflection of his sorrow over his estrangement from the emperor, his brother Ts'ao P'i. We may further contend that all the drastic changes of poetic personae, settings, and sentiments are meant to indicate the profound changes in the poet's life under his brother's reign.

In changing the poetic persona from a much-sought-after maiden to an abandoned wife, the poet seems to tell us that he has fallen from being a prince with great expectations to an exile of no consequence. Then, in shifting the locale from a maiden's chambers to an empty house, he probably intends to show the deterioration of his life circumstances from a somewhat circumscribed existence in his father's court to virtual imprisonment in his tiny fief. Finally, in changing the emotive tenor from secret love-sickness to endless pining, he reveals a shift from melancholia to an anguished conflict between utter despair and a stubborn hope for a reconciliation. Although other critics have not spelled out the allegorical significance of these changes in such explicit terms, they do view this change from maiden-lover to wife-husband relationship as an allegorical reflection of Ts'ao Chih's new relationship with his brother-emperor between 220 and 226. Ku Chih discusses the poem in the light of Ts'ao Chih's perilous relationship with his brother: "After Ts'ao Chih incurred [his brother's] enmity, he often feared for his life and therefore used this allegory of the husband-wife relationship in the hope of moving the heart of his sovereign."[62] Komori Ikuko discusses Ts'ao Chih's neglected wife poems as a group and considers them to be works written during Ts'ao P'i's reign. She also discusses the significance Ts'ao Chih's use of "husband-wife discord to allegorize the relationship between sovereign and ministers, between 'bone and flesh,' or in other words between Emperor Wen [Ts'ao P'i] and himself."[63]

In reworking the Han *ku-shih* conventions, Ts'ao Chih goes one step further in his poems in the voice of the fortune-seeking wanderer. He not only eliminates many remnants of narrative, but also introduces scenes from his personal life.[64] Not hindered by gender difference, he readily identifies with his male personae and through them examines his own situation:

Miscellaneous Poem, No. 5   雜詩 其五

   Early in the morning the driver prepares my carriage,   僕夫早嚴駕
2 I am about to embark on a long journey.   吾行將遠遊
   A long journey to what end?   遠遊欲何之
4 To the kingdom of Wu that has made an enemy of us.   吳國爲我仇
   I am about to gallop down this road of ten thousand *li*,   將騁萬里塗
6 How can it be worth my while
       to take that road to the east?   東路何足由
   The river banks breed much sad wind;   江介多悲風
8 The Huai and the Ssu flow by swiftly.   淮泗馳急流
   If only I could cross over unencumbered;   願欲一輕濟
10 Alas! I have no ark.   惜哉無方舟
   Idle living is not my goal,   閒居非吾志
12 I would gladly dedicate myself
       to relieving our country's woes.[65]   甘心赴國憂
   (*TCCC*, 379)

Miscellaneous Poem, No. 6:   雜詩 其六

   A flying tower stands over a hundred feet high,   飛觀百餘尺
2 In front of the window, I lean on the railing.   臨牖御櫺軒
   I gaze out over an expanse of a thousand *li*,   遠望周千里
4 Morning and evening I watch the plain.   朝夕見平原
   Heroic men have many sorrows,   烈士多悲心
6 Small men inordinately pursue leisure.   小人婾自閒
   Our country's enemies are not yet eliminated,   國讎亮不塞
8 I would gladly give up my own head.   甘心思喪元
   Holding my sword, I look toward the south and west,   撫劍西南望
10 And I long to go to Mount T'ai.   思欲赴太山
   A quick plucking of strings brings out a sad air,   弦急悲聲發
12 Please lend an attentive ear
       to my words of heroic lamentation.[66]   吟我慷慨言
   (*TCCC*, 65)

These poems hark back to two different Han *ku-shih* motifs: the first is that of a fortune-seeking wanderer embarking on a distant journey and expressing his desire for fame; the second is that of a wanderer contemplating a boundless landscape and searching for the meaning of his life. These motifs may be traced to the eleventh and thirteenth poems, respectively, of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." In his poems, how-

ever, Ts'ao Chih develops the motifs, not against the background of Han *ku-shih* topoi, but in the context of his own life. He effects an intense personalization of them, especially in the opening scenes and emotional responses.

In the first poem, the opening scene strikes us as highly realistic as it describes the preparation of an expedition to revenge the depredations committed by the Kingdom of Wu. In his annotations to *Anthology of Literature*, Li Shan (d. 689) identifies this expedition as that led by Ts'ao P'i in 222 (Huang-ch'u 3) to crush the insurgence of Sun Ch'üan (182–252).[67] Ku Chih disputes Li Shan's identification and argues that the expedition was a military campaign launched by Ts'ao Jui several years later to avenge the sudden strike against Ts'ao Hsiu's (?–?) troops by the Wu army in 228 (T'ai-ho 2).[68] Whether one agrees with Li Shan or Ku Chih, it appears that an actual historical event is depicted. In the second poem, the panoramic view from a high watchtower also impresses us as a scene from the poet's own life, for we do not find this sort of an image in the Han *ku-shih* corpus. Huang Chieh identifies the locale as the gate tower where Ts'ao Chih reviewed troops under his command in 214 (Chien-an 19), an event he himself described in his "Rhapsody on the Eastern Expedition."[69] Ku Chih raises doubts about Huang Chieh's identification because the poet had little grounds to complain about being left out of a military campaign during his father's reign. According to Ku Chih, this poem must also have been written around the winter of 228 (T'ai-ho 2), after the poet failed to acquire a position under the general Chang Ho (?–?) and join the campaign to repulse an attack by the Shu army.[70] Ku Chih's dating is more convincing than Huang Chieh's because the poem registers the quality of tragic heroism (*k'ang-k'ai*) characteristic of his emotional life under the reign of his nephew.

The emotional responses in both poems strike a strong personal note unknown in Han *ku-shih* where emotional responses are uniformly pessimistic and decadent. For instance, in responding to their circumstances, the fortune-seeking wanderers in Poems 11 and 13 of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" lament human transience and make *carpe diem* exhortations. But the speakers in these two poems adopt an entirely different posture. They confront the scenes not as a reminder of their evanescent existence, but as an invitation to heroic action. Even rough winds and treacherous currents evoke in them a noble determination to sacrifice themselves for their country. While this refreshing note of heroism offers a striking contrast to the unbridled self-pity in Han *ku-shih*, the two poems are tinged with their own strain of melancholy. While the two speakers display their heroic temper through their pledges of self-sacrifice, they also convey how forlorn they feel through their ex-

pressions of helplessness. Unlike the hero of "White Horse," they do not have an opportunity to prove their valor in battle in the poetic present, nor do they expect to do so in the future. Both are profoundly saddened by their inability to fulfill their burning desire for heroic self-sacrifice. In the culmination of his noble grievances, the speaker of the first poem describes this sorrow of a frustrated hero with the compound "*k'ang-k'ai*."

The compound *k'ang-k'ai* is taken to mean that "a heroic man cannot achieve the ambition in his heart" in *Explanations of Simple and Compound Characters (Shuo-wen chieh-tzu)*,[71] and is variously translated as "fortitudiously forlorn" by Paul Kroll, as "*Restons fiers dans notre tristesse*" by Robert Ruhlman and Yves Hérvouet, and as "impassioned indignation" by Robert Joe Cutter.[72] Taken together, all of these explanations help spell out the feelings of conflict between heroic ambition and tattered hope in the hearts of the two heroes. Traditional Chinese critics agree that Ts'ao Chih expresses through these heroes his own heroic ideal and his frustrations. During the T'ai-ho period, Ts'ao Chih submitted a series of imperial memorials, in which he conveyed to his nephew (then emperor) his noble intention to sacrifice himself for the country and persistently requested an opportunity to do so.[73] The sentiment of *k'ang-k'ai* in these two poems is nothing other than a reflection of his deepening sense of frustration and despair following the repeated rejection of his successive memorials.

Later *Yüeh-fu*: Self-Projections of an Exile

While most of Ts'ao Chih's early *yüeh-fu* works are modeled on Han folk *yüeh-fu*, the *yüeh-fu* he composed after 220 are mostly adaptations of Han literati *yüeh-fu*. As I pointed out in chapter 2, in Han literati *yüeh-fu*, a narrator recounts a series of activities in the historical past (i.e., *yung-shih* subgenre), or in his personal past (i.e., *ch'i-fu*, *yu-tzu*, and *yung-wu* subgenres), or in the realm of his imagination (i.e., *yu-hsien* subgenre) and thereby reveals his emotional responses to the activities being described. Ts'ao Chih's transformation of Han literati *yüeh-fu* is no less remarkable than what he did with the Han folk *yüeh-fu*. He transformed the literati *yüeh-fu* form into a medium of self-reflection by blending certain moral issues of his own life into events being described and by integrating his reflective process into the narrative process on the surface level. Since I have just discussed the *ch'i-fu* and *yu-tzu* subgenres, I will here focus on the *yung-shih*, *yung-wu*, and *yu-hsien* subgenres.

Yung-shih: Questioning Human Destiny

Ts'ao Chih's *yung-shih* poems reveal a contemplative process marked by doubt and conflict over certain moral issues.[74] In "The Yü-chang Ballad," No. 1, he questions the control of moral order over fate professed by Confucian cosmologists like Tung Chung-shu (c. 179–c. 104 B.C.). In the sequel to that poem, he ponders the rift between the common perception of consecrated kinship and the blatant abuse of it in reality, between fraternal loyalty and fraternal betrayal. A comparison of these two poems with the Han piece "The Gentleman Ballad" will demonstrate how Ts'ao Chih transforms the *yung-shih* from what was merely an enumeration of thematically related allusions to a form of personal reflection.

"The Gentleman Ballad" offers us a typical example of how an enumeration of allusions points to a clear-cut moral message in Han *yüeh-fu*:

The Gentleman Ballad	君子行
A gentleman guards against troubles that may arise,	君子防未然
2 And never lets himself into a suspicious role.	不處嫌疑間
He does not adjust his shoes in a melon field,	瓜田不納履
4 Nor does he arrange his hat under a plum tree.	李下不正冠
He does not exchange intimacies with his sisters-in-law,	嫂叔不親授
6 Nor does he walk shoulder to shoulder with someone older or younger than himself.	長幼不比肩
He adheres to principles of diligence and modesty,	勞謙得其柄
8 His unobtrusive strength is a virtue rarely obtained.	和光甚獨難
Duke Chou visited thatched huts [in search of worthies].	周公下白屋
10 He could not eat a morsel of food without stopping [to attend to business],	吐哺不及餐
Nor could he finish washing his hair without three interruptions,	一沐三握髮
12 He is called a sage by all under the heaven.	後世稱聖賢
(*HCHW*, 263)	

Here each couplet is constructed by means of repetition. In the first couplet, line 1 states the poem's thesis that a gentleman ought to prevent any breach of morality, and line 2 restates this thesis by adding that one ought to avoid getting into a morally questionable situation. The next

couplet follows the same principle of repetition: line 3 describes how a gentleman does not tie his shoes in a melon field (in order not to be suspected of bending down to steal a melon); and line 4 repeats the meaning of line 3 by adding another example of the same moral purport. This use of repetition continues through the four remaining couplets.

By the same token, the linkage of the five couplets bears out the principle of repetition. While couplet 1 states the thesis of the poem, the other five couplets build, through examples, support of that thesis. These examples of moral conscientiousness are drawn from everyday situations in couplet 2, from the realm of human relationship in couplets 3 and 4, and in couplet 5 from historical accounts of the Duke of Chou, a paragon of moral rectitude in the Confucian tradition. Such repetitive examples serve well the function of illustrating a known moral principle.

Ts'ao Chih's "Yü-chang Ballad," No. 1 also deals with a moral issue and, in fact, repeats two lines from "The Gentleman Ballad" (lines 9, 12) in praise of the Duke of Chou. However, it does not accumulate historical allusions within an enumerative frame, but orders them in accord with the poet's frame of mind:

Yü-chang Ballad, No. 1　　　　　　　　　　豫章行 其一

	Failure and success are hard to predict,	窮達難豫圖
2	So are misfortune and fortune.	禍福信亦然
	If Yu Shun had not met Yao,	虞舜不逢堯
4	He would have remained farming in the fields.	耕耘處中田
	If Grand Counselor Lü Shang had not met King Wen,	太公不遭文
6	He would have spent his life angling by the Wei River.	漁釣終渭川
	Do you not see Confucius of the state of Lu,	不見魯孔丘
8	Caught in dire straits between Ch'en and Ts'ai	窮困陳蔡間
	The Duke of Chou descended to visit thatched huts,	周公下白屋
10	And all under the heaven called him a sage.	天下稱其賢
	(TCCC, 414)	

Here the poet begins by making a general statement about the unpredictability of man's fortune or misfortune, but he does not follow with concrete illustrative examples. Instead, he wonders what would have become of the sage king Shun and Grand Counselor Lü Shang if they had not chanced to meet their respective patrons (the sage king Yao and King Wen). Had they not, he reasons, these two historical figures would have ended their lives in obscurity. Next, he shows how Confucius, no less a sage than the other two, failed to achieve his political goals simply be-

cause he was not blessed with the right circumstances for success. After his contemplation of fate as the ultimate arbiter of success and failure for all, he suddenly paraphrases two lines from "The Gentleman Ballad" that praise the supreme virtue of the Duke of Chou. Although some critics see the notable inconsistency between this last couplet and the previous lines as evidence that the last couplet is a mere textual interpolation, I believe that it actually reflects yet another turn of the poet's thought, as I will explain below.

Because of its forthright presentation of fate as the ultimate determinant of history, Chu Chia-cheng (1602–1684) holds that "this poem, coming after the ancient songs, establishes the convention [for later *yung-shih* poems]."[75] The *yung-shih* convention in his mind is none other than an interlocking of such historical ironies: "Yü [Shun] tilled the land and Lü [Shang] fished in the river, yet they did not end up being poor. Confucius worried about rituals and music, yet he did not in the end rise to distinction. The Duke of Chou, despite the rumors spread by Kuan and Ts'ai, did not come to calamity."[76] For Ch'en Tso-ming, this interlocking of historical ironies gives birth to a new poetic structure that can generate a dynamic development of thought. He writes, "here are eight lines with four historical allusions; [I] like the sense of change and movement, and the way these lines progress."[77] Indeed, only because Ts'ao Chih dispenses with the enumerative structure can he freely pursue his own process of thought and produce a dynamic sense of change and movement unknown in "Gentleman Ballad" and other Han *yung-shih* pieces. His progression from supposition to inference, from the hypothetical to the real represents a process of defamiliarization that compels the reader to reexamine historical incidents and discover new meanings in them. In assessing the influence of this poem on later *yung-shih* works, Huang Chieh points out that its fatalistic vision of history becomes a standard viewpoint and its play of irony often becomes a structural principle in later *yung-shih* works. For him, no other poem shows the influence of Ts'ao Chih more compellingly than Tso Ssu's poem "On History," No. 7 (*HCHW*, 734). Like Ts'ao Chih's poem, this *yung-shih* piece "also consists of eight lines and employs four allusions, and winds up these eight lines with an elucidation of the truth of success and failure."[78]

While Ts'ao Chih seeks to comprehend the role of fate in the foregoing piece, he strives to explore the issue of blood kinship through a series of contrasts in the sequel to it. As in the first poem, he expresses his complex thoughts on the issue through an examination of contrasting historical allusions:

Yü-chang Ballad, No. 2　　　　　　　　　豫章行 其二

	Mandarin ducks become intimate pairs,	鴛鴦自朋親
2	But they are not as close as birds with joined wings.	不若比翼連
	One may form an alliance with others,	他人雖同盟
4	But bones and flesh are natural bonds.	骨肉天性然
	The Duke of Chou made friends with K'ang Shu,	周公穆康叔
6	Kuan Shu and Ts'ai Shu made rumors against him.	管蔡則流言
	Tzu-tsang yielded a kingdom of a thousand chariots,	子臧讓千乘
8	Chi Cha emulated his virtue.	季札慕其賢
	(*TCCC*, 414–15)	

This poem presents an interlocking set of contrasts *within* as well as *between* its four couplets. Each couplet contains a contrast between nonblood and blood ties. The first couplet compares the nonblood ties to mandarin ducks living together and the blood ties to mythical birds flying with joint wings. It declares that the former is not as close a relationship as the latter for the lack of the natural bond. The next couplet contrasts a non-blood alliance unfavorably with blood kinship. The third couplet, however, contrasts the infidelity of the Duke of Chou's blood brothers Kuan Shu and Ts'ai Shu with the faithfulness of his half-brother K'ang Shu, casting into doubt the idea of blood being thicker than water that is expressed by the first two couplets. This questioning of blood kinship is in turn questioned by the final couplet, which extols Chi Cha for his exemplary faithfulness to his brother. Whereas Kuan Shu and Ts'ai Shu schemed to usurp the leadership of their brother the Duke of Chou, Chi Cha learned from the moral example of Tzu-tsang and declined to accept his eldest brother's offer of the throne.

　　　　The issues raised in both poems—the role of fate in one's life, the importance of political patronage, the code of fraternity—were all important issues affecting the poet's life. In the course of contemplating them, he experienced the agony of intense conflict. In the first poem, he laments the insurmountable odds against a triumph over fate but finds consolation in the fact that he is not the only one pitted against fate—even a sage like Confucius did not find political success. In the second poem, he is torn between his indignation at his brother's violation of fraternity and the stubborn hope that he will rehabilitate him as an official with real power. In both poems Ts'ao Chih appears to work toward resolving these conflicts in favor of a reconciliation with Ts'ao P'i. By hoping against hope for rehabilitation, he can at least mitigate, however temporarily, his frustration at political setbacks and his outrage at his brother's relentless persecution.

Many critics believe that Ts'ao Chih wrote these two poems not only to relieve his own suffering but also to let his brother know that he wanted an opportunity to use his talents. By means of historical reflection, he also intended to remonstrate with his brother without overtly offending him and putting his own life in peril. This double intention becomes particularly noticeable in the ambiguous endings of the pieces, because we cannot determine the allegorical significance of the praise of Duke Chou, Tzu-tsang, and Chi Cha. While the endings are symmetrical in meaning and wording (the same phrase "to praise their virtues" occurs in both), they are each poorly connected with the rest of the poem. Because of this lack of linear coherence, it seems equally feasible to see the poet turning suddenly to present himself in the image of these historical figures or to express his hope that his brother will become a virtuous man like them. Many traditional Chinese critics support the first interpretation. Ting Yen wrote, "The last two lines [of the second piece] are a genuine revelation of the poet's own intent. Do these two lines not vindicate what is said in *Wen Chung-tzu* [by Wang T'ung]: 'Ch'en Ssu [Ts'ao Chih]'s abdication from the throne is not recognized by the people'?"[79] In other words, Ting Yen believed that the poet wished to tell his brother that he would emulate the fraternal loyalty of the Duke of Chou and Tzu-tsang and that he would not harbor any intention whatsoever for the throne. According to other critics, however, Ts'ao Chih intended to remonstrate his brother through those three shining examples of fraternal love and trust. Such an allegorical remonstrance is meant, as Ch'en Tso-ming says, "to lead to the awakening of the intended reader and yet leave no reason for the author to be blamed."[80] I believe it is better to accept both interpretations because together they aptly mirror the poet's conflicting feelings for his brother: indignation and hope, loyalty and distrust.

Yung-wu: Seeing the Self through the Other

Ts'ao Chih seeks to adapt *yung-wu* poetry for self reflection in a similar fashion. While *yung-shih* poetry provides a temporal distance between the poet and historical events, *yung-wu* poetry creates spatial distance between the poet and the objects he describes. Artistic distance may have shielded Ts'ao Chih from personal danger stemming from his brother's anger. The story of the composition of "Seven Steps" (*TCCC*, 279) provides a dramatic example of how he exploited the artistic distance of *yung-wu* poetry. According to Liu I-ch'ing's *A New Account of Tales of the World,* the poet was ordered by his brother to either compose

a poem within the time it takes to walk seven steps or be executed. Ts'ao Chih dashed off a poem in which beans complain about beanstalks, their kinfolk, burning in order to cook them. By composing this poem in the required time, Ts'ao Chih not only saved himself but also delivered a strong condemnation of his brother's brutal violation of kinship bonds.[81]

Ts'ao Chih often empathizes with the object of his description and expresses his sad thoughts and grievances through that object. This empathy represents a higher degree of integration of subject and object than analogical description in Han *yung-wu* ballads. A comparison of a Han *yung-wu* ballad and a *yung-wu* piece by Ts'ao Chih will illustrate the trajectory from analogical description to self-reflection.

The Yü-chang Ballad   豫章行

	When the white poplar first sprang up,	白楊初生時
2	It was on Yü-chang Mountain.	乃在豫章山
	Its leaves atop rubbed against blue clouds,	上葉摩青雲
4	Its roots below reached the Yellow Springs.	下根通黃泉
	In the cool of the eighth and ninth months,	涼秋八九月
6	Hill folk came, axes and hatchets in hand.	山客持斧斤
	My [heartwood?] is so white,	我□何皎皎
8	As the ladder comes down [? ? ?].	梯落□□□
	With my roots and branches cut off,	根株已斷絕
10	I was laid upside down among the rocks.	顛倒巖石間
	A master carpenter held an ax and plumbline,	大匠持斧繩
12	Chopped off my ends along the ink line-marks.	鋸墨齊兩端
	One single trip hauled me four or five *li* away,	一驅四五里
14	My branches and leaves were torn apart.	枝葉自相捐
	[? ? ? ? ?]	□□□□□
16	To be parched and made into a sailing boat.	會爲舟船燔
	My body stands in the Lo-yang palace,	身在洛陽宮
18	My roots remain in the Yü-chang Mountain.	根在豫章山
	Tell this to my branches and leaves:	多謝枝與葉
20	When will we be reunited?	何時復相連
	My life is [?] one hundred years,	吾生百年□
22	Since [? ? ?] complete.	自□□□俱
	How could I know many men were so crafty	何意萬人巧
24	As to tear me from my roots and branches?[82]	使我離根株

(HCHW, 264)

This Han *yung-wu* ballad is constructed on an analogical model. On the literal level, the ballad tells the life story of a white poplar tree in six segments. Each segment represents a one-to-one correspondence with recurrent motifs in poems of the fortune-seeking wanderer: happy memories of one's native place, forced separation from loved ones, the heart-rending moment of departure, endless yearning for home, and an awareness of human transience. As if to make sure that the audience will not miss this reference, the tree assumes a human voice from line 7 onward and recounts its sorrows and suffering in human terms.

Ts'ao Chih's *yung-wu* poem "Alas" also describes an uprooted plant, a tumbleweed in this case, and dwells upon the sadness of its exile from home.

	Alas	吁嗟篇
	Alas, this tumbleweed,	吁嗟此轉蓬
2	How alone it is in the world!	居世何獨然
	Long adrift, its native roots gone,	長去本根逝
4	Day and night it has no rest or leisure.	宿夜無休閒
	East and west it passes the seven paths,	東西經七陌
6	South and north it crosses the nine roadways.	南北越九阡
	Suddenly caught in a rising whirlwind,	卒遇回風起
8	I am blown high into the clouds.	吹我入雲間
	I tell myself that I'll reach the end of heaven's path,	自謂終天路
10	When suddenly I go hurtling down into an abyss.	忽然下沈泉
	The frightful wind flings me out,	驚飆接我出
12	So I am returned to the midst of the fields.	故歸彼中田
	Headed for the south, then sent to the north,	當南而更北
14	I am told to go east, then returned to the west.	謂東而反西
	Drifting, drifting, what can I depend on?	宕若當何依
16	Suddenly I am gone, and then alive again.	忽亡而復存
	In a whirlwind, I wander the Eight Marshes,	飄颻周八澤
18	On wings of wind, I fly past the Five Mountains,	聯翩歷五山
	Drifting and shifting, I have no permanent place,	流轉無恆處
20	Who knows my bitter hardship?	誰知吾苦艱
	If only I were grass in the woods,	願爲中林草
22	To be burned by wildfires in autumn.	秋隨野火燔
	How can such destruction be not painful?	糜滅豈不痛
24	But I would rather be one with my roots.[83]	願與株荄連
	(*TCCC*, 382–83)	

This poem contains many details similar to those in the previous poem: the loneliness of a plant severed from its roots, its lament of hardship, and its forlorn wish for reunion with its native soil. However, the details are arranged not in accordance with the life sequence of the plant but instead follow its erratic flight. A whirlwind catches the tumbleweed, carrying it toward the edge of heaven, then sends it back into an abyss, twirling it in all directions in mere seconds. With such a dramatic contraction of time and space, the poet aptly realizes the velocity of the destructive force sweeping the tumbleweed far away from its roots and conveys—allegorically—the intensity of his own dislocation and helplessness in exile. Indeed, traditional Chinese critics readily identify the tumbleweed with Ts'ao Chih and take the poem as his lament over his three consecutive exiles during the last eleven years of his life. Ting Yen holds that the emotive tenor of this poem fits the description of Ts'ao Chih's emotional condition during these three exiles from his biography in *History of the Chin*. "This poem must have been written," observes Ting Yen, "as the poet's emotional response to those periods of exile. Its last two lines contain words of great sorrow."[84]

The ending of this poem has attracted a great deal of attention from Chinese allegorists. The sorrow of separation becomes most poignant when the tumbleweed declares that it would rather die than be torn away from its native soil. For those allegorists, the ending is an understatement that not only compellingly conveys the poet's sorrow, but also reveals the noble character of a true Confucian who could subdue his extreme emotions and maintain his dignified decorum. "[Ts'ao Chih] was so pained by his forced moves to different fiefs," says Shen Te-ch'ien, "that he would rather return and die in his native place. About these moves, there are words he would not utter. Yet, when one does not utter one's grievances, one's remonstration becomes more effective. Ts'ao Chih's subtle expression of his grievances alone achieves this norm of rectitude."[85] On the grounds of its moral rectitude, Chu Hsü-tseng praises the poem as "a work of a virtuous man and a filial son—the only kind that carries on the tradition of the *Three Hundred Poems* [*Book of Poems*]." Chu regrets that this poem was not included by Hsiao T'ung in his *Anthology of Literature*."[86]

But Ts'ao Chih was not always trying to reveal his innermost world through identification with an object in his *yung-wu* poems. He did not hesitate to use the analogical model when he desired to communicate a clear-cut moral message. His ballad "Wanting to Roam in the Southern Mountains," a moral homily intended for his brother, is constructed on this model. The moral message—that a wise ruler should utilize all talents—is conveyed through a series of analogies:

Wanting to Roam
in the Southern Mountains 　　　　　當欲遊南山行

	The eastern sea is wide and deep,	東海廣且深
2	Being humble, it embraces a hundred rivers.	由卑下百川
	High and great as the Five Mountains are,	五嶽雖高大
4	They do not reject dirt and dust.	不逆垢與塵
	If a fine tree measures less than ten spans,	良木不十圍
6	Its large branches find no support.	洪條無所因
	A respected elder is capable of universal love,	長者能博愛
8	All under the heaven put their lives in his trust.	天下寄其身
	A master carpenter wastes no material,	大匠無棄材
10	Boats and carriages have their different uses.	船車用不均
	Awls and knives perform their own special functions,	錐刀各異能
12	How can one be favored, the other disfavored?	何所獨却前
	Praise the good and pity the unintelligent,	嘉善而矜愚
14	Even the great sage [Confucius] did so.	大聖亦同然
	The benevolent ones each enjoy a long life,	仁者各壽考
16	Those around them all live ten thousand years.[87]	四座咸萬年

(*TCCC*, 424)

The analogical structure here is even more outstanding than what we encountered in "The Yü-chang Ballad." In that piece the images of the woods, the woodcutter, and the carpenter are strung together along the narrative history of a tree, but here similar images (mountains, tree, carpenter, boats, carriages, awl, knife, etc.) are detached from a real setting and brought together solely through their analogical correspondence—each pointing to the importance of making full use of all talents, great or small.

Yu-hsien: Sublimating Unfulfilled Ambitions

By my own estimate, Ts'ao Chih wrote a total of ten *yu-hsien* poems.[88] These poems account for nearly one quarter of his forty-two *yüeh-fu* works and constitute the most prominent *yüeh-fu* subgenre in Ts'ao Chih's works. They are generally believed to have been written after 220. In Ku Chih's edition, all but one are classified as later works. In Chao Yu-wen's edition, they are also classified this way. Although these two scholars do not explain why they regard these poems as later works, we may conjecture that they do so on account of two biographical facts. First,

Ts'ao Chih took a staunch anti-Taoist stand during his early life and ridiculed the search for immortality in his famous essay "An Analysis of Taoism" ("Pien Tao lun," *TCCC*, 186). Second, sometime after 220 Ts'ao Chih reversed his anti-Taoist stand and wrote the essay "Dissolving Doubts" ("Shih-i lun," *TCCC*, 396), in which he refuted many of the ideas he put forward in his "Analysis of Taoism," and expressed his belief in the Taoist arts of obtaining immortality.[89] In view of Ts'ao Chih's endorsement of the immortality cult in his later life, it makes good sense to classify his *yu-hsien* poems as later works.

While the drastic change of Ts'ao Chih's attitude toward the Taoist pursuit of immortality lends support to the traditional dating of his *yu-hsien* poems, it does not warrant an oversimplified interpretation of these poems. Ts'ao Chih came to write *yu-hsien* poems for several different reasons, including his desire for earthly longevity,[90] his interest in writing banquet songs (with their recurrent motif of wishing longevity),[91] his fondness for the form of popular songs and ballads,[92] his interest in imitating Ch'ü Yuan's allegorical description of a mystical journey,[93] and his attempt to find in Taoist myths a release from the misery of his everyday life.[94] We should not focus on some of these reasons to the exclusion of others. In an absolute sense, we cannot dismiss any of them as irrelevant to the study of Ts'ao Chih's *yu-hsien* poems. Having said this, however, I must argue that the first two reasons are not as important as the other three to our understanding of the thematic and formal features of Ts'ao Chih's *yu-hsien* poems as a whole. I de-emphasize the first reason because Ts'ao Chih was not a committed Taoist or Neo-Taoist like Juan Chi, who actually experimented with Taoist arts and wrote long, serious essays in defense of seeking immortality. Similarly, I consider the second reason to be only marginally relevant because neither banquet scenes nor the motif of wishing longevity figure significantly in his *yu-hsien* poems. In my opinion, the remaining three reasons are equally important because they reveal three inseparable goals of Ts'ao Chih's writing these poems: poetic achievement, political satire, and psychological release. The convergence of these three goals gives rise to a dynamic poetic process culminating in the transformation of the *yu-hsien* subgenre from an essentially narrative form into a vehicle for expressing one's disenchantment with the human world and envisioning the fulfillment of one's thwarted aspiration on an imaginative plane. A comparison of Ts'ao Chih's "Immortals" with "The Lung-hsi Ballad," a typical Han *yu-hsien* poem, will shed light on how Ts'ao Chih brings about this subgeneric transformation.

"The Lung-hsi Ballad" describes a "real" visit to the paradise inhabited by immortals. It traces an entire sequence of happenings during such a transcendental excursion:

The Lung-hsi Ballad 隴西行

	A bypath passes an empty hut;	邪徑過空廬
2	The good man often lives alone.	好人常獨居
	At last he attains the way of immortals,	卒得神仙道
4	High up he is hand in hand with the heavens.	上與天相扶
	He calls on King Father and Queen Mother,	過謁王父母
6	And loiters on the fringe of Mount T'ai.	乃在太山隅
	Still four or five *li* away from Heaven,	離天四五里
8	On his path he meets and accompanies Ch'ih-sung.	道逢赤松俱
	"Ch'ih-sung, hold the reins and drive for me;	攬轡爲我御
10	Take me along to roam about Heaven!"	將吾天上遊
	What is there in Heaven?	天上何所有
12	Rows upon rows of white elm are planted.	歷歷種白榆
	Cassia trees grow, lining the way;	桂樹夾道生
14	Green dragons lie on pedestals, facing each other,	青龍對伏趺
	Phoenix sing, twittering and twittering,	鳳凰鳴啾啾
16	A mother bird leads her nine chicks.	一母將九雛
	I glance back at the world of men below,	顧視世間人
18	There is an extraordinary scene of joy.	爲樂甚獨殊
	A good wife goes out to welcome her guest,	好婦出迎客
20	Her face is gentle and cheerful.	顏色正敷愉
	She bows and kneels down twice,	伸腰再拜跪
22	Asking the guest if he has had a pleasant journey.	問客平安不
	She invites the guest up to the northern hall,	請客北堂上
24	And seats him on a woolen checked cushion.	坐客氈氍毹
	Clear and white wines are held in separate goblets,	清白各異樽
26	Over the wine are placed jade-like ladles.	酒上玉華疏
	She pours the wine and hands it to the guest,	酌酒持與客
28	The guest asks the hostess to take some.	客言主人持
	She steps back and kneels down twice,	却略再拜跪
30	And then takes up one cup.	然後持一杯
	Before the talking and laughing come to an end,	談笑未及竟
32	She looks left to oversee the inner kitchen.	左顧敕中廚
	Hurriedly she orders a "coarse" meal prepared,	促令辦麤飯
34	And makes sure there will be no delay.	慎莫使稽留
	Having served the meal, she sees the guest off,	廢禮送客去
36	Gracefully they walk through the house.	盈盈府中趨

	In seeing off the guest, she doesn't go too far,	送客亦不遠
38	She doesn't let her feet go beyond the door hinges.	足不過門樞
	If in taking a wife you get one like her,	取婦得如此
40	Even Ch'i Chiang would not do as well for you.	齊姜亦不如
	When such a capable wife runs a household,	健婦持門戶
42	She does a better job than a stalwart man![95]	亦勝一丈夫
	(*HCHW*, 267)	

Here the speaker gives a rather pedestrian description of the land of immortals. He introduces few celestial images that can help create an ethereal ambiance. The white elm trees show no celestial grandeur; nor do the immobile dragon and phoenix manifest the magic power of heavenly creatures; nor does the transformed roamer carry any transcendental aura around him. Throughout the poem the speaker does not give the slightest intimation of the absolute freedom enjoyed by the immortals. In line 17 he suddenly looks back on the human world and expresses his nostalgia for the warmth of family life. He ends the poem in a most unheroic manner. Instead of celebrating his own transcendental transformation, he envies a worldly man for having a cheerful and courteous wife.

While "The Lung-hsi Ballad" strikes us as a realistic description of this-worldly life viewed from an other-worldly perspective, Ts'ao Chih's "Immortals" impresses us as an imaginative vision of the world of immortals:

Immortals   仙人篇

	Immortals are playing the double sixes	仙人攬六著
2	And taking their bets at one corner of Mount T'ai.	對博太山隅
	The nymph of the Hsing River is strumming a lute,	湘娥拊琴瑟
4	The Fairy of Ch'in is playing the panpipes.	秦女吹笙竽
	Jade wine cups are filled with cassia wine,	玉樽盈桂酒
6	The god of the Yellow River presents a mythical fish.	河伯獻神魚
	How circumscribed the Four Seas are!	四海一何居
8	What is there in the Nine Kingdoms to be missed?	九州安所如
	Here are immortals Han Chung and Wang Tzu-ch'iao	韓終與王喬
10	Who invite me to this celestial thoroughfare.	要我於天衢
	Ten thousand *li* cannot match one footstep of mine	萬里不足步
12	And I lightly roam within the Great Vacuity,	輕舉陵太虛
	Flying past colorful ethereal clouds,	飛騰踰景雲
14	With high winds blowing against my body.	高風吹我軀

I ride my chariot to the Tzu Wei Palace 迴駕觀紫薇

16 And match tallies with the Emperor of Heaven. 與帝合靈符
The Gate of Heaven soars to a great height, 閶闔正嵯峨

18 With its twin towers measuring ten thousand *chang*. 雙闕萬丈餘
Jade trees grow along both sides of a path, 玉樹扶道生

20 White tigers are standing in front of the Gate. 白虎夾門樞
I ride upon winds and roam above the Four Seas, 驅風遊四海

22 Passing east through the House of the Queen Mother. 東過王母廬
I look down at the Five Great Mounts: 俯觀五嶽間

24 Human life is but a brief sojourn. 人生如寄居
I will hide myself and groom my wings, 潛光養羽翼

26 Slowly and leisurely, I will fly forward. 進驅且徐徐
Do you not see the Yellow Emperor, 不見軒轅氏

28 Riding a dragon out of Ting Lake? 乘龍出鼎湖
I would wander around in the Nine Heavens, 徘徊九天上

30 And forever keep your company. 與爾長相須
(*TCCC*, 263)

The speaker begins by describing an imaginary scene of perfect happiness. Mythical figures who once led a human life on earth are playing double sixes (a gambling game), strumming flutes, blowing pipes, and enjoying wine and food. Their reunion here in heaven betokens a transcendence of time and place. Next, the speaker tells us about his own roaming. His casual leaping over thousands of miles, his swift traversing of the entire cosmos underscore an absolute freedom from the bondage of time and space. His wandering around in the mythical realms of the Supreme Emperor and the Queen Mother of the West further enhances that sense of absolute freedom. Then, all of a sudden, the speaker wakes from his transcendental reverie. He looks down to the Five Sacred Mountains on the earth and confronts the inexorable fact of human transience. Having experienced absolute freedom, he now finds life on earth too care-ridden and takes delight in his flight from the human world. Finally, the speaker turns his thoughts to the legend of the Yellow Emperor, who is said to have ridden a dragon and soared into the heavens, and resolves to keep company with him there. This modal ending with the volitional word *"yuan"* (wish, would) is characteristic of Ts'ao Chih's *yu-hsien* poems.

On a more abstract level, we may see the difference between "The Lung-hsi Ballad" and "Immortals" in terms of the selection, arrangement, and treatment of motifs related to seeking immortality. The first poem not only contains all the stock motifs of the Han *yu-hsien* subgenre, but it also arranges them along a standard linear story-line: a visit

to an immortal on a high mountain, a flight to heaven with the immortal, and looking down at the human world. The treatment of these motifs is characterized by an accumulation of narrative details and stock emotional responses. Ts'ao Chih's poem contains a slightly different set of motifs: a description of the immortals' blissful world, the speaker's roaming throughout the universe, and the speaker's contemptuous look at the human world. The arrangement of these three motifs does not suggest a linear sequence of actions, but reveals the speaker's constant comparisons of the heavenly and human worlds—shifting from his yearning for immortals' blissful existence to his scorn of man's circumscribed existence, from his enjoyment of absolute freedom to his contempt for man's constrained manners, and from the "real" ascension of the Yellow Emperor to his own fantasy of becoming an immortal. The treatment of the three motifs in this poem represents the opposite of what we saw in "The Lung-hsi Ballad." Instead of narrative details, this poem employs an abundance of poetic images that connote the poet's personal feelings about the difference between the heavenly and human worlds.[96]

   Of course, Ts'ao Chih's *yu-hsien* poems do not always contain all of these motifs. However, no matter which of them he uses, he always arranges and treats them in such a way that they will convey his search for an ideal world, his alienation from the political world, and his yearning for freedom. In "Ascension to Heaven" he uses the first motif (the blissful world of immortals) almost exclusively, focusing on the frolicking of celestial animals in the first part and the movement of the sun chariot in the second. In "Roaming Afar" he again deals solely with imaginary scenes, this time those of a magnificent undersea palace. By depicting the fabulous abodes of immortals, he seeks not only to project his vision of an ideal world but also to fancy what will become of him upon entry into that world. With the second motif (transcendental roaming), the poet tells us that absolute freedom is what he most desires in that ideal world. He depicts the swiftness with which an immortal speaker traverses the entire universe in "Roaming Afar," and in "Five-Fold Roaming" shows an immortal's freedom of contact with all other celestial beings—whether God on high, his vassals, or other immortals.

   If in "Alas" Ts'ao Chih reveals his lack of control over his life through the flight of a tumbleweed and signifies his alienation from his nephew through the separation of the tumbleweed from its roots, here he seems to do just the opposite. He uses the immortal's swift roaming to show his absolute freedom of movement and action, and the free association with his kinsfolk to indicate his easy, casual contact with his nephew. Of course this absolute freedom of movement and association

exists only in his fancy—an ineffective compensation for his virtual im-
prisonment in his fief and also, perhaps, for his failure to obtain a private
audience with his nephew during his final years. Unlike the first two
motifs, the third (the contemptible human world) is anything but imagi-
nary. In using the human world as the backdrop for a transcendental
escape in "Visiting the Immortals," Ts'ao Chih seems to follow the *Ch'u
tz'u* tradition and allegorize his disenchantment with the world of poli-
tics in a manner reminiscent of Ch'ü Yuan's "Encountering Sorrow" and
"Distant Journey." In short, thanks to his deft handling of the three mo-
tifs, Ts'ao Chih achieves an imaginative sublimation of his unfulfilled
and unfulfillable desires and aspirations—the founding of an ideal soci-
ety, the end of his exile, the regaining of freedom of action and move-
ment, and above all a reconciliation with his nephew. Such a merging of
the descriptive and the lyrical, the allegorical and the imaginary in Ts'ao
Chih's *yu-hsien* poems represents a truly significant achievement in the
lyricization of the *yu-hsien* subgenre.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

This study of Ts'ao Chih has shown that the individual self in his poems
should be seen not as a faithful biographical record, but as an artistic recrea-
tion of the poet's experiential self. He achieves this chiefly by assuming the
roles of the conventional narrators or speakers and by introducing new
thought processes into various *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* subgenres.

Ts'ao Chih takes roles ranging from third-person narrators in
folk *yüeh-fu*, first-person speakers in literati *yüeh-fu* (a contemplative ob-
server of history, a self-observing tumbleweed, a roamer in the fairyland
of immortals, etc.), and the two fixed personae in *ku-shih* (the fortune-
seeking wanderer and the neglected wife). Only in interpersonal *ku-shih*
works does he occasionally cast off these conventional roles and speak in
his own voice. Meanwhile, he substitutes his own thought processes for
the stock responses in the *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* subgenres. Specifically, he
substitutes his process of spirit-penetrating observation for the fragmen-
tary observation in Han folk *yüeh-fu* ballads; his process of reasoning for
the enumerative illustration in Han *yung-shih* ballads; his process of
heightened perception for allegorical presentation in Han *yung-wu* bal-
lads; and his process of self-encouragement for the uniform lamentation
in Han *ku-shih* poems. Furthermore, in a number of poems written for his
friends and brothers, he combines self-reflection with personal commu-
nication and thus brings forth a new subgenre of interpersonal *ku-shih*.

Ts'ao Chih's assumption of fictional roles and his introduction of
new thought processes are two opposite, yet complementary, aspects of

his artistic recreation of the self. On the one hand, his wearing of fictional masks enables him to blend his private emotions with existent poetic forms and recreate himself in the images of *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* figures familiar to his contemporary readers. On the other hand, the new thought processes in his *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* enable him to explore the whole gamut of his inward experience: ambition for moral accomplishments, admiration for knight-errantry, questioning of the existing moral order, indignation over the violation of kinship bonds, estrangement from the court, imaginary fulfillment of thwarted aspirations, compassion for downtrodden friends, and the misery and anguish of his exile. This merging of personal experience with conventional *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* forms not only defines the nature of the poetic self in his poems, but also epitomizes his lyricization of all the major pentasyllabic subgenres.

CHAPTER 5

Juan Chi:
The Formation of the Symbolic Mode

The pivotal role of Juan Chi in the development of pentasyllabic poetry has been acknowledged by many critics. In his *History of [Chinese] Vernacular Literature*, Hu Shih (1891–1962) made the following comments:

> Pentameter verse arose among the anonymous poets of the Han dynasty, and after receiving the favor of the poets of the Chien-an period, was formally established only by Juan Chi. He is the first man to have written pentameter poems with the full concentration of his energies. Pentameter poetic style only became formally established with him, and the scope of the poetry only became all embracing with him.[1]

In the history of Chinese poetry Juan Chi stands between two poets of towering achievement. Before him Ts'ao Chih transformed both *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* into highly personal forms of poetic expression, and after him T'ao Ch'ien was to develop a new kind of pentasyllabic poetry distinguished by its intense strains of personal recollection and imagination. Juan Chi's poetic accomplishments are no less eminent than those of Ts'ao Chih and T'ao Ch'ien. He raises pentasyllabic poetry to an introspective plane unknown to earlier poetic traditions and lays the groundwork for a further intensification of lyricism in later pentasyllabic poetry.[2] Unlike Ts'ao Chih, he does not write about his emotional responses to concrete events in his life, but instead broods over his profound sorrow for human frailties of all kinds, his empty loneliness in a friendless world, and his anguished search for the meaning of life.[3] Since he examines these innermost feelings with little reference to the outside world, he

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does not need to choose and arrange his poetic images to indicate the sequence of events or the contours of a locale. Therefore, he can repeatedly use certain clusters of images most evocative of his feelings and cast them in a poetic structure coterminous with his introspective process. In so doing, he establishes a symbolic mode of presentation unseen in earlier pentasyllabic poetry.

Despite its pivotal role in the development of pentasyllabic poetry, Juan Chi's symbolic mode has not yet been systematically studied. Traditional Chinese critics made serious efforts to understand his poems, but they did not have an analytical strategy that would enable them to grasp the indefinite, multiple significations in his poems. Insofar as traditional interpretive schemes were formulated to find fixed meanings in a text, they all prove inapplicable to the study of Juan Chi's poems. For instance, a scheme of conceptual categorization proves less than useless. If we attempt to label his poems as the work of a Confucian, a Taoist philosopher, or a Taoist mystic, we are bound to run into ridiculous contradictions, for the poet at once embraced and rejected ideas and values from all these philosophical sources.

Nor is a scheme of political allegorization workable. As none of Juan Chi's eighty-two *yung-huai* poems can be dated, we have no reliable grounds for making connections between his poems and contemporary political events. Moreover, Juan Chi tries hard to conceal his political attitudes and makes it impossible for anyone to plumb the hidden intentions in his poems. Even Yen Yen-chih (386–456), who lived only about 123 years after Juan Chi, acknowledges this point:

> Ssu Tsung [Juan Chi] personally served a dynasty in disorder and was in constant fear of being slandered and meeting with disaster. That is why he expressed himself in song, and that is why each time he sighs, lamenting his life, although his aim is to criticize and reprimand [men in public life], his style is full of obscurities. Many centuries from now, it will be difficult to fathom his true intentions. Therefore I have explained the main ideas in these verses in a general way and touched on their hidden meanings.[4]

If Yen Yen-chih hesitates to read Juan Chi's poems as satires of specific events in contemporary politics, it will be ill-advised and presumptuous for us even to attempt to find political allegories in Juan Chi's works. Unlike an explicitly allegorical piece by, say, Ts'ao Chih, Juan Chi's poems usually do not contain a coherent set of situations indicative of the poet's relationship to other individuals or specific events and therefore do not lend themselves to any convincing allegorical interpretation. Most

allegorical readings of Juan Chi's poems are not convincing because they are grounded on tenuous and often far-fetched explanations of isolated images and motifs.[5]

Equally impracticable is a scheme of generic anatomy. Juan Chi draws images, motifs, and topoi from earlier *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* works, but does not organize them into a *yüeh-fu* narrative sequence or a *ku-shih* lyrical continuum. Instead, he casts them into a symbolic landscape that reflects the configurations of his inner world. This symbolic transformation of these *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* elements gives birth to a new pentasyllabic subgenre called *yung-huai* or, in literal translation, "poetry that sings out what is in my bosom." The very name for this collection of poems, *Yung-huai*, probably chosen by the poet himself, aptly speaks to the distinctive quality of introspectiveness in this new subgenre. Since Juan Chi interfuses all poetic elements into a symbolic vision during his introspective process, it is impossible to discuss the significance of his works in terms of how he follows standard ways of organizing images, motifs, and topoi. A generic anatomy of his works would be tantamount to trying to dissect the workings of his mind.

Philosophical categorization, allegorical interpretation, and generic anatomy all fail because they are essentially tools for finding determinate meanings in an unambiguous text. They are not fit for an investigation into the generation of multiple significations in an ambiguous text. Juan Chi's poems become meaningful only through their play of indeterminacy; their life ends the moment it is bound to a fixed meaning. Given this, I will resist the temptation to search for a definitive label to describe the poet or to hunt for determinate meanings in his texts. Instead, I will seek to come to terms with his propensity for contradictions in the realm of action and to show how he communicates his innermost thoughts through a deft exploitation of indeterminancy in imagery, structure, and allusion.[6]

The Poet's Life:
Contradictory Action and Eclectic Thought

It seems no accident that Juan Chi has a predilection for poetic indeterminacy. His life itself was full of ambiguities and contradictions stemming from his divided allegiance to Confucianism and Taoism, his ascription to opposed norms of behavior, and the dire necessity for him to avoid overt political stands that would endanger his life. To set a

proper context for our discussion of his poetical works, let us first discuss his contradictory behavior and philosophical eclecticism.[7]

Contradictory Action

The official biography of Juan Chi in *History of the Chin* presents a life full of contradictions. Juan Chi was born in 210 (Chien-an 15, eighteen years after the birth of Ts'ao Chih) and died in 263 (Ching-yüan 4, thirty-one years after the death of Ts'ao Chih). We are told that he originally had the intention to help save the world. In 239 he served under Ssu-ma I (179–251) as a low-ranking advisory official *(ts'ung-shih chung-lang)*. About three years later he worked for Chiang Chi (d. 249), one of the highest officials in the Wei court. Around 247 he served under Ho Yen, the famous philosopher and Minister of State Affairs *(shang-shu)* in the administration of the regent Ts'ao Shuang (?–249), holding the title of Secretary of the Minister for the State *(shang-shu lang)*. In 251 he served the regime of Ssu-ma Shih (208–255) in the same capacity of ts'ung-shih chung-lang as he had under Ssu-ma Shih's father about twelve years earlier. But we also learn that Juan Chi was very much a hermit, aloof from the mundane world. He would lock himself up in his study for months and read his favorite books, *Lao Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu*. Or he would make excursions into the mountains and forget to return for days on end. He also would indulge himself in wine, play the zither, and sing out his feelings. When he was beside himself with joy, he would reach a wild state of self-forgetfulness which, in the eyes of the people of his time, bordered on lunacy.[8]

His biography also furnishes us with a few anecdotal accounts of his contradictory actions. The most dramatic and outlandish are these two accounts about his reactions to the death of his mother:

> He was playing a game of go with someone when his mother died. His opponent begged him to stop, but he insisted on staying until they decided who won the bet on the game. Then, he drank three dippers of wine, wailed out loud once and spit out several mouthfuls of blood.

> When his mother was about to be buried, he steamed a fat young pig and drank two dippers of wine. And then, as he took his final leave of her, he simply uttered, "It's all over!," wailed out loud once, and again spat out several mouthfuls of blood. His frame wasted away and his bones stood out, and he nearly died of sorrow.[9]

These two anecdotes show us how Juan Chi's unconventional behavior was perceived by his contemporaries. In the first part of both anecdotes, Juan Chi displays a resolute, Taoist defiance of the required demonstration of filial piety, even though in that era "one's demonstration of filial piety, of actual respect and care for one's parents, [was still] the cardinal virtue of a man's entire existence."[10] The ancient mourning rituals for one's parents sanctioned by Confucius were not only a moral imperative for every family member, but also an important social occasion on which one judged a man's moral virtue for an official appointment or promotion. To capitalize on this golden opportunity for self-advancement, not a few people carried the mourning rituals to extremes of self-sacrifice. As a result, mourning rituals had lost all their original meaning and often degenerated into a farce of feigned filiality. Seen against this historical background, Juan Chi's drinking, eating, and playing at the time of mourning should be taken not as an impudent, outlandish display of irreverence, but as a scathing ridicule of the abuse of mourning rituals and a courageous rebellion against the entire system of morality endorsed by the state. If we interpret Juan Chi's iconoclastic acts in a larger historical context of Taoist anti-ritualism, we find that they are a dramatic imitation of Chuang Tzu's singing and beating a bowl after the death of his wife—a blunt denial of the sentiments and rituals sanctioned by Confucius.[11] However, Juan Chi is anything but an out-and-out Taoist aloof from all human sentiments. Unlike Chuang Tzu, Juan Chi could not or would not obliterate his feelings of grief. In the second part of both anecdotes, he all of a sudden abandons himself to a violent outburst of grief. Through this spontaneous act of mourning, he reveals himself to be an exemplary filial son.

It is characteristic of Juan Chi to move unpredictably between Taoist flouting of conventions and Confucian practice of traditional morality. Such contradictory behavior was as much a matter of survival as a moral choice. At a time of moral decay, political chaos, and ruthless persecution, he had no choice. If he had not been purposefully erratic and contradictory in his behavior, he could not have shocked others into a sober-minded recognition of the fanaticism and hypocrisy behind the facade of filial piety. Nor could he have assumed the role of a Taoist anti-ritualist and yet remained a true Confucian at heart. Still less could he have played the clown and disguised his political stands and attitudes for the protection of his family and himself. When we contemplate his behavior from an aesthetic point of view, we find that his actions epitomize the charm of the so-called "Wei–Chin manner" (*Wei–Chin feng-tu*) in its unique combination of irreverent behavior and moral sincerity, latitudinarian gaiety and philosophical seriousness.[12]

Eclectic Thought

While Juan Chi tended to alternate between Confucian and Taoist codes of behavior in the realm of action,[13] he embraced Confucianism and Taoism simultaneously in the realm of thought. This philosophical eclecticism is in keeping with the spirit of his age, one of "transition from Confucian classical scholarship (*ching-hsüeh*) to Neo-Taoist metaphysics (*hsüan-hsüeh*)."[14] The transition was not an outright rejection of Confucian values or a wholesale acceptance of the Taoist doctrines of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. Rather, it was a long, complex process of mutual influence and transformation, leading to a phenomenon of philosophical eclecticism known as "Neo-Taoism." Most leading Neo-Taoists displayed an allegiance to both the Confucian and Taoist canons.[15] As early as the Later Han, Ma Jung (79–166), a great Confucian scholar, began to study and annotate the Taoist texts *Lao Tzu* and *Huai-nan Tzu* as well as Confucian classics.[16] Continuing this eclectic tendency in the Wei–Chin period, Ho Yen (190–249) compiled a variorum edition of Confucius' *Analects* and at the same time wrote the treatises, *On Tao and Te* (*Tao te lun*) and *On Non-Action* (*Wu-wei lun*), to elucidate Taoist ideas.[17] For his part, Wang Pi (226–249) wrote commentaries on both the Confucian classic *The Book of Changes* (*I-ching*) and the Taoist classic *Lao Tzu*.[18] These two Wei–Chin philosophers integrated Taoist metaphysics and Confucian ethics and thereby founded a philosophical system that was cosmologically sophisticated, yet readily applicable to the administration of political and social affairs. A *New Account of Tales of the World* includes the following account of how Wang Pi explained the interrelatedness of Confucian and Taoist doctrines:

> [Pei] Hui put a question to [Wang] Pi, "Indeed, non-being (*wu*) is that from which all things draw their subsistence, and the Sage [Confucius] would not discourse upon it. On the other hand, Lao Tzu elaborated on it without end. Why?" Pi answered, "The Sage embodied non-being, and non-being itself could not be explained. So whatever the Sage talked about pertains to being (*yu*). On the contrary, Lao [Tzu] and Chuang [Tzu] were not free from being. Therefore, they constantly expatiate on what they were lacking [i.e., on non-being].[19]

In Liu Shao's *Studies of Human Abilities* (*Jen-wu chih*), we can find an example of how Neo-Taoists adapted Taoist metaphysics to the governing of political and military affairs:

> Chung Hui (225–264) set out on his campaign against the Kingdom of Shu. When he bade farewell to Wang Jung, he asked him about what strategies to follow. [Wang] Jung said, "The Taoists say, 'do one's work but do not rest on one's success.' To achieve success is not difficult, but to hold on to what one has achieved is."[20]

A contemporary of Ho Yen and Wang Pi, Juan Chi also combined Confucian ethics and Taoist metaphysics in his less rigorously philosophical but more poetic kind of prose writing. As if to emphasize his eclecticism, he paired off his writings on the two philosophies. His "Essay on Music" ("Yüeh-lun"), an elucidation of Confucian doctrines on hierarchical order and harmony, is matched by his "On Understanding *Chuang Tzu*" ("Ta *Chuang* lun") and "The Great Man" ("Ta-jen hsien-sheng chuan"), which both preach spontaneity and absolute freedom beyond Confucian morality.[21] His "Understanding the *I-ching*" ("T'ung *I* lun"), a recasting of Confucian social philosophy within a cosmological framework set up by the divinational hexagrams in that work, is counterpoised by his "On Understanding *Lao Tzu*" ("T'ung *Lao* lun"), which probes Taoist metaphysics in the context of political events ascribed to the time of the three legendary Sages (Yao, Shun, and Yü).[22]

In his writings, Confucian and Taoist ideas are more complementary than not, as is also the case with Ho Yen and Wang Pi. In "Essay on Music" he first elaborates on music's cosmological implications in Taoist metaphysical terms, and then endorses its practical functions in harmonizing all human relationships in a hierarchical society.[23] And he winds up "On Understanding *Chuang Tzu*," reversing his tirade against Confucianism earlier in the essay and integrating Confucian social doctrine into Chuang Tzu's metaphysics:

> He [Chuang Tzu] can only [teach us] how we can prevent being harmed by the things in this world and nourish our body; when no damage is done by external things, our spirit will be purified. And when our body and spirit are both [intact] within us, then the Way and Virtue will be complete; men will not depart from loyalty and sincerity and the upper and lower [classes in society] will be peaceful.[24]

Here Juan Chi endorses the Confucian ideals of loyalty, sincerity, and social order, and seems to regard them as what should be Chuang Tzu's ultimate goal. Juan Chi's philosophical eclecticism is even more dramatically accentuated in his panegyrics on Confucius and Lao Tzu. Apparently inspired by a contemporary vogue for lauding the founders of Confucianism and Taoism, Juan Chi wrote "Eulogy for Confucius" ("K'ung

Tzu lei") and "An Encomium for Lao Tzu" ("Lao Tzu tsan").[25] However, he did not concern himself, as did many other Neo-Taoists, with the question of whether Confucius or Lao Tzu was the greater thinker. Instead he presented both as cultural heroes who transcended the narrowly defined boundaries of Confucianism and Taoism. For instance, in "Eulogy for Confucius" he creates an image of Confucius as at once a teacher of morality and a master of metaphysics:

> Eulogy For Confucius   孔子誄
>
>   He raised three thousand disciples,   養徒三千
> 2 Of whom seventy entered his hall.   升堂七十
>   He concentrated his spirit and pursued speculation, 潛神演思
> 4 Following history he wrote commentaries
>   on the *Book* [of Documents].   因史作書
>   He studied the Grand Oneness in formlessness,   考混元於無形
> 6 And traced the process of creation to
>   the Great Beginning   本造化於太初
>   (*JCCC*, 195)

At the same time he portrays Lao Tzu as a Taoist Sage who not only communed with the mystery of the universe, but also perfected the ways of man with respect to government, moral education, and social order in his "On Understanding *Lao Tzu*":

> The sage grasps the principle of heaven and man, abides by the natural way of things, and understands the nature of administration and moral instruction....[26]
> (*JCCC*, 159)

Juan Chi's eclectic attitude is evident in the very appellation he uses for Lao Tzu, whom he honors with the title of Sage (*sheng-jen*), which is normally reserved for Confucius or the virtuous rulers of yore. He does not use Lao Tzu's traditional title of True Man (*chen-jen*) or Perfect Man (*chih-jen*). He even goes so far as to identify the Tao of Lao Tzu with the *t'ai chi* (great beginning) of *The Book of Changes* and the *yüan* (the origin) of *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

Poetic Imagery: Coordinates of Human Frailty

In the realm of poetry Juan Chi displayed the same propensity for contradictions that he did in the world of action. If he worked toward

a frictionless conflation of different philosophical ideas in his philosophical prose, he foregrounded the conflicts between Confucian, hedonist, and Taoist approaches in his *yung-huai* poems. While the eclectic tendency in his prose reflects his intellectual understanding of abstract philosophical ideas, the conflict in his poetry reveals his impassioned struggles to lead his own life in the light of those ideas.[27] In his poems he seldom strives to resolve his inner conflicts by deciding to follow one particular approach to life. Sometimes he pits certain ideas and attitudes against those diametrically opposite to them. Sometimes he endorses and denies them in the same breath. At other times he simply lumps them together without the slightest hint of his own preference. The resulting tension produces an aesthetic effect praised by Chung Hung in the highest of terms:

> His *yung-huai* poems are capable of purifying our inner spirits and inspiring our deepest reflection. His words stay within the realm of what we can see and hear, but his feelings transcend the bounds of the universe!... His works make a man forget his shallow and narrow self and aim for what is profound and great. They are full of words of great emotional intensity. His intended meanings are so deep and unbounded that it is hard to fathom what they are.[28]

These words of praise spell out the prominent features of Juan Chi's poetry: unadorned poetic form, profound emotional effects, and complex thoughts and feelings beyond language. These features are none other than the distinctive qualities of a symbolic mode of presentation. But while Chung Hung throws light on the symbolic nature of Juan Chi's poetry, he offers no analysis of his symbolic mode of presentation. Like Chung Hung, most traditional Chinese critics rest content with making impressionistic comments on Juan Chi's works. I propose to set forth the formal features of his symbolic mode and to analyze them in the light of his exploitation of indeterminacy on the levels of poetic imagery, structure, and intertextual relationship.

Let us first examine Juan Chi's innovative use of poetic imagery. The import of poetic imagery is two-fold: its denotations and its connotations. The former are referents to determinate, usually external, phenomena. The latter are nonreferential qualities. Poetic images may function chiefly as determinate referents to the outside world or indeterminate symbols of the inner world, depending on whether the poet foregrounds their denotative or connotative aspect. Narrative or descriptive poets, who use images to create a scene or spectacle that approximates a real locale or event, tend to foreground denotative meanings. The more

referential the images, the more realistic the scene. Conversely, to maximize the connotative meanings of poetic imagery is the primary concern of symbolizing poets. They often seek to disassociate images from a real scene so as to relocate them within a new construct of their literary imagination. The farther the images are removed from a real setting, the more effectively they will lose their referential meanings and acquire indeterminate, symbolic significance.[29] This symbolizing practice characterizes Juan Chi's handling of poetic images.

Like Han *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* poets, Juan Chi dwells upon the theme of human frailty in his introspective poems. However, his use of poetic images is markedly different. He does not organize them into set scenes or topoi like those in the Han *yüeh-fu*, nor does he use them to construct narrative or descriptive outlines like those in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," which are to be filled in with abstract reflections on human transience. Instead, Juan Chi uses poetic images as coordinates of human frailty and organizes them into a mental landscape that suggests no real locale.

Yung-huai, Poem 18	詠懷 其十八
The solar chariot hangs in the southwest,	懸車在西南
2 Hsi Ho is about to drive it down;	羲和將欲傾
Streams of its light shine on the Four Seas,	流光耀四海
4 Then suddenly come evening and darkness.	忽忽至夕冥
It casts its radiance upon Hsien Lake in the morning,	朝爲咸池暉
6 The shores of River Meng receive its evening splendor;	濛汜受其榮
Why is it that all men, successful or otherwise,	豈知窮達士
8 Once dead, are not born again?	一死不再生
Behold those blossoms of peach and plum!	視彼桃李花
10 Who can long maintain such a splendid luster?	誰能久熒熒
Where is the perfect gentleman to be found?	君子在何許
12 I sigh for not having been one with him.	嘆息未合幷
I fix my reverent gaze upon the pines of Ching Mountain,	瞻仰景山松
14 For they can soothe my feelings.[30]	可以慰吾情

(*JCCC*, 276)

This piece abounds in images: the sun, the Four Seas, the lake, the river, flowers, fruit trees, pines, mountains, and the longing speaker. But from them we cannot picture a recognizable locale. The names of celestial places hardly present a scene of real skies, as they come from the mythical world created in the Taoist works *Huai-nan Tzu* and *Chuang*

Tzu. The plant images do not really suggest a mountain scene as they stand apart from each other. While all these images cease to direct our attention to external referents, they call forth a wealth of connotative meanings. In lines 1–6, the images of sunrise and sunset, morning and evening, day and night evoke a profound sense of melancholy over the passage of time. In lines 7–8, the image of the ultimate dissolution of the human frame arouses the darkest moods of the soul. In lines 9–10, the image of blossoming flowers betokens ephemeral glory and the onset of decay. In lines 12–14, the image of the sorrow-stricken speaker further thickens the gloom of the poem. The connotations of all the images are bound up with the same issue—human frailty. So we can very well construe them as symbolic coordinates of that frailty: its projection onto temporal aspects of nature and onto the life of plants and animals, as well as its manifestation in the physical conditions and the emotional life of man.[31] These four coordinates seem to be the reverse of the coordinates of human happiness later developed by Hsieh Ling-yün (385–433)—opportune time (*liang-chen*) in one's temporal existence, beautiful scenes (*mei-ching*) in the external world, delight of the heart (*shang-hsin*) in one's inner self, and enjoyable activities (*le-shih*) in the realm of action.[32] Juan Chi focused on his four coordinates in most of his poems.

Poem 4 offers us a remarkable example of Juan Chi's use of the first coordinate—projections of human frailty into the temporal aspects of nature:

	The Heavenly Horses come out of the northwest,	天馬出西北
2	And they come following the eastern road.	由來從東道
	Spring and autumn cannot be brought to a halt,	春秋非有託
4	How can wealth and honor be kept forever?	富貴焉常保
	Clear dew covers the swamp orchids,[33]	清露被皋蘭
6	Thick frost settles on prairie grass.	凝霜沾野草
	In the morning, he was still a good-looking youth,	朝爲媚少年
8	By the evening, he has already become an ugly old man.	夕暮成醜老
	If not an immortal like Wang-tzu Chin,	自非王子晉
10	Who can keep his youthful radiance forever?	誰能常美好

(*JCCC*, 216)

Here Juan Chi observes reflections of human transience in the swift passage of time. His astronomical and meteorological images make up the great majority of the first coordinates used in these eighty-two poems. By Victor Mair's estimate, images of the sun and moon occur 25 times; seasonal changes 47 times; dew, frost, and wind 27 times; and morning and evening 61 times.[34] Almost every time, Juan Chi strives to depict not a

natural scene but a mental picture of the impermanence of human existence.

Poem 71 exemplifies Juan Chi's use of the second coordinate— projections of human frailty into the life of plants and animals:

	Luxuriant hibiscus overgrows the grave mounds,	木槿榮丘墓
2	Glistening with lustrous splendor;	煌煌有光色
	But when the bright sun sinks into the forest,	白日頹林中
4	Its petals flutter down to the roadside.	翩翩零路側
	The cricket chirps by doors and windows,	蟋蟀吟戶牖
6	The cicada hums amidst the brambles.	蟪蛄鳴荊棘
	Ephemerids play for only three mornings,	蜉蝣玩三朝
8	Yet they swarm around preening their wings.	采采修羽翼
	For whom do they display their finery,	衣裳爲誰施
10	Flying up and down as they bedeck themselves?	俛仰自收拭
	How brief is the time allotted to a life!	生命幾何時
12	Still, each pursues his passionate endeavors.	慷慨各努力
	(*JCCC*, 384)	

In this poem Juan Chi contemplates human frailty through living things. These plant and animal images signify the impermanence of all living forms, including human beings. The inevitable dissolution of the human frame into nothingness makes all worldly pursuits trivial and pitiful. All human glories are, like the scintillating brilliance of hibiscus, gone only too soon. All human pleasures and freedom are, like the joys of crickets and cicadas, soon played out. In his poems Juan Chi uses plant images 67 times and animal images 61 times, a frequency rivaling his astronomical and meteorological images. The plant images, excepting a few mythical, celestial ones, are mostly those of annuals: grass and brambles, luxuriant foliage, and fragrant blossoms on the eve of their decay (49 times).[35] As for his animal images, they are mostly insects and birds chirping out their mournful notes and scurrying for shelter at the onset of wintry destruction (64 times).[36]

Poem 5 typifies Juan Chi's use of the third coordinate— manifestations of human frailty in the physical condition of man himself:

	Early on, during my youth,	平生少年時
2	I was frivolous and took to music and song.	輕薄好絃歌
	I roamed westward to Hsien-yang,	西遊咸陽中
4	Where I met with fair ladies like Chao and Li.	趙李相經過
	Before my revelries came to an end,	娛樂未終極
6	The bright sun suddenly sank.	白日忽蹉跎

	I urged on my horse to return once more,	驅馬復來歸
8	And turned around to look at the Three Rivers.	反顧望三河
	A hundred taels of gold were all gone,	黃金百鎰盡
10	There were, alas, too many things to spend money on!	資用常苦多
	Facing north, I came to the T'ai-hang road,	北臨太行道
12	What will become of one who has lost his way?	失路將如何

(*JCCC*, 222)

Juan Chi here presents two kinds of corporeal symptoms of human frailty: the implied loss of his youth and restless actions and movements. The first is implied by the loss of the speaker's youthfulness in lines 1–4. The second includes his horseback riding in line 7, his turning around and surveying a landscape in line 8, and his standing facing north on the road in line 11. All these actions and movements are none other than the motifs or stylized acts through which a fortune-seeking wanderer reveals his sorrow over human transience in both the *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* traditions. But where the author of a *yüeh-fu* or *ku-shih* piece normally presents such stylized acts as a coherent course of action against a realistic background, Juan Chi treats them as free-floating coordinates of human frailty and organizes them in such a way as to reveal his gloomy state of mind. Indeed, because of a complete lack of reference to real events, the wastrel's actions and movements should be construed as symbols of frailty rather than a description of a real person in the real world. Such a symbolic transformation of the *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* motifs pervades Juan Chi's poems. The poet frequently makes symbolic use of these three motifs of physical appearance: the "Fair One" (35 times), spent youth (25 times), and aging and death (46 times).[37] His symbolic motifs of action and movement are even more abundant: sighing, sobbing, weeping, and crying (19 times), looking, gazing, and observing (52 times),[38] forlorn gestures and postures (56 times), standing despondently next to some place (17 times), pacing to and fro (9 times), taking to the road (23 times), climbing mountains or other locations (15 times), and roaming (37 times).[39]

Poem 34 exhibits a high concentration of the fourth coordinate—manifestations of human frailty in the emotional life of man.

	A day, and then another morning,	一日復一朝
2	A sunset, and then another sunrise.	一昏復一晨
	My appearance has changed from what it was,	容色改平常
4	My vital spirit has dissipated.	精神自飄淪
	I raise my cup with much grief in my heart,	臨觴多哀楚
6	And think of my friends of bygone days.	思我故時人

Facing my wine, I cannot utter a single word, 對酒不能言
8 My mournful heart is full of pathos and bitter sorrow. 悽愴懷酸辛
I wish to farm on the sunny side of the eastern fields, 願耕東皋陽
10 But with whom can I begin a life true to myself? 誰與守其眞
Worry and pain are but a momentary matter, 愁苦在一時
12 High deeds will only do harm to my weak body. 高行傷微身
How can I learn to bend and stretch myself? 曲直何所爲
14 I will let snakes and dragons be my neighbors! 龍蛇爲我鄰
(*JCCC*, 313)

Within the space of this short poem, Juan Chi uses a series of emotive words: spirits (*ching-shen*) in line 4, grief (*ai-ch'u*) in line 5, pathos (*ch'i-ch'uang*) and bitter sorrow (*suan-hsin*) in line 8, and worry (*ch'ou*) and pain (*k'u*) in line 11.[40] These emotive words are just as hard to distinguish in the original classical Chinese as in translation. If we go over the commentaries on this poem, we find that traditional critics gloss *ai-ch'u*, *ch'i-ts'ang* and *suan-hsin* with the same synonym *pei-shang* (sorrow).[41] While they share the same core meaning, each has its own rich connotations. In using such highly nuanced words all at the same time, Juan Chi makes a radical departure from the practice of the poets before him. When his predecessors use vaguely defined emotive words, they strive to make their referents easily determinable by presenting those words as a response to a concrete situation. When they use the word *shang* (sorrow), for instance, they leave no doubt whether that sorrow stems from the separation of husband and wife, betrayal of friendship or love, political setbacks, or some other reason.[42] Seldom, if ever, do they use a string of emotive words, probably for fear of compounding the vagueness of these words. By contrast, Juan Chi tries to prevent emotive words from being perceived as determinable responses to external stimuli by dispensing with concrete settings. For this reason, Shen Te-ch'ien characterizes his poetic sentiments as "sorrows and joys arising from no apparent reasons."[43] By heaping emotive words one upon another, he intensifies the interplay of the elusive connotations carried by each word and thus calls forth a world of thoughts, feelings, and moods.

Juan Chi's transformation of abstract emotive words into artistic feelings is an important hallmark of his poetic talent. If we consult the concordance to his *yung-huai* poems, we find that his emotive words cover a wide spectrum of interior experience ranging from spiritual conditions (e.g., *hun, p'o, ching, shen*), moral disposition (*chih*), sensibility (e.g., *hsin, ch'ing, kan*), to all kinds of sorrow (e.g., *pei, shang, ai, yüan, hsin, ch'ou*)—with a total of 128 occurrences.[44] We also note that he has combined many of these emotive words into compounds that aptly capture the

subtleties of interior experience.[45] Along with the other three coordinates, Juan Chi uses this wide range of emotive expressions to convey his otherwise indescribable consciousness of human frailty.

To enhance the power of his coordinates, Juan Chi often qualifies them with adverbs of time. In his *yung-huai* poems Juan Chi employs the present-time adverbs *chin* and its variants 8 times, future-time adverbs (*chiang* and its variants) 18 times, adverbs indicating instantaneous change (*hsü-yü* and its variants) 10 times, and adverbs indicating sudden change (*hu* and its variants) 23 times.[46] He uses present-time adverbs to emphasize the brevity of human happiness or the imminence of annihilation:

The best time is *at this very hour,*	嘉時在今辰
And a drizzling rain sprinkles the dust.	零雨灑塵埃
(*YH37*: 1–2)	

The autumn wind blows on flying bean leaves,	秋風吹飛藿
Withering and decaying begin *at this time.*	零落從此始
(*YH3*: 3–4)	

He uses future-time adverbs mostly when he laments man's inability to control his future in the face of mortality:

I pace back and forth: *when shall I see you again?*	徘徊將何見
Worry and anxiety break my heart.	憂思獨傷心
(*YH1*: 7–8)	

Rise and fall change in an instant;	盛衰在須臾
We will part, and *what shall become of us?*	離別將如何
(*YH7*: 11–12)	

"I study here below to reach what is above,"	下學而上達
But swiftly, swiftly time flies: *what shall I do?*	忽忽將如何
(*YH78*: 9–10)[47]	

He uses adverbs indicating instantaneous change when he dramatizes how precariously our life hangs between success and failure, authority and subjection, life and death—a balance that can be tilted against us at any time.

I only fear that, *in an instant,*	但恐須臾間
My soul's ether will be gone with the wind.	魂氣隨風飄
(*YH33*: 9–10)	

Their leisure is *a matter of moments*,　　　　從容在一時
The glory of youth will not shine again.　　　繁華不再榮
(*YH*30: 13–14)

Loss of power occurs *in an instant*,　　　　失勢在須臾
They walked over my tomb wearing their swords.　帶劍上吾丘
(*YH*6: 7–8)[48]

He uses adverbs indicating suddenness of change to accentuate the un-expectedness with which the eternal darkness engulfs us:

Suddenly comes the darkness of night.　　　忽忽至夕冥
(*YH*18: 4)

In a trice, ten thousand generations are gone,　一餐度萬世
Rising and sinking again in a thousand years.　千歲再浮沉
(*YH*74: 9–10)

We reach old age *in the space of a breath*,　咄嗟行至老
For all our striving, there is always misery and worry.　僶俛常苦憂
(*YH*77: 1–2)[49]

In sum, Juan Chi's handling of poetic imagery is distinguished by a heavy concentration on the four types of images examined above. Indeed, if we look through Mair's "Concordance," we find that these image types, together with other poetic allusions to be discussed later, make up almost the entire pool of Juan Chi's images. This concentration on a few images and the frequency of their recurrence are not found in any earlier poetical collections of comparable stature. His transformation of these images into symbolic coordinates results from an artistic process in which he subdues their referential meanings and heightens their emotive connotations. His symbolic coordinates effectively call forth a multitude of indeterminate thoughts, feelings, and moods arising from his innermost awareness of human transience. Through his masterly exploitation of poetic indeterminacy, Juan Chi enables us to go beyond crude emotionalism and reflect on the full compass of human transience.

　　I noted above that Juan Chi dwells on physical frailty—that is, the inevitable dissolution of the human frame. Obviously, he has adopted the central theme of the Han *ku-shih,* but he broadens it to include the problems of depravity and other social ills. In other words, he dwells upon moral frailties as well. Here he usually focuses on the inconstancy of men in thought and action and in their relationships at different

social levels. He exposes this inconstancy through the concrete failings of real historical personages. For instance in his Poem 20, to be discussed later, he alludes to the well-known examples of men's inconstancy in doctrinal allegiance, in moral commitment, in familial bonds, and in feudal alliances as told in *Lieh Tzu*, *Mo Tzu*, and *Strategies of the Warring States*. Through these allusions he means to criticize conspicuous instances of inconstancy in his own political world: the imminent usurpation of the Wei reign by the Ssu-mas, a powerful family much trusted by the Wei rulers for a long time; and the eagerness of many Wei officials to serve the Ssu-ma clique. He also reflects on the shame of his own inconstancy—his failure to be a Wei loyalist like his friend Hsi K'ang, who dared to stand up against the usurpers at the cost of his life. For Juan Chi, the intrigues and treacheries of the Ssu-ma clique represent the worst kind of human inconstancy, or "venomous malice" (*yüan-tu*) as he calls it in Poem 13.[50] In the course of scheming to usurp the throne, the Ssu-mas committed numerous heinous acts: the executions of Ts'ao Shuang and Ho Yen in 249, the dethronement of Ts'ao Fang in 254, the decapitation of Hsi K'ang in 262, and so on. As the poet witnessed such cold-blooded atrocities over the years, the terror of death struck ever deeper into his heart. With his own life hanging in the balance, he ceased to bemoan the gradual approach of a natural death as did the authors of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Rather, he feared violent death of man's own making. Indeed, judging by his frequent descriptions of the swift change from glory to disgrace, from wealth to poverty, from light to darkness, or from life to death in a single couplet, we can see that he fears not so much time's passage as his sudden annihilation through an act of "venomous malice." He laments human transience not merely as the consequence of man's physical weakness, but as the result of his moral frailty.

While Juan Chi foregrounds his censure of human inconstancy in a piece like Poem 20, he more often blends his moral and political concerns into the background of his lament over human transience. In most of his poems, it is impossible to identify any specific references to contemporary events. Those who insist on doing so give forced allegorical readings based on the most tenuous of textual grounds. An example is the following interpretation of Poem 5. Liu Lü (1317–1379) reads it as an expression of Juan Chi's regret over his own early association with the Ssu-mas, and Ch'en Hang (1785–1826) takes the words of the wastrel as a hidden lament over the fall of the Wei.[51] As for Ku Chih, he prefers to identify the wastrel as a satirical image of the licentious emperor Ts'ao Fang (231–74).[52] Without solid textual evidence, all these allegorical readings prove to be nothing more than critical fantasies. They cannot

convince the reader because, as Holzman points out, "the poem is not a simple satire to be explained away once and for all by an identification."[53] Since Juan Chi has linked his social satire so intimately with his lament at human transience in most of his works, it is difficult for us to address this issue without running the risk of reducing his complex works to a series of dry political statements.

Poetic Structure: Two Major Innovations

If Juan Chi's use of what I call his four coordinates is the first step of his symbolic presentation, his structuring of them as a mental landscape is the second step. Like the first, this step is characterized by his attempts to minimize referential function and maximize the connotative meanings of poetic imagery. When poetic images are arranged in a coherent sequence, they usually guide our attention to a temporal progression of an event or a contiguous order of natural phenomena in the external world, or by extension, to a continuous process of reasoning in the mind of the poet. To suppress this referential function the poet must find ways to cast his images in a nonlinear structure so that the reader can follow multiple, possibly infinite ways of associating them and hence bring into full play their connotative meanings. Using just such an approach, Juan Chi frequently interweaves the four coordinates within two poetic structures seldom seen in earlier pentasyllabic poetry: cyclical structure and discontinuous structure.

Linear and Nonlinear Structures

To accentuate the contrast between the linear structures in earlier pentasyllabic poetry and the nonlinear structures of Juan Chi, let us compare Poem 13 of "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" with *Yung-huai*, Poem 24.[54] First, a reprise of Poem 13:

I ride my carriage to the Upper East Gate,	驅車上東門
Gazing at the graves north of the wall.	遙望郭北墓
White poplars, how they weep in the wind!	白楊何蕭蕭
Pine and cypress flank the broad paths.	松柏夾廣路
Underneath them, the dead from long ago,	下有陳死人
Dark, dark is their long night.	杳杳即長暮
Lost in sleep beneath the Yellow Springs,	潛寐黃泉下
Come a thousand years, they will not wake.	千載永不寤

Seasons of growth and decay march on and on,　　浩浩陰陽移
The years allotted to man are like morning dew.　年命如朝露
Man's life is as transient as a sojourn,　　　　　人生忽如寄
His frame is not as firm as metal or stone.　　　壽無金石固
Ten thousand years have gone by,　　　　　　　萬歲更相送
No sages or worthies could cross the flow of time.　賢聖莫能度
Some seek drugs and hope to become immortals,　服食求神仙
Many of them only end their life with poison.　　多爲藥所誤
Far better to drink fine wine,　　　　　　　　　不如飲美酒
And wear clothes made of choice white silk!　　被服紈與素

The first half of this poem introduces a succession of images that evoke the contiguous relationship of natural phenomena in a real place identified as "the hill called Pei-mang northeast of the city [Lo-yang, Capital of the Latter Han]."[55] They also trace the temporal process of the speaker, narrowing the focus of his observation from the vistas outside the city gate to the graveyard, to the wood, and by an act of imagination, to the ancient dead beneath the Yellow Springs. In the second half of the poem, a different set of images and concepts—metal and stone, sages and worthies, drugs, poison, and soft white silk—reveal the linear process of syllogistic reasoning. The speaker proceeds from the general condition of man (major premise) to the futility of searching for a cure of human transience (minor premise), and finally, to his own choice of a hedonist lifestyle (conclusion). The structural linearity of this poem resembles that in most literati *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* works before Juan Chi. In contrast, let us look at *Yung-huai*, Poem 24:

Intense grief holds my will in check,　　　　　　　　　　殷憂令志結
2　Timid and subdued, as if in a constant state of alarm.　慌惕常若驚
Before the pleasure of roaming plays out,　　　　　　　逍遙未終晏
4　The red sun suddenly plunges in the west.　　　　　　朱暉忽西傾
The cricket cries by the doorsill,　　　　　　　　　　　蟋蟀在戶牖
6　The cicada buzzes in the courtyard.　　　　　　　　　蟪蛄號中庭
Without a bonding of our hearts,　　　　　　　　　　　心腸未相好
8　Who can say that he knows my feelings?　　　　　　誰云亮我情
I wish I were a bird amidst the clouds,　　　　　　　　願爲雲間鳥
10　Flying a thousand miles and uttering a mournful cry.　千里一哀鳴
The three magic mushrooms cover the Isle of Ying,　　三芝延瀛洲
12　Such distant roaming can prolong one's life.　　　　遠遊可長生
(JCCC, 291)

We cannot trace a clearly linear order in this poem. We cannot detect a temporal order of perception because the speaker does not play the role of a spectator who surveys, as in the previous poem, an extended field of vision. Nor can we conceive a contiguous order among the images. The red sun, crickets and cicada, and the magic mushrooms are but loosely strung together. By the same token we cannot find any evidence of a linear reasoning process behind these emotional utterances: "intense grief," "timid and subdued," "bonding of our hearts," "my feelings," and "I wish." Here the speaker broods over his emotional state rather than philosophizing about the human condition. By suppressing structural linearity, the poet seeks to break the bondage of determinate referents and to probe deep into his indeterminate thoughts and feelings.

It is important to point out that not every *ku-shih* or *yüeh-fu* piece demonstrates as unambiguously linear a structure as Poem 13 does. In fact, in a small number of *ku-shih* works like some of the parting poems attributed to Li Ling,[56] we actually can discern a nonlinear arrangement of images similar to what we have seen in *Yung-huai*, Poem 24. But as a rule, nonlinear structures do not become a noteworthy phenomenon until Juan Chi uses them extensively.

Discontinuous Structure

Juan Chi often avails himself of discontinuous structures when he reflects on his own mental conflicts and delivers oblique moral messages. His suppression of linearity is much more thorough in his discontinuous structure than in his cyclical structure. Poem 66 provides a good example:

	I cannot travel beyond the Gate of Coldness,	寒門不可出
2	Nor can I float on the waters of the sea;	海水焉可浮
	The rays of the sun become invisible,	朱明不相見
4	In the darkness there is nothing left to be seen.	奄睞獨無侯
	Holding a melon, I think of Tung-ling,	持瓜思東陵
6	The yellow bird surely brought shame to itself.	黃雀誠獨羞
	Loss of power occurs in an instant,	失勢在須臾
8	They walked over my tomb wearing their swords.	帶劍上吾丘
	I lament the man of the mulberry grove,	悼彼桑林子
10	My tears roll down and cover all my face.	涕下自交流
	I shall borrow a mount between the Chien and the Wei,	假乘汧渭間
12	Put on my saddle and ride away to roam.	鞍馬去行遊

(*JCCC*, 373)

To follow the development of this poem proves a formidable task. Its structural coherence is virtually nonexistent, with neither contiguous linkage of images, nor temporal order of actions, nor a linear process of reflection. It is practically impossible to see the connection among these actions: "I cannot travel ... Nor can I float on the waters ... [I hold] a melon ... I lament ... I shall borrow a mount...." This radical suppression of structural coherence compels us to direct our attention to the allusive meanings of individual images.

With the aid of classical commentaries, we find that each of these disjointed images leads us to a different world of the past. The "Gate of Coldness" (line 1) seems to come from "Distant Journey," a poem ascribed to Ch'ü Yuan, which describes his coming to the far end of the world, often identified with the North Pole.[57] The expression "float on the waters of the sea" (line 2) probably originates in Confucius's Analects, V, 6, in which the Master says, "The Way makes no progress, I shall get on a raft and float out to the sea."[58] The "melon" and "Tung-ling" (line 5) tell the story of the marquis, a loyalist to the Ch'in dynasty, who refused to serve in a new dynasty and lived a commoner's life by raising melons.[59] The "yellow bird" (line 6) recalls the story of the yellow birds "who happily play among the trees, not knowing a young sportsman is about to shoot them down with his pellets and spring-action bow."[60] This story is found in *Strategies of the Warring States* among a series of fables told by Chuang Hsin to King Hsiang of Ch'u in order to alert him to the dangers of his dissolute life.[61] Line 8 may allude to the fictional story of the Han Emperor Wu's grave being desecrated by soldiers soon after his death.[62] Finally, the "man of the mulberry grove" (line 9) may refer to an account in *The Tso Commentary (Tso chuan)*, Duke Hsüan, second year, about a man called Ling Ch'e, who was saved by Chao Tun when he was starving to death in a mulberry wood and who later paid his debt of gratitude by risking his own life to help Chao Tun out of a perilous situation.[63] Not until we bring out these allusive meanings can we associate those disparate images in a meaningful manner. Through them we can penetrate the poet's interior consciousness and follow his brooding over the collapse of moral order, the danger of politics, the impossibility of escape from a corrupt world, and the unquenchable desire for absolute individual freedom.

Juan Chi's Poem 76 is another case of the thorough suppression of structural linearity:

	Where can one learn chariot-driving?	秋駕安可學
2	Master Tung-yeh lay exhausted by the road side.	東野窮路旁
	The line goes deep and the fish dive deeper in the pool,	綸深魚淵潛

4   The arrow is readied and the birds fly high.   矰設鳥高翔
      Adrift, adrift, I float in a light boat,   汎汎乘輕舟
6   Riding the waves where the eye cannot see.   演漾靡所望
      Who has ever benefited from mutual praise?   吹噓誰以益
8   Let us forget one another and lose
           ourselves in the rivers and lakes.   江湖相捐忘
      It is hard to put on a charming and coquettish face,   都冶難爲顏
10 To have a composed countenance is my constant wish.   修容是我常
      Sung and Wang know the way to prolong one's years: 茲年在松喬
12 Vague and nebulous, they live on without an end.   恍惚誠未央
      (*JCCC*, 394)

     The links between all but the last couplets pose serious problems for comprehension. We find it practically impossible to relate these images on the ground of temporal sequence, spatial contiguity, or a linear process of reflection: the chariot-driving (lines 1–2), the line-fishing and bird-shooting (lines 3–4), the drifting in a boat (lines 5–6), the freedom of fish in lakes and streams (lines 7–8), and facial looks (lines 9–10). Once again we must forego our habit of linear comprehension and search the subterranean field of allusions for clues to the meanings of the poem.

     The "chariot-driving" (line 1) reminds us of a *Chuang Tzu* fragment about a disciple who one night dreamt about chariot-driving and the next day had its method taught to him by his master, although he had previously tried but failed to learn it from his master for three years. "Tung-yeh" (line 2) is the expert charioteer in *Chuang Tzu*, chapter 19, or in *The Outer Commentary to the Han School Version of the Book of Poetry* (*Han-shih wai-chuan*) who stumbled by the roadside because he drove his horses too fast and overworked them. The "fish" and "birds" (lines 3–4) may be identified with those in *Chuang Tzu*, chapter 6, which can freely go any place they like. In line 8, the phrase "to lose ourselves in the rivers and lakes" alludes to the fish described in *Chuang Tzu*, chapter 6, as symbols of individuals freed of any social constraints and obligations.[64] The "mutual praise" (*ch'ui-hsü*, literally meaning "to breathe out") on line 7 appears to be a borrowing from Lao Tzu, and the "vague and nebulous" (*huang-hu*) to be the very word used to describe the mystical vagueness of the Tao in *Lao Tzu*, chapter 21.[65]

     Numerous as they are, these allusions to *Chuang Tzu* and *Lao Tzu* are by no means a simple, linear enumeration of Taoist views. Intertwined with allusions to other non-Taoist texts, they acquire new contextualized meanings that differ from or even contradict those of the two Taoist classics.[66] For instance, the "fish" and "birds" (lines 3–4) occur as the likely targets of the fishing line and the dart, even though in *Chuang*

Tzu they signify uninhibited freedom. So entering this labyrinth of images and allusions, we will not find any determinate meanings enabling us to disentangle the poem's Taoist, Confucian, and mystic elements. Instead, we will remain in the vortex of feelings and thoughts stemming from Juan Chi's brooding over the danger of politics, the impossibility of escape, social obligation, individual freedom, personal integrity, and the esoteric pursuit of longevity.

Cyclical Structure

While Juan Chi adopts a discontinuous structure for conveying his oblique moral messages and his mental conflicts, he opts for a cyclical structure when he dwells upon general human conditions. His cyclical structure manifests the process of a speaker brooding over certain feelings and thoughts, struggling to find psychological relief through symbolic projections, then reverting to those feelings and thoughts. We can observe this tripartite, cyclical development in *Yung-huai*, Poem 16:

	I pace back and forth on the shores of P'eng Lake,	徘徊蓬池上
2	Turning around to look toward Ta-liang.	還顧望大梁
	The green water tosses up great waves,	綠水揚洪波
4	The vast plains stretch far and wide.	曠野莽茫茫
	Scurrying animals cross the paths of one another,	走獸交橫馳
6	Flying birds soar, one after another.	飛鳥相隨翔
	The stars of the Quail now make their appearance,	是時鶉火中
8	The sun and moon face each other in the sky.	日月正相望
	The north wind sharpens the biting cold,	朔風厲嚴寒
10	The chill air sends down a thin frost.	陰氣下微霜
	A sojourner, I am without a companion;	羈旅無儔匹
12	Sorrow and pain torment me as I look around.	俯仰懷哀傷
	The mean man chalks up his merits,	小人計其功
14	The superior man follows the way of constancy.	君子道其常
	I do not regret being weary and careworn at the end,	豈惜終憔悴
16	And so I sing out my feelings here, in this verse.	詠言著斯章

(*JCCC*, 270)

At the beginning of the poem the speaker observes his own restless actions: "I pace to and fro ... Turn around to gaze...."[67] The middle contains a series of projections of the speaker's melancholia into different aspects of nature: green water and wide plains; the scurrying animals and flying birds; the wintry stars, sun, and moon; the northern wind and

dank air. Such images are not, as I have said earlier, organized along a linear process of description or narration. When the poet casts his images into self-contained couplets, he merely aims to set forth the gloomy moods of an alienated soul. To end the poem, the poet lets this alienated speaker describe his emotional state in explicit terms: his loneliness, his sorrow and pain, and his belief in moral constancy. For another example of cyclical structure, let us turn to Poem 61:

	When I was a youth I learned to wield a sword,	少年學擊刺
2	My swordsmanship surpassed	
	that of the Marquis of Ch'ü-ch'eng.	妙伎過曲成
	My heroic spirit soared through the clouds,	英風截雲霓
4	My reputation resounds beyond all bounds.	超世發奇聲
	I brandished my sword at the edge of the desert,	揮劍臨沙漠
6	And watered my horse on the fringes of the world.	飲馬九野坰
	How my flags fluttered in the wind!	旗幟何翩翩
8	I could hear nothing but the sound of gongs and drums	但聞金鼓鳴
	But warfare makes one feel sad;	軍旅令人悲
10	So intense is the sorrow in my heart!	烈烈有哀情
	Thinking on the time of my youth,	念我平常時
12	I am filled with bitter regret.	悔恨從此生
	(JCCC, 365)	

The speaker begins by reminiscing about his youth and ends by returning to his reminiscence. This return signifies the formation of a cyclical, self-perpetuating process of introspection. However, within this cyclical frame we do not find a clear temporal progression. There are no adverbs of time or other words indicative of a chronological order.

Cyclical structure appears more frequently than discontinuous structure in Juan Chi's poems; we can find it in twenty-one poems.[68] It is particularly like Juan Chi to begin a poem with stylized, emotion-revealing acts or explicit descriptions of emotional conditions. Then he usually ushers in spatial or temporal manifestations of the emotions adumbrated by the beginning lines and concludes with the speaker's scrutiny of his own feelings. We can also analyze this cyclical structure in terms of his four coordinates. What constitute a poem's beginning and end are his third coordinate (emotion-revealing acts) and/or his fourth coordinate (emotive words). What make up the poem's middle part are his first coordinate (temporal images) and/or his second coordinate (plants and animals).

Linear Coherence in Cyclical Structure

Juan Chi's cyclical structure demonstrates a higher degree of coherence than his discontinuous structure. However, this coherence is essentially different from the linear structures in *ku-shih* and *yüeh-fu* works. We have already noted that Juan Chi's cyclical structure does not lead us to any fixed referent—a locale, a course of action, or a conclusion drawn from reasoning. It is merely the order in which the poet transmutes his internal world into poetic symbols. More often than not, it effectively cuts off any linear development toward determinate resolution and turns a poem into a prolonged brooding over feelings and thoughts. To accentuate the fundamental difference between Juan Chi's cyclical structure and the linear structures in *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih*, let us revisit *Yung-huai*, Poems 16 and 61 and compare them respectively with "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," Poem 13 and Ts'ao Chih's "White Horse."

The first point of difference concerns spatial contiguity of descriptive images in the middle part of a poem. In Poem 13 the speaker brings his images into a contiguous pattern that reflects the topological features of a real place. The images of silver poplar, pine, and cypress, and the ancient dead strike us as realistic details depicting the speaker's observation of an actual place, the Pei-mang graveyard. Conversely, the speaker in *Yung-huai*, Poem 16 casts his images into somewhat self-contained couplets which do not form a contiguous pattern indicative of a coherent external scene, although they are still contiguous in the broadest sense. As a result the image clusters—green water and wide plains, scurrying animals and flying birds—impress us as symbolic projections of his pained inner landscape.

The second point of difference concerns the temporal order in the middle sections of the poems. In "White Horse" Ts'ao Chih portrays a heroic figure not unlike the youthful Juan Chi—an equestrian knight-errant. In order to capture the knight's character Ts'ao Chih takes special care to present him performing a rapid series of acts on horseback (lines 9–14). Through a masterly control of temporal progression Ts'ao Chih successfully transforms his warrior into a living example of brilliant horsemanship, unconquerable heroism, and unswerving loyalty to the country. Although the poet blends into this portrait his own ideals and sentiments, there is no mistaking that he depicts the warrior in earnest and, aesthetically speaking, creates an ideal but nonetheless believeable image. In *Yung-huai*, Poem 61 the speaker presents different episodes from his military life in a vague temporal order that shows how little he cares about their actual sequence. This prevents us from treating the episodes as

a story and compels us to envisage them instead as a symbolic presenta-
tion of the poet's feelings and thoughts. What concerns Juan Chi is his
complex emotional state, not the biographical details of his life. Such a
symbolization of narrative elements is typical of the portrayal of human
characters in Juan Chi's *yung-huai* poems. If we look at his treatment of
Chiao-fu of Cheng in Poem 2, the wastrel in Poem 5, An-ling and Lung-
yang in Poem 12, the beautiful woman in Poem 19, the seductive lady in
Poem 27, the heroic warrior in Poem 39, the wealth-scorning elder in
Poem 59, the Confucian moralist in Poem 60, and the Confucian ritualist
in Poem 67, we see that Juan Chi does not delineate these characters for
their own sake, but as symbolic expressions of his own thoughts and
feelings. It is his shift from the narrative to the lyrical that leads to the
weakening of temporal order in these poems.

The third point of difference concerns the endings of the poems.
In "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," Poem 13, the ending is the culmina-
tion of a process of outward observation and inward reflection. When a
ku-shih speaker reaches the end of a poem, he is sure to have completed
his self-scrutiny and gained a measure of emotional relief. Thus he nor-
mally steps out of his world of emotional experience at this point to phi-
losophize about human fate or to contemplate his future. In both *Yung-
huai*, Poems 16 and 61 the ending does not mark the end but rather a re-
turn to the beginning of an ongoing emotional process. When the speaker
in Poem 61 concludes, he does not move from his personal life to the
generality of human existence, nor does he try to pull himself out of his
present sorrow and look for a practical solution. Instead, he returns to
the emotions that stimulated the poem in the first place—a regretful
reminiscence on his youthful days on the battlefield.

If we closely examine the endings of Juan Chi's poems, we find
textual elements that confirm the poet's retrogressive and retrospective
thrust. The unusually large number of first-person pronouns (*wo* and *wu*)
and emotive words indicate his habitual return to his own emotional ex-
perience. He employs the first personal pronoun *wo* in as many as four-
teen poems.[69] In most of his endings he uses emotive words and phrases
profusely, but seldom employs non-emotive, philosophical statements
like those in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Seventeen of his *yung-
huai* poems end with the speakers explicitly describing their sorrows and
grief.[70] Unlike their counterparts in *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih*, they do not
speak to someone else, pledge their loyalty, or hope for the same from
the addressee in return. Instead, these speakers almost always speak to
themselves about their emotional state in the first person singular:

This barrenness comes from the Shang mode,　　　素質遊商聲
Desolation and sorrow break *my heart*.　　　　　悽愴傷我心
(*YH9*: 11–12)

Only the art of prolonging life　　　　　　　獨有延年術
Can console *my heart*　　　　　　　　　　　可以慰我心
(*YH10*: 9–10)

I reverently look toward the pines on Ching Mountain,　瞻仰景山松
For they can soothe *my feelings*.　　　　　　　可以慰吾情
(*YH18*: 13–14)

Oppressed with this doubt, I am so perplexed　　逼此良可惑
That *I remain hesitant* for a long time.　　　　令我久躊躇
(*YH41*: 15–16)

All these self-effacing and circuitous manners—　委曲周旋儀
Such an appearance makes me sick *at heart*.　　姿態愁我腸
(*YH67*: 13–14)[71]

The abundance of rhetorical questions also indicates his final introspective thrust. Thirty-five poems end with the speakers posing rhetorical questions to themselves.[72] Many of these represent hopeless sighs at the speaker's futile attempts to relieve his dejection and heartbreak:

What great sorrow I feel for the yellow birds!　　一為黃雀哀
Tears trickle down my face, and who can stop them?　涕下誰能禁
　(*YH11*: 11–12)

The road to power leads to failure as well as success,　勢路有窮達
Alas! How can one travel on that road for long?　　咨嗟安可長
(*YH25*: 9–10)

Throughout my life I have been treading on thin ice,　終身履薄冰
Who knows that my heart is on fire?　　　　　　誰知我心焦
(*YH33*: 11–12)

I wipe my tears and my heart is filled with grief,　揮涕懷哀傷
To whom can I tell my bitter sorrow?　　　　　辛酸誰語哉
(*YH37*: 7–8)

Other rhetorical questions, especially those begun by the question-words *ch'i* and *yen*, express Juan Chi's complex thoughts about the ways to overcome human transience advocated by different philosophies:

> If one seeks to be virtuous, so will one become; 求仁自得仁
> Why should I again sigh and moan? 豈復歎咨嗟
> (*YH*13: 9–10)

How can this compare with the abandonment of senses? 豈岩遺耳目
Ascend to a distant place and cast away all your sorrow! 升遐去殷憂
(*YH*28: 17–18)

> In the lofty mountains there is a singing crane, 崇山有鳴鶴
> How could I go and seek after it? 豈可相追尋
> (*YH*47: 7–8)[73]

These rhetorical questions, unlike those in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," are not intended to facilitate a fixed reflective process marked by a rejection of fame and the elixir of immortality on the one hand and an advocacy of hedonism on the other. On the contrary, they reflect the poet's wavering between Confucian, Taoist, and mystical theories of life. When a rhetorical question expresses a belief, a doubt, or a denial, it is normally overturned in the same or an adjacent poem by another statement or rhetorical question expressing the opposite attitude. For example, if read together, the rhetorical questions cited above reveal indecision and tension and conflicts rather than resolution in the mind of the poet.

In sum, Juan Chi's endings are distinguished from those of *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* by the disappearance of a person addressed, by the inward turning of the speaker, by the shift from intellectual to emotional processes, and by the shift from a single to conflicting views of life. These unique features of Juan Chi's poetic closure bespeak not only the state but the causes of the poet's lonesome introspectiveness. As Yoshikawa Kōjirō points out, the disappearance of a person to whom the poet can unbosom his heart attests to the poet's loss of trust in his fellow human beings in a world ruled by slander, betrayal, and treachery.[74] His inability to commit himself to any single doctrine of life reflects his disillusionment with all human claims of permanent meaning. It is because of such a loss of faith in human constancy both in action and thought that he decides to withdraw into his innermost world. In the final analysis, Juan Chi's poetic endings are the woeful lamentations of a lonesome soul completely alienated from the world.

Intertextual Relationship: Four Types of Allusion

In traditional Chinese poetics intertextual relationships are normally discussed in terms of allusions in two broadly defined categories: revelation of original sources (*ch'u ch'u*) and use of historical or pseudo-historical occurrences (*yung-shih*). The first category comprises textual allusions, which explicitly use images or diction from earlier texts. The second category consists of historical allusions, which describe figures or events in the historical or fictional past without directly using materials from earlier texts.[75] Juan Chi is the first Chinese pentasyllabic poet to make extensive use of various kinds of poetic allusions. He not only uses textual and historical allusions, but he also frequently blends them into each other. Some of his textual allusions carry subtle hints about historical figures or events and, to be accurate, may be called textual-historical allusions. Some of his historical allusions, especially those given with details, evoke the historical texts in which certain historical figures or events were first described. Such allusions may be appropriately called historical-textual allusions.[76]

Three of Juan Chi's four types of allusion entail an active play of indeterminacy. This play distinguishes his use of allusions from his predecessors' handling of intertextual materials. Probably owing to the influence of formulaic expressions in the oral traditions, the pentasyllabic poets before Juan Chi frequently repeat an entire line or even several lines from earlier poems. Such a verbatim or quasi-verbatim repetition establishes a determinate relationship between the present text and an earlier text and hence delimits the scope of intertextual association. Juan Chi seldom quotes an entire line from an earlier poem. Instead, he merely borrows isolated words and images and knits them into intricate patterns of allusion. This "elliptic" yet integrative use of allusion creates an indeterminate intertextual relationship, where the present text and the earlier text(s) are no longer linked explicitly but are associated through correspondence or contrast in emotional tones or moral significance.

Juan Chi's dexterous interweaving of allusions intensifies the play of indeterminacy and generates four kinds of aesthetic responses: multiplication of imagistic associations in his textual allusions, interplay of literal scene and imaginary vision in textual-historical allusions, simple substitution of historical figures or events for abstract concepts in historical allusions, and evocation of conflicting thoughts and sentiments in historical-textual allusions.

Textual Allusion

To demonstrate Juan Chi's textual allusions, there probably is no better example than *Yung-huai*, Poem 1, the most frequently studied and anthologized of his poems. What has fascinated critics for centuries is its depth of thought and feeling, and its haunting indeterminacies. To plumb its secret meanings critics have tried various methods of reading. Lü Yen-chi (fl. 700) and Lü Hsiang (fl. 720) sought to make a political allegory out of the poem. They identified the nocturnal scene with the then dark political realities, the lonely bird with loyal officials estranged from the court, and swooping birds with the powerful, scheming courtiers.[77] Ho Cho (1661–1722) derided all those who attempted to assign fixed meanings, allegorical or otherwise, to the poem and thereby do violence to its integrity and complexity. He argued that "Juan Chi's sad thoughts are those of a man for whom life is too much. How can commentators figure out what the poet means?"[78] Many critics assume that Juan Chi intended this poem as an introduction to a coherent sequence of eighty-two poems. Others, like Wu Ju-lun (1840–1903), see these poems as the work of an entire lifetime rather than a planned series written at one time, and strongly argues against any particular order among them.[79] When Donald Holzman examines these contending views, he tries to develop a balanced view on this issue. While he sees little reason to impose a preconceived scheme onto the collection, he believes that *Yung-huai*, Poem 1 serves as "a truly fitting introduction to the entire series"[80] because its excellent blend of personal melancholy and universal *Weltschmerz* captures the spirit of the collection as a whole. Now let us look at the poem itself:

	It is far into the night and I cannot sleep,	夜中不能寐
2	I sit up to strum my melodious zither.	起坐彈鳴琴
	Thin curtains diffuse the bright moonlight;	薄帷鑒明月
4	A pure wind blows against my lapels.	清風吹我襟
	A lone goose cries in yonder wilderness,	孤鴻號外野
6	A gliding bird calls in the northern wood.	翔鳥鳴北林
	I pace back and forth: when shall I see you again?	徘徊將何見
8	Worry and anxiety break my heart.	憂思獨傷心
	(*JCCC*, 210)	

If we were unfamiliar with the poetic tradition before Juan Chi, we would more than likely lose sight of the complex, ambiguous thoughts and feelings hidden behind this deceptively simple poem. We

would doubtless wonder if the traditional Chinese critics were making a mountain out of a molehill when they hotly debated the significance of this poem. However, having examined the pentasyllabic tradition before Juan Chi, we easily note that this poem stands out from earlier pentasyllabic poems in two respects. The images strike us as different, being but loosely brought together and not strictly convincing as a realistic description. A cursory look at the classical commentaries will corroborate this initial impression. For centuries critics seldom discussed those images as descriptive of an actual scene, but instead interpreted them as symbolic of the poet's state of mind.

As we pore over the classical commentaries on *Yung-huai*, Poem 1, we discover many textual allusions. In fact all of its eight lines are inspired by images and diction from pentasyllabic poems written by Juan Chi's immediate predecessors, a coterie of highly self-conscious, accomplished poets. Lines 1 and 2 allude to insomniac scenes:

> Alone at night I cannot sleep; 獨夜不能寐
> I take up my robes and strum my zither. 攝衣起撫琴
> (Wang Ts'an, "Seven Sorrows, No. 2": 13–14, *HCHW*, 366)

> In the quiet night I cannot sleep; 靜夜不能寐
> And listen to myriad birds twittering. 耳聽眾禽鳴
> (Ts'ao Jui, "Ballad to a Long Song": 1–2, *HCHW*, 415)

> Anxious and sad, I cannot sleep, 憂愁不能寐
> Grasping my robe, I rise to pace back and forth. 攬衣起徘徊
> ("Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," Poem 19: 3–4, *KSSCS*, 27)

If the textual allusions in the two opening lines are obtrusive or even somewhat formulaic, those in the ensuing lines become more subtle. In line 3, the image of the "bright moonlight" (*ming-yüeh*) dancing on the bed curtains evokes the first two lines from the last of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems": "How bright, bright the shining moon; / Casting its light on my bed curtains" (*KSSCS*, 27). In line 4, the first two characters "pure wind" (*ch'ing-feng*) allude to this line by Liu Chen: "The pure wind is chilling and cold";[81] the last three characters "blow against my chest" (*ch'ui wo chin*) come from P'o Ch'in's (d. 218) long poem "Calming Emotions": "A chilling wind blows against my breast" (line 54, *HCHW*, 386). In lines 5 and 6, the images of "a lone goose" (*ku-hung*) and "gliding birds" (*hsiang-niao*) recalls "birds flying around their 'old forest'"(Wang Ts'an)[82] or 'a swallow who has lost its flock' (Ts'ao Jui),[83] and 'solitary wild goose, swooping alone towards the south' (Ts'ao Chih)."[84] Like the

beginning couplet, the final two lines hark back to an entire couplet in an early text: "Its [wild goose] shape and shadow suddenly flies out of sight, / Beating, beating its wings—wounding my heart" (Ts'ao Chih, "Miscellaneous Poems," No. 1, *TCCC*, 251). But here traces of textual allusion all but disappear. The poet does not explicitly use images and diction of an earlier text as he does in the preceding lines. He simply recasts elements of Ts'ao Chih's couplet into one of his own:

> I pace back and forth: when shall I see you again?
> Worry and anxiety break my heart.

With this implicit allusion, the poet drops a hint of the otherwise unnoticeable connection between the description of bird-flight in lines 5–6 and the upsurge of sad thoughts in the final two lines.

  With each of these textual allusions, Juan Chi brings heightened emotional overtones to his poem. The insomniac scenes (lines 1–2) evoke the sense of loneliness and despair felt by Wang Ts'an during his flight from Ch'ang-an to Ching-chou, the painful feelings of separation in Ts'ao Jui's ballad, and the homeward thoughts in the last of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." The image of "bright moon" (line 3) carries associations with the contemplative mood in the last of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." The "pure wind" (line 4) conveys the acute sensation of cold and desolation compellingly described by Liu Chen and P'o Ch'in. The "lone goose" and "gliding birds" (lines 5–6) capture the moments of emotive empathy with the homing birds in the poems of Wang Ts'an, Ts'ao P'i, and Ts'ao Jui. The disappearance of the flying birds (lines 7–8) imparts the poignant sense of loss that permeates Ts'ao Chih's miscellaneous poems.

  As the textual allusions set up these emotional resonances for the reader, they appear to be less referential detail depicting an external scene than emotive subtexts leading us into bygone worlds of thought and feeling. Consequently our experience of reading *Yung-huai*, Poem 1 is not a simple linear process of external observation or abstract reasoning. Rather it is a *reciprocal* or *multi-directional* process of intertextual association, a process that enables us to explore different nuances of feeling stemming the gamut of human difficulties depicted in various earlier texts.

Textual-Historical Allusion

From earlier works Juan Chi also chooses textual elements bound up with certain historical events or figures. More often than not, these elements carry not only the emotive charge of the earlier texts but also the moral messages pertaining to historical events depicted. Poem 11 is a case in point:

	Deep, deep flow the waters of the Yang-tze,	湛湛長江水
2	With a wood of maple trees growing on their banks.	上有楓樹林
	Swamp orchids grow wild over the paths,	皋蘭被徑路
4	Black coursers go galloping, galloping.	青驪逝駸駸
	Gazing off into the distance makes me sad,	遠望令人悲
6	A breath of spring air touches my heart.	春氣感我心
	The three regions of Ch'u boast many refined men,	三楚多秀士
8	Who were nonetheless led to debauchery by Chao-yün!	朝雲進荒淫
	Red flowers sent forth their pleasant fragrance,	朱華振芬芳
10	In Kao-ts'ai the king and his retinue pursued pleasures.	高蔡相追尋
	What great sorrow I feel for the yellow birds!	一爲黃雀哀
12	Tears trickle down my face, and who can stop them?	涕下誰能禁
	(*JCCC*, 251)	

These images are drawn from three earlier texts, Sung Yü's (ca. 290 B.C.–c. 223 B.C.) poem "Summoning the Soul" and "Kao-t'ang Rhapsody," and *Strategies of the Warring States*. "Deep, deep" (*chan-chan*) and "[river] waters" ([*chiang*] *shui*) in line 1, "Above them" (*shang-yu*) and "maple" (*feng*) in line 2, all but the last character in line 3, "black courser" (*ch'ing-li*) in line 4, "Gazing afar" (*yüan-wang*) in line 5, and "spring" (*ch'un*) and "touches my heart" (*kan wo-hsin*) in line 6 are all taken almost word for word from the ending passage of Sung Yü's "Summoning the Soul":

Black coursers come in teams of four,	青驪結駟兮
With one thousand chariots....	齊千乘
Swamp orchids grow wild over the paths,	皋蘭被徑兮
Submerged in water hither and thither,	斯路漸
Deep, deep flow the river's waters,	湛湛江水兮
with maple trees growing above them.	上有楓
The eye extends its gaze over one thousand *li*,	目極千里兮
and the heart fills with pain on a spring day.[85]	傷春心
(Lines 261-262; 275-280)	

"Chao-yün" in line 8 is the famous nymph whom Sung Yü depicts in his "Kao-t'ang Rhapsody" and whose name later became a euphemism for sexual intercourse. The city of "Kao-ts'ai" in line 10 and the "yellow bird" in line 11 both come from "Ch'u Strategies 4," in *Strategies of the Warring States*, where Chuang Hsin tries to persuade King Hsiang of Ch'u to give up his dissolute lifestyle.[86] To warn King Hsiang of the perils awaiting a self-indulgent king, he proceeds from the fable of yellow birds, to the death of the debauched King of Ts'ai (Ts'ai Sheng-hou) and finally to the doom of King Hsiang himself.

These images in *Yung-huai*, Poem 11 may be rightly called textual-historical allusions, as they perform a truly two-fold function. On the one hand they generate emotive subtexts, as do the textual allusions in Poem 1. The river, maple woods, swampy road, and marsh orchids in lines 1–6 all impart the melancholic air suffusing the end of Sung Yü's "Summoning the Soul." The description of licentious living in lines 8–11 echoes the satirical and didactic voices in the fables from *Strategies of the Warring States*. On the other hand they also recapture different historical events described in "Summoning the Soul," "Kao-t'ang Rhapsody," and *Strategies of the Warring States*, and display an unusual degree of interrelatedness in terms of moral significance. First, they all contain didactic stories connected with the state of Ch'u. Second, they all involve admonitions addressed to a Ch'u king by a loyal minister. Like "Kao-t'ang Rhapsody" and *Strategies of the Warring States*, "Summoning the Soul" describes how a loyal minister by the name of Luan urges his king to return from his hunting expedition.[87] Third, they all include court excursions described disapprovingly by loyal ministers for the purpose of exposing the extravagance of the king's court.

The textual-historical allusions in *Yung-huai*, Poem 11 facilitate an aesthetic movement quite different from that generated by the textual allusions in Poem 1. They afford us aesthetic experience not only through a multiplication of moods, but also through an interplay between the literal and the allusive. The poem seems at first sight a literal description of the Yangtze River: deep-flowing waters, maple woods, swampy roads, and marsh orchids along the banks. For an informed reader, however, these images soon lead into worlds of thought and feeling in earlier texts, and through these association historical scenes fraught with moral significance emerge. These historical scenes are also a commentary on the moral conditions of the contemporary world, because corruption and dynastic collapse were the most serious political problems in Juan Chi's time, as they were in the time of King Hsiang. A great many traditional critics spare no effort to relate every historical occurrence suggested by these allusions to contemporary politics. Liu Lü points out the parallels

between the debaucheries of King Hsiang and those of Emperor Ming (Ts'ao Jui, 204–239) and Ts'ao Fang, the dethroned emperor. For their part, Ho Cho, Chiang Shih-yüeh, Ch'en Hang and Tseng Kuo-fan (1811–1872) take the fables of the profligate Ts'ai Sheng-hou and the yellow birds to be a hidden lament over the fall of the Wei kingdom.[88]

What interests us here is, of course, not the potential for allegorization but the aesthetic "refocus" between the present and the past, literal and allusive, visual and imaginary realms. With this refocusing, we experience a *virtual* transcendence of time and place and enter a world of symbolism. The coalescence of the literal and allusive in Poem 11 seems to be the first of its kind in Chinese poetry. Yet it already demonstrates a measure of sophistication that approximates Tu Fu's use of global allusions "capable of generating a new level of meaning for the entire poem as well as serving as an organizing principle."[89]

Historical Allusion

Alongside the aesthetic efficacy of textual allusions and textual-historical allusions, historical allusions pale into insignificance. Of our four kinds of allusions, the latter are the least operative in Juan Chi's poetry. Lacking textual resonance, they can do little more than communicate generalized knowledge of the past. We come across them only when Juan Chi cites the names of the best-known historical figures:

If not an immortal like Wang-tzu Chin,	自非王子晉
Who can keep his youthful radiance forever?	誰能長美好
(*YH*4: 9–10)	

I would like to climb up T'ai-hua Mountain	願登太華山
And roam over there with Sung-tzu;	上與松子遊
(*YH*32: 13–14)	

Look at Master Chuang Chou [who asked]	視彼莊周子
How can the blooming or withering	
of one's fortune be depended on?	榮枯何足賴
(*YH*38: 7–8)	

Alas, the aspiration of Father Confucius!	嗟哉尼父志
Why did he wish to live among	
the nine barbarian tribes?	何爲居九夷
(*YH*40: 15–16)	

These four allusions function mainly as nominal substitutions. "Father Confucius" stands for a way of life that aims at achieving everlasting fame through moral virtue, accomplishments and writing; "Master Chuang Chou" symbolizes a way of life that promises individual freedom and inner transcendence of worldly cares; "Wang-tzu Chin" and "Ch'ih-sung Tzu" both signify a life oriented toward transcending corporeal existence and obtaining immortality in a celestial paradise. Because these historical allusions scarcely interact with other images, unlike the textual allusions discussed earlier, they may best be viewed as substitutive metaphors.

Historical-Textual Allusion

In introducing historical events and personages, Juan Chi often alludes to early texts through which those historical events and personages have been made known to us. As compared with the other three types of allusions, historical-textual ones bear a more complex relationship to the text proper. They may serve to illustrate or to contradict the apparent meaning of the text proper, depending on how they are incorporated into it. Normally they perform an illustrative function as in the case of *Yung-huai,* Poem 20:

	Yang Chu wept at a fork in the road,	楊朱泣歧路
2	Mo Tzu grieved over the dyeing of silk.[90]	墨子悲染絲
	There are courteous bowings before a long separation,	揖讓長別離
4	But those who have flown are difficult to see again.	飄飆難與期
	These failings not only plague tender feelings,	豈徒燕婉情
6	But also affect matters of life and death.	存亡誠有之
	Doleful desolation is what saddens men,	蕭索人所悲
8	Calamity is what men cannot avoid.	禍釁不可辭
	The woman of Chao seduced Chung-shan,	趙女媚中山
10	Humble and soft, she was cheated all the more.[91]	謙柔愈見欺
	Alas, for a man on the road,	嗟嗟塗上士
12	What can be done to preserve oneself?	何用自保持
	(*JCCC,* 282)	

In this poem there are allusions to two famous philosophers and a fair princess of antiquity. Juan Chi does not merely cite the names of these figures as he does in historical allusions, but he also tells their stories as recorded in early texts. These three historical-textual allusions are linked together by the idea of an inconstant human nature. The story of Yang

Chu demonstrates inconstancy in doctrinal allegiance and in the master-disciple relationship, the story of Mo Tzu, an inconstancy in moral commitment, and the story of the princess, an inconstancy in the relationship between brother and sister and between kingdoms. While the allusions underscore these instances of moral inconstancy, the text proper emphasizes the harsh physical conditions of men: physical separation from loved ones (lines 3–4), and the difficulty of preserving one's life (lines 6–8, 11–12). This interplay between allusions and the text proper produces an aesthetic effect not too different from that of the textual allusions in *Yung-huai*, Poem 1. But where the allusions in that poem convey the subtle shades and nuances of sorrow, the allusions here make the notion of human failings keenly felt through tangible examples at different points in history.

If historical-textual allusions involve a controversial historical figure or event and are organized in an ambiguous poetic structure, they can convey the poet's conflicting thoughts on a particular issue. This seems to hold true for the allusions in *Yung-huai*, Poem 6:

	I have long heard of Tung-ling's melons,	昔聞東陵瓜
2	Growing just outside the Green Gate.	近在青門外
	Footpaths connect the four borders of the fields,	連畛距阡陌
4	Like babes and mothers, large and small melons hold fast to each other on their vines.	子母相鉤帶
	Their five colors sparkle in the morning sun,	五色曜朝日
6	Honorable guests gather here from the four quarters.	嘉賓四面會
	A lamp's oil is consumed by its own flames,	膏火自煎熬
8	Great wealth brings on calamity.	多財為禍害
	One can live out one's life as a plain-clothed commoner,	布衣可終身
10	How can one depend on favors and remunerations!	寵祿豈足賴

(JCCC, 229)

The central allusion of this poem concerns the brief biography, told in *The Records of the Grand Historian*, of Shao Ping, Marquis of Tung-ling under the Ch'in. Shao Ping refused to serve the new dynasty that had overrun the Ch'in and willingly lived a commoner's life raising melons outside Ch'ang-an. Shao P'ing's retirement from court, though often lauded as an exemplary act of loyalty, is by no means beyond question. The fact that he retreated no further than to the land under the shadow of the Green Gate suggests that he could not tear himself away from the capital after all. Here Juan Chi exploits this ambivalence. He projects Shao P'ing not as a commoner who has severed his social bonds but as a man of considerable means who enjoys the society of fine guests from

different parts of the country. Indeed, the images of overcrowded fields (line 3), the clusters of melons (line 4), and the bright colors of the scene (line 5) convey little sense of the peace and solitude characteristic of the life of a recluse. On the contrary, these images suggest a hectic social existence. The ensuing couplet may reveal even more about Juan Chi's opinion of Shao P'ing:

> A lamp's oil is consumed by its own flames,　　膏火自煎熬
> Great wealth brings on calamity.　　　　　　　　多財爲禍害

Since this couplet unequivocally spells out the perils of fame, talent, and wealth, some critics have taken it as the culmination of Juan Chi's subtle lamentation at Shao P'ing's incomplete withdrawal from the dangerous world of wealthy society. Ch'iu Kuang-t'ing (T'ang dynasty?) writes:

> [The poem] means to say that Shao has not gone far enough to raise his melons. Because his melons are grown so close to the Green Gate and because they display such bright colors and strongly appeal to the palate, they unavoidably end up being devoured by men. So Juan Chi writes, 'their five colors sparkle in the morning sun / Honorable guests gather here from the four quarters. / A lamp's oil is consumed by its own flames, / Great wealth brings on calamity.' What Juan Chi means is that if in times of chaos a man reveals his talents and stands out from other people, he will fall victim to his time, just as fine-looking melons and the oil in a lamp bring about their own destruction.[92]

However, if we follow Ch'iu Kuang-t'ing in interpreting Juan Chi's allusion to Shao P'ing in the negative sense, we are hard put to account for the fourth couplet, which unmistakably echoes the traditional praise of the Marquis's becoming a plain-clothed commoner. Conversely, if we concur with other critics like Shen Yüeh (441–513), Liu Liang (fl. 720), and Liu Lü, and consider this allusion an unreserved eulogy of Shao P'ing,[93] we find it equally difficult to explain why Juan Chi breaks into a mournful lament in the third couplet. Depending on whether they take this allusion as a positive or negative portrayal of Shao P'ing, traditional Chinese critics tend to regard the third or fourth couplet as a structural discontinuity that interferes with their interpretation of the poem as a whole. More often than not, they choose to ignore or explain away that discontinuity, seeking to dissolve the tension resulting from Juan Chi's ambivalent attitude toward this controversial historical figure. In my opinion, the structurally discontinuous couplet (be it couplet 3 or 4) is not a compositional fault, nor is its resulting tension an undesirable effect.

Quite the contrary. It is through the tension arising from this ambiguity that we can experience the poet's conflict over his yearning for and doubts about an escape like Shao P'ing's.

Three Philosophies of Life: Constancy and Inconstancy

Before closing this chapter I would like to investigate Juan Chi's conflicting attitudes toward Confucianism, hedonism, and Taoism. In the foregoing sections I have observed how Juan Chi vacillates between belief and disbelief, affirmation and negation, ardent praise and relentless ridicule, as he ponders the significance of these three philosophies. I believe Juan Chi swings back and forth between these contradictory attitudes because he finds both constancy and inconstancy in all these philosophies.

He eulogizes the Confucian way of life because he discerns the virtue of moral constancy in exemplary Confucians: the steadfast gentleman in *Yung-huai*, Poem 18, the two stalwart warriors in Poems 38 and 39, and the poverty-stricken scholar in Poem 60. He expresses his profound admiration of these Confucian heroes by using the word *ch'ang* (constancy) to describe their moral character (Poems 39, 14) and their adherence to the Way (Poems 16, 14), and by comparing their steadfastness to the evergreen pine tree (Poems 18, 13). Moreover, he applauds the greatest reward for these Confucian heroes—a glorious name as constant and eternal as heaven and earth (Poems 38: 11–12; 39: 11–14).

At the same time, he questions the Confucian philosophy of life because he sees that two of the worst kinds of inconstancy often arise with the Confucian pursuit of fame: hypocrisy and treachery. In this regard he ridicules the false moral appearance assumed by Confucian ritualists like the Ssu-ma clique (Poem 67) and denounces the malicious schemes they adopt in their pursuits of "glory and fame" (*jung-ming*). He calls them contemptible "mean men" (*hsiao-jen*) in Poem 16, "glib-tongued men" (*kung yen tzu*) in Poem 25, "spineless sycophants" in Poem 53, "slanderers" (*ch'an-fu*) in Poem 56, and "bewitching seducers" (*yao chi*) in Poem 64. In view of their evil deeds, he believes that glory and fame are anything but constant and eternal as many Confucians say. Since glory and fame evaporate once one's body is gone, he declares in Poems 8, 15, and 30 that they are worthless.

Juan Chi shows a far less ambivalent attitude toward hedonism. Even though he was as great a drunkard as T'ao Ch'ien, he never depicts drunkenness positively as T'ao Ch'ien does in his "Twenty Drinking Poems."

It is out of question for him to celebrate wine drinking, the cardinal activity of a Chinese hedonist, as T'ao Ch'ien does in his "Shadow, Shape, Spirit."[94] Juan Chi mentions wine only a few times, mainly in the context of grieving rather than merrymaking. Given the prominence of wine-drinking in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" as a symbolic act of *carpe diem*, the disappearance of joyful wine drinking in Juan Chi's poetry becomes all the more noteworthy. It seems to betoken the poet's rejection of hedonism as a solution to the misery of human life. Even if he is not personally above hedonistic pursuits, he unequivocally disapproves them in his poetical works. He presents the most uncomplimentary images of a spendthrift in *Yung-huai*, Poem 5, a roaming youth in Poem 10, and an urban profligate in Poem 27. Instead of depicting their acts of merrymaking, he shows them repenting the waste of their youth and fortune, lamenting the sudden onset of aging, and groping for a new way of life. His depiction stands in sharp contrast to the sympathetic portrayal of fortune-seeking wanderers in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Juan Chi resoundingly rejects *carpe diem* as a cure for man's sorrow over the inconstancy or evanescence of his physical existence.

Juan Chi's attitude toward Taoism is as ambivalent as his attitude toward Confucianism. On the one hand, he glorifies the Taoist way of life because of its promise of physical immortality. He uses the word *chen* (real, authentic) to characterize the physical immortality to be achieved by religious Taoists. He tells how one can retain the original state of *chen* by leading a simple farming life in Poem 34, how one can attain *chen* by retiring from the political world and becoming a hermit like Tung-yüan Kung, Ch'i-li, or Lao Tzu in Poem 42,[95] and how one can taste "the reality of Tao "(*tao chih chen*) by following men of antiquity and living a desireless, impoverished life in harmony with nature in Poem 74. *Chuang Tzu*, chapter 31, elucidates *chen* as follows:

> Chen is what one receives from heaven; it becomes itself by itself (*tzu-jan*) and is not subject to change. For this reason, a sage models himself on heaven and treasures chen and is not bounded by worldly customs.[96]

For Chuang Tzu, a man with his *chen* intact is a spirit-like man "who mounts on (the ether of) heaven and earth in its normal operation, and rides the six elemental energies of the changing (seasons), thus enjoying himself in the illimitable."[97] Although this passage of *Chuang Tzu* may be nothing more than a metaphorical description of one's intuitive union with the entire universe, later religious Taoists took it as a literal description of the transformation of a mortal into a celestial being and sought to

achieve such a transformation of their own bodies through alchemy, breathing exercises, and other occult methods. Heavily influenced by these religious Taoists, Juan Chi comes to espouse this kind of "physical immortality" as the ultimate promise of Taoism. He not only writes his famous "Biography of the Great Man" to set out in the minutest detail the celestial features of a Taoist immortal, but also delineates a host of Taoist immortals in his poems. As he describes the life of these immortals, he expresses his desire to master their art of extending life forever (Poems 10, 40, 76); to obtain their magic drug of longevity (Poems 24, 41); to taste the fruits they gather from celestial trees (Poem 43); to enjoy their freedom from all human cares and woes (Poem 28); to share the bliss of heavenly repose (Poem 23); and, above all, to roam the entire universe together with great immortals like Hsien-men Tzu, Ch'ih-sung Tzu, and Wang-tzu Ch'iao (Poem 81). However, no matter how Juan Chi imagines himself joining the company of immortals and relieving his innermost sorrows, he always comes back to the realization that he can never confirm the existence of immortals, let alone become one of them himself. This painful realization leads him to sigh at the impossibility of meeting an immortal in Poems 41, 49, 76, 80; to lament the nonexistence of a way to heaven in Poem 35; to express his anguished disillusionment in Poem 78; and to reject altogether a belief in physical immortality in Poem 55.

* * *

Juan Chi selects, structures, and exploits his poetic images in ways that best reveal his bitter anguish over human frailty of all kinds, his sense of loneliness in a treacherous world, and his fruitless search for the meaning of life. With his four symbolic coordinates, he sets forth his gloomy view of humanity in a most compelling manner. Aided by his discontinuous and cyclical structures, he broods over the depth of his loneliness and alienation from the sociopolitical world. Through his deft exploitation of allusions, he reveals his conflicted attitudes toward Confucian, hedonistic, and Taoist ways of life.

Juan Chi's symbolic use of poetic images represents a radical departure from the poetic conventions of his time that opened up an entirely different route for poets that followed him. He is both more direct and more indirect than other Han and Wei–Chin poets. He is more direct because he no longer observes his inner life through the eyes of a stock character as do *yüeh-fu* composers, Han *ku-shih* poets, and Ts'ao Chih, but looks directly into his own agonizing soul. His cyclical and discontinuous structures attest to the process of direct introspection led solely by the thrust of his own thoughts. On the other hand, he is more indirect

because he does not leave traces of his own circumstances, nor does he express his thoughts and feelings in explicit terms. More often than not, we have difficulty taking his abstract statements at their face value and have to reconstruct the meanings of his poems by examining the interplay of his poetic images. Seen in a broader historical context, Juan Chi's new form of self-presentation signalled the rise of an aesthetic of personal reflection and impersonal expression, an aesthetic that achieved its full potential in the finest of T'ang *lü-shih* (regulated verse) and Sung *tz'u* (lyric songs).[98]

CHAPTER 6

Synthesis: Four Poetic Modes and Changing Forms of Self-Presentation

I have traced the evolution of early pentasyllabic poetry through Han *yüeh-fu*, Han *ku-shih*, Ts'ao Chih, and Juan Chi, to set forth thematic, formal, and generic reconfigurations in these four groups of poems and to discuss them in light of the development of four modes of presentation: dramatic, narrative, lyrical and symbolic. Each of these four modes arose as a result of the poets' continual endeavors to present themselves and constitutes a unique form of self-presentation. In developing these modes, the poets were hindered or helped by their relationships with their sociopolitical world and with their audience.

If we compare the first poem I discussed, "South of the River," and the last, Poem 20 by Juan Chi, we realize how remarkably different they are. In the first, the composers express their unmediated emotions with simple, rhythmical, and repetitive utterances. But Juan Chi looks into his innermost self and conveys his anguish and conflict through skillful exploitation of poetic allusions. If these two poems represent opposite poles of expression, nonreflective and introspective, the other poems I have discussed fall between these extremes and reflect a gradual increase in self-expressive and self-reflective activities. In view of the increasing importance of the poet in these poems, we may be easily tempted to conceive of a teleology of lyrical development, a consciousness dormant in Han folk *yüeh-fu*, but beginning to awaken in Han literati *yüeh-fu*, then registering a considerable measure of self-reflectivity in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." It then seems to progress to the reflections of a single individual in Ts'ao Chih, and becomes full-blown introspection—that is, a deep examination of one's own self-expressive and self-reflective activities—in Juan Chi. At first glance, such an argument seems to provide a simple, straightforward explanation for the evolution of early pentasyllabic poetry. Upon closer scrutiny, however, we find that it is fundamentally flawed because it amounts to imposing

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on Chinese literary history the Western view of human history as a process of the absolute subject's self-awakening, a view held by idealist thinkers like Hegel and his followers. This is wrong-headed because it denies the existence of self-reflectivity in folk or illiterate traditions, denigrating these traditions as not yet fully human. It is also untenable because no one can prove that illiterate people are devoid of self-reflectivity simply because they do not observe themselves the way a literate man does, that is, by preserving their observations in writing. As a matter of fact, many scholars now believe that self-reflectivity is as old as human language itself. As soon as a human being invents and uses language, he ceases to be an unthinking animal and becomes a self-interpretive, self-reflective man.[1] Therefore, when we see the gradual increase of self-expressive and self-reflective activities in early Chinese pentasyllabic poetry, we should not envision progressive growth of Chinese lyric consciousness on a metaphysical plane. Instead, we should think in the practical terms of a gradual expansion of possibilities and opportunities for self-expression and self-reflection made possible by the changing circumstances surrounding the composition, transmission and reception of poetry. I believe Han and Wei–Chin poets developed the four poetic modes under changing circumstances which allowed them to pursue their self-expressive and self-reflective activities in ever greater depth and in an ever wider range.

The dramatic mode in Han folk *yüeh-fu* was in all likelihood born of collective composition and performance. Internal textual evidence of collective oral performance is abundant in Han folk *yüeh-fu* works. More often than not, we can envision a group of folk composers expressing their emotional responses to an on-going work activity or an imitated event by means of collective singing. Of course, such collective singing tells us little about the private feelings of any individual composer. This is because each composer is fully engaged in person-to-person interaction and has little opportunity to reflect upon his own life in the course of the performance.[2] He cannot simply project his own thoughts and feelings into a song that accompanies a collective work activity or imitates a communal event. His is an *interactive* audience whose other members are waiting for their own turn to join in a compositional process. They do not want an individual composer to digress into his own personal experience. Since whatever he says must be readily understandable to all participants, he cannot but stick to conventional poetic formulas. He must draw extensively from the existent stock of formulaic vocabulary and syntax and shy away from personal expressions. His only viable means of self-expression will be his facial expression, his gestures, his accentuation

in oral delivery, and in the alternation of formulaic phrases. So, one can say that Han folk *yüeh-fu* represents a minimal, kinetic form of self-expression acoustically activated and textually untraceable in most cases.

The narrative mode in Han literati *yüeh-fu* seems to reveal the less interactive performance of a storyteller. In a literati *yüeh-fu* piece, we usually hear the story of a neglected woman or a fortune-seeking wanderer, of a plant or an animal, of an immortal roaming in heaven, or of the mythical or historical past. These stories are meant to set forth the four kinds of inward experience commonly shared by the literati class in the Later Han: sorrow over political alienation, empathy with nonhuman beings as a means of emotional relief, yearning for transcendental realization, and reflection on the historical past. The emergence of these subjects reflects a change of expressive content from unmediated emotional responses to generalized thoughts about the conditions of life. Of course, the folk dramatic mode is ill suited to the expression of generalized thoughts. To examine the general conditions of life requires at least a narration of the life stories of certain stock characters in whom the audience can see a reflection of their own life situations and examine their own responses to those situations. In telling these stories, literati *yüeh-fu* composers introduced a solo speaker as the central point to which all narrative details are anchored. If in folk *yüeh-fu* a solo singer merely ushers in choral responses to a given situation, the solo speaker of literati *yüeh-fu* tells the entire story. The poet may give a third-person account, or he may impersonate his character(s) and tell their story in the first person. More often, the poet begins with a third-person narrative and then impersonates the voice of the main character, thus creating a bifocal or multifocal but consistent point of view. The introduction of a solo speaker as storyteller transforms the dramatic mode into a narrative one, bringing about fundamental changes in all artistic aspects. Now the composer is no longer a self-effacing member of a group, but assumes the role of a single storyteller with a lyrical bent.[3] All textual evidence suggests that the audience he faces is largely a *passive* one; his relationship has changed from two-way interaction to basically one-way communication. The poet no longer interacts with other composers, and can retreat from the world of live dramatic action into the world of thought. As the dramatic mode of presentation disappears, so do many of its formal features. A sequential structure now takes the place of the composite structure used in folk *yüeh-fu*. A consistent point of view replaces the multiple points of view characteristic of folk *yüeh-fu*. There are few abrupt transitions or sudden changes of perspective that might suggest participation by an interactive audience. Some formulaic forms, however, do remain. As long as the poet addresses a live audience, he must

continue to employ various formulaic expressions familiar to his audience. Nonetheless, he has incomparably more freedom for self-presentation than a folk *yüeh-fu* composer, because he takes full control of the entire composition and can tell the story in a way that reveals his own thoughts and feelings. Han literati *yüeh-fu* constitutes an indirect form of self-presentation by means of storytelling.

The lyrical mode in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" is the product of the internalization of the narrative mode in literati *yüeh-fu* by Han poets. In these works, the poets wished to examine the general conditions of their own lives as did the literati *yüeh-fu* composers. Like the literati *yüeh-fu* composers, they usually presented their sorrow through the voice of the abandoned wife, lamenting their neglect by the court. They also saw a reflection of the misery and meaninglessness of their own existence in the story of the wanderer. However, these poets *internalized* these stories, not telling them to a live audience, but using them to brood over their own outer and inner lives. That the poets could become *internal observers* has much to do with shift from oral performance to writing, from interpersonal verbal communication to the private world of one's own thought. Freed from the need to address a live audience, the poets could turn completely inward. This gave rise to lyrical processes, complex time-frames, and abstract philosophizing about the transience of human life unseen in earlier pentasyllabic poetry. Since the poets were now writing for the purpose of self-reflection, they dispensed with many conventional poetic forms associated with oral performance. Inspired by the ancient *hsing* constructions, they introduced a binary structure of external observation and inward reflection in the place of the composite or sequential structure used in *yüeh-fu* works. They replaced the rigid word-for-word repetitions with subtle imagistic resonance. They transformed question-answer formulas into rhetorical questions that initiate, sustain, and deepen the contemplative process. In addition, they developed new formal devices like the "verse eye" and transitional couplets that enhance the interplay of the binary parts. In short, the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" signify the birth of a direct, written form of self-expression, marked by internalization of the context of composition, poetic content, and audience in the self-reflective mind of a poet.

Ts'ao Chih's work introduces a multifaceted poetic self in all the major *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* subgenres. It does this by blending his experiential self with an array of *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* speakers, effectively broadening the scope of self-presentation to include the full range of personal feelings and thoughts: his youthful ambitions, his admiration for knight-errantry, his commitment to Confucian ideals, his compassion for

downtrodden friends, his feelings of love and hate for his brother and nephew, his stubborn search for political rehabilitation, and his imaginary escape from the misery of his exiled life. His successful creation of this multifaceted poetic self crowns his towering achievement of radically personalizing practically all *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* subgenres. What makes this achievement even more astounding is that he does so without violating their basic decorum. All his *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* are readily recognizable as such, even though they convey a new depth of personal expression.

In adapting the *yüeh-fu* form, Ts'ao Chih proved himself to be at once more conservative and more daring than his predecessors and contemporaries. He was more conservative because he seemed sentimentally attached to *yüeh-fu* forms. He unhesitatingly retained *yüeh-fu* titles, although he no longer wrote for oral performance and frequently wrote about events rarely found in the *yüeh-fu* repertoire. He did not limit himself to the *ch'i-fu* and *yu-tzu* subgenres, but actually reworked all the other major *yüeh-fu* subgenres, including that of folk *yüeh-fu*. Yet in spite of this strong attachment to the Han *yüeh-fu* tradition, Ts'ao Chih was more daring than his predecessors and contemporaries in remolding the *yüeh-fu* form. He succeeded in creating a unique poetic self in all major *yüeh-fu* subgenres as no other Han and Wei poets ever did. In his early *yüeh-fu* works he cast himself as a non-self-reflective spectator, observing one of several human characters (a beautiful girl, a flamboyant youth, a heroic warrior, etc.) whose lives resembled his in one way or another. In the course of observing those characters, he penetrated their innermost world and became one with them in spirit. By dint of this empathetic observation, he turned each character into an ideal image of the self. In his later *yüeh-fu* pieces he assumed the role of a reflective speaker who empathizes with an array of *yüeh-fu* figures and reflects on various moral and political issues affecting his own life. In his *yung-shih* works he brooded over human fate, dynastic strife, and imperial kinship. In his *yung-wu* works he lamented the hardship of his successive periods of exile and condemns his brother's violation of the fraternal bond. In his *yu-hsien* works he strove for an imaginative fulfillment of his lofty ambitions.

Ts'ao Chih's transformation of the Han *ku-shih* tradition is no less remarkable. Since *ku-shih* was a genre of explicit lyrical expression, he personalized it in a more overt manner than he did the *yüeh-fu* genre. In his early pieces he adapted the *ku-shih* form for person-to-person communication and established in the process a tripartite structure—marked by a description of his own world in the opening, an expression of his sentiment about his downtrodden friends in the middle, and a spirited

moral exhortation in the final section. These poems of presentation establish the *tseng-ta* subgenre as a means of lyrical expression. In his later *ku-shih* work, "To Ts'ao Piao, the Prince of Pai-ma," he built a tripartite structure on a large scale and significantly broadened the range of self-presentation for the *tseng-ta* subgenre. In reworking the *ch'i-fu* and *yu-tzu* subgenres, he further reduced narrative elements and increased lyric intensity through a bold expression of his own thoughts and feelings. His *ch'i-fu* poems convey his sorrow over his estrangement from his brother through a deft exploitation of the traditional love allegory. His *yu-tzu* poems express his vain hope of rehabilitation by his nephew and his burning desire for heroic self-sacrifice through the creation of a noble-minded hero in place of the hedonistic, fortune-seeking *ku-shih* speaker. With its successful merging of inward personal experience and conventional *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* forms, Ts'ao Chih's poetry marks the rise of a personalized form of self-presentation, developed by an individual poet in an effort to express thoughts and feelings particular to himself.

The symbolic mode in Juan Chi is born of an intense process of soul-searching in the face of personal sufferings and social calamities. If Ts'ao Chih attained a broader range of self-presentation than other Han and Wei poets, Juan Chi reached a greater depth. Whereas Ts'ao Chih observes the conditions of his life through the eyes of *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* speakers, Juan Chi directly looks into his own soul as it is being tried by the sudden dynastic change, malicious courtly intrigues, and the threat of political persecution. The title for his entire collection, *Yung-huai*, "poetry that sings out what is in my bosom," betokens this turn from observation to introspection. He can, however, make no overt references to his own life nor can he address his close friends for fear of bloody reprisal. He must translate his thoughts and feelings into a symbolic mental landscape, a process best understood in the terms of his transformation of poetic imagery, his creation of new poetic structures, and his exploitation of poetic allusions.

Juan Chi introduces few fresh images, drawing instead on a pool of stock images from various *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* subgenres. However, his poetic images no longer evoke an external scene or situation. He makes a point of removing his images from their conventional topoi and uses them to embody his poignant awareness of human frailty in both the physical and spiritual sense. His images depict, almost exclusively, the passage of time; the withering of flowers, plants, and all other living things; the frailty of the human frame; and the emotional suffering of man. He treats these four kinds of images as symbolic coordinates of human frailty and organizes them to express his sorrow at the evanescence of human existence and to reveal his grief at the inconstancy of

human relationships made manifest in dynastic usurpations, court intrigues, and political betrayals in his own time as well as in the past.

In organizing his symbolic coordinates, Juan Chi does not follow a well-defined narrative line, nor an unambiguous sequence of perceptions, nor a contiguous order of things in the external world, nor a linear process of reasoning. His mental processes, either brooding or conflicted over the Confucian and Taoist approaches to life, give rise to two new poetic structures. The first is his cyclical structure. In this structure the poet ruminates over his feelings, projects them onto the external world, and returns to brood over them once again. This perpetual return to the self speaks to the poet's complete alienation from the outside world and his inward state of loneliness and desolation. The second structure is Juan Chi's discontinuous structure, used to convey oblique messages of social protest or his own mental conflict. Here the suppression of linearity is more radical. It is often impossible to see connections among different poetic lines. We are compelled to look for hidden patterns of meaning arising from the interplay of allusions.

Juan Chi often compensates for the weak structural connection with close intertextual linkages. When he broods over his emotional state, he tends to borrow images from different works. Each allusion evokes a scene and its emotional overtones from an earlier text. By knitting them together, he calls forth a wealth of associations, feelings, and moods. Sometimes he chooses a cluster of images alluding to a historical event depicted in an earlier poetical work. In that case his allusions form a coherent historical subtext fraught with both the emotional overtones and the moral messages of the earlier work. He also makes extensive use of historical allusions, employing the names of Confucian worthies and Taoist masters as metaphors for the Confucian and Taoist ways of life. More often he presents historical figures in a different light from earlier historical texts. These historical allusions are often so ambiguous that we cannot determine the poet's own attitude toward the figures in question. This extreme ambiguity reveals the poet's intense conflicts over the Confucian and Taoist ways of life and his anguished search for the truth of life. Since Juan Chi so successfully conveys even thoughts and feelings that seem beyond words, we can surely contend that his poems exemplify a symbolic form of self-presentation, a new poetic mode that would be brought to perfection by Li Po, Tu Fu and other great T'ang poets.

This closing chapter has explored the interrelatedness of all the thematic, formal, and generic reconfigurations discussed in the present study within the larger framework of the development of the four poetic modes. It has shown that each mode constitutes a unique form of self-presentation arising from the poets' continual efforts to adapt or transform

poetic traditions for the purpose of presenting their life experiences through an ever broader range expression and to an ever greater depth. It has also considered to what extent the poets' drive for self-presentation was conditioned by their changing relationships with the sociopolitical world, their audience, and poetic traditions. Of course, my argument for the interaction of the dynamic of self-presentation and the configurations of established poetic modes, and my view of the relation of literary to extra-literary phenomena are by no means comprehensive or definitive. They will certainly need further qualification and development. Nonetheless, supported by both textual and extra-textual evidence, they shed some light on the evolution of early pentasyllabic poetry. I hope that this study will stimulate readers to reexamine the four poetic modes and to carry the investigation further into other important poetic modes—say, T'ao Ch'ien's autobiographical mode and Hsieh Ling-yün's descriptive mode—thereby providing a fuller view of the development of diverse forms of self-presentation in early Chinese pentasyllabic poetry.

Notes

Notes to the Introduction

1. See, for example, the chapters "Ming shih" (An exegesis of poetry) and "*Yüeh-fu*" in Lu K' an-ju and Mou Shih-chin, eds., *Wen hsin tiao lung i-chu*, 2 vols. (Chi-nan: Ch' i-Lu shu-she, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 57–86; Vincent Yu-chung Shih, trans., *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1983), pp. 60–87.

2. See Ch' en Yen-chieh, ed. *Shih-p' in chu* (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch' u-pan-she, 1980), p. 4. In traditional Chinese criticism, poetic genres (*ku-shih, yüeh-fu*, etc.) are often subsumed under broader categories of poetry based on syllable count (e.g., tetrasyllabic poetry, heptasyllabic poetry, etc.). In this study I call the latter "poetic types" in order to distinguish them from poetic genres.

3. See Hsiao T' ung, comp., *Wen hsüan*, commentary by Li Shan (d. 689) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1977), pp. 277–455.

4. All but one (ch. 9) of the ten chapters in this anthology are devoted to pentasyllabic poetry. See Hsü Ling, ed., *Yü-t' ai hsin-yung chien-chu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1985).

5. In contrast to the dearth of comprehensive studies of pentasyllabic poetry, however, there are quite a few critical works on individual practitioners of pentasyllabic poetry. For instance, see Donald Holzman, *Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi (A.D. 210–263)* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1976); A. R. Davis, *T' ao Yuan-ming: His Works and Their Meaning*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1983); James R. Hightower, *The Poetry of T' ao Ch' ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970; Charles Yim-tze Kwong, *T' ao Qian and Chinese Poetic Tradition: The Quest for Cultural Identity*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, no. 66 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1995); J. D. Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream: The Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385–433), Duke of K' ang-lo*, 2 vols. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967).

6. See James Hutton, trans., *Aristotle' s Poetics* (New York: Norton, 1982), pp. 45–50.

7. See M. H. Abrams' s discussion of his four-fold scheme of criticism in *The Mirror and the Lamp* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 3–29; René Wellek and Austin Warren' s two-fold classification of critical approaches (extrinsic vs. intrinsic) in *Theory of Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace

Jovanovich, 1977), pp. 73–157; Northrop Frye's discussion of the theory of modes in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 33–67 and Roman Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1960), pp. 350–77.

8. During the final revision of this manuscript, I was delighted to discover an earlier attempt by Dore Levy to introduce the mode of presentation as an analytical category higher than that of genre for the study of Chinese literature. See her *Chinese Narrative Poetry: the Late Han through T'ang Dynasties* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 1–19 and note 5 to "Introduction" on p. 153.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Ch'en Po-chün, ed., *Juan Chi chi chiao-chu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1987, hereafter *JCCC*), p. 210. For a previous translation, see Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 229.

2. For a discussion of the metrical pattern, rhetorical rules and underlying aesthetics of pentasyllabic poetry, see Yu-kung Kao, "The Aesthetics of Regulated Verse," in *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, ed. Lin Shuen-fu and Stephen Owen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 332–345.

3. For a definition and discussion of "song melos" and "speaking melos," see Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, pp. 278–79, 366. See also Andrew Welsh's discussion of the same subject in *Roots of Lyric: Primitive Poetry and Modern Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 243–44ff.

4. See Kao, "The Aesthetics of Regulated Verse," p. 335, note 3.

5. The term "Six Dynasties" is variously defined. Here it is used to mean these six successive dynasties: Western Chin (266–317), Eastern Chin (317–420), Liu-Sung (420–479), Ch'i (479–502), Liang (502–557), Ch'en (557–589). These six dynasties are often called "Periods of Division," marked by incessant political upheavals and foreign invasions.

6. *Yüeh-fu* is the name for a Han government institution (Music Bureau) which was allegedly set up by Emperor Wu of Han (r. 140–86 B.C.) and was responsible for collecting folk songs and music to be examined as an indication of popular sentiment and to be adopted for use in court ceremonies and entertainments. It is also a broad generic term for four major kinds of poems collected by the Music Bureau: anonymous folk songs, ritual hymns composed by musicians at the Bureau, original works by known authors, and works written by men of letters in imitation of folk songs. For comprehensive English-language studies of *yüeh-fu* poetry, see Hans Frankel, "*Yüeh-fu* Poetry," in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, ed. Cyril Birch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 69–107 and "The Development of Han and Wei *Yüeh-fu* as a High Literary Genre," in *The Vitality of the Lyrical Voice*, pp. 255–86; Dore J. Levey, *Chinese Narrative*; Ann Birrell, *Popular Songs and Ballads of Han*

China (London: Unwin & Hyman, 1988); and Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, no. 63 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1992).

7. Poem 17 in the Mao edition of the *Book of Poetry*. The numbering of the 305 poems in the *Book of Poetry* is that of the Mao text used in Kao Heng, ed., *Shing ching chin-chu* (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1979).

8. *Mencius (Meng Tzu)*, 4A.8, cites this song and gives an account of Confucius' discussion of it with his disciples. See Chiao Hsün (1763-1820), ed., *Meng Tzu cheng-i*, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1987), vol. 1, p. 498.

9. This poem is mentioned in "Chin-yü," (Conversations of Chin), *Kuo yü* (Conversations of the states), ed. Shanghai Shih-fan Ta-hsüeh ku-chi cheng-li-tsu (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1978), *chüan* 8, vol. 1, p. 286.

10. This folk song is mentioned in "Wu-hsing chih," (Treatise on the five elements), *Han shu* (History of the Former Han), comp. Pan Ku (32–92) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 5/27B/1396. Please note that the first number indicates the sequence of volumes in the present typeset edition; the second number, the sequence of *chüan* in a pre-modern edition; and the third number, the page in the typeset edition. All subsequent citations of premodern texts from multivolume typeset editions will be documented in the same way.

11. 至成帝品錄, 三百餘篇; 朝章國采, 亦云周備. 而辭人遺翰, 莫見五言; 所以李陵, 班婕好, 見疑於後代也. 按召南‧行露, 始肇半章; 孺子滄浪, 亦有全曲; 暇豫优歌, 遠見春秋; 斜徑童謠, 近在成世. 閱時取證, 則五言久矣. See Lu and Mou, *Wen hsin tiao lung i-chu*, vol. 1, p. 62; See Shih, *Literary Mind*, pp. 65–67.

12. Ch'en, *Shih-p'in chu*, p. 1.

13. See Lu and Mou, *Wen hsin tiao lung*, vol. 1, p. 62; Shih, *Literary Mind*, pp. 65–67.

14. See Lu and Mou, *Wen hsin tiao lung*, vol. 1, pp. 73–86; Shih, *Literary Mind*, pp. 77–87.

15. Ch'en, *Shih-p'in chu*, p. 1.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Lu and Mou, *Wen hsin tiao lung*, vol. 1, p. 65; Shih, *Literary Mind*, p. 6. Translation slightly modified.

18. Ch'en, *Shih-p'in chu*, p. 1.

19. Lu and Mou, *Wen hsin tiao lung*, vol. 1, p. 65.

20. 就五言中. 較然兩體. 蘇李贈答, 無名氏十九首. 古詩體也. 廬江小吏妻, 羽林郎, 陌上桑之類. 樂府體也. 昭明獨尚雅音. 略於樂府. 然措詞敘事. 樂府為長. 茲特補昭明選未及. Shen Te-ch'ien, *Ku-shih yüan* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963), p. 1.

21. 樂府別是聲調體裁, 與古詩迥別. 然漢人 盧江小吏, 羽林郎, 陌上桑之類, 敘事措語之妙, 愛不能割. 班姬 怨歌行, 卓氏 白頭吟, 被之樂府, 何非詩耶? 而曹氏父子兄弟往往以樂府題敘漢末事, 雖謂之古詩亦可, 予聞多采掫. Wang Shih-chen, *Ku-shih chien* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1980), p. 1.

22. Shen, *Ku-shih yüan*, p. 2.

23. Wang, *Ku-shih chien*, p. 2.

24. Popular songs and ballads were the prime targets of censorship during the reign of Emperor Ai (6 B.C. to A.D. 1). When Emperor Ai came to the throne, he issued an imperial edict disbanding the Music Bureau because he believed popular songs and ballads were in the style of *Cheng-sheng* (songs from the state of Cheng, which were collected in the *Book of Poetry* and traditionally censured by Confucians as excessive) and brought extravagance and corruption to the court. (Cf. "Li Yüeh Chih" [Treatise on rites and music], *Han shu*, 4/22/1072–73).

25. See Wang Yün-hsi, "Han-tai ti su-yüeh ho min-ko," *Yüeh-fu shih yen-chiu lun-wen-chi* (Peking: Tso-chia ch' u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 18–20. For discussions of the earliest known, fourfold classification of *yüeh-fu* during the reign of Emperor Ming (58–76), see Lo Ken-tse, *Yüeh-fu wen-hsüeh-shih* (Peking: Wen-hua hsüeh-she, 1931), pp. 11–13; and Hsiao Ti-fei, *Han–Wei Liu-ch' ao yüeh-fu wen-hsüeh-shih*, (rpt. Taipei: Ch' ang-an ch' u-pan-she, 1976), pp. 9–13. For a brief survey of the *yüeh-fu* classifications from the Han to the Sung dynasty, see Chang Shou-p' ing, *Han-tai yüeh-fu yü yüeh-fu ko-tz' u* (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1970), pp. 65–79. Wang I[a] gives a more detailed discussion with various comparative charts in his *Yüeh-fu t'ung-lun* (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1964), pp. 43–86.

26. See Lu Ch' in-li, ed., *Hsien-Ch' in Han Wei–Chin Nan–Pei ch' ao shih*, 3 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983, hereafter *HCHW*), vol. 1, pp. 255–75. The meaning of "harmonious pieces" is explained in the second section of chapter 2.

27. The Seven Masters of the Chien-an period are Wang Ts' an, Hsü Kan, Ying Yang (?–217), Liu Chen, K' ung Jung (153–208), Ch' en Lin (?–217), and Juan Yü (?–212).

28. 故鋪觀列代, 而情變之數可監; 撮舉同異, 而綱領之要可明矣. Lu and Mou, *Wen hsin tiao lung*, vol. 1, p. 69; Shih, *Literary Mind*, pp. 71–73.

29. I am grateful to Professor Donald Munro for suggesting the use of this conceptual framework of inconstancy and constancy to understand the development of Han and Wei–Chin poetry and thought.

30. *The Interlingual Critic: Interpreting Chinese Poetry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 34.

31. For studies of Chinese genre theory, see James R. Hightower, "The *Wen Hsüan* and Genre Theory," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957): 512–33; Frenc Tôkei, *Genre Theory in China in the Third through Sixth Centuries: Liu Hsieh' s Theory on Poetic Genres* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971); and David R. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature*, vol. 1: *Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 1–70.

32. For a comprehensive survey of numerous definitions of the term "narrative" by Western critics, see Gerald Prince, ed., *A Dictionary of Narratology* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), pp. 56–66.

33. For discussions on the origin of *yüeh-fu* storytelling in the *fu* (narrative display, or enumeration) traditions developed in the *Book of Poetry* and the *Songs of Ch' u*, see C. H. Wang, "The Nature of Narrative in T' ang Poetry," in Lin and

Owen, *Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, pp. 217–21. For a theoretical discussion of *fu* as a principle of literary composition, see Levy, *Chinese Narrative Poetry*, pp. 34–53.

For studies on the unique features of Chinese narrative in general, see Kenneth DeWoskin, "On Narrative Revolutions," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 5, 1 (1985): 29–45; Eugene Eoyang, "A Taste for Apricots: Approaches to Chinese Fiction," in *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays*, ed. Andrew H. Plaks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 53–69; Yu-kung Kao, "Lyric Vision in Chinese Narrative Tradition: A Reading of *Hung-lou Meng* and *Ju-lin Wai-shih*," also in *Chinese Narrative*, pp. 228–43; Victor H. Mair, "The Narrative Revolution in Chinese Literature: Ontological Perspectives," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 5.1 (1985): 1–27; Andrew H. Plaks, "Conceptual Models of Chinese Narrative Theory," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 4.1 (1977): 25–47 and "Issues in Chinese Narrative Theory in the Perspective of the Western Tradition," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 2 (1977): 339–52; and John C. Y. Wang, "The Nature of Chinese Narrative: A Preliminary Statement of Methodology," *Tamkang Review* 6. 2 and 7. 1 (October 1975–April 1976): 229–45.

34. In *Chinese Narrative Poetry*, Levy points out that "the lyrical and narrative modes of expression interpenetrate to a far greater extent than they do in European traditions" and consequently "broad distinctions between ' lyric' and ' narrative' refer only to *tendencies*" in the expressive intent underlying a work of art in the case of Chinese literature (pp. 3, 153). I agree with this distinction between the narrative and the lyric because, in Chinese classic poetry at least, story-telling is essentially an *expressive* act, marked by a projection of one' s inward experience into the life story of a commonly recognizable other and by occasional intrusions of direct emotive expressions. Given this *expressive* nature of the narrative in Chinese poetry, I must emphasize that the transition from the narrative to lyrical modes in pentasyllabic poetry is not an abrupt shift from non-expressive to expressive traditions, but an evolution from an indirect to a more direct way of expressing one's inward experience.

35. For studies on the use of *hsing* in the *Book of Poetry*, see Ch' en Shih-hsiang, "The *Shih Ching*: Its Generic Significance in Chinese Literary Theory and Poetics," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* (Academia Sinica) 39.1 (1968): 371–413; reprinted in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, ed. Cyril Birch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974, pp. 8–41; C. H. Wang, *Bell and Drum: Shih Ching as Formulaic Poetry in an Oral Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), and Pauline Yü, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 44-83.

36. Jakobson expounds the principles of selection and combination in his "The Two-fold Character of Language," *Fundamentals of Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), pp. 72–96.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. See Fang Tsu-shen, *Han-shih yen-chiu* (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1967), p. 2.

2. For other songs, ballads, proverbs, and children's folk rhymes with explicit titles and contents, see *HCHW*, 123, 126, 131, 132, 214, 216, 248, 249.

3. Ch'en, *Shih-p'in chu* , p. 1.

4. To see how traditional Chinese critics utilize these three kinds of circumstantial evidence, see, for instance, Fang Tsu-shen's summary of the numerous textual studies on the date and authorship of the seven poems attributed to Li Ling and Su Wu (?–60 B.C.) in *Han-shih yen-chiu*, pp. 48–67.

5. See his *Han–Wei Liu-ch' ao yüeh-fu wen-hsüeh-shih* (rpt. Taipei: Ch' ang-an ch'u-pan-she, 1976), pp. 18 –22.

6. Yü Ying-shih discusses the interaction between the popular and elite cultures during Han times in his "Han-tai hsün-li yü wen-hua ch' uan-po," *Chiu-chou hsüeh-k'an* 1 (1986): 9–24; 2 (1986): 1–22; 3 (1987): 1–22.

7. See Wei Cheng (580–643) et al., eds., *Sui shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973), 2/13/286.

8. See Shen Yüeh (441–513), *Sung shu*, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 1/20/565.

9. See Shen, *Sung shu*, 1/19/548–554.

10. See Wu Ching, *Yüeh-fu ku-t' i yao chieh*, collected in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*, ed. Ting Fu-pao (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983), pp. 23–67.

11. See Cheng Ch'iao, *T'ung chih lüeh* (*SPPY* edn.), 49.1–32.

12. See his prefaces to the twelve categories as well as his table of contents in *Yüeh-fu shih chi*, ed. Editorial Board of Chung-hua shu-chü, 4 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979). For an English translation of these twelve categories, see Birrell, *Popular Songs and Ballads*, pp. 207–08.

13. For the different schemes of classification by these critics, see Ch' i T' ing-t' ing, *Liang Han yüeh-fu yen-chiu* (Taipei: Hsüeh-hai ch' u-pan-she, 1980), pp. 44–55.

14. For a discussion and a diagrammatical presentation of these five categories and the subcategories under them, see Allen, *In the Voice of Others*, pp. 54–56.

15. See Lo, *Yüeh-fu wen-hsüeh shih*, pp. 11–25.

16. See his discussion of Han *yüeh-fu* in *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh fa-chan shih*, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1939), vol. 1, pp. 195 –202.

17. See James R. Hightower, *Topics in Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 51–52.

18. See Frankel, "*Yüeh-fu* Poetry," pp. 70–72.

19. See Lu K' an-ju and Feng Yuan-chün, *Chung-kuo shih-shih*, 3 vols. (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 157 –214.

20. For a collection of such comments, see Huang Chieh, ed., *Han–Wei yüeh-fu feng-chien*, 1924 (rpt. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1977), p. 4.

21. For an extensive, annotated bibliography of the studies on both ancient and living oral traditions, see John Miles Foley, *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: an Introduction and Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985).

22. For major discussions of this repertoire, see Eric A. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986) and "The Ancient Art of Oral Poetry," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 19 (1979): 187–202; Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London: Routledge, 1982); Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1977); John Miles Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Benjamin A. Stolz and Richard S. Shannon, eds., *Oral Literature and the Formula* (Ann Arbor: Center for the Coordination of Ancient and Modern Studies, 1976); Pierre Maranda and Elli Köngäs Maranda, eds., *Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971).

23. For an earlier attempt to determine the oral, folk nature of some Han *yüeh-fu* works on the basis of internal features from this repertoire, see Gary Shelton Williams, "A Study of the Oral Nature of the Han *Yüeh-fu*," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1973, especially chapters 3 and 4.

24. See Birrell, *Popular Songs and Ballads*, p. 17.

25. For instance, see Hsiao Ti-fei, *Yüeh-fu wen-hsüeh-shih*, p. 45.

26. See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp. 46–49.

27. I have discussed the "homeostatic" feature of folk songs in the *Book of Poetry* in "*Shih ching* yü ' Ku-shih shih-chiu shou' : ts' ung pi-hsing ti yen-pien lai k'an ta-men ti nei-tsai lien-hsi, " *Chung-wai wen-hsüeh* 17.11 (1989): 118–126.

28. Gary Williams examines the use of this device in various Han *yüeh-fu* poems in "A Study of the Oral Nature of the Han *Yüeh-fu*," pp. 57–61.

29. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p. 106.

30. Cited in Chang Ch' ing-chung, *Liang Han yüeh-fu-shih chih yen-chiu* (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1979), p. 39.

31. See, for instance, Yang Sheng-chih, *Yüeh-fu shih-shih* (Hsi-ning: Ch' ing-hai jen-min ch' u-pan-she, 1985), p. 74; Wang Ju-pi, *Yüeh-fu san-lun* (Hsi-an: Shan-hsi jen-min ch' u-pan-she, 1984), p. 46 and Chang, *Liang Han yüeh-fu shih chih yen-chiu*, p. 39.

32. See Kuo Mo-jo, *Pu tz' u t' ung-tzuan* (Tokyo: Bunkyū–dō shoten, 1933), 3.77b–78a. This oracle bone is numbered 375 in the sequence of fragments annotated in Kuo's book.

33. See Li Ch' un-ch' iang, *Yüeh-fu shih chien-shang tz' u tien* (Cheng-chou: Chung-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1990), pp. 18 –19.

34. Liu An (180–123 B.C.), *Huai-nan hung lieh chi chieh*, ed. Liu Wen-tien (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1989), 1/12/380–381.

35. 冬, 民既入, 婦人同巷, 相從夜織. . . . 男女有不得其所者, 因相與歌詠,各言其傷. Pan Ku, *Han shu*, 4/24/1121.

36. I have based my translation on the extensive textual notes on this poem in *Liang Han wen-hsüeh ts' an-k' ao tzu-liao*, ed., Research Unit for Chinese

Literary History at Peking University (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), pp. 515–20. I am grateful to Professor Eugene Eoyang for suggesting improvements in the translation of this and other poems in this chapter. For a previous translation of this and other Han *yüeh-fu* pieces, see Birrell, *Popular Songs and Ballads.*

37. A lot of ink has been spilled over the social status of Lo-fu in recent times. Depending on how they account for the incompatibility of Lo-fu's humble work and the aristocratic traits shown in her dress and her husband's official ranks, critics have come to hold these three different views of Lo-fu: 1) a peasant girl (assuming that she is not married), 2) an aristocratic lady, and 3) a Confucian moral model.

The proponents of the first view take the description of Lo-fu's dazzling dress to be an exaggerated expression used by a *yüeh-fu* narrator to attract the audience's attention, and consider Lo-fu's own description of her imaginary husband as a tactic intended to frighten away the seducer. See Wu Ching, *Yüeh-fu ku-t'i yao-chieh*, in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-p'ien*, vol. 1, pp. 24–67; P'eng Mei-sheng, "'Mo-shang sang' ti jen-wu ho chu-t'i ssu-hsiang," *Yüeh-fu shih yen-chiu lun-wen chi*, ed. Tso-chia ch'u-pan-she (Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 76–79; and K. C. Leung, "The Dramatic Qualities of Three *Yüeh-fu* Poems," *Chinese Culture* 14.4 (1973): 36–47.

The proponents of the second view believe that Lo-fu's description of her husband is truthful and that she is an aristocratic wife who goes mulberry-picking for the love of it. See, for instance, Wang Chi-ssu, "Kuan-yü Jen, P'eng teng t'ung-chih tui 'Mo-shang sang' ti jen-wu i-wen so-t'i i-chien ti ta-fu," in *Yüeh-fu shih yen-chiu lun-wen chi*, pp. 80–83.

The main proponent of the third view is Jean-Pierre Diény, who regards Lo-fu as a composite character born of Han Confucian moralists' effort to transform an erotic peasant girl into an apotheosis of moral virtue; see *Pastourelles et magnanarelles: Essai sur un theme litteraire chinois* (Paris: Librarie Droz, 1977), pp. 101–2. For a review of the development of these three views, see Joseph R. Allen, "Early Chinese Narrative Poetry: the Definition of a Tradition," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1982, pp. 240–50.

38. For his discussion of "situational thinking," see *Orality and Literacy*, pp. 49–52.

39. "The Relation between Narrator and Characters in *Yüeh-fu* Ballads," *CHINOPERL Papers* 13 (1984–85): 107. Frankel seems to take the term "performer" to mean a composer as well as a performer in a strictly defined sense. I, too, will use the term "performer" in the same manner. In the context of Han *yüeh-fu*, it seems best not to make an absolute distinction between a composer and a performer. Han *yüeh-fu* composers are more than likely to have been the initial performers of their own work. Conversely, Han *yüeh-fu* performers are more than likely to have altered—that is, recomposed—existent compositions in one way or another in the course of oral performance.

40. Cf. *Popular Songs and Ballads*, p. 18.

41. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

42. Shen, *Ku-shih yüan*, p. 73.

43. See his *Han–Wei Liu-chao shih lun ts' ung* (Shanghai: T' ang-ti ch' u-pan-she, 1952), pp. 26–38.

44. A composite structure may also emerge from a long narrative composition like "The Narrative of the Crown Prince of the House of Liu During the Former Han dynasty" ("Ch' ien Han chia Liu t' ai-tzu chuan"), one of Tun-huang transformation texts (*Tun-huang pien-wen*). As Eugene Eoyang points out, this narrative of the Crown Prince is an "amalgam of history, myth, anecdote and story" (p. 110) and displays a composite structure on a large scale. This composite structure, however, is different from what we see in "Mulberry along the Lane" in that its components are not blocks of poetic lines, but narratively coherent mini-stories. It betrays an oral story-teller' s tendency to move freely among associative themes and digressions in order to maintain the audience' s interest. It is not the result of collective dramatic performance as is the case with "Mulberry along the Lane." See Eugene Eoyang' s discussion of this composite structure in his "Word of Mouth: Oral Storytelling in the Pien-wen," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1971, pp. 89–114.

45. Ch' en Pen-li, *Ch' u Tz' u ching-i* (rpt. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1964), 5.1a.

46. See Aoki Masaru, "Soji Kyūka no bukyokuteki kekkō," in *Aoki Masaru Zenshū* (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 431–32.

47. See his commentaries on "Nine Songs" in *Ch' u Tz' u chih-chieh* (Chiang-shu: Chiang-shu ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1988), pp. 83 –121.

48. See his *Aux Origines de la Poé sie Classique en Chine: Etudes sur la poesis lyrical'epoque des Han* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p. 136.

49. On repetition as a mnemonic aid to recitation by an *improvisateur* and to comprehension by the audience, see *ibid.*, p. 136.

50. These thematic and formal features can also be seen in "Cock Crows" (*HCHW*, 257–58), "They Meet" (*HCHW*, 265), and "In Ch' ang-an There is a Narrow Lane" (*HCHW*, 266).

51. 但歌四曲, 出自漢世. 無弦節, 作伎, 最先一人倡, 三人和. 魏武帝尤好之, 時有宋容華者, 清徹好聲, 善倡此曲, 當時特妙. 自晉以來, 不復傳, 遂絕. 相和, 漢舊歌也. 絲竹更相和, 執節者歌. Shen, *Sung shu*, 1/21/603.

52. See his article "Ch' ing yüeh k' ao lüeh," collected in his *Yüeh-fu shih lun-ts'ung* (Peking: Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1958).

53. Cited in Chou I-pai, *Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih* (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1953), vol. 1, p. 30.

54. Masuda Kiyohide, *Gakufu no rekishiteki kenkyū,* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha 1975), p. 81.

55. Wang I[a], *Yüeh-fu t'ung-lun* (Taipei, Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1961), p. 114.

56. Shen, *Sung shu*, 1/11/617.

57. On the distinct features of these three performative blocks, see Yang, *Yüeh-fu shih shih*, pp. 94–98.

58. On the evolution and coexistence of the three variant forms of this poem, see his *Gakufu no rekishiteki kenkyū*, p. 87.

59. See "Kuan hsi chi," in *Chung-kuo li-tai wen-lun hsüan*, ed. Kuo Shao-yü and Wang Wen-sheng (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch' u-pan-she, 1979, hereafter *CKLT*), vol. 4, p. 355.

60. See Chou I-pai, *Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih*, vol. 1, pp. 30–33.

61. See Meng Yao, *Chung-kuo hsi-ch' ü shih* (Taipei: Wen-hsing shu-chü, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 15–19.

62. See Wei Tzu-yün, *Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih* (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1992), pp. 42–51.

63. See Shanshan Du, "The Aesthetic Axis in the Construction of Emotions and Decisions: Love-Pact Suicide among the Lahu Na of Southwest China," in *Social Perspectives on Emotion*, vol. 3, edited by Michael Flaherty and Carolyn Ellis (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, forthcoming).

64. For a similar attempt to corroborate the internal evidence of dramatic performance in ancient poems with the findings from anthropological fieldwork on the living oral traditions of non-Han ethnic groups, see Lin Ho, *Chiu-ko yü Yüan Hsiang min-su* (Shanghai: San-lien shu-tien, 1990).

65. 狼之俗,幼即習歌,男女倚歌自配. 女及笄,縱之山野,少年從者且數十,以次而歌,視女歌意所答而一人留. 彼此相遺. 男遺女以一扁擔,上鐫歌詞數首.... 女贈男以繡囊錦帶,約爲夫婦. Li T' iao-yüan, *Nan Yüeh pi-chi*, collected in *Han hai* (rpt. Taipei: Hung-yeh shu chü, 1968), vol. 27, 1.15a, p. 16307.

66. For his broader survey of collective dramatic performance of songs by various Yüeh peoples, see the entire section of "Yüeh su hao ko" (The love of singing in the Yüeh customs) in *Nan Yüeh pi-chi*, collected in *Han hai*, vol. 27, 1.10a–16a, pp. 16297–308.

67. See Aoki Masaru, "Soji kyūka no bukyokuteki kekkō," in *Aoki Masaru zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 437–38. This view seems to be derived from Li T' iao-yüan' s assumption that the Lang people are most likely the southern descendants of the ancient Ch' u people. See Li T' iao-yüan, *Nan Yüeh pi-chi*, in *Han hai*, vol. 27, 1.13b, p. 16304.

68. For a brief comparision of this story with anthropological studies of the Miao customs done after the 1930s, see Jeffrey C. Kinkley, *The Odyssey of Shen Congwen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), pp. 137–145.

69. 郎家族男女結合,在唱歌. 大年時,端午時,八月中秋時,以及跳年刺牛大祭時,男女成群唱,成群舞. 女人們,各自穿了峒錦衣裙,各戴花擦粉,供男子享受. 平常時,大好天氣下,或早或晚,在山中深阿,在水濱,唱慇歌,把男女吸到一塊來,即在太陽下或月亮下,成了熟人,做慇只有頂熱的人可做的事. 在此習慣下,一個男子不能唱歌他是種羞辱,一個女子不能唱歌她不會得到好丈夫. 抓出自己的心,放在愛人的面前,方法不是錢,不是貌,不是門閥,也不是假裝的一切,只有眞實熱情的歌. Shen Ts' ung-wen, "Lu Chu," collected in *Ch' ün* (Hong Kong: Wen-li ch' u-pan-she, 1960), pp. 25–26. Translated by Kinkley in *Odyssey*, pp. 141–42. I have modified the translation slightly and changed the romanization of names from *pinyin* to the Wade-Giles system for the sake of consistency. For a free translation of this short story, see Shen Ts' ung-wen, *The Chinese Earth: Stories by Shen Tsung-wen*, trans. Ching Ti and Robert Payne (London: Allen & Unwin, 1947), pp. 137–51.

70. There are different characters for the word "Lang" in the designations Lang tribe and Lang Chia tribe. One character means "wolf" or "wolf-like," and the other "clear" [as in sky color] or "melodious" [as in voice]. The "Chia" in the Lang Chia literally means "home" or "clan" and is often attached to the name of a minority group (e.g., the T' u Chia ethnic group). It is entirely possible that these two tribes had been closely related or even the same tribe before they were scattered in different places centuries ago and that they were both referred, rather derogatorily, to as "Lang" by the Han Chinese. Shen Ts' ung-wen used the character "Lang" (clear) instead of its homonym (wolf) probably for two reasons. First, he wanted to get rid of the offensive denotation of "wolf-likeness." Second, the Lang Chia tribe might happen to live in an area named after the river Lang Hsi (Clear Brook) in the Ch' ien Yang County of west Hunan. The first reason is highly probable because Shen was keenly aware of the Han chauvinism reflected in the naming of minority peoples. In the later versions of this story, he removed the name "Lang Chia" and used instead "Pai Erh," probably a transliteration of what the tribe called itself. Here I only mean to suggest a possible relationship between these two tribes. To determine whether these two tribes were actually related is a task for an anthropologist, not for a student of literature like myself.

71. Kinkley, *Odyssey*, p. 140.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 140. For Granet' s discussion of collective love-song sing in the *Book of Poetry*, see his *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China*, trans. E. D. Ewards (New York: Dutton, 1932), pp. 11–145; 190–206.

73. Pan Ku, *Pai-hu t' ung*, *chüan* 3 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1994), vol. 1, p. 97.

74. These two and other Lang song-texts are in the "Lang-ko" section of *Yüeh feng*, collected in *Han hai*, vol. 23, 3.1a–10b, pp. 14357–76. The terms "intent," "love," and "beautiful" do not appear in the texts and are used to translate the "nonsensical," emotive words uttered by the singers.

75. These formal features may also be observed in the Miao songs collected by Shen Ts'ung-wen and translated by Kinkley in *Odyssey*, pp. 142–45.

76. For a study of the art of story-telling in later Chinese fiction, see David L. Rolston, "Oral Performing Literature in Traditional Chinese Fiction: Nonrealistic Usages in the Jin Ping Mei Cihua," *CHINOPERL Papers* 17 (1994): 1–110.

77. The translation is taken, with slight modifications, from Frankel, "The Development of Han and Wei *Yüeh-fu* as a High Literary Genre," in *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, ed. Lin and Owen, pp. 259–60.

78. In "From the Folk to the Literary Yüeh-fu," *Tamkang Review* 5.1 (1974): 31–55, Marie Chan uses these two poems to illustrate the development from folk to literati *yüeh-fu*, although she does not make detailed comparisons between the two poems. According to her, what distinguishes folk *yüeh-fu* from literati *yüeh-fu* is the impulse of externalization in the former and the impulse of internalization in the latter. My analysis of the dramatic and narrative modes seems to lend support to this broad aesthetic distinction between the two. For a

discussion of post-Han literati imitations of "Mulberry along the Lane," see Allen, *In the Voice of Others*, pp. 209–23.

79. The text cited here is the first half of the poem that appears in *HCHW*, 262–63. In his explanatory note, Lu Ch' in-li observes that the poem consists of two parts entirely different in meaning and that these two parts are taken by many critics including himself as two separate poems accidentally placed together in some editions of *yüeh-fu* texts. The opinion of these critics gives me the license to leave out the second half, which is totally unrelated to my subject. As Ballad to a Long Song" is a common *yüeh-fu* title, it is not necessarily a literal description of the length of this particular poem. This title does seem a misnomer especially after my reduction of its length.

80. Konishi Noboru, "Kandai Gafushi to shinen shisō," collected in *Mekada Makoto Hakushi kanreki kinen chūgokugaku ronshū*, ed. Mekada Makoto kanreki kinen ronbunshū Kankōkai (Tokyo: Kabushikikaisha Daian, 1964), pp. 137–42. For an account of the literati involvement in the composition of "Songs for Suburban Sacrifices," see Ssu-ma Ch' ien (145?–? B.C.), *Shih chi*, 10 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 4/24/1177; Pan Ku, *Han shu*, 4/22/1045.

81. See Konishi, "Kandai Gafushi to shinen shisō," pp. 143–49. Sawaguchi Takeo also presents this argument in, "Kan gi gakufu ni okeru ' RōSō' Dōka no shisō," *Tōhō Shūkyō* 44 (1974): 29–30.

82. See Kuo Ch' ing-fan, ed., *Chuang Tzu chi shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), 1/1/28; 1/2/96. For a description of the famous immortals Wang Ch'iao and Ch'ih-sung tzu, see Liu An, *Huai-nan hung-lieh*, 1/11/361.

83. See the descriptions of such fabulous creatures in Ssu-ma Ch' ien, *Shih chi*, 4/28/1396–97.

84. Due to the limitation of space, I cannot give a more detailed description of the stories alluded to in this poem. Readers wishing to learn more about them may examine the extensive textual notes in Huang, *Han–Wei yüeh-fu feng chien*, pp. 48–51 and in Williams, "A Study of the Oral Nature of the Han *Yüeh-fu*," pp. 203–08.

85. The doublecarp was a box used for sending a letter in Han times, and "cooking" refers to the act of opening it.

86. For a discussion of the adaptation of oral, formulary constructions in literati *yüeh-fu*, see Diény, *Aux Origines de la Poésie Classique en Chine*, p. 3.

87. For other allegorical pieces, see "Ballad to a Long Song" (*HCHW*, 262), "The *Yü-Chang* Ballad" (*HCHW*, 264) and "A *Yen* Song, The Whenever Ballad" (*HCHW*, 272).

88. Birrell, *Popular Songs and Ballads*, p. 18.

89. For a discussion of the function of point of view in Chinese narrative poetry, see Levy, *Chinese Narrative Poetry*, pp. 54–79. See also David L. Rolston' s article on point of view in "' Point of View' in the Writings of Traditional Chinese Fiction Critics," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 15 (1993): 113–42.

90. In "The Development of Han and Wei *Yüeh-fu* as a High Literary Genre," p. 284, Hans Frankel comes up with as many as twenty-five themes in

Han and Wei literati *yüeh-fu* after he has broadened the meaning of the term "theme" to include topics, topoi, motifs, archetypes, and other categories.

91. By Wei–Chin times, these four themes had evolved into major subgenres of pentasyllabic poetry: poems of the neglected wife (*ch' i-fu chih shih*), poems on object or things (*yung-wu shih*), poems on visiting the land of immortals (*yu-hsien shih*), and poems of historical reflection (*yung-shih shih*). I shall have occasion to discuss these subgenres in my chapter on Ts'ao Chih.

92. This sudden emergence of human transience as a central poetic theme may have much to do with, among other things, the loss of belief in the permanence of the soul and afterlife in the Han times. See Ying-shih Yü, "' O Soul, Come Back!' A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47.2 (1987): 363–95.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Lu and Mou, *Wen hsin tiao lung*, p. 62.

2. Hsü, *Yü-tai hsin-yung*, pp. 16–21. Cf. Fang Tsu-shen' s discussion of the dating and authorship of these poems in "Han *ku-shih* shih-tai wen-t' i k' ao-pien," published in three parts in *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 31.5 (1965): 13–16; 31.6 (1965): 30–35; 31.7 (1965): 31–35.

3. For a brief summary of these six kinds of internal textual evidence, see Sui Shu-sen, *Ku shih shih-chiu shou chi shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1955; hereafter *KSSC*), pp. 1–2. I use this edition for both the citation and the numbering of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems."

4. See Liu, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh fa-chan shih*, vol. 1, pp. 208–209; Lu and Feng, *Chung-kuo shih-shih*, vol. 2, p. 279; Ma Mao-yüan, *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou ch'u t'an* (Shansi: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1981), pp. 8 –16.

5. For a theoretical discussion of the self-reflectivity in this collection, see Kao, "Aesthetics of Self-Reflection," in The Power of Culture: Studies in Chinese Cultural History, eds. Willard J. Peterson, Andrew Plaks, and Ying-shih Yü (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1994), pp. 80–102.

6. For a general discussion of the formal aspects of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," see Liao Wei-ch' ing, "Lun ' Ku-shih shih-chiu shou' ti i-shu chi-ch' iao," in *Wen-hsüeh p' ing-lun*, ed. Liu Shou-i (Taipei: Lien-ching ch' u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 65–92.

7. 十九首大率逐臣棄妻. 朋友闊絕. 死生新故之感. 中間或寓言或顯言. Shen, *Ku-shih yüan*, p. 92.

8. In translating this and other pieces of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," I have relied on the glosses in *KSSC* and the extensive textual notes in *Liang Han wen-hsüeh ts' an-k' ao tzu-liao*, pp. 573–596. For previous translations of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," see Burton Watson, *Chinese Lyricism: Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 15–32; and Arthur Waley, *Translations from the Chinese* (New York: Knopf, 1941), pp. 37–48.

9. See *KSSC*, 2.5.

10. See "Suii no hiai—' koshi jūkushu' no shudai," in *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968–70), vol. 6, pp. 266–330.

11. Many critics have recognized this brooding melancholy as a distinct quality of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." Burton Watson writes, "Looking back at the poems as a whole, we note that they are dominated by a tone of brooding melancholy. The songs of the *Book of Poetry* had often complained of hardship and sorrow, but they were for the most part complaints over specific human ills that presumably were capable of being remedied. With the poems of the *Ch' u Tz' u*, a more generalized air of grief was introduced into Chinese literature, and it is this air that pervades the ' Nineteen Old Poems,' expressed here for the first time in the new five-character *shih* form" (*Chinese Lyricism*, p. 30).

12. Kao, *Shih ching chin-chu*, p. 163; trans., Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (New York: Grove, 1960), p. 89.

13. Wang I (fl. 89–159), ed., *Ch' u Tz' u pu-chu* (SPPY edn.), 1.5.; translation based on. David Hawkes, *Songs of the South* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), p. 22.

14. See Yang Po-chün, ed. *Lun yü i-chu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1980) p. 92, 9.17; trans. Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: Vintage, 1938), p. 142, IX.17.

15. *Mu chai yu hsüeh chi* (SPTK edn.), 19. 22a.

16. For Wu' s detailed comment on this poem, see his *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou ting-lun*, in *KSSC*, 3.21. See also the endorsements of Wu' s interpretation by Chang Keng (fl. 1728), *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou chieh* in *KSSC* 3.34-35; by Chiang Jen-hsiu (fl. 1789), *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou i*, preface dated 1789, in *KSSC*, 3.43; and by Jao Hsüeh-pin (Ch' ing dynasty) in *Yüeh wu lou ku-shih shih-chiu shou hsiang-chieh*, posthumously published in 1874, in *KSSC*, 3.80–82. My translation is based on Wu's interpretation.

17. See Kuo, *Chuang Tzu chi shih*, 3/18/614–19.

18. See Lu Ch' in-li, ed., *T' ao Yuan-ming chi* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), pp. 141–42.

19. 人生天地之間,若白駒之過郤,忽然而已. (莊子‧知北遊) See Kuo, *Chuang Tzu chi shih*, 3/22/746–47.

20. 人生一世間,如白駒過隙,何至自苦如此乎. (史記‧留侯世家) *Shih chi*, 6/55/2048; trans. Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1958), p. 174. These remarks were made by Empress Lü to Chang Liang, Marquis of Liu.

21. For a discussion of different philosophical perspectives on human transience in Han times, see Aoki Masaru, "Go-Kan no shi ni arawaretaru mujō-kan to raisei shisō," *Aoki Masaru zenshū* (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 42–47.

22. 萬物所異者生也,所同者死也. 生則有賢愚, 貴賤, 是所異也;死則有臭腐,消滅,是所同也.... 仁聖亦死,凶愚亦死. 生則堯舜, 死則腐骨; 生則桀紂,死則腐骨. 腐骨一矣, 孰知其異? 且趣當生, 奚遑死後? *Lieh Tzu chi shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), p. 221; trans. Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 310–311. Translation slightly modified.

Lieh Tzu is a collection of stories, sayings and short essays attributed to a certain Lieh Tzu who is supposed to have lived between 600 and 400 B.C. However, most scholars believe that this book was written as late as the fourth century A.D. The present passage is cited from "Yang Chu," one of the eight chapters of this collection. Unlike the other seven chapters, the "Yang Chu" chapter departs from the mainstream Taoist thought and expounds a hedonism that is only loosely associated with the idea of life preservation developed in *Chuang Tzu*. As this chapter is out of keeping, in content and style, with the remainder of the book, many modern scholars believe that it is the work of another writer in the third or fourth century A.D., who put his own hedonist ideas into the mouth of Yang Chu (c. 350 B.C.), a famous thinker living some six hundred years earlier. Cf. A. C. Graham, trans. *The Book of Lieh-tzu: a Classic of the Tao* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 1–13, 135–37.

23. For a discussion of the theme of human transience in Han–Wei poetry in general, see Suzuki Shūji, *Kan Gi shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1967), pp. 364–438.

24. As critical terms, "mode" and "process" are both used to analyze the dynamics of artistic creation, but at different levels. As I explained in my Introduction, literary critics often use the term "mode" on a theoretical level to characterize the overall pattern of relationship of the four major aspects of artistic creation in a literary or critical tradition. They opt for the term "process" when they describe a continuum of psychological experience of a given poet or audience on the level of practical criticism. Following this critical convention, I have used the term "poetic mode" in like manner and here introduce the term "poetic process" for my descriptions of the interior experience of the poets and the readers in the course of writing and reading the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." The term "poetic process" will be used for the same descriptive purposes in the subsequent chapters on Ts'ao Chih and Juan Chi.

25. The sequences in those twelve poems run as follows: Poem 1 (past: [lines] 1–4; present: 5–8; past as related to present: 9–11; existential problem: 13–14; future: 15–16), Poem 2 (present: 1–6; past: 7–8; present-future: 9–10), Poem 6 (present: 1–4; past: 5–6; present-future: 7–8), Poem 7 (present: 1–8; past: 9–12; present-future: 13–16), Poem 8 (present: 1–2; past: 3–8; present-future: 10–16), Poem 11 (present: 1–6; existential problem: 7–10; future: 11–12), Poem 13 (present: 1–4; past: 5–8; existential problem: 9–14; present-future: 15–18), Poem 14 (past-future: 1–2; present 3–8; future: 9–10), Poem 16 (present: 1–6; past: 7–8; future in dream: 9–12; present: 13–20), Poem 17 (present: 1–6; past: 7–12; future: 13–14), Poem 18 (past: 1–4; present: 5–8; existential problem: 9–10).

26. Ch'en, *Shih-p'in chu*, p. 17.

27. Lang T' ing-huai, ed., *Shih-yu shih chuan-lu* (Hsüeh hai lei-pien edn.) 1.2–3.

28. See Sui Shu-sen, *KSSC*, 1.1–2; and Ma Mao-yüan, *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou ch'u t'an* , pp. 26–45.

29. I have discussed in greater detail the evolution of these two *pi hsing* structures in " *Shih ching* yü ' Ku-shih shih-chiu shou' : ts' ung pi-hsing ti yen-pien lai k' an t' a-men ti nei-tsai lien-hsi," *Chung-wai wen-hsüeh* 17.11 (1989): 118–26.

Apart from formal affinities, these two structures are linked by their common susceptibility to allegorical exegeses and interpretations. For a comparsion of allegorical readings of natural images in the *Book of Poetry* and in the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," see Pauline Yü, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 121–31.

30. On the evolution of the meanings of *pi* and *hsing*, see Kuo Shao-yü and Wang Wen-sheng, "Lun pi-hsing," in *Wen-hsüeh p' ing-lun* (1978, no. 4): 47–54; P' ei P' u-hsien, *Shih ching yen-tu chih-tao* (Taipei: Tung-ta, 1977), pp. 10–21; and Chao Chih-yang, *Shih ching fu-pi-hsing tsung-lun* (Taipei: Feng-cheng, 1974), pp. 25–28.

31. Kao, *Shih ching chin-chu*, p. 148; previous trans., Waley, *The Book of Songs*, p. 309.

32. Kao, *Shih ching chin-chu*, p. 1; previous trans., Waley, *The Book of Songs*, p. 81.

33. For instance, Liu Hsieh not only employs the two terms as a compound, but also uses the compound to name a chapter of his magnum opus *Wen hsin tiao lung*.

34. Owing to the presence of two binary structures, some traditional Chinese critics are tempted to consider these three poems as made up of separate pieces accidentally put together by careless compilers. According to Sun Chih-tsu' s (1737–1801) *Wen hsüan k' ao-i*, Yen Yü (fl. 1180–1235) in *Ts' ang-lang shih-hua* alleges that, based on [a certain lost Sung edition of] *Yü-t' ai hsin-yung*, the second half of Poem 1 is to be taken as an independent poem. In *Wen hsüan tsuan-chu*, Chang Feng-i (1527–1613) divides Poem 12 into two pieces that, he contends, were confused as one poem because of their identical rhymes. However, these views are regarded as fallacious by the majority of critics, who believe that such deconstructions impair the meanings of these poems. For a summary of those debates, see Ma Mao-yüan, *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou ch' u t' an*, pp. 87–88, 111.

35. Ch' ien Chung-shu, *Kuan-chui p' ien*. 4 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua, 1979), vol. 2, p. 612.

36. For the sources of subsequent allusions to Wang Ch' ang-ling' s discussions of *hsing*, see *Shih ko* (*Rules of Poetry*), collected in Shen Ping-hsün, ed., *Hsü T'ang shih-hua* (Ch'ien-lung edition), A.1.16 –21.

37. On the aesthetic significance of the interaction between the perceptive and narrative processes, see See Kao, "Aesthetics of Self-Reflection," pp. 89–92.

38. These four categories are *kan-shih ju hsing, pa-sheng ju hsing, ching-wu ju hsing*, and *ching-wu chien-i ju hsing*.

39. These four categories are *hsien i-tai hou hsü-shih ju hsing, hsien hsü-shih hou i-tai ju hsing, hsü-shih ju hsing*, and *t'uo hsing ju hsing*.

40. For a frequency tabulation of all citations in *Shih ko*, see Richard W. Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody in Early Medieval China: A Study and Translation of Kūkai' s *Bunkyō Hifuron*," Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1978, pp. 60–61.

41. For a theoretical discussion of the functions of these two relationships in poetry, see Roman Jakobson, "Two Aspects of Language" in *Fundamentals of Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. 73–96. See also his "Linguistics and Poetics," in *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas Sebeok (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960), pp. 350–77.

42. For a theoretical discussion of the dynamics of reading, see Wolfgang Iser, "The Process of Reading: A Phenomenological Approach," in his *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 274–94.

43. The emphasis is mine.

44. Ts' ai Hsiao-liu takes the question-answer formula as one of the six most common structural formulas used in Chinese folk poetry from the earliest times. The other five are repetition of words in consecutive verses; repetitions of an entire verse; use of spatial, temporal, seasonal, and numerical ordinals; evocative beginnings *(hsing)*; and regular alternations of end rhymes. See his "Tsung min-ko hsing-shih k' an ' Mu-lan Tz' u' " in *Yüeh-fu shih yen-chiu lun-wen chi*, ed. Tso-chia ch' u-pan-she pien-chi-pu (Peking: Tso-chia ch' u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 200–204.

45. The emphasis is mine.

46. *Wu-yen shih hsüan-li*, quoted in *KSSC*, 4.6.

47. Neither Sui Shu-sen nor Ma Mao-yüan uses stanzaic divisions in their type-set editions of the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems." While Arthur Waley and Dell R. Hales translate the poems without stanzaic divisions, Charles Hartman translates them as run-on sentences, eliminating the capitalizations at the beginning of all but the first lines and the punctuation at the end of all lines. See Waley, *Translations from the Chinese*, pp. 37–48; Liu Wu-chi and Irving Yucheng Lo, eds. *Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), pp. 30–33.

48. Kao, "Aesthetics of Self-Reflection," p. 88.

49. After the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," the conscious exploitation of "verse eye" became widespread in Chinese poetry. Subsequently, the poetic effect of "verse eye" became an established subject of critical inquiry, attracting comments by important critics like Lu Chi (261–303), Liu Hsieh, and Chung Hung and more detailed studies by Huang T' ing-chien (1045–1105), Fan Wen (ca. 1100) and others. For a comprehensive study of "verse eye" in comparison with Western theories of metaphor, see Craig Fisk, "The Verse Eye and the Self-Animating Landscape in Chinese Poetry," *Tamkang Review* 8 (1977): 123–53.

50. In the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," we can find an abundance of separate, and often metaphorical images in the second part of a poem. See, for instance, Poem 1 (7–8, 11), Poem 5 (15–16), Poem 6 (5–6), Poem 7 (10, 13–14), Poem 8 (11–14), Poem 12 (8, 19–20), Poem 14 (7–8), Poem 16 (15–16), and Poem 17 (11–12).

51. 古詩十九, 人謂無句法, 非也. 極自有法, 無階級可尋耳. *I-yüan chih-yen* 1, collected in *Li-tai shih hua hsü-p' ien*, ed. Ting Fu-pao, 3 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983), vol. 2, p. 964.

52. *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou ting-lun*, in *KSSC*, 3.8.

53. *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou yen-chiu* (Shanghai: Ta-kuang shu-chü, 1935), p. 32.

54. 古人作書有往必收, 無垂不縮, 翻若驚鴻, 矯若游龍, 以此求其文法, 即以此通其詞意然後知其所謂 ' 如無縫天衣' 者如是. *Lun ku-shih shih-chiu shou*, in *KSSC*, 3.74.

55 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, 2 vols. (London: J. M. Dent, 1975), vol. 1, p. 173.

56. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 174.

57. Ch'en, *Shih-pin chu*, p. 17.

58. Lü Pen-chung, *Lü shih t' ung meng hsün*. Cited in Hu Tzu (fl. 1147–1167), *Tiao-hsi Yü-Yin ts'ung-hua* (*SPPY* ed.) A.1.12a.

59. Ch' en Tso-ming (fl. 1665), ed. *Ts' ai-Shu t' ang ku-shih hsüan* (Ch' ien-lung edn.), 3.21.

60. Hu Ying-lin (1551–1602), *Shih sou* (Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1959), pp. 23, 26.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Traditional Chinese critics often use the term *ku-shih* exclusively for Han pentasyllabic poems like the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" and apply the term *shih* to all pentasyllabic poems written in the *ku-shih* style after the Han. However, when they wish to trace the historical evolution from Han *ku-shih* to later *shih* poems, they often extend the scope of *ku-shih* to include post-Han *shih* poems as well, just as Shen Te-ch' ien and Wang Shih-chen did when compiling their famous poetic anthologies. Here I choose to describe these twenty-seven poems as *ku-shih* rather than *shih* poems because I, too, wish to trace the generic evolution from Han *ku-shih* to the *shih* poems of Ts'ao Chih.

2. This count is based on the edition and generic classification of Ts' ao Chih' s works in Chao Yu-wen, ed., *Ts' ao Chih chi chiao-chu* (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch' u-pan-she, 1984; hereafter cited as *TCCC*). However, if we count Ts' ao Chih' s poetical works collected in Ting Yen' s *Ts' ao chi ch' üan-p' ing*, the number of his *ku-shih* and *yüeh-fu* works will be considerably larger. By the estimate of Lu K' an-ju and Feng Yuan-chün, there are forty-two *ku-shih* pieces and fifty-five *yüeh-fu* pieces in T' ing Yen' s edition; see *Chung-kuo shih shih*, vol. 2, p. 305. Unless indicated otherwise, all my citations of Ts' ao Chih' s works are from Chao Yu-wen's edition.

3. See Ch'en, *Shih-p'in chu* , pp. 20, 56, 31–32.

4. For the titles of all these poetical and prose works, see Huang K' an (1886–1935), *Wen hsüan p' ing-tien* (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch' u-pan-she, 1985), pp. 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 19, 27, 32, 39, 40, 45, 54.

5. 天下才有一石, 曹子建獨占八斗, 我得一斗, 天下共分一斗. Cited in *San Ts' ao tzu-liao hui-pien*, ed. Department of Chinese, Hupei Normal Institute (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1980; hereafter cited as *STTL*), p. 95.

6. 蓋文章, 經國之大業, 不朽之盛事. 年壽有世而盡, 榮樂止乎其身, 二者必至之常期, 未若文章之無窮. 是以古之作者寄身於翰墨, 見意於篇籍, 不假良史之辭, 不託飛馳之勢, 而聲名自傳於後. "Lun wen," in *CKLT*, vol. 1, p. 159; previous trans., Siu-kit Wong, *Early Chinese Literary Criticism*, (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1983), p. 21.

7. Previous trans., George W. Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade: 47 Poems and Ballads of the Third Century Chinese Poet Ts' ao Chih* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), p. 66.

8. 辭賦小道, 固未足以揄揚大義, 彰示來世也. 昔楊子雲先朝執戟之臣耳, 猶稱壯夫不爲也. 吾雖薄德, 位爲藩侯, 猶庶幾戮力上國, 流惠下民, 建永世之業, 流金石之功, 豈徒以翰墨爲勳績, 辭賦爲君子哉. "Yü Yang Te-tsu shu," *TCCC*, p. 154; previous trans, Wong, *Early Chinese Literary Criticism*, pp. 29–30.

9. For a study on the relationship between subjectivity and poetic discourse in Ts' ao Ts' ao, Ts' ao P' i, and Ts' ao Chih, see Christopher Leigh Connery, "Jian' an Poetic Discourse," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1991. The issue of subjectivity in Ts' ao Chih is also addressed in Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, "Generic Transformation from Yuefu to Gushi: Poetry of Cao Cao, Cao Pi, and Cao Zhi," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1985.

10. My account of Ts' ao Chih' s life is based on his biographical entry in *Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*; see Ch' en Shou, *San-kuo chih chi-chieh*, annotated by P' ei Sung-chih (372–451) and re-edited as a variorum edition by Lu Pi (1876–1967), (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1982), 19, pp. 478–496. For a recent study on the biography of Ts' ao Chih, see Teng Yung-k' ang, ed., *Ts' ao Tzu-chien hsien-sheng chih nien-p'u* (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1981).

11. The given names of Ting Í (elder brother) and Ting Ì (younger brother) are homonyms with different tones. To distinguish these two figures, I have added diacritical marks to their given names.

12. See *Ts' ao Chih k' ao-i*, collected in *Chin-ling ts' ung-shu*, ed. Weng Ch' ang-sen (1857–1914) and Chiang Kuo-pang (Ch' ing dynasty), 3rd series (Shang-yüan: Chiang shi kuo pang shen-hsiu shu-wu, 1916).

13. See Ting Yen, ed., *Ts' ao chih ch' üan-p' ing*, preface dated 1865 (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch' u-pan-she, 1957), collected in *Concordance des oeuvres completes de Cao Zhi*, Travaux d' index, de bibliographie et de documentation sinologiques publiés par l' Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, no. 6 (Paris: Collège de France, 1977).

14. See Huang Chieh, ed., *Ts' ao Tzu-chien shih-chu* (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1957).

15. See Ku Chih, ed., *Ts' ao Tzu-chien shih-chien* (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1961).

16. See *Chung-kuo shih shih*, vol. 2, pp. 299–302.

17. See Itō Masafumi, *Sō Shoku*, Chūgoku shijin senshū, no. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1964), pp. 4–15. For a free and often inaccurate translation of this book, see Chung Ching-to, trans., *Ts'ao Chih* (Taipei: Lin-pai ch'u-pan-she, 1980).

18. For a brief description of the formation of these two camps, see Chung Yu-min, *Ts'ao Chih hsin-t'an* (Ho-fei: Huang-shan shu-she, 1984), pp. 247–61.

19. Ch'en, *Shih-p'in chu*, p. 20.

20. *STTL*, 102.

21. See "Ch' en Ss' u wang chi ti tz' u," in *Han-Wei liu-ch' ao i pai-san chia chi*, 26.2a, collected in [*Ching-yin*] *Wen-yüan-ko ssu-k' u ch' üan-shu*, eds. Chi Yün (1724–1805) et al. Rpt. (Taiwan: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1983), vol. 1412, p. 632.

22. This passage is cited without source identification by Kuo Mo-jo in his "Lun Ts' ao Chih," in his *Li-shih jen-wu* (Shanghai: Hsin wen-i ch' u-pan-she, 1952), p. 149. It could not be located in Ting Yen' s *Ts' ao Chih ch' üan-p' ing*.

23. Lu and Mou, *Wen hsin tiao lung i-chu*, vol. 2, p. 365.

24. See *STTL*, 97–99.

25. See his *Ku-shih p' ing-hsüan*, collected in *Ch' uan-shan ch' üan-chi* (Taipei: Ta-yüan wen-hua fu-wu-she, 1965), vol.15, 1.9a–13a, pp. 11695–11703; 1.13b, p. 11704.

26. *Ibid.*, vol. 15, 4.8a–9b, pp. 11829–32; 4.9b–10b, pp. 11832–34.

27. *Ibid.*, vol. 15, 1.13b, p. 11704.

28. See "Lun Ts'ao Chih, " in his *Li-shih jen-wu*, pp. 146–172.

29. See "Kuan yü ' Lun Ts' ao Chih,' " *Wen shih che* 34 (1955), pp. 28–32.

30. See his "Kuan yü Ts' ao Chih te p' ing-chia wen-ti," *Li-shih yen-chiu* (1957, no. 2), pp. 48–66.

31. For biographically oriented studies of Ts' ao Chih in the English language, see Robert Joe Cutter, "Cao Zhi (192–232) and His Poetry," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1983; and Hugh Dunn, *Cao Zhi: The Life of a Princely Chinese Poet* (Peking: New World Press, 1983). Cutter' s dissertation is a solid textual and biographical study that aims, in the author' s own words, "to examine each of Cao' s poems with an eye to whether or not it is informed by or reflects his personal condition" (p. 3). Dunn' s book is a literary biography of Ts' ao Chih intended for general readers. He meticulously interweaves Ts' ao Chih' s poems with historical and biographical data and recreates a touching drama of the life of Ts' ao Chih—as a romantic youth, a valiant soldier, a Confucian moralist, a Taoist mystic, and above all a frustrated contender for the throne and a poetic genius. Coherent and chronologically unambiguous, this biography seems to have fulfilled the dream of many biographically oriented scholars of Ts'ao Chih.

32. See "Fifteen Poems by Ts' ao Chih: An Attempt at a New Approach," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 84.1 (1964): 2–14.

33. See "Sō Shoku ron: shōzen," *Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu kenkyū ronshū* 75 (1978): 45–71.

34. See *ibid.*, pp. 67–68.

35. See *ibid.*, pp. 55–60.

36. See "Sō Shoku ron: shōzen shi shokan," *Nagoya Daigaku bungakubu kenkyū ronshū* 63 (1974): 91–114; and "Sō Shoku ron," *Nagoya Daigaku bungakubu kenkyū ronshū* 69 (1976): 267–302. For a critical summary of these two articles by the author herself, see her "Sō Shoku ron: shōzen."

37. These earliest examples are three poems by Wang Ts' an, three poems by Liu Chen, and five poems by Ts' ao Chih, see Huang K' an, ed., *Wen hsüan p'ing-tien* , pp. 18–19.

38. In Ts' ao Chih' s poems of presentation, there seems to be nothing secretive that he does not want to be read by any other people—be they his other friends, the friends of his friends, or the reading public in general. As Ts' ao Chih wished himself to be remembered for his poetic achievement, we may assume that he had an undeclared intention of letting his poems of presentation

go into public circulation at a later date. So it seems appropriate to consider his poems of presentation to be of a semi-private rather than private nature.

39. For a discussion on the development of tripartite structure in the *shih* poetry from Ts' ao Chih to Ch' en Tzu-ang, see Kang-i Sun Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 73–78; and Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of the Early T' ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 236–242.

40. Previous trans. Cutter, "Cao Zhi," pp. 205–206; Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 40.

41. Previous trans. Cutter, "Cao Zhi," pp. 197–98; Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 41.

42. Previous trans., Cutter, "Cao Zhi," p. 86; Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 44.

43. Previous trans., Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 42.

44. Previous trans., Cutter, "Cao Zhi," p. 203; Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 43.

45. Previous trans., Cutter, "Cao Zhi," p. 198; Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 41.

46. For a criticism of the lack of unity in these five poems, see Komori Ikuko, "Sō Shoku ron shi shokan," pp. 103–04.

47. Previous trans., Ann Birrell, *New Songs from a Jade Terrace* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982), p.68; Cutter, "Cao Zhi," pp. 401–402.

48. Previous trans. J. D. Frodsham, *An Anthology of Chinese Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p. 49; Cutter, "Cao Zhi," pp. 355–56.

49. 於少年中只出得兩事. 一曰馳騁. 一曰飲宴. 卻說得中間一事不了又一事. 一日不了又一日. 只是牢騷抑鬱. 借以消遣歲月. 一片雄心. 無有洩處. 其自效之意. 可謂深切著明矣. Cited in Huang, *Ts' ao Tzu-chien shih chu*, 2.10a, p. 123.

50. Previous trans. Frodsham, *Anthology*, p. 43; Cutter, "Cao Zhi," pp. 91–92.

51. Cited in Huang, *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih-chu* , 2.8b, p. 120.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

53. "Sō Shoku shi shokan," pp. 100–101.

54. *TCCC*, 369.

55. Hu, *Shih sou*, 2, pp. 29, 31.

56. 贈白馬王彪: 黃初四年五月,白馬王,任城王與余俱朝京師,會節氣. 到洛陽,任城王薨. 至七月,與白馬王還國. 後有司以二王歸藩,道路宜異宿止,意毒恨之. 蓋以大別在數日. 是用自剖,與王辭焉,憤而成篇.
For previous translations of this preface as well as the entire poem to be examined below, see Watson, *Chinese Lyricism*, pp. 41–43; Cutter, "Cao Zhi," pp. 210–14.

57. On the aesthetic functions of prefaces in traditional Chinese lyrics, see Shuen-fu Lin, *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition: Chiang K' uei and Southern Sung Tz' u Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 62–93.

58. For a discussion of the allegorical meanings of these images, see Huang, *Ts' ao Tzu-chien shih-chu*, 1.29b, p. 74, and Yamaguchi Tamehiro, "Sō Shoku ' Zō Hakuba ō pyō' shik ō," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 71 (1970): 43–46.

59. Mulberry and Elm are the names of two stars in the western sky. When the sun approaches these stars, it is about to set. Thus, in writing "our years are

now between the Mulberry and Elm," Ts' ao Chih means that they were about to enter old age.

60. I have adopted Lu Ch' in-li' s grouping of the miscellaneous poems; cf. *HCHW*, 457–59.

61. Previous trans., Birrell, *New Songs*, pp. 67–68. This poem is not collected in *TCCC* and therefore *HCHW* is cited instead.

62. *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih chien* , 2.20b.

63. "Sō Shoku ron," p. 276.

64. Of course not all of Ts' ao Chih' s poems of the fortune-seeking wanderer reveal the same kind of personal quality. His "Miscellaneous Poems," No. 1 (*TCCC*, 251), the single-piece "Miscellaneous Poem" (*TCCC*, 512), and "Poem of Sentiment" (*HCHW*,459) all strike us as conventional *ku-shih* pieces, marked by fixed topoi, motifs, and generalized lamentation about separation and human transience.

65. Previous trans., Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 48.

66. Previous trans., Kent, *Worlds of Jade and Dust*, p. 48; Cutter, "Cao Zhi," pp. 363–64.

67. See Ku, *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih chien* , 2.1a.

68. *Ibid.*, 2.1b.

69. See Huang, *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih-chu* , 1.11b, p. 38.

70. See Ku, *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih chien* , 2.2b.

71.Hsü Shen (second century A.D.), *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu chu*, annot. Tuan Yü-ts'ai (1735 –1815) (rpt. Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1974), 10B.26b.

72. See Paul Kroll, "Strength and Sentiment in the Poetry of Ts' ao Chih," unpublished paper, pp. 11–13; Paul Demiéville, ed., *Anthologie de la poésie chinoise classique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1962), p. 111; and Cutter, "Cao Zhi," p. 46. See also Goto Akinobu' s discussion of the quality of *k' ang-k' ai* in Ts' ao Chih in "Sō Shoku ni okeru kōgai ni tsuite," *Gogaku bungaku* (*Hokkaido kyōikudai*) 16 (1978): 69–76.

73. For instance, see his "Memorial Seeking to Prove Myself" (*TCCC*, 368), "Memorial Seeking to Convey Familial Affection" (*TCCC*, 436), "Memorial on Making Careful Appointments" (*TCCC*, 444) and "Memorial on Proving Myself" (*TCCC*, 506). For a discussion of these memorials in connection with the sentiment of *k' ang-k' ai* in Ts' ao Chih' s poems, see Komori Ikuko, "Sō Shoku ron," pp. 295-302.

74. For a study on Ts' ao Chih' s *yung-shih* poems, see Robert Joe Cutter, "On Reading Cao Zhi' s ' Three Good Men' : *Yongshi shi* or *Denglin shi*," *Classical Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 11 (1989): 1–11.

75. Cited in Huang, *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih-chu* , 2, p. 128.

76. See *ibid.*, 2, p. 128.

77. *STTL*, p. 188.

78. Huang, *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih chu* , 2, p. 126.

79. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 128.

80. Cited in *ibid.*

81. See Liu I-ch' ing, comp., *Shih shuo hsin yü chiao-chien*, ed. Yang Yung (Hong Kong: Ta-chung shu-chü, 1969), 4, p. 192; trans. Richard B. Mather, *Shih-*

shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 126.

82. Previous trans., Birrell, *Popular Songs*, p. 61.

83. Previous trans., Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 75; Cutter, "Cao Zhi," pp. 234–35.

84. Cited in Huang, *Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih chu* , 2.22b, p. 148.

85. *Ibid.*, 2.22a, p. 147.

86. *Ibid.*, 2.22b, p. 148.

87. Previous trans., Kent, *Worlds of Dust and Jade*, p. 78.

88. See "Immortals" (*TCCC*, 263), "Ascending to Heaven" (*TCCC*, 266), Roaming Immortals" (*TCCC*, 265), "Anguished Yearning" (*TCCC*, 316), "The Flying Dragon" (*TCCC*, 397), "The Cassia Tree" (*TCCC*, 399), "Five-fold Roaming" (*TCCC*, 400), "East of P' ing-ling" (*TCCC*, 400), "Roaming Afar" (*TCCC*, 402), and "Speeding in a Carriage" (*TCCC*, 404). Okamura Sadao includes three other poems in this group, increasing the number of Ts' ao Chih' s *yu-hsien* poems to thirteen; "Sō Shoku no gakufu: so no jojōteki tokusei ni tsuite," *Chūgoku chūsei bungaku kenkyū* 8 (1971), p. 5.

89. Ko Hung (283–363), the foremost religious Taoist of his era, cites Ts' ao Chih' s about-face in his belief in the existence of immortals; see Wang Ming, ed., *Pao-p' u-tzu nei-p' ien chiao-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu chü, 1985), 2, p. 16. For a discussion of Ts' ao Chih' s conflicting attitudes toward Taoism, see Donald Holzman, "Ts' ao Chih and the Immortals," *Asia Major*, 3rd series, 1.1 (1988): 15–57.

90. See Chao Yu-wen' s discussion of Ts' ao Chih' s quest of immortality in *TCCC*, 267, 400, and 402.

91. See Yü Kuan-ying, *San Ts' ao shih hsüan* (Peking: Tso-chia ch' u-pan-she, 1956), p. 55.

92. See Funatsu Tomihiko, "Sō Shoku no yū senshi ron: Toku ni setsuwa no tenkai o chūshin ni shite," *Tōyō bungaku kenkyū* 13 (1965), pp. 50–52.

93. See Komori Ikuko, *Sō Shoku to Kutsu Gen: tsuketari "fūkotsu" ron* (Nagoya-shi: Maruzen Nagoya Shuppan Sābisu Sentā, 1989), pp. 208–41.

94. Holzman, "Ts'ao Chih and the Immortals, " pp. 55–57.

95. Previous trans., Birrell, *Popular Songs and Ballads*, pp. 75, 173–74.

96. For a discussion of Ts' ao Chih' s innovative use of the conventional *yu-hsien* motifs, see Satake Yasuko, "Yūsenshi no keifu—Sō Hi kara Rinboku made," *Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku ronshū: Ippan kyōiku* 83–84 (1986): 101–65.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. 五言詩體,起於漢代的無名詩人. 經過建安時代許多詩人的提倡,到了阮籍才正式成立. 阮籍是第一個全力做五言詩的人; 詩的體裁到他才正式成立,詩的範圍到他方才擴充到無所不包的地位. *Pai-hua wen-hsüeh shih*, 1928; rpt. (Taipei: ch' i-ming shu-chü, 1957), p. 51; trans. Donald Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 228.

2. See, for instance, Stephen Owen's comments on the influence of Juan Chi's introspective poetry on Li Po's fifty-nine "Poems in the Ancient Mode" (*ku-feng*) in his *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T' ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 8–9; 132–34.

3. For a comparison of emotive features in Ts' ao Chih and Juan Chi, see Yoshikawa Kōjirō, "Gen Seki no Eikaishi ni tsuite," *Chūgoku bungakuhō* 5 (1956): 2–3.

4. 嗣宗身仕亂朝. 常恐懼謗遇禍. 因茲發詠. 故每有憂生之嗟. 雖志在刺譏. 而文多隱避. 百代之下. 難以情測. 故粗明大意. 略其幽旨也. See Hsiao T' ung, *Wen hsüan*, commentary by Li Shan (d. 689) (Peking: Chung-hua shu chü, 1977), 23.2a, p. 322; trans. Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 7. This comment has been attributed by some critics to Li Shan, the renowned annotator of *Wen hsüan*. Here I follow Jao Tsung-i and Donald Holzman in attributing this comment to Yen Yen-chih in spite of the possible anachronism of the phrase "many centuries later." For a summary of the debates on the attribution of this comment, see Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, pp. 248–49.

5. For a modern attempt to revive and synthesize such allegorical readings scattered in textual notes to individual poems, see Nakata Kōichi, "Gen Seki no seijiteki kanshin ni tsuite—shi no imejari o tōshite," *Shūkan Tōyōgaku* (Tōhōku Daigaku) 34 (1975): 82-98; "Fushin—Gen Seki no shinteki taido," *Shūkan Tōyō gaku* (Tōhō ku Daigaku), 32 (1975): 1–22.

6. My critical approach to Juan Chi seems to fall in line with what Stephen Owen calls the "typological interpretation" of Juan Chi begun by Yen Yen-chih. Owen points out that the earliest commentaries on Juan Chi by Yen and others represent a kind of typological interpretation marked by acceptance of the indeterminacy in Juan Chi's poems, by reluctance to search for reference in his poems to particular political events, and by revelation of the typologies of his personality and historical circumstance. I agree with Owen that such a typological interpretation provides a proper avenue for understanding the dynamic relationship between poets and their worlds, between poetry and its historical ground—especially in the study of allusive poets like Juan Chi, Tu Fu, and Li Shang-yin (ca. 813–858). See Stephen Owen, "Poetry and Its Historical Ground," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 12 (1990): 107–18.

7. For a recent study on the life and thought of Juan Chi, see Fang Dai, "Drinking, Thinking, and Writing: Ruan Ji and the Culture of His Era," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1994.

8. See "Juan Chi Chuan," in Fang Hsüan-ling (578–648) et al., comp., *Chin shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 3/19/1359–69.

9. a) 母終,正與人圍棊, 對者求止,稽留與決賭. 既而飲酒二斗,舉聲一號, 吐血數升.

b) 及將葬,食一蒸肫, 飲二斗酒, 然後臨訣, 直言窮矣, 舉聲一號, 因又吐血數升. 毀瘠骨立, 殆致滅性. Fang, *Chin shu* 3/19/1361. See also a similar passage in *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, p. 552; trans. Mather, *A New Account*, 23, p. 374.

10. Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 74.

11. Cf. Kuo, *Chuang Tzu chi-shih*, 3/18/614.

12. See the important studies on the Wei–Chin manner and literature by Lu Hsün, "Wei Chin feng-tu chi wen-cheng yü yao chi chiu chih kuan-hsi," in *Lu Hsün san-shih nien-chi* (Hong Kong: Hsin-i ch' u-pan-she, 1967), vol. 1; and by Wang Yao, *Chung-ku wen hsüeh-shih lun-chi* (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch' u-pan-she, 1956), especially, pp. 1–68.

13. For discussions of these two norms of behavior (*ming-chiao* and *tzu-jan*), see Ch' en Yin-k' o, "T' ao Yuan-ming chih ssu-hsiang yü ch' ing-t' an chih kuan-hsi," in *Ch' en Yin-k' o hsien-sheng wen-shih lun-chi* (Hong Kong: Wen-wen ch' u-pan-she, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 381–407; and Richard B. Mather, "The Controversy over Conformity and Naturalness during the Six Dynasties," *History of Religion* 9.2 & 3 (1969–70): 160–80.

14. Ying-shih Yü, "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement in Wei–Chin China," *Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values*, ed. Donald J. Munro (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1985), p. 130.

15. For general studies on Neo-Taoism, see Mou Tsung-san, *Ts' ai-hsing yü hsüan-li*, 1962, (rpt. Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1975); *Wei–Chin hsüan-hsüeh* (Taichung: Tung-hai University, 1962); Liu Ta-chieh, *Wei–Chin ssu-hsiang-lun* (Kunming: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1939); and T' ang Yung-t' ung, *Wei–Chin hsüan-hsüeh lun-kao* (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1957).

16. See his biography in Fan Yeh (398–446), comp., *Hou Han shu* (Peking: Chunghua shu-chü, 1965), 6/60a/1953–78.

17. See his biography in Ch' en Shou (223–297), comp. *San-kuo chih* (Peking: Chunghua shu-chü, 1959), 1/9/292.

18. See Ch'en, *San-kuo chih*, 3/28/795.

19. [裴]徽問 : "夫無者, 誠萬物之所資, 聖人莫肯言, 而老子申之無已何邪?" [王]弼曰 : "聖人體無, 無又不可以訓, 故言必及有; 老莊未免於有, 恆訓其所不足." Liu, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, 4, p. 152; previous trans., Mather, *A New Account*, p. 96.

20. 鍾會伐蜀, 與王戎別, 問計將安出. 戎曰, 道家有言, 爲而不恃, 非成功難, 保之難也. Quoted in Liu Ta-chieh, *Wei–Chin ssu-hsiang lun* (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1939), p. 19.

21. See *JCCC*, pp. 77–103, 133–59, 161–93.

22. See *JCCC*, pp. 104–33, 159–61.

23. See *JCCC*, pp. 77–104.

24. 直能不害於物而形以生, 物無所毀而神以清, 形神在我而道德成, 忠信不離而上下平. See *JCCC*, pp. 156–57; Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 108.

25. See *JCCC*, pp. 193–96.

26. 聖人明於天人之理, 達於自然之分, 通於治化之體. Holzman discusses this issue in *Poetry and Politics*, p. 113.

27. For a discussion of Juan Chi' s different treatments of philosophical ideas in prose and in poetry, see Yoshikawa Kōjirō, "Gen Seki no Eikaishi ni tsuite," *Chūgoku bungakuhō* 6 (1957): 22–23.

28. 而詠懷之作, 可以陶性靈, 發幽思. 言在耳目之内, 情寄八荒之表. . . . 使人忘其鄙近, 自致遠大, 頗多感慨之詞. 厥旨淵放, 歸趣難求. Ch' en, *Shih-p' in chu*, p. 23; previous trans., Donald Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 233.

29. In *Reading of Imagery*, p. 134, Pauline Yü observes that the absence of referential details in Juan Chi' s poems encourages a symbolic reading by the reader.

30. Previous trans., Victor H. Mair, *Four Introspective Poets*, Monograph No. 20, Center for Asian Studies (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1987), p. 21, and Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 211. In translating Juan Chi' s poems, I have frequently consulted Mair' s and Holzman' s translations and drawn from their insights into the original texts as well as their word choices.

31. For a discussion of the preponderance of the motifs and images of human transience in Juan Chi' s *yung-huai* poems, see Hayashida Shinnosuke, "Gen Seki Eikaishi kō: Sono kozetsu no ishiki ni tsuite," *Kyūshū Chūgoku gakkai hō* 1 (1960): 63–66.

32. See *HCHW*, p. 1181.

33. The correct botanical translation of *lan* is "thoroughwort," not orchid. However, I have chosen to follow a long-standing tradition of translating it as orchid because thoroughwort is too technical and to little known to evoke a poetic image. For a discussion of the translation of *lan*, see David R. Knechtges, trans, *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature*, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p xiii. I am grateful to Dr. Martin Kern for alerting me to this issue.

34. See Mair, "Concordance," Categories 212–13, 152–53, 215–17,147–48, in *Four Introspective Poets*, pp. 212–13, 213–14, 190–92, 189–90.

35. See Mair, "Concordance," Categories 240–44 in *Four Introspective Poets*, pp. 221–24.

36. See Mair, "Concordance," Categories 142–43; 236 in *Four Introspective Poets*, pp. 187; 220–21.

37. See Mair, "Concordance," Categories 19–21; 23–24; 25, 27, 29, 169, 171 in *Four Introspective Poets*, pp. 154–55; 156–57; 156–59, 185–97.

38. Ōue Masami points out that the character *chien* ("see") nearly always occurs in negative or interrogative phrases such as "I cannot see," "When can I see?" "How can I see?" and that this motif of "not seeing" is a revelation of the poet' s sense of alienation from the world; "Gen Seki Eikaishi shiron—kyōgen kō zō ni miru shijin no haiboku sei ni tsuite," *Kanbun gakkai kaihō (Tokyo Kyōiku Daigaku)* 36 (1977): 34.

39. See Mair, "Concordance," Categories 10–11; 38–39; 56; 51; 78; 229; 54; 41 in *Four Introspective Poets*, pp. 149–50; 160; 165; 164; 168; 218; 165; and 161. For an interpretation of the motifs of climbing mountains and driving long distances as indicative of the poet' s attempts to relieve his great sorrow, see Hayashida Shinnosuke, "Gen Seki Eikaishiō: Sono Kozetsu no ishiki ni tsuite," p. 60.

40. See Fukunaga Mitsuji' s comments on the unusual abundance of emotive words for sorrow in Juan Chi; "Gen Seki ni okeru osore to nagusame: Gen Seki no seikatsu to shisō," *Tōhō gakuhō* 28 (1958): 140–41. See also Numaguchi

Masaru' s discussion of the use of abstract emotive words in Juan Chi; "Gen Seki no Eikaishi ni okeru shigo ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," *Jimbun ronkyū* 29 (1969): 15–27.

41. See *JCCC*, pp. 260, 302, 314.

42. For the use of *shang* as a response to such concrete situations, see for instance the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems," 6.8; 12.8; and 16.19 (*KSSCS*, 9, 18, 24). See also Ts' ao Chih' s "Miscellaneous Poems," 1.12 and "For Ts' ao Piao, the Prince of Pai Ma," section 4.11 (*TCCC*, 251, 297).

43. Shen, *Ku-shih yüan*, p. 2.

44. See Mair, "Concordance," Categories 121; 117; 105–106; 104 in *Four Introspective Poets*, pp. 180; 179–80; 176–77; 175–76.

45. See Mair, "Concordance," Category 104 in *Four Introspective Poets*, pp. 175–76.

46. See Mair, "Concordance," Categories 160, 161, 162, and 163, in *Four Introspective Poets*, pp. 194–95.

47. All emphases are mine.

48. All emphases are mine.

49. See also *YH* 5.6, 24.4, 27: 10, 32.2, 36.6–7, 52: 4, and 80.7. All emphases are mine.

50. The term *yüan-tu* is first used by Ssu-ma Ch' ien to describe base treachery in the political world when he comments on the tragic life of Wu Tzu-hsü, who fell victim to the calumny of evil ministers and was ordered to kill himself by the King of Wu whom he served faithfully till his death; "Wu Tzu-hsü lieh-chuan," *Shih chi*, 7/67/2183. For a discussion of Juan Chi' s denunciation of "venomous malice" in his poems, see Yoshikawa Kōjirō "Gen Seki no Eikaishi ni tsuite," *Chūgokū bungakuhō*" 6 (1957): 1–9.

51. See *JCCC*, pp. 227–28.

52. See Ku Chih, ed., *Juan Ssu-tsung shih-chien* (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu chü, 1966), p. 4b.

53. Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 226.

54. For a discussion of general differences between the "Nineteen Ancient-Style Poems" and Juan Chi's poems, see Yü, *Reading of Imagery*, pp. 136–39.

55. Watson, *Chinese Lyricism*, p. 29.

56. See, for instance, the third of these parting poems collected in *HCHW*, p. 339.

57. See *JCCC*, p. 374.

58. Arthur Waley, trans., *The Analects of Confucius* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938), p. 108.

59. See *JCCC*, p. 230.

60. Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 33.

61. See *JCCC*, pp. 252–53.

62. For the discussion of this fictional account, see *JCCC*, pp. 374–75.

63. See Huang Chieh, ed., *Juan pu-ping yung-huai shih chu*, p. 114–15; Ku Chih, ed., *Juan Ssu-tsung shih-chien* (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü), p. 48.

64. On all these allusions to *Chuang Tzu*, see *Juan pu-ping yung-huai shih chu*, pp. 59–60.

65. On these allusions to *Lao Tzu*, see *Juan pu-ping yung-huai shih chu*, pp. 47, 130.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 130–31; *JCCC*, pp. 394–96.

67. The speakers in Juan Chi's poems do not possess the distinctive features of either conventional personae like those in the *yüeh-fu* and *ku-shih* or the personalized voices of those in T' ao Ch' ien' s poetry. So it seems best to treat them as speakers as I do here.

68. These poems are *YH* 1, 13, 15, 17, 21, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 47, 49, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 77, 80.

69. These poems are *YH* 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 23, 30, 31, 33, 41, 61, 64, 67, 79.

70. These poems are *YH* 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 30, 31, 41, 61, 64, 67, 79.

71. All the emphases are mine.

72. These poems are *YH* 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 54, 56, 58, 62, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75, 78, 82.

73. See also *YH* 38, 11–12, *YH* 40, 15–16.

74. "Gen Seki nō Eikaishi ni tsuite," *Chōgoku bungakuhō* 5 (1956): 5–7.

75. For studies on the use of allusions in classical Chinese poetry, see James R. Hightower, "Allusion in the Poetry of T' ao Ch' ien," in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, ed. Birch, pp. 108–32; Kao Yu-kung and Mei Tsu-lin, "Meaning, Metaphor, and Allusion in T' ang Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 38, 2 (1978): 281–356; Chou Shan, "Allusion and Periphrasis as Modes of Poetry in Tu Fu' s ' Eight Laments,' " *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.1 (1985): 77–128; and David Lattimore, "Allusion in T' ang Poetry," in *Perspectives on the T' ang*, eds. Denis Twitchett and Arthur Wright (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 405–39.

76. I must emphasize that these four kinds of allusion are not to be taken as rigid, immutable cateories. They are only meant to shed light on the complex intertwining of multiple texts and historical or pseudo-historical references in Juan Chi's use of allusions.

77. See Huang, *Juan pu-ping yung-huai shih chu*, p. 15.

78. *Ibid.*

79. *Ibid.*

80. Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 232.

81. Quoted by Huang Chieh in *Juan pu-ping yung-huai shih chu*, p. 14. This line cannot be found in *HCHW*.

82. *HCHW*, p. 366.

83. *HCHW*, p. 415.

84. See Huang, *Juan pu-ping yung-huai shih-chu*, pp. 14–15. See also Holzman's discussion of this poem in *Poetry and Politics*, p. 230.

85. Wang I, *Ch'u Tz'u pu-chu* , 9.14a, 15a.

86. See the textual notes on these two allusions in *JCCC*, pp. 252–56.

87. See David Hawkes, trans., *The Songs of the South*, pp. 101–103. According to Hawkes, the unknown king Luan addressed in this poem might be King Hsiang of Ch'u.

88. For these critics' allegorical readings of Poem 11, see *JCCC*, pp. 251–56.

89. Kao and Mei, "Meaning, Metaphor, and Allusion in T' ang Poetry," p. 332. Their analysis of the global use of allusions has inspired my reading of Juan Chi's textual-historical allusions.

90. Line 1 recounts the story from *Lieh Tzu*, chapter 8, about Yang Chu surmising how easy it would be for his disciple to deviate from the Tao after he learned that his neighbor' s sheep got lost at a fork in the road. Line 2 tells a story from *Mo Tzu*, chapter 3, about Mo Tzu sighing that man can be easily influenced by others just as silk can be easily dyed any color. Juan Chi casts these two allusions into a couplet in the same way *Huai-nan Tzu*, chapter 17, lumps together these two stories of different times and places.

91. Lines 9–10 relate a story from *The Records of the Grand Historian* about a princess of Chao whose younger brother (the King of Chao) married her to the King of Tai (a kingdom north of Chungshan) only for the purpose of killing him and annexing the territory of Tai. Line 10 alludes to the suicide of the princess upon learning that her brother assassinated her husband during a banquet in her husband's honor. See *Shih chi*, 6/13/1793-94.

92. [此詩] 言邵平種瓜不能深遠, 近在青門之外, 又色妍味美, 遂爲人所食啗, 故下云: 五色曜朝夕, 嘉賓四面會. 膏火自煎熬, 多才爲禍宗. 意言人遭代亂, 苟逞才露穎, 必爲時所害, 如美瓜膏火之自喪矣. This passage is quoted by Ch'en Po-chün in *JCCC*, p. 231.

93. For these critics' discussions of this allusion, see *JCCC*, pp. 230–32.

94. See Lu Ch' in-li, ed., *T' ao Yuan-ming chi* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), p. 35–38.

95. See *Shih chi*, 6/55/2045, for the story of Tung-yüan kung and Ch' i-li Chi' s escape from the chaotic Ch' in dynasty; and 7/63/2141, for an account of Lao Tzu's withdrawal from the declining Chou dynasty.

96. 眞者, 所以受於天也, 自然不可易也. 故聖人法天貴眞, 不拘於俗. Kuo, *Chuang Tzu chi-shih*, 4/31/1032.

97. Kuo, *Chuang Tzu chi-shih*, 1/1/17; trans. James Legge, *The Texts of Taoism* (New York: Dover, 1962), vol. 1, p. 169.

98. Tu Fu' s "Autumn Meditations," for instance, offers an excellent example of the perfection of this aesthetic. In this work, Tu Fu broods over the vicissitudes of his life, the decline of the T' ang, and the destiny of Chinese civilization in a highly personal manner. However, he does not express his thoughts and feelings in explicit terms, but indirectly through the interplay of his poetic allusions. See Mei Tsu-lin and Yu-kung Kao, "Tu Fu' s ' Autumn Meditations' : An Exercise in Linguistic Criticism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 44–80. For discussions of the aesthetic of personal reflection and impersonal expression in Sung *tz' u*, see Chia-ying Yeh Chao, "Wu Wen-ying' s *Tz' u*: A Modern View," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 29 (1969): 53–92; and Lin, *Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition*, pp. 142–97.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. For instance, Paul John Eakin argues that "it is preferable to conceptualize the relation between the self and language as a mutually constituting interdependency, for study of early human development reveals an intimate and necessary linkage between the acquisition of language and the emergence of self-awareness" (*Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self-Interpretation*) [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985], p. 8). For a study of the evidence of reflectivity in early Chinese civilization, see Thomas A. Metzger, "Some Ancient Roots of Ancient Chinese Thought: This-worldliness, Epistemological Optimism, Doctrinality, and the Emergence of Reflexivity in Eastern Chou," *Early China* 11–12 (1985–1987): 66–72.

2. As shown in my discussion of "South of the River," Han folk *yüeh-fu* pieces consist of solo and choral parts. The solo part is usually too brief to permit the solo singer to develop a sustained narrative or descriptive passage in which he might convey his own feelings either explicitly or surreptitiously.

3. This lyrical bent is best seen in the endings, where the composer tends to express feelings and thoughts in explicit conceptual terms. Such an explicit depiction of feelings and thoughts is not seen in folk *yüeh-fu*.

Glossary of Chinese Characters

ai-ch'u 哀楚

Chan-kuo ts'e 戰國策
ch'an fu 讒夫
Chang Chiu-ling 張九齡 (673–740)
Chang Feng-i 張鳳翼 (1527–1613)
Chang Heng 張衡 (78–139)
Chang Hsieh 張協 (?–307)
Chang Hua 張華 (232–300)
Chang Keng 張庚 (fl. 1728)
ch'ang-sheng 長生
"Chao hun" 招魂
Chao Tun 趙盾
"Che yang liu hsing" 折揚柳行
chen-jen 眞人
Ch'en Hang 陳沆 (1785–1826)
Ch'en Lin 陳琳 (?–217)
Ch'en Shou 陳壽 (223–297)
Ch'en Tai-ch'u 陳太初 (Ch'ing dynasty?)
Ch'en Tso-ming 陳祚明 (fl. 1665)
Ch'en Tzu-ang 陳子昂 (661–702)
Cheng Ch'iao 鄭樵 (1104–1162)
cheng-ch'ü 正曲
Cheng Hsuan 鄭玄 (127–200)
cheng-sheng 鄭聲
ch'i-ai 七哀
ch'i-fu chih shih 棄婦之詩
ch'i-ch'uang 悽愴
ch'i-yün sheng-tung 氣韻生動

Chiang Chi 蔣濟 (d. 249)
Chiang Jen-hsiu 姜任脩 (fl. 1789)
Chiang Shih-yüeh 蔣師瀹 (1743–798)
chiao-hua 教化
chiao-ssu ko 郊祀歌
chieh 解
Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益 (1582–1664)
"Ch'ien Han chia Liu t'ai-tzu chuan" 前漢家劉太子傳
Ch'ien Yang 黔陽
chih-jen 至人
Ch'ih Ang 郗昂 (Ch'ing dynasty?)
Ch'ih-sung Tzu 赤松子
ching-hsüeh 經學
ching-shen 精神
ching-wu chien-i ju hsing 景物兼意入興
ching-wu ju hsing 景物入興
ch'ing shih 情詩
"Chiu-ko" 九歌
Ch'iu Kuang-t'ing 邱光庭 (T'ang dynasty?)
Chou li 周禮
Chou sung ya yüeh 周頌雅樂
ch'ou 愁
Chu Chia-cheng 朱家徵 (1602–1684)
ch'u-ch'u 出處
Ch'u Tz'u 楚辭
Chung Hui 鍾會 (225–264)

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Chung Hung 鍾嶸 (468–518?)
ch'ü 趨
chüan-ch'ü 捐軀
chün-tzu 君子

Fan Hsiang 范驤 (Ch' ing dynasty)
Fan Wen 范溫 (ca. 1100)
Fan Yeh 范曄 (298–446)
Fang Tung-shu 方東樹 (1772–1851)
feng 風
Feng Ting-yüan 馮定遠 (Ch'ing dynasty)
Fu I 傅毅 (fl. 58–75)

Han-shih wai-chuan 韓詩外傳
Han shu 漢書
Ho Cho 何焯 (1661–1722)
Ho Yen 何晏 (190–249)
Hou Han shu 後漢書
hsi 覡
hsiang-ho 相和
hsiang-ho ko 相和歌
hsiao jen 小人
Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501–531)
Hsieh Ho 謝赫 (fl. 500)
Hsieh Ling-yun 謝靈運 (385–433)
Hsieh T'iao 謝朓 (464–499)
hsien hsü-shih hou i-tai ju hsing 先敘事後衣帶入興
hsien i-tai hou hsü-shih ju hsing 先衣帶後敘事入興
hsin-suan 心酸
Hsin Yen-nien 辛延年
Hsü Kan 徐幹 (171–218)
Hsü Ling 徐陵 (507–583)
hsü-shih ju hsing 敘事入興
Hsü Shih-tseng 徐師曾 (1517–1580)
hsü-yü 須臾

hsüan-hsüeh 玄學
hsün-huan wang-fu 循環往復
Hu Tzu 胡仔 (fl. 1147–1167)
Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (1551–1602)
Hua-yang kuo chih 華陽國志
Huai-nan Tzu 淮南子
huang-men ku-ch'ui yüeh 黃門鼓吹樂
Huang T' ing-chien 黃庭堅 (1045–1105)

i ch'ang san t'an 一唱三嘆
I-ching 易經

Jao Hsüeh-pin 饒學斌 (Ch'ing dynasty)
jen-sheng 人生
Jen-wu chih 人物志
Juan Chi 阮籍 (210–263)
Juan Yü 阮瑀 (?–212)

kan-shih ju hsing 感事入興
k'ang k'ai 慷慨
Ko Hung 葛洪 (283–363)
Ku-chin yüeh lu 古今樂錄
ku-shih 古詩
Ku-shih chien 古詩箋
Ku-shih yüan 古詩源
"Kuan hsi chi" 觀戲記
kung-yen 公讌
kung yen tzu 工言子
"K'ung Tzu lei" 孔子誄
K'ung Jung 孔融 (153–208)
Kuo Mao-ch'ien 郭茂倩 (fl. 1084)
Kuo P'u 郭璞 (276–324)
kuo-feng 國風

Lahu Na 拉祜納

Lan Ts'ang　蘭滄
Lang-ko　狼歌
Lang Hsi　朗溪
Lang T'ing-huai　郎廷槐 (Ch'ing
　dynasty)
Lao Tzu　老子
"*Lao Tzu* tsan"　老子贊
Li Ling　李陵 (?–74 B.C.)
Li Po　李白 (701–62)
Li sao　離騷
Li Shan　李善 (d. 689)
Li Shang-yin　李商隱 (ca. 813–58)
"Li yüeh chih"　禮樂志
liang-ch'en　良辰
Liang Ch' i–ch' ao　梁啓超 (1876–
　1929)
Lieh Tzu　列子
lien-chu ko　聯珠格
Lien-mien tzu　連綿字
Ling Che　靈輒
Liu An　劉安 (179–122 B.C.)
Liu Chen　劉楨 (?–217)
Liu Hsieh　劉勰 (ca. 465 to ca. 532)
Liu I-ch'ing　劉義慶 (403–44)
Liu Liang　劉良 (n. d.)
Liu Lü　劉履 (1317–1379)
Liu Pang　劉邦 (256?–195 B.C.)
Liu Shao　劉劭 (fl. 240–250)
Lu Chi　陸機 (261–303)
Lü Hsiang　呂向 (fl. 720)
Lü Pen-chung　呂本中 (1084–1144)
lü-shih　律詩
Lü shih t'ung-meng hsun　呂氏童
　蒙訓
Lü Yen-chi　呂延濟 (fl. 700)

Ma Jung　馬融 (79–166)
"*Mao-shih* hsu"　毛詩序

mei-ching　美景
Mei Sheng　枚乘 (d. 140 B.C.)
Mei Yao-ch' en 梅堯臣 (1002–1060)
min-chien yüeh-fu　民間樂府
ming-chiao　名教
"Mo shang sang" 陌上桑
Mo Tzu　墨子

"Nan Yüeh pi-chi" 南越筆記

pa-sheng ju hsing　把聲入興
Pai Erh　白耳
Pai-hu t'ung　白虎通
Pan Chieh-yü 班婕妤 (fl. 32–7 B.C.)
Pan Ku　班固 (fl. 32–92 B.C.)
pan-pen　班本
P'an Yüeh　潘岳 (247–300)
Pao Chao　鮑照 (414?–466)
pi-hsing　比興
piao 表
"Pien tao lun" 辨道論

San-kuo chih 三國志
shang-hsin　傷心
shang shu 尚書 (Official title)
shang shu lang 尚書郎
Shen Te-ch' ien 沈德潛 (1673–1769)
Shen Yüeh 沈約 (441–513)
sheng-jen 聖人
"Shih i lun" 釋疑論
Shih chi 史記
Shih ching 詩經
Shih-huo chih 食貨志
Shih-p'in　詩品
Shih-shuo hsin-yü 世說新語
Shih sou 詩藪
shih-yen 詩眼
shou-ming 壽命

Ssu-ma Ch' ien 司馬遷 (145?–?B.C.)

Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (179–117 B.C.)

Ssu-ma I 司馬懿 (179–251)

Ssu-ma Shih 司馬師 (208–255)

Su Shih 蘇軾 (1037–1101)

Su Wu 蘇武 (?–60 B.C.)

Sun Chih-tsu 孫志祖 (1737–1801)

Sun Ch'üan 孫權

Sung Yü 宋玉 (Warring States)

"Ta *Chuang* lun" 達莊論

ta-ch'ü 大曲

"Ta-jen hsien-sheng chuan" 大人先生傳

ta-yü yüeh 大予樂

t'ai chi 太極

tan-ko 但歌

tao chih chen 道之眞

tao-wang 悼亡

T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (372–427)

T'iao-hsi yü-yin ts'ung-hua 苕溪漁隱叢話

ting-chen t'i 頂眞體

Ting Í 丁儀 (d. 220)

Ting Ì 丁翼 (d. 220)

Ting Yen 丁晏

tsa ko 雜歌

tsa shih 雜詩

Ts'ai Sheng-hou 蔡聖侯

Ts'ai-Shu-T'ang ku-shih hsüan 采菽堂古詩選

Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 (132–192)

Ts'ang-lang shih-hua 滄浪詩話

Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (192–232)

Ts'ao Fang 曹芳, the dethroned emperor, 廢帝 (231–274)

Ts'ao Jen 曹仁 (168–223)

Ts'ao Jui 曹叡, Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 204–239)

Ts'ao P'i 曹丕 (187–226)

Ts'ao Shuang 曹爽 (?–249)

Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 (155–220)

Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩 (1811–1872)

tseng-ta 贈答

Tso chuan 左傳

Tso K'o-ming 左克明 (Yuan dynasty)

Tso Ssu 左思 (250 ?–305 ?)

ts'ung shih chung lang 從事中郎

Tu Fu 杜甫 (712–770)

T'u Chia 土家

tuan-hsiao nao-ko 短簫鐃歌

Tun-huang *pien-wen* 敦煌變文

Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (c. 179–104 B.C.)

"T'ung *I* lun" 通易論

"T'ung *Lao* lun" 通老論

t'ung-yao 童謠

t'uo hsing ju hsing 托興入興

tzu-jan 自然

tz'u 詞

Wang Ch' ang-ling 王昌齡 (d. 756)

Wang Ch'iao 王喬

Wang Fu-chih 王夫之 (1619–1692)

Wang Pi 王弼 (226–249)

Wang Shih-chen 王士禛 (1634–1711)

Wang Shih-chen[a] 王世貞 (1526–1590)

Wang Tsan 王讚 (?–311)

Wang Ts'an 王粲 (177–217)

Wang T'ung 王通 (586–618)

Wang Wei 王維 (669–759)

Wei Cheng 魏徵 (580–643)

Wei–Chin *feng-tu* 魏晉風度

Wen Chung Tzu 文中子
Wen hsüan 文選
Wen hsüan k'ao-i 文選考異
Wen hsüan tsuan-chu 文選纂注
wen-jen yüeh-fu 文人樂府
wu 巫
Wu Ch'i 吳淇 (Ch'ing dynasty)
Wu Ching 吳競 (670–749)
"Wu-hsing chih" 五行志
Wu Ju-lun 吳汝綸 (1840–1903)
Wu Na 吳納 (1372–1457)
Wu Tai 吳代
Wu Tao-tzu 吳道子 (c. 689–c. 758)
"Wu Tzu-hsü lieh chuan" 伍子胥
　　列傳
Wu-wei lun 無爲論
wu-yen shih 五言詩
Wu-yen shih hsüan-li 五言詩選例

ya 雅
ya-sung yüeh 雅頌樂
Yang Chu 楊朱 (fl. third century B.C.)
Yang Hsiu 楊修 (175–219)
Yang Hsiung 楊雄 (53 B.C.–18 A.D.)
yao 謠
yao chi 妖姬
yen 豔
"Yen ko hsing" 豔歌行
Yen Yen-chih 顏延之 (386–456)
Yen Yu 嚴羽 (fl. 1180–1235)
yen-nien 延年
Yen-t'ieh lun 鹽鐵論
yen-yü 諺語
Ying Yang 應瑒 (?–217)
"Yü-chang hsing" 豫章行
yu-hsien 遊仙
yu-hsien shih 遊仙詩
yu-tzu chih shih 遊子之詩

Yü Hsin 庾信 (513–581)
Yü-t'ai hsin-yung 玉臺新詠
yüan tu 怨毒
Yüeh chi 樂記
"Yüeh feng" 粵風
yüeh-fu 樂府
"Yüeh-lun" 樂論
"Yüeh su hao ko" 粵俗好歌
yung-huai 詠懷
yung-shih 詠史
yung-shih shih 詠史詩
yung-wu 詠物
yung-wu shih 詠物詩

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