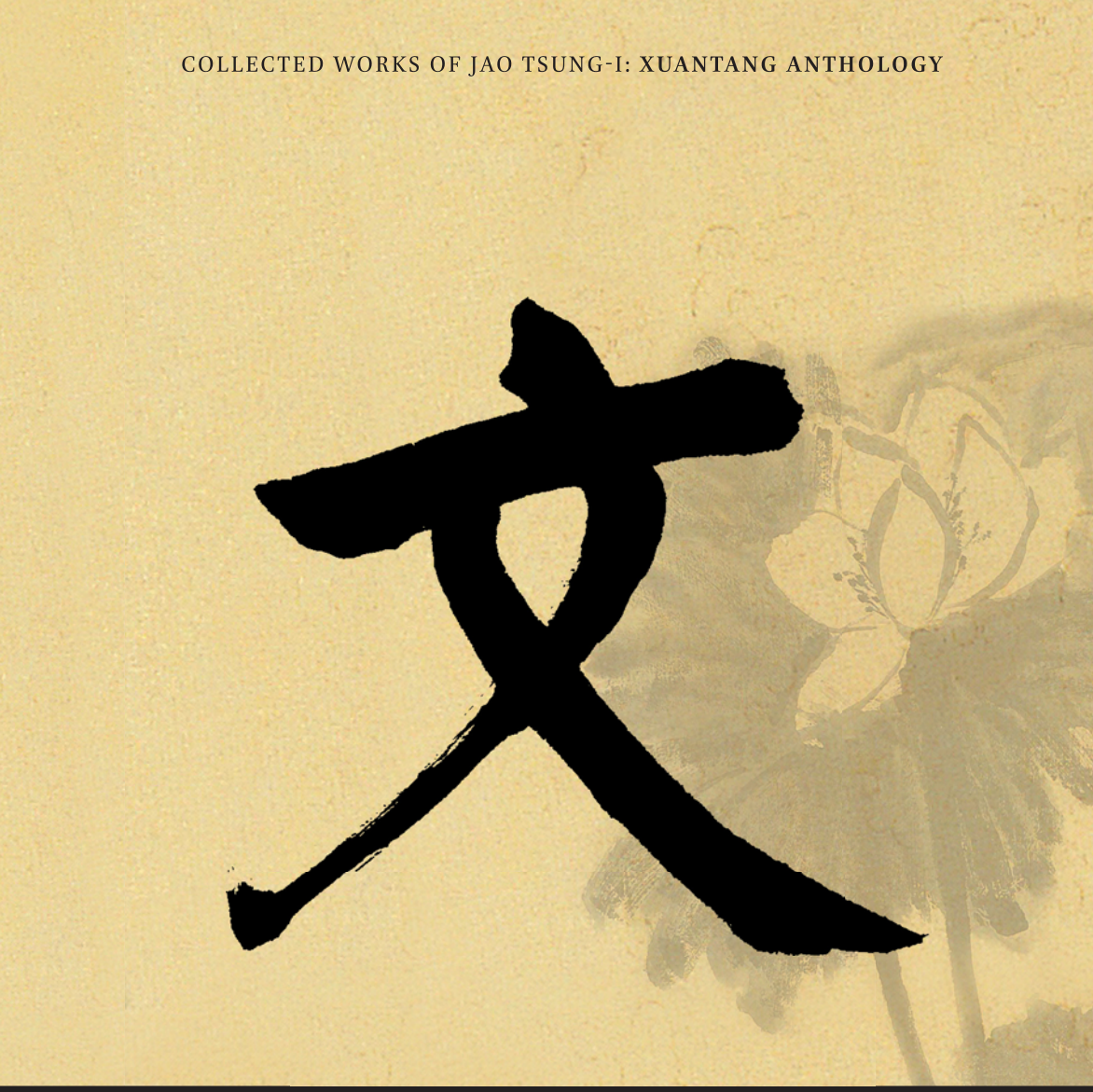
COLLECTED WORKS OF JAO TSUNG-I: XUANTANG ANTHOLOGY



Jade-Carving Chisel and Luminous Ocean

Selected Essays by Jao Tsung-i on Literature and Related Topics

Edited and Translated by

Nicholas Morrow Williams

BRILL

Jade-Carving Chisel and Luminous Ocean

Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i

Series editors

Chen Zhi
Nicholas Morrow Williams
Adam C. Schwartz

VOLUME 4

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Cover calligraphy: Jao Tsung-i. The character *wen* 文 originally represents decorative pattern in general, but later takes on the senses of "writing," "belles lettres," and "culture" (as epitomized in the written works that are used to transmit the highest values of that culture).

Cover illustration: Jao Tsung-i. *Lotus in the Style of Jin Nong*. Water and Ink on Paper.
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Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology—Series Introduction

Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 (1917–2018, studio name Xuantang 選堂) was one of the most remarkable scholars of the 20th century, in any country. He combined erudition in his own language with polyglot awareness of the major European languages and a mastery even of Sanskrit; he was a tireless, prolific researcher, who produced important books and articles without cease throughout seven decades; and he possessed phenomenal powers of memory to which the familiar adjective "photographic" barely does justice, since he had immediate recall of whole books of history, of calligraphic forms in all the different Chinese scripts, of millennia of music and painting and poetry. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable thing about Jao Tsung-i as a scholar is that his achievements were not at all limited to scholarship. He was a true artist in the manner of the literati of past ages, whose paintings, poetry, and especially calligraphy grace museums and collections around the world.

Though scholarship was just one of the domains in which Jao excelled, then, it is this polymathic and polymorphic creativity that lies at the foundation of Jao's achievement as a scholar as well. As a scholar he combined a restless curiosity extending to more or less every domain of Chinese culture and beyond, with a depth of insight and fastidious attention to detail that led him to break new ground in each of the topics he addressed. His scholarly work is often fearsomely technical, as he is willing to devote page-long footnotes to clarifying distinctions among textual variants or different graphical forms of a single Chinese character. But it is also dazzlingly broad, as he surveys vast topics like the creation myths of all ancient cultures, or the relationship between morality and rhetoric. Despite his whole-hearted love of China's traditional culture, he is never content to rest with facile generalizations about that culture, but always pursuing a more nuanced understanding of its particular facets at different historical moments.

Jao was a scholarly prodigy who had already published an independent article under the editorship of one of the leading historians of the era, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980), before he was twenty years old. Yet his earliest scholarly production, coauthored with his father at the age of seventeen, was a *Bibliography of Literary Productions of Ch'ao-chou*, included in the local

gazetteer of his hometown of Chaozhou in Guangdong province.[1] Jao later edited the complete gazetteer of Chaozhou, published in 1949, and throughout his life drew inspiration from the culture of his hometown. In the same year, though, he relocated to Hong Kong, where he would reside for most of his life and teach at both the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. From that time on his scholarly work took full advantage of the international opportunities afforded to him there. In 1959 he was awarded the prestigious Prix Stanislas Julien from the College de France for his massive study of diviners in the oracle bone inscriptions. He studied Dunhuang manuscripts in Paris and collaborated on a still-unmatched bilingual study of Dunhuang lyrics with the Swiss scholar Paul Demiéville (1894–1979), published in 1971. And yet his scholarly horizons continued to expand after that, as he continually visited Japan to identify precious Chinese texts preserved there, and spent many months memorizing Vedas in India.

By the year 2003, Jao's scholarly works were collected into a twenty-volume set encompassing well over 10,000 pages, the *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji* 饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集, published first in Taipei and then reprinted in Beijing in 2009. Though this collection is not quite comprehensive, as Jao remained prolific up to his passing in 2018, it provides convenient access to his main scholarly achievements. The main topics covered are the origins of Chinese civilization, the oracle bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, Buddhism, Daoism, historiography, Sino-foreign relations throughout history, Dunhuang studies, classical poetry and other literary forms, Chaozhou history, musicology, art history, and many other fields as well. Last but not least, the final volume contains Jao's own classical Chinese compositions, in itself a vast corpus of iridescent poetry and prose.[2] The fact that Jao was one of the great modern masters of classical Chinese composition is not irrelevant to evaluating his scholarship, for Jao's scholarly studies are written in elegant prose that is often closer to classical Chinese than the modern, colloquial register.

Indeed, Jao's scholarship is necessarily daunting even to many Chinese readers or to professional sinologists today, for three fundamental reasons: his oeuvre is composed in highly allusive and erudite prose; it comprises an extraordinarily large quantity of publications in diverse domains; and finally, it

1 On Jao's life see Chen Zhi and Adam Schwartz, "Jao Tsung-i (Rao Zongyi) 饒宗頤 (1917–2018)," *Early China* 41 (2018): 1–7; Yan Haijian 嚴海建, *Rao Zongyi zhuan: Xiangjiang hongru* 饒宗頤傳：香江鴻儒 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2012).

2 For a selection of these works in English, see Nicholas Morrow Williams, trans., *The Residue of Dreams: Selected Poems of Jao Tsung-i* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell East Asia Series, 2016).

employs extensive quotation of primary sources, many of them in themselves quite obscure for the modern reader. For these reasons, Jao scholarship has often been admired at a safe distance but not necessarily studied as closely as it deserves by other scholars, both in China and the West. Moreover, although the *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji* has made his scholarship accessible to readers throughout greater China, there are relatively few works introducing or adapting his key insights into Western languages.

In light of the great value of Jao's scholarship and its relative lack of appreciation in the West, the Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology, Hong Kong Baptist University has decided to produce a series of volumes translating key scholarly works by Jao into English, with annotation and explication making them accessible to 21st-century readers in the West. The first volumes will introduce major articles on Chinese musicology, Dunhuang studies, cosmology and origins of Chinese civilization, literature and religion, and oracle bone inscriptions. Future volumes will continue to highlight key areas of Jao's accomplishment. The translation series is by no means comprehensive; a complete translation of Jao's collected works would easily occupy fifty English tomes and is not conceivable at present. Instead, these volumes introduce key insights from Jao's scholarship and provide a gateway to his intellectual universe, showing the potential of a cosmopolitan vision that is never unfaithful to the demands of Chinese tradition.

First and foremost, the Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology and the project team would like to extend our sincere thanks to The Jao Studies Foundation for their generous support in funding this ambitious translation project and heroic efforts to make Professor Jao's lifelong scholarship accessible to a worldwide readership. From its outset, this project has received the full blessing of the Jao (rendered Yiu in Cantonese) family, most notably Professor Jao's daughters Ms Angeline Yiu and Ms Veronica Yiu, Permanent President and Permanent Administrative Director respectively of The Jao Studies Foundation.

Throughout the years, the Academy has been fortunate enough to be surrounded by like-minded people from all walks of life and benefited from their friendship and wisdom. A special mention goes to Dr and Mrs Simon Siu Man Suen, BBS, JP. Dr Suen is a remarkable entrepreneur, connoisseur of the arts, and champion of the humanities, whose generous support has enriched our work immeasurably.

The voluminous project that came to be known as *Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology* was first set up under the aegis of Hong Kong Baptist University and the leadership of former President Professor Roland Tai-hong Chin, BBS, JP. It continues to thrive under the auspices of the

research-led, liberal arts University under the Presidency of Professor Alexander Ping-kong Wai. We would like to express our gratitude to both Presidents and the University.

The Academic Advisory Committee of world-class Sinologists, namely Ronald Egan, Bernard Fuehrer, David R. Knechtges, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., Lauren Pfister, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, offered us timely advice at different stages of preparation and implementation. The Editorial Board, composed of leading academics in their own fields, has also served as a bank of expertise and experience for guidance and assistance.

It has been a delight to publish the *Xuantang Anthology* with the Leiden-based academic publisher Brill and to work side by side with Acquisitions Editor Dr Shu Chunyan, whose professionalism and know-how were instrumental in making the process both smooth and efficient.

Last but not least, we have our professional team translators and proofreaders to thank. Since our team continues to grow with the addition of new volumes, full credit for individual contributions will be given in individual volumes, but special thanks go to the Research Associate of the project, Dr Linda Yuet Ngo Leung, for her meticulous work in post-editing and further proofreading for the entire series.

Nicholas M. Williams
Adam C. Schwartz
Chen Zhi

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Editor's Introduction

Jao Tsung-i's activities spanned many fields of Chinese culture, but the writings included in this volume suggest one of the themes that unifies his scholarship, art, calligraphy, and poetry: his tireless search for the traces of spiritual forces underlying numberless phenomena of this world. What he meant by the "spiritual" is not entirely fixed, but encompasses both Daoist and Buddhist principles, identifying a unity to our experience, whether we term it the Way or Emptiness or something else. This spiritual goal, even if often ineffable or obscure, motivated Jao's artistic pursuits in various media, as can be seen throughout this volume. He was profoundly versed in the classics of Chan Buddhism, in particular, and was inspired by how Chan masters had sought to convey a message that transcended language by means of concrete artistic expression, by verbal teachings, and by poetry.

Jao was a prolific poet, and I first focused my attention on Jao's oeuvre through my study and translation of his original classical-style poetry. But his creative work is the obverse side of his scholarly achievement, both of which are closely tied to the sources of Chinese tradition, as he describes in his own poem #82 in the great "Cheung Chau" 長州 sequence:[1]

There is nowhere that poetry is not present.	詩無乎不在
Even the tiles and bricks are embellished with flowers.	瓦甓亦賁華
How can I not think of the ancients?	豈不思古人
The *Changes* rare and strange, the *Odes* blossoming.	易奇而詩葩

He found creative inspiration from throughout his surroundings, constantly; but not least from his own recollection of the Chinese classics and the literary tradition (though not exclusively, as his erudition extended to many other languages as well).

At the same time, Jao's very manner of attention to literature also showed that for him it was only one artistic medium among many. He disagreed profoundly, as this volume reveals, with the modern linguistic turn which sees language as preceding meaning. Instead, he saw verbal expression as parallel with many other kinds of human expression, not least the Chinese characters themselves, to which he accorded their own significance apart from words alone, not least through their use in the single art in which he most excelled:

1 Williams, *The Residue of Dreams: Selected Poems of Jao Tsung-i*, 154.

calligraphy, such as that which adorns the cover of this very volume. Through the aesthetic resonance of calligraphy we can appreciate that Chinese writing is not merely a tool for conveying words, but rather a different path towards, again, some kind of spiritual inspiration.

As with calligraphy, so with the other arts, in particular music and painting. Probably only Jao would respond to a question about Buddhist enlightenment by thinking of late Ming Dynasty instructions for painting (as he does in dialogue with Shi Yidui in chapter 2 of this volume). As anyone who has seen the gorgeous lotus blossoms Jao painted late in life can attest, though, for him the coordination of line and color could easily be a visual guide towards awakening as potent as any verbal teaching. Similarly with his devotion to the music of the *qin* zither, already articulated in a previous volume in this series: music had its own independent truth for him, never reducible to a verbal or visual summary. It is telling that Jao, as he does in the fourth chapter of the volume, would have been able to identify musical terminology and structure even in the classic "Rhapsody on Literature," a verbal artifact *par excellence*.

Though Jao probably did not, ultimately, privilege literature *qua* literature over any of the other classical Chinese arts, this volume makes a case for the special importance of the Chinese concept of *wenxue* within his work. *Wenxue* is the modern translational equivalent of the English "literature," but its literal meaning in Chinese is much broader, referring to "letters and scholarship," or alternatively, "the learning associated with cultural refinement." In its original sense, it certainly lacks any implication of something done for entertainment or having fictional content, as with the modern word "literature," but instead refers to the tradition of Chinese written scholarship, which preserves and transmits a living cultural legacy to us in the present. In this sense, I think, *wenxue* did possess a singular prominence in Jao's life and work, because, as we see in this volume, it encompassed not just the creative impulse but also the study and practice by which one mastered the classical Chinese tradition.

That is not to say that literary or scholarly achievement is an end in itself, however. It is one indirect way of accessing something else, a state of spiritual freedom that can never be described or represented fully. Dealing with Jao's writing and legacy one is often awed by his productivity, but he makes clear within this volume that he sees productivity alone as of only limited value compared to spiritual attainments. Perhaps most memorably, he comments to Shi Yidui that it is not the case that a writer or artist can be truly inspired at every occasion. Instead, "that kind of opportunity does not come often, perhaps no more than a few times in a lifetime. To be able to write just seven or eight fine poems is already a great thing." Thus, charmingly, he suggests that it may not be the vast tomes and acres of canvas that he filled with his own

productions during his lifetime that give him the greatest pride. It is only those select works in which he was truly moved by some grace beyond the ordinary, of a kind that may only come along a few times in a century-long life. In this volume Jao shows us that even though scholarship and repetition, production and representation, are all worthwhile activities, they are only part of a greater journey in search of spiritual illumination.

As my description above is intended to suggest, I do not see the writings in this volume as having solely a scholarly value. That is, they are expressions of Jao as artist as well as Jao as scholar, and are full of intuitive, transhistorical insights, beyond their erudite assemblages of citations. For this reason, the translation here has presented these texts more or less as they were originally. It would certainly be possible to add citations to more recent scholarship on most of these topics in Chinese, English, Japanese, and other languages. But even Jao's original citations are rarely comprehensive. To the contrary, he tends to cite only what is useful to him, whether to pick over an error or to borrow a correct judgment. Thus, to update the scholarly apparatus would have transformed these essays into something quite different, closer to our own contemporary mode of scholarship. While we have borrowed from previous translations of original texts, and cited them appropriately when used, we have generally not added references to additional scholarship sources, unless necessary to clarify a point in the translation.

I am profoundly grateful to all the individuals and organizations that have sponsored this translation, as detailed in the series introduction above, but I would like to single out in particular the Jao family, whose support of this and other projects has done so much to preserve Jao's legacy. I am also grateful to my co-editors Chen Zhi, for his incredible energy in promoting serious scholarship on China in so many different venues; and Adam Schwartz, for his many casual insights into scholarship and life. This volume could hardly have been undertaken without the assistance of Dr. Frankie Chik, Dr. Xu Zhenxu, and Fu Xinci, who made the initial translations of chapters three to eight. I am also keenly appreciative of the last-minute proofreading of Dr. Chan Chok Meng. This entire series has been able to achieve consistency in quality due to the scrupulous editing of Dr. Linda Yuet Ngo Leung, who has a remarkable ability to correct a misquotation or to identify a missing source. However, I have further revised all the translations, and must take the burden of blame for the mistakes that surely remain.

Original Titles and Sources for Text Translated in This Volume

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3. *Wenji* 17—see *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji*, vol. 17, "Shici" 詩詞.

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7. **Suyab, the True Birthplace of Li Bai**
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8. **On The Poetry of Gu Yanwu**
   "Lun Gu Tinglin shi" 論顧亭林詩. *Wenji* 17:154–68.

CHAPTER 1

Literature and Spirit: in Conversation with Shi Yidui

Editor's Note: This chapter and the succeeding one are both drawn from the volume* Literature and Spirit, *published in 2010 and based on interviews with scholar Shi Yidui that were completed in 2006. Shi Yidui* 施議對 (*rendered as Sze Yee Tui in Cantonese and Shih I-tui in Wade-Giles romanization*), *born in 1940 in Taiwan, is a prolific scholar of the* ci *lyric. The volume seems to have been inspired by Shi's splendid article introducing Jao's "metaphysical* ci *poetry," which demonstrated the philosophical aspirations of Jao's verse in this genre.*[1] *But the interviews are far wider-ranging than this background would suggest. This chapter begins by interrogating the ancient origins of Chinese religion, in particular conceptions of the spiritual and divination practices, but goes on to make memorable remarks on literary tradition and numerous other topics. The reader may be struck particularly by how frequently Jao returns to a few key texts, notably the Southern Dynasties poet Xie Lingyun, whom he seems to regard as the most profound of all China's poets.*

Jao Tsung-i: The cultivation of a literary mind will commonly require the resources of religion. Writers may not have any firm belief, but as they interact with various sources from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, these will naturally exert some influence on their thought.

Shi Yidui: There have long existed two conflicting points of view on the universe, namely the idealistic and the materialistic worldviews. China has promoted a materialist doctrine without belief in spirits or ghosts. However, there has not been so much discussion about the relation between literature and spirituality, even though it is really quite hard to separate literary issues from the topic of the spiritual. The origins and development of literature and their mutual relationship with ultimate spiritual forces all seem to demand more investigation.

Jao Tsung-i: The Chinese today generally do not believe in gods, and it is as if there are no gods. So nobody has even raised this particular question of

* Translated by Nicholas Morrow Williams.

1 I translated several of these pieces in *The Residue of Dreams*, esp. on pp. 191–95.

literature and spirit in Chinese culture. Indeed, our topic must face some resistance under contemporary circumstances, within modern society. But I believe there are still many pieces of evidence that can support my point of view.

Western countries generally have their own spiritual beliefs, in particular the single supreme Lord of monotheistic religion. When Westerners discuss literature, they always speak of spirituality too. The Bible is supposed to originate divine inspiration and revelation, being the sacred Word of the Lord of Heaven. Thus the greatest literature is in the Bible. English literature all comes from the Bible, and it is the mother of literature. America is like this as well. China has no god like this, but when the Chinese look at the universe, they too have their own concept of *shenming* 神明 ("spirit" or "spiritual illumination").[2] *Shen* and *ming* can be discussed separately, or they can be combined. In the classic of Daoist philosophy, the *Zhuangzi*, we find: "Whence does the spirit descend? Whence does illumination appear?" 神何由降，明何由出.[3] This example illustrates their use as separate, although parallel, concepts. But we can see an early example of the two used together in the bamboo manuscript excavated from Chu, *Grand Unity Is Born from Water* (Taiyi sheng shui 太一生水), which uses the compound *shenming* 神明. The ancient classics such as the *Book of Odes* (Shijing 詩經), the *Book of Documents* (Shangshu 尚書), and the *Book of Changes* (Zhou yi 周易) all rely on this same concept of the spiritual. So the Chinese do have their own spiritual beliefs.

When you discuss literature, you must discuss spiritual illumination too, and it is not easy to reject the spiritual completely. But I don't mean to speak of this problem too simplistically either. Strictly speaking, this topic of literature and spirit belongs to the premodern era. The modern era is different and has evolved out of the previous ages, but the past still its own value for us in the present. Neither should it be ignored that investigating the question of literature and spirit by no means implies that we should treat literature as theology.

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2 Editor's note: This section is a rumination on the many different implications of the character *shen* 神 in classical Chinese, ranging from the inner spirit of an individual to various kinds of divine powers, transhuman if not transcendental. The range of meaning to which Jao refers at first seems to defy translation, but there is at least a parallel scope to the English word "spirit," so when possible I try to translate *shen* with this word or its cognates, though I also use "divine" or "gods" when that seems to be the appropriate emphasis. Similarly, the word *tian* or "heaven" has a different semantic range than its English equivalent and often is closer to "nature" rather than heaven. In fact, though, Jao occasionally returns to the traditional tripartite division of the cosmos into heaven, earth, and man, which makes clear that heaven is to be distinguished from the earthly component of the natural world.

3 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 33.1065.

1 The Meaning of *Shenming*

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, it seems that in your view *shenming* has two senses, corresponding respectively to heaven and man. The first is something divine and the second is simply the human spirit, or one might say the first is the heavenly sense and the second the psychological sense of *shenming*. It is something from heaven and also something in the heart; it is in the mind but also in nature, outside of man. For instance, Grand Unity (*taiyi* 太一) is born out of water and also conceals itself in water; both beyond and within physical form, returning to its proper position, and carrying out its function. Because there is spirit in the universe, things are arranged in their proper order and not confused.

Jao Tsung-i: The two characters *shen* 神 (spirit) and *ming* 明 (illumination) can be read together or also read separately. If they are separated they have two distinct meanings, but if they are combined they also have two meanings. One is the *shenming* of heaven and the other that of the human mind. The *shenming* of heaven is a controlling force from the cosmos outside of humanity, but the *shenming* of the mind is a kind of supreme power within the person, or a spiritual self.

Thus, the concept of spiritual illumination in literature has two different levels of significance. One has to do with divinity and one with human beings. If you consider heaven, earth, and man together, actually, then one ought to distinguish three different kinds of spiritual significance, corresponding to heaven, earth, and man.

1.1 *Above/Below and Inside/Outside*

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, in discussing the term *dao* 道 ("way"), you say that it can be glossed as "beginning," "great," "hollow," "principle," or even as "nothingness," since the *Guanzi* 管子 says: "that which is vacant and formless is called the Dao" 虛無無形謂之道.[4] But in discussing *shen*, you say that throughout Heaven and Earth, through all the four directions, through the emptiness of space, spiritual power is ubiquitous everywhere, even though one may not be able to see its traces directly. So *dao* and *shen* are both concepts that are hard to grasp. But the *Book of Odes* says:

4 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 13.838.

Grandly lofty are the mountains,	崧高維嶽
With their large masses reaching to the heavens.	駿極于天
From these mountains was sent down a Spirit,	維嶽降神
Who gave birth to [the princes of] Fu and Shen.[5]	生甫及申

In your view the "spirit" here clearly refers to something from Heaven, which has produced Fu Hou 甫侯 and Shen Bo 申伯. But the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 also says "To force the *shenming* to be only a single thing means that you do not understand how it is the same" 勞神明為一而不知其同也.[6] It further elaborates this idea with the parable of the monkeys who understand being fed "three times in the morning and four at night" or "four times in the morning and three at night" as totally different experiences, not understanding how they add up to the same thing. To fail to perceive this is to be one of those who "by vaunting his own brightness, is controlled by things" 自炫其明，為物驅使, in the words of Tang commentator Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (608–669).[7] The spirit that is under discussion here is what we call the individual spirit (*jingshen* 精神), so clearly it is referring to something internal, psychological. So there are actually two kinds of spirits here, one above and one below, one internal and one external, and these can be distinguished clearly. That is, the spirits of heaven or of humans are at two different levels, one metaphysical and one physical. Or you could even say one is in the real world and the other belongs to a mystical realm, or that one is near and the other far, but in any case you can determine their different status.

Jao Tsung-i: In the "Lie Yukou" 列禦寇 chapter of *Zhuangzi* we read: "The keen-sighted person is merely employed by others, whereas the person of spirit verifies others. Long has it been that keen sight does not win out against spirit, yet those who are stupid rely on what they see and attribute it to other men. Their achievement being external, is it not sad?" 明者唯為之使，神者徵之。夫明之不勝神也久矣，而愚者恃其所見入於人，其功外也，不亦悲乎.[8] In this ancient text *shen* and *ming*, spirit and keen-sightedness, are already divided into two realms. From this one can see that the *shenming* which is so hard to grasp can already be divided into the upper and lower, inner and outer kinds.

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5 Poem 259. Translation by Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 4: *The She King*, 535. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 18.1419.

6 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 2.76.

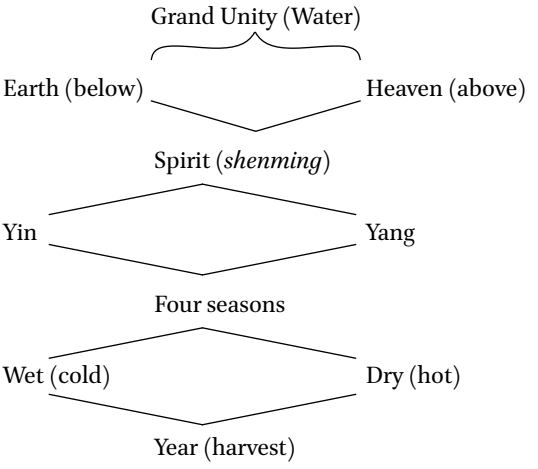
7 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 32.1068.

8 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 32.1067. Translation modified from Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, 332.

The manuscript *Grand Unity Is Born from Water* was excavated from Guodian 郭店 in Hubei in 1993. Its title may be related to an idea from the preface to the *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 (Classic of waters, annotated) by Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (ca. 470–527), which says: "According to the *Changes*, Heaven causes the Unity to be born from water, so that the vital pneuma is weak in the North, where it is first among things" 《易》 稱天以一生水，故氣微于北方，而為物之先也.[9] According to the magic square of divination, *Jiugong tu* 九宮圖 (Diagram of the nine palaces), Unity corresponds to water and the north, and is first of the myriad things, so Grand Unity is hidden in water, and then proceeds to create the four seasons, moving in turn through the hot and cold *qi* to complete the year. This was an extremely fresh and original cosmology, arguing that in the production of all the things in the universe water came first, so the Grand Unity, hidden among all these things, was naturally primary. Also, the Yin and Yang forces filling heaven and earth were necessarily below the power of *shenming* spirit, since Yin and Yang have forms and appear as dark or light, and heaven and earth also have forms, but *shenming* is formless and trackless. So it is within heaven and earth, and belongs to Yin and Yang. Before this, people did not know the location of this spirit, but simply that the spirit producing Yin and Yang must be something set apart, beyond anything of which humanity was capable.

Thus, based on the way that it acts, we can represent the position of spirit in the following diagram:

TABLE 1.1 The position of spirit in Chinese cosmology



9 *Shuijing zhushu*, 1.

Shi Yidui: So *shenming* has two different senses depending on whether it is above or below, inner or outer. But ultimately it all comes down to what it means for human beings, and there must be some way that it ends up being realized. *Zhuangzi* says: "Why does spirit descend? Whence does perception arise? The sages are born from something, the kings are made by something, all of then originate from the One" 神何由降？明何由出？聖有所生，王有所成，皆原於一.[10] So the appearance of spirit and perception, growth of sages and kings, all seem to have some causal relations, but how should we distinguish all these?

Jao Tsung-i: The subject here is precisely *shenming* (spirit and perception). Actually, spirit and perception cannot be divided, and since one should be an inner sage (*nei sheng* 內聖) and outer king (*wai wang* 外王), neither can those two be divided. The basis for all this is *shenming*. Spirit and perception are united in a whole and only then can be effective. Since they all originate in the One, the origin of *shenming* is actually Heaven. If we put *Zhuangzi*'s statements together, sageliness is the same as spiritual power, kingliness corresponds to perception, and the two of these, the sage and the king, cannot be divided. Many people have read *Zhuangzi* but not understood it fully, and forgotten that spirit, which is the same as perception/illumination, is supreme, and so they have only caught hold of the tail but not the head of the matter, and their interpretations become quite ridiculous. Nowadays when people talk about the inner sage and outer king, they emphasize the inner sage but miss the outer king. Also, the conclusion that "all of them originate from the One" has been overlooked, or only the king and sage part is noticed but the dimension of the spiritual illumination is ignored. Thus people have emphasized and exaggerated the inner sage/outer king concept and extended it to a philosophical concept, as a slogan of New Confucianism. Actually *Zhuangzi* already stated this clearly and so scholars just need to read it more carefully too.

In the Eastern Han Dynasty, Liu Tao 劉陶 (d. 185) composed a memorial saying: "Man without Heaven and Earth cannot live. Heaven and Earth without man cannot be numinous. Thus the emperor cannot rule without the people, and the people cannot be harmonious without the emperor. As Heaven is to the emperor, the emperor is to the people; it is like the head for the feet: they need each other just to be able to walk forward" 人非天地，無以為生，天地非人，無以為靈，是故帝非人不立，人非帝不寧。夫天之與帝，帝之與人，猶頭之與足，相須而行也.[11] He pointed out that earth, heaven, and man

10 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 33.1069.

11 *Hou Hanshu*, 57.1843.

were related in the same way as the parts of the human body. The Emperor was divine, and all humans also had a numinous (*ling* 靈) nature. Heaven was the overall sovereign, at the top of a person's head, which is why the forehead can also be called "heaven." In the later oracle bone inscriptions, the king Wen Wu Ding 文武丁 (or Wen Ding) is already called *di* 帝 "high lord," later "emperor." The *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸) also says: "The rites of the state altars *jiao* and *she* are used to serve the Lord above" 郊社之禮，所以事上帝也.[12] The *jiao* altars are used to worship heaven, the *she* altars the earth. The oracle bone inscriptions also mention that clay torches are burned to worship earth and wormwood to worship heaven, all of which are the rites to serve the Lord on High (*shang di* 上帝). This Lord on High is the supreme deity of the cosmos, and encompasses all of heaven and earth.

1.2 *Shared Faith and Private Meaning*

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, you say that what is best shared in common between Man and Heaven has to do with the activities of Nature. When the sun rises there is daylight, and when it goes behind the mountains it is nighttime. No one can doubt this. But when it comes to human activities, truth and falsity, black and white, you need to have some kind of mediation of language, and compared to the natural world, they are considerably more complicated.

Jao Tsung-i: In antiquity, intellectual trends were directed by the needs of oracle bone divination. The whole intellectual realm was governed by the single character *zhen* 貞, "to divine." Using this principle for knowing the future the relations between the gods and men obeyed the same model. This abstract principle became the guiding theory for the people of both Shang and Zhou.

During the Shang Dynasty, tortoise plastra and ox scapulae were inscribed with the contents of the divinations. Nearly 60,000 of these have been identified, and nearly all of them contain the character *zhen* 𠧪. For instance, an inscription might read that on such and such a day, such and such a divination was made. The word *zhen* can also be read as *ding* 鼎, "ceremonial tripod," and it means "to ask if an action is proper." Through the divination you ask the gods if they approve and can obtain an answer of "proper" or "correct" (*zheng* 正). But the term for the divination, *zhen*, can already by itself be read as *zheng*, "proper." For instance, chapter 39 of *Laozi* says that "When kings and nobles obtain unity, then all under heaven is in order" 侯王得一以為天下正.[13] Chapter 18 reads: "When the state is confused and chaotic, there are loyal

12 *Liji zhengyi*, 31.1681.

13 *Laozi jiaoshi*, 39.162.

ministers" 國家昏亂，有忠臣.[14] But here the Mawangdui silk manuscript #2 reads instead "faithful ministers" 貞臣, using this same word *zhen* to mean "faithful." Also, the *Book of Odes* has a poem that reads:

> Investigation and divination were accomplished by the King, 考卜維王
> To divine the site for the capital Haojing. 宅是鎬京
> With the tortoise shells he determined the proper one, 維龜正之
> And King Wu accomplished it. 武王成之[15]

Now, why does the poem use the word *zheng* 正 (determined) here? Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) glossed the word *zheng* as *jue* 決 "decide."[16] Because the sages of Shang and Zhou used tortoise divinations to establish the correct determination, arriving at the "proper" action based on divine aid, this was a correct divination procedure that represented the will of the gods.

Thus, not only do these many thousands of inscriptions use the character *zhen* "to divine," in the only Shang oracle bone preserved in the British Museum (a family genealogy from the Shang, the *Ni jiapu* 兒家譜), the very first character is *zhen*.

Shi Yidui: Honesty, justice, or *zhen*, all of these are shared values, standard for governing human activity. Thus, you once pointed out that this *zhen* character should not always be interpreted as a question. In the past, scholars all used the explanation of the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining the compound graphs and analyzing the simple graphs): "it means to divine a question" 卜問也.[17] But in this way we have overlooked its ultimate meaning of *zheng* 正, "proper, correct." Correcting our understanding of *zhen* can help us settle on the real meaning of the divination system in ancient times.

Jao Tsung-i: Divination was an institution central to ancient China. The diviners were the masters of sacrifices but also experts at communication. In the Shang Dynasty, divination was the shared principle by which men and gods could communicate with one another. The "Appended Statements" of the *Book of Changes* relates: "Good and bad fortune are conquered by divination. The Way of Heaven and Earth is observed by divination. The Way of sun and

14 *Laozi jiaoshi*, 18.76.
15 Poem #244. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 16.1237.
16 *Shi jizhuan*, 16.289.
17 *Shuowen jiezi*, 3B.69.

moon is illuminated by divination. The actions of Heaven and Earth are all made One by divination" 吉凶者，貞勝者也。天地之道，貞觀者也。日月之道，貞明者也，天下之動，貞夫一者也.[18] These different functions of divination constitute a philosophical system, wonderfully rich in its implications. Thus Zhu Xi comments on these four virtues of the *Changes*, and explains *li zhen* 利貞 as meaning "benefiting from the right and proper" 利於正也, which is quite accurate.[19]

Divination is a procedure for speaking on behalf of the spirits, based on the spirits' intention. But the High Lord Di is situated far above everything, so a divination would not use his intention directly, because this would be an offense against the gods. The "Great Plan" 洪範 chapter of the *Book of Documents* tells of *da tong* 大同, "the great consensus," meaning decisions made in collaboration between spirits and men.[20] Through the result of a divination you achieve the shared and selfless consensus of the spirits and men, those above and below, public and private. Also, whenever you decide something, you need the permission of both human and divine forces. For an important decision, you need the communication of spirits and men, and the assent of both sides. When *Mozi* 墨子 tells of the "will of heaven" 天志 and "exalting unity" 尚同, the meaning is the same.[21]

The "mediation" here requires shared faith, what in Chinese is called *zhen* 貞, or what in the West is called the "law." In the West there is a religious ideal of law, what in Hebrew is already called the Torah. This implies the recognition and enforcement of a divine order. The will of the divine is in its essence justice, in Hebrew *Tzedek*.

When I was younger, I wrote my study *Oracle Bone Diviners of the Yin Dynasty* (Yindai zhenbu renwu tongkao 殷代貞卜人物通考), and pointed out that the character *zhen* cannot always be understood as "question." There was some debate over this point. An American scholar also discussed this issue at the time.[22] How should this *zhen* be understood? For instance, this is one of the four virtues of the *Changes*: *yuan*, *heng*, *li zhen* 元亨利貞,[23] and in that context it certainly cannot be understood as meaning "question." Yet since the appearance of the oracle bones, some innovative scholars have used the meaning of "question" to read every occurrence of this word in the *Changes* as well,

18 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 8.348–49.
19 *Zhuzi yulei huijiao*, 66.1679.
20 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 12.372. Legge translates "great concord." See *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3: *The Shoo King*, 337.
21 Both are chapter titles in *Mozi*.
22 Serruys, "Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions," 23.
23 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 1.1.

and have seen the earlier interpretations of this word as mistaken. But in fact they were not mistaken. It is not that the traditional scholars were wrong, but that modern scholars have not understood this issue correctly, and have ended up making an error of their own.

In December 1993, I gave a lecture when I accepted an honorary doctorate in Paris: "On the Special Relationship between Religion and Literature in Chinese Culture."[24] At the very beginning I talked about this character *zhen*, which can also mean *zheng*, "proper," and compared it to Western notions of justice. I argued that both the Chinese and the Western ideas had a similar intention behind them. Regarding the word *zhen* itself, I also wrote an article on "The Philosophy of '*Zhen*,'" published in an edited volume of papers on Sinology in celebration of the centennial anniversary of Peking University.[25] I believe my views have gradually obtained acceptance.

1.3 *Creating and Destroying Gods*

Shi Yidui: The two conceptions of spirit, in Heaven and in the human mind, were idealized but also vulgarized. The divinized version of a person, a kind of "spirit-self" subject to the utmost metaphysical doubt, could also become the supreme divinity within a person's mind. In heaven and among people, the two were conflated. The manmade elements in this conception of divinity are evident. Particularly in China, since ancient times there have been all kinds of invented divinities. What do you think of these, Professor Jao?

Jao Tsung-i: The *Huainanzi* 淮南子 says: "For silent space is the home of the spirits; empty void is the abode of the Way" 夫靜漠者，神明之宅也；虛無者，道之所居也.[26] This is speaking of the spirit within the mind. The *Book of Changes* discusses the spiritual very frequently, as in the line: "What is not discernible within Yin and Yang is called the *shen*" 陰陽不測之謂神,[27] and also: "*Shen* is merely what we call that which makes the myriad things

24 Jao received the degree of Docteur Honoris Causa from École pratique des hautes études (EPHE) on December 26, 1993. The Chinese script of the speech was revised and published in the same title: "Zhongguo wenhuashi shang zongjiao yu wenxue de teshu guanxi" 中國文化史上宗教與文學的特殊關係, in *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji*, 7:29–37.

25 "'Zhen' de zhexue" 「貞」的哲學, in *Wenhua de kuizeng*, 42–52, rpt. in *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji*, 6:134–60. See also Joern Peter Grundmann, trans., "The Philosophy of '*Zhen*' 貞," in idem, *Space, Time, Myth, and Morals: A Selection of Jao Tsung-i's Studies on Cosmological Thought in Early China and Beyond*, 169–219.

26 *Huainanzi jishi*, 7.504.

27 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7.319.

so marvelous" 妙萬物而為言者.[28] Sometimes *shen* is referring to gods here. When making a divination, the yarrow stalks are divine objects. Or again, the "Appended Statements" commentary to the *Changes* says: "Thus becoming percipient of the Way of Heaven, and observing the affairs of the people, this gives rise to the divine objects, used to direct the people. The sages use these as purification and as ritual protection, so that the spirits could make apparent their virtue" 是以明于天之道，而察于民之故，是興神物，以前民用。聖人以此齊戒，以神明其德夫,[29] and in the "Explaining the Trigrams" that "That which lies in obscurity is given aid by divine illumination and so produces the yarrow stalks of divination" 幽贊于神明而生蓍.[30] These divine beings and divine functions refer to the way that the proper objects are placed together in sequence, and so allow men and spirits to be aligned as well. Thus the "Appended Statements" to the *Changes* also says: "To perceive clearly these spiritual forces depends upon the man; accomplishing it tacitly, in wordless trust, depends upon virtuous conduct" 神而明之，存乎其人；默而成之，不言而信，存乎德行.[31] The ancients could be profound when they were discussing the divine. Your behavior establishes your reliability. Since the spirits are external, everything that we do can be seen by them, but since they are also in the mental and there is a "spirit" inside a person's mind, the spirit can delegate its actions to a person, and in this way you yourself become the equal to the spirits. This is the affirmation of the spirits. They support you, and you also represent the spirits. In this sense you have entered into the realm of the spirits. This is the meaning of the saying, "sincerity and integrity penetrate to the divine" 精義入神.[32] Once your actions have obtained the support of the spirits, you don't even need to say anything, because everyone will trust you already.

Shen and *ming* have their own inherent relationship. *Shen* means the intelligence and propriety of a person, the master of his *ming*. At any time the spirit must be the master, and the spirit come to direct him towards accurate perception. Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–433) says that in painting one must first let the spirit pass freely.[33] Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 522) says that in writing, it is spiritual reflection that allows one to form one's thoughts.[34] Zong Bing was exceedingly critical of Confucian scholarship, because he found that it obtained only crude

28 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 9.386.
29 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7.339.
30 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 9.380.
31 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7.345.
32 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 8.358.
33 *Lidai minghua ji*, 6.131.
34 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 26.493.

traces of ideas and not the ultimate profundities; for if you only cling slavishly to textual fragments, how can you attain the divine and participate in the fundamental transformations? Thus he wrote:

> The gentlemen of the Middle Kingdom know well about ritual propriety, but they are ignorant when it comes to knowing the hearts of men. Can they even know the mind of the Buddha? Thus in their immediate worldly affairs, they make plans but are not successful, because are embroiled in success and defeat. When it comes to the spirit, though, once I have obtained it, then I can achieve pure ascension without limit; but if it is lost, then I plummet down forever with no end in sight. One must face the depths to seek it, tread upon thin ice[35] to ponder it.
>
> 中國君子，明於禮義，而闇於知人心。寧知佛心乎？今世業近事，謀之不臧，猶興喪及之。況精神，我也得焉則清升無窮，失矣則永墜無極。可不臨深而求，履薄而慮乎。[36]

Zong Bing believed that the extraordinary power of spirit was the root of order and disorder, which were all caused by the inner spirit. One can extend this principle to writing and painting; without training one's spirit, there is no way to reach the ultimate apex.

The Chinese have not discussed much "creating gods" (*zao shen* 造神) or "deification" of humans, but nonetheless people have generally believed that everything is determined and controlled by spiritual forces. This is true both of the common people and of the rulers. The movement to create new gods in modern China was tied to politics. At its height, I was in France. Once I saw on the television all the people holding Mao's little red book. To the French people watching it, it seemed like a kind of god-worship, for everyone in a whole country to be carrying the same book written by the leader. Whatever is regarded with such reverence and devotion, imbued with a sense of ultimate power, may seem to be divine. If that were the whole story, though, there would be nothing higher than humanity. In fact, men can represent gods but cannot become equal to gods. A divine power has to have something transcendent about it. This is a problem of degree, really. From this point of view, Buddhist thought has also been very important for the Chinese. The Chinese can be ingenious: even if they did not

35 Allusion to *Odes*, 196/6. See Legge, *She King*, 335.

36 Zong Bing 宗炳, "Ming Fo lun" 明佛論, "Quan Song wen" 全宋文, in *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 21.1a.

fully understand the original Buddhist terminology, they could still borrow it and make use of it for themselves.

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, your scholarship might be summed up in a single phrase as "history of the human spirit." Literature and spirit are also another motto suggesting your approach to a realm of the spiritual. I believe there is a real need to discuss this kind of question today so as to allow our culture to progress further. But for some people, you might seem overly idealistic. To set forth and explain a scholarly theory requires some courage. Once the window is opened before your eyes, the main gate may still be closed, but you can only proceed one step at a time, so as ultimately to reach the goal.

Jao Tsung-i: Religious ideas and expressive writing are like the exterior and interior of the same object, and are utterly dependent on one another. Religion requires literature to achieve elevated expression, while literary works change according to the period, borrowing from religious thought to amplify their content. It is normal for the cultivation of a literary sensibility to draw inspiration from religion. The writer does not necessarily have any definite religious belief, but the more knowledgeable he is about the three traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism, or Daoism, the deeper their ideas will be imbued in his writing. Just considering poets of the Tang or Song, Wang Wei's 王維 (ca. 701–761) landscape verse has the same flavor as Chan meditation, while Li He's 李賀 (790–816) verse frequently uses the words "life" and "death," which some scholars have traced to the influence of the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* 楞嚴經. Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037–1101) immersion in Daoist texts or Huang Tingjian's 黃庭堅 (1045–1105) deep knowledge of Chan are other important examples. Moreover, literary techniques are frequently employed for religious teachings, such as Wang Fanzhi's 王梵志 (d. ca. 670) pentasyllabic verses in the mode of Buddhist *gāthā*, or the use of *ci* lyrics in Quanzhen Daoism (in the Yuan Dynasty), sometimes even changing the tune patterns or inventing their own: each achieves its own goals by borrowing or learning from the other. No matter how religions adopt literary methods as a means of disseminating their teachings, the Chinese have generally been tolerant about different religions, so that it is entirely normal for each to influence the others.

I am opposed to any attempt to "destroy the gods" (*mieshen* 滅神). Liu Xie did not discuss this idea. He set up an opposition of form and spirit, because his understanding of the spiritual was inadequate. But I do not oppose materialism either. Spirit is part of this universe. Of course, I would not want to dress up human things as divine, or treat the human realm as the spiritual. Discussing and researching the spiritual may seem to be something controversial in

scholarship, something extraordinary. But the more places I have traveled, the more I have studied and thought, the more I have come to believe there is a Creator. "To perceive clearly these spiritual forces depends upon the man" 神而明之，存乎其人;[37] this is the law of the universe and cannot be refuted. In ancient China, when people discussed the divine, it was something marvelous. The spiritual and the human are actually indivisible, and all people can understand this spiritual dimension, all people can become gods: this is the theology of the Chinese.

Nowadays China is opposed to the spiritual realm and upholds materialism. Our foreign friends mainly believe in gods, though not necessarily in Japan, even if there they too have their shrines (*jinja* 神社). I have given lectures on religion abroad, including once when I obtained an honorary doctorate in the humanities. When I read the ancient poetry anthology *Elegies of Chu* (Chuci 楚辭), then I believe there is a Creator. When I was in my twenties I already had these ideas, but did not dare to make them a focus of my research. Originally, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980) hoped I would join him in the "doubting Antiquity" school. But to the contrary, I "trust Antiquity," and also believe that in some obscure sense we have a connection with the divine. If not, many things are impossible to explain, and one has no chance of explaining the universe. This is my own personal belief.

2 The Function of Divination

Shi Yidui: Sima Qian's "Biographies of Diviners" (Guice liezhuan 龜策列傳) chapter in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (Shiji 史記) states:

> Since antiquity the sagely kings, when they established the state and received the mandate, and initiated and advanced their affairs, never neglected to prize divination with yarrow stalks so as to increase their excellence … The ruler would decide his various questions, by consulting oracle-bone and milfoil divinations, and determine with stalks and tortoise shells. This was the unchanging Way. The foreigners, Man, Yi, Di, and Qiang, though they lacked the proper order of ruler and minister, still had methods of divination for resolving questions. Some did it by inscriptions in metal and stone, others using plants, each state having different customs. Regardless, they could all use the arts of war in conquest, and

37 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7.345.

> drive their soldiers in pursuit of victory. They all believed in their own gods, relying on them to know of things to come.
>
> 自古聖王將建國受命，興動事業，何嘗不寶卜筮以助善！… 王者決定諸疑，參以卜筮，斷以蓍龜，不易之道也。蠻夷氐羌雖無君臣之序，亦有決疑之卜。或以金石，或以草木，國不同俗。然皆可以戰伐攻擊，推兵求勝，各信其神，以知來事。[38]

The ancient regularly would resolve a question by divination, including those relating to human affairs or having to do with forecasts of the natural world. The spirits had a twofold function, providing either opposition or support, and aided in the anticipation of both good and bad fortune. From the point of view of society's historical development, what is the significance of this kind of method for assisting in decision-making?

Jao Tsung-i: Ancient China has no epic poetry to be compared with the Near Eastern culture of the same period. But from the oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang, we can learn that there was a "divine ruler" (*shen di* 神帝) who controlled all the processes of the natural world. He could control the winds, rain, and lightning, and their impact on humanity. There were blood sacrifices and related rites, just like the *tērētnigi* (sacrifices) of ancient Mesopotamia. There were also the diviners themselves, comparable to the Babylonian *bārû* (seer) and *mašmašu* (diviner). The difference was that in Mesopotamia, people used sheep livers for divination, while the Shang diviners used tortoise plastra, as well as yarrow stalks for divination according to the *Book of Changes*.

Divination was one of the major activities of the Shang royal house. The contents of divination touched on every aspect of social life. During the late Spring and Autumn period in the kingdom of Chu 楚, the diviner Guan Yifu 觀射父 once said to Gongzi Jie 公子結: "The rites are used to illuminate piety, to calm the people, to pacify the state, to stabilize the hundred surnames: they cannot be abandoned" 祀所以昭孝息民，撫國家、定百姓也，不可以已.[39] Thus they had a triple significance, at once religious, political, and economic.

2.1 *The Way of Heaven and the Affairs of Men*

Shi Yidui: The Way of Heaven and the affairs of men, or the Way of Heaven and the Way of Man: Heaven encompasses all of nature. Mutual resonance is central for the Five Phases from beginning to end, with the opening sound

38 *Shiji*, 128.3889.

39 *Guoyu jijie*, 18.518.

of metal and the reverberations of jade. Divination to determine a choice was the religious practice since ancient times. Balancing Heaven, Earth, and Man together, or returning back to humanity: how did they take care of this in ancient times? Was the unity of Heaven and Man the highest ideal?

Jao Tsung-i: Chinese people value this concept of the unity of Heaven, Earth, and Man, and this originated very early. In the set of poems "Nine Avowals" (Jiuzhang 九章) attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (fl. ca. 300 BCE), we can already see this concept of expressing oneself towards the divine powers.[40] But Qu Yuan's poem "Sublimating Sorrow" (Lisao 離騷) is a kind of self-confession, its main intention being to assert: "Since I have already obtained this righteous path" 耿吾既得此中正.[41] Qu Yuan is setting forth his inner feelings and exposing his sincerity, inviting all the spirits of heaven, earth, and the four directions to share in it. Divination too is even more obviously a kind of communication between humans and spirits.

The supreme, ultimate entity is called Heaven. Just looking around, we see nothing greater than Heaven, but at a higher level, people use their intelligence to develop a theory of reverence for Heaven. This reverence originates in nature. Thus the ancient religions of both East and West all have a shared faith in worship for Heaven. Heaven is seen in China as a lucid mirror, which constantly reveals the good and evil of people. It bestows blessings on the good and disasters on the bad. Human behavior is thus observed and evaluated by Heaven. The favor or disfavor of Heaven's response corresponds to the good or evil of human actions. Thus there originated the concepts of auspicious signs and evil omens. The divinatory inscriptions of the Shang frequently employ the character *di* 帝, always referring to the "lord of Heaven." The lord of Heaven is invested with omnipotence. The sun, moon, and stars, the wind, clouds, thunder, and rain, all appear at his command; not to mention floods and droughts, plenty and famine.

The harmony of humanity and nature developed relatively late. From antiquity up to the present, humanity has endured the restraints imposed by nature. Storms and rains cannot be explained, only feared. In Chinese this is indicated by the character *wei* 畏, and the phrase *wei tian wei* 畏天威, "to revere the awesomeness of Heaven." Even today with much more advanced science, such as the ability to travel to the moon, humanity still lacks the power to deal easily with minor challenges like a tornado. Humanity can hardly respond to Heaven in any other way than with awe and reverence, *wei* 畏. Because of this

40 *Chuci buzhu*, 4.121.
41 *Chuci buzhu*, 1.25.

fear, there also developed a tradition of praise for Heaven, praise for every different aspect of it. The saying that "humanity's determination can vanquish Heaven" 人定勝天 evokes the same spirit of struggle expressed in the "Three Old Pieces" (the three famous essays of Mao Zedong). This spirit increases our confidence, even though in reality, one knows the goal may be impossible. However, human understanding of and collaboration with Heaven should still be seen as one expression of humanity's progress.

Shi Yidui: The silk manuscript *Shiliu jing* 十六經 (Sixteen texts) excavated from a tomb at Mawangdui 馬王堆 (in Changsha, Hunan) says: "I (the Yellow Sovereign) received the mandate from Heaven, and my place was established on the earth" 吾受命於天，定立（位）於地.[42] Professor Jao, you believe this is tracing the origins of this concept back to the Yellow Emperor. Virtue is prior to political authority, so if you lose virtue, you lose authority as well. The proclamations of Western Zhou frequently expound this same theory. The status of Heaven and Heaven's influence on humanity thus received strong affirmation therein. Does virtue then have a role complementary to the relationship of Heaven and Man?

Jao Tsung-i: "Heaven shows its signs, revealing good and bad fortune" 天示象，現吉凶. The occurrence of disasters and anomalies was ascribed to the failings of human rulers. When Heaven shows its omens of natural disaster, the ruler still has a chance to carry out virtuous governance in order to fix his mistakes. The *Rites of Zhou* (Zhouli 周禮) tells of "to make proclamations so as to correct governance" 以詔救政.[43] Here "correct" (*jiu* 救) means to remedy past failings, and reflects the sense in antiquity that the actions of Heaven and humanity have a direct, reciprocal causal relationship.

The use of oracles, whether on tortoise shells, or plant stalks, or other media, raised the issue of signs and omens. There were both auspicious and inauspicious omens, reflecting the reciprocal relationship between natural phenomena and human actions. Auspicious omens were most effective according to the right season, while for inauspicious omens the ongoing ones were the worst. The "Great Plan" from the *Documents* says: "When any one of these is exceedingly plentiful, that is inauspicious; when any one is exceedingly deficient, that is inauspicious" 一極備凶，一極無凶.[44] The commentary of Kong Anguo 孔安國 in the Western Han Dynasty explains that these conditions are

42 *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng*, 4:151.

43 *Zhouli zhushu*, 26.833.

44 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 12.377. Cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:340.

both describing "being out of joint with the times, losing the proper sequence" 不時失敘.[45] Both excess and insufficiency are bad phenomena. Thus, when the people's leader behaves inappropriately, natural phenomena react in different ways. With the support of the theory of the resonance between heaven and man, this view could cause those in power to be more cautious and reflective, using divine power to teach an important lesson.

Shi Yidui: The bamboo-strip manuscript excavated from Yinqueshan 銀雀山 in Shandong Province, *Sun Bin* 孫臏, says in "The Moon and War" (Yue zhan 月戰) chapter that: "The appropriate moment for Heaven; the advantage provided by geography; and harmonious relations among men: these are the three critical things which, if not obtained, will render even victory disastrous" 天時、地利、人和，三者不得，雖勝有央〔殃〕.[46] This shows that there must be an accord between Heaven and man, so as to avoid incurring natural calamities. Human events can often be interpreted in light of celestial phenomena. From this astrological perspective, do Heaven and humanity also have a reciprocal relationship in space as well?

Jao Tsung-i: In ancient times, any military action would take place as necessitated by politics and diplomacy. For instance, regarding the word *geming* 革命, used commonly today as the equivalent of English "revolution," if one traces its etymology, was originally used to refer to the specific transfers of power when Tang 湯 established the Shang Dynasty, and King Wu 武 in turn established the Zhou Dynasty, "overturning (*ge*) the mandate (*ming*)." In these great historical events, such as when Zhou conquered Shang, the transfer of power was at the time considered to be a consequence of Heaven's mandate. King Jing 景 of Zhou (r. 544–520 BCE) once forged bronze bells, and his music-master Ling Zhoujiu 伶州鳩 proposed a theory, saying that when King Wu had attacked the Shang, it happened to fit the appropriate astrological and temporal moment as designated in the "five stations" 五位 (Jupiter, moon, sun, stars, constellations) and "three sites" 三所.[47]

Ling Zhoujiu's explanation of the astrological basis for King Wu's victory was based on a calculation of the calendar at that time. Recently, scholars have been able to reconstruct the astronomical features being described and prove

45 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 12.378.

46 Strip #330 recto. *Yinque shan hanmu zhujian yi*, "Sunbin bingfa, Yue zhan" 孫臏兵法・月戰, 59.

47 *Guoyu jijie*, 3.125. According to the commentary by Wei Zhao 韋昭, these refer to the gods relied on by Zhou ancestor Duke Peng 逢(逢)公, a lord of the Shang, and to the astronomical regions worshipped by Zhou, established by ancestor Hou Ji 后稷 (Lord Millet).

that most of the information in these records accords with the actual astronomical data. For instance, "the moon is in Heaven's quadriga" 月在天駟 refers to the determinative star π of Scorpio, or in Chinese astronomy of the Fang 房 constellation.[48] A lacquer vessel inscription from the tomb of the Marquis of Zeng 曾 says: "When the people sacrifice to Fang, and the sun's *chen* is in the (winter-spring) corner, the Four (Stars) that inaugurate the year …" 民祀唯房，日辰於維，興歲之駟.[49] The "Four" refers to the Quadriga of Heaven, again the Fang constellation. The "Five Stations" are thus used to indicate the movements of celestial bodies and the calendar. Meanwhile the "Three Locations" use celestial positions to discuss human affairs as well.

Later people used the two characters of *geming* to discuss historical events. For instance, the transition from the Three Kingdoms to the Jin 晉 Dynasty was also considered a *geming*. In this period, Sima Yan 司馬炎 (236–290) unified the realm and became Emperor of Jin, so this was understood as obeying the will of Heaven and also responding to the human situation.

This is a problem of space and time: of direction in space, and of calendrical dating in time. Using music and pitch-pipes to accord to the specific moment is a way of marking a point to master the moment in time and space.

The spiritually-gifted blind musicians among the music officials were the people responsible for anticipating the correct moment. From the remote age of Lord Shun 舜 there were already officials in charge of this field, and who were regarded as great sages on account of their achievements. Wind rises from all four directions, and in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions there are distinct records of the directions of the winds. The winds must accord with the corresponding season, and there would be chaos when the direction and season are out of sync. Direction and season must correspond to one another, and the determination of position in time and space must be consistent. This is why the ancients found it necessary to conceive of the "the appropriate moment for Heaven, the advantage provided by geography, and harmonious relations among men."

2.2 *Counsel of Humans and of Ghosts*

Shi Yidui: By the Shang Dynasty, divination was central to culture and society. Each time people needed to resolve an important question, they achieved consensus at the boundary between men and gods, a reconciliation between the

48 *Guoyu jijie*, 3.123.

49 *Zenghou Yi mu*, 355–57. Tr. *Nivison Annals*, 31. For Jao's study of this inscription, see his "Zeng Hou Yi mu qiqi shang ershi wenshi: Lun gu yueli yu tianwen zhi guanxi" 曾侯乙墓漆器上二十文釋—論古樂理與天文之關係, in *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji*, 6:782–91.

intent and actions of Heaven and man. How could they achieve communication by this act of divination between men and spirits?

Jao Tsung-i: The chapter on "The Counsels of the Great Yu" (Da Yu mo 大禹謨) of the Old-Text *Book of Documents* states:

> The Emperor (Shun) said, "Yu, the officer of divination, when the mind has been made up on a subject, then refers it to the great tortoise. Now, in this matter, my mind was determined in the first place. I consulted and deliberated with all my ministers and people, and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, the tortoise and stalks both having concurred. Divination, when the result is favorable, does not need to be repeated."
>
> 帝曰：禹，官占。惟先蔽（斷）志，昆（後）命於元龜。朕志先定，詢謀僉同，鬼神其依，龜筮協從，卜不習吉.[50]

There is a question of *zhi* 志, "intent" here. The newly excavated Chu bamboo manuscript "Yu cong (1)" 語叢一 states that: "The *Odes* are what unite the intentions of past and present" 詩所以會古含（今）之 𢘑（志）也者 and also "The *Spring and Autumn Annals* are what unites the affairs of past and present" 《春秋》所以會古今之事也.[51] *Zhi* 志 "intent" and *shi* 事 "affair" are in parallel. The word *shi* "ode" comes from *chi* 持, "to hold," which is etymologically related to *zhi*. The feelings and nature of the poet were also referred to as *chi* (though more commonly today as *zhi*). Poetry, specifically the *Book of Odes*, as well as the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, was used to articulate one's intention. Thus, Mencius said that, "When the *Odes* were no more, then the *Spring and Autumn Annals* were composed" 詩亡然後春秋作.[52] The *Spring and Autumn Annals* discusses history, describing events of past and present, using these events to express contemporary opinions. Once the *Odes* were gone, the *Annals* became a substitute for the same purpose. For this reason, from the beginning their value was appreciated so highly. The word *zhi* 志 is composed of the two components *xin* 心 "heart-mind" and *si* 寺, standing together for *zhi* 志, "thought, intention." Thus speech, events, and thoughts seem to have been distinguished clearly in antiquity. The ancients particularly emphasized the importance of *zhi*. It can be considered a neutral term for thoughts, and has a central place

50 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 4.114. Translation quoted from Legge, *Shoo King*, 63, slightly modified.
51 *Chudi chutu zhanguo jiance heji 1 Guodian chumu zhushu*, "Yucong yi" 語叢一, 140.
52 *Mengzi zhushu*, 8A.267. Cf. translation in Legge, *Works of Mencius*, 327.

in philosophy. When a thought transforms into an event, the event then transforms into something held onto, *chi* 持, which again transforms to become *shi* 恃, "reliance." Actually these are all extensions of the basic concept of *chi*, "hold on." Thus etymology can help us to clarify these different senses. The *zhi* "intent" referred to here is basically the same as that used in divination, "determining the intent" 定志. In divination one must first determine or establish the *zhi* (as in the phrase *bi zhi* 蔽志, glossed as *duan zhi* 斷志), to "determine the intent," or simply to make a decision. Before the divination one needs already to determine one's own intent, then carry out the divination, which is why in the Old Text *Documents*, the High Lord says "Once my will is decided …" 朕志先定.[53] These human actions are called the counsel of humans, while the counsel of ghosts (*gui mou* 鬼謀) is the response that tells you if the answer is auspicious or not, the judgment of the spirits. The spirits and men work in consultation with one another, and the boundary between them is crossed over. The oracle inscriptions show us public affairs being carried out in accordance with public practice. The process can be depicted in the following chart:

TABLE 1.2 Divination process using oracle bones

Diviner first determines the intent	Then commands the tortoise [plastron]		The divination is not repeated if result is favorable
The human decision	The judgment of the spirits reveals the auspicious or inauspicious result	The agreement of men and spirits is called the "great consensus" 大同	It can only be performed when the will of the spirits and men are in accord

Based on extensive consideration, one makes a decision. Action must be unified, and divination must be unified, single-minded, coherent. The word for divination, *zhen* 貞, also has the meaning of "decide." Ultimately the way to avoid evil and pursue good fortune must be actively chosen by the human will. Human counsel is thus more important than the counsel of the spirits. Making the plan is ultimately a decision under the control of the human in charge.

53 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 4.114.

Shi Yidui: A decision may be abstract or concrete, and will be achieved at each level separately. In practice, how do the conception and theorization of *zhi* 志 differ from the West?

Jao Tsung-i: *Zhi* means to make some decision. Mencius says that this decision is what governs *qi* energy.[54] In the famous maxim, *shi yan zhi* "poetry articulates intent," it also means intention. On the importance of *zhi*, the best discussion in the West is surely Kant. German has two words *Willkür* and *Wille*, both of which mean "intention" or "will," but which also have a distinction. In Kant's discussion in the *Metaphysics of Morals*, he makes a stricter distinction: there is the pure *Wille*, the choice of principles for action, governed by absolute rules; and the composite *Willkür*, requiring the application of principles, refers to reason as it is used.[55] While *Wille* simply means the general "will," *Willkür* has an implication of arbitrariness. The former is stricter and the latter broader in meaning, the former rigid and the latter more spontaneous. Thus Kant says, "*Willkür* can obey the laws of *Wille*, but still does not lose its own freedom."

If we attempt to use Mencius' view to explain this, *Wille* is what one uses to build up virtuous deeds, while *Willkür* is not. "For one's behavior to be proper is called rectitude (*yi* 義)" 行而宜之之謂義,[56] so *Wille* is confirmed moral behavior. The following chart illustrates this:

TABLE 1.3 The Chinese term *zhi* 志 in German

behavior →	to be proper →	rectitude
Willkür	*Wille*	

Kant further divides *Willkür* into two types, namely *tierische Willkür* (bestial will) and *freie Willkür* (free will). As Mencius said, "what distinguishes man from bird or beast is exceedingly slight" 人之所以異於禽獸者幾希.[57] The former, bestial will, has not yet been touched by virtue, and only the latter kind of *Wille* deserves to be regarded as a decision resulting from rectitude.

54 *Mengzi zhushu*, 3A.90.

55 Jao is referring to Kant's preliminary discussion of terminology in *Die Metaphysik der Sitten*, 13.

56 This line is not from Mencius or Kant but from Han Yu. See *Han Changli wenji jiaozhu*, 1.13.

57 *Mengzi zhushu*, 8A.264.

Shi Yidui: The *Record of Rites* (Liji 禮記) says:

> Anciently, the sages, having determined the phenomena of heaven and earth in their states of rest and activity, made them the basis of the Yi (and divining by it). The diviner held the tortoise-shell in his arms, with his face towards the south, while the son of Heaven, in his dragon-robe and squaretopped cap, stood with his face to the north. The latter, however intelligent might be his mind, felt it necessary to set forth and obtain a decision on what his object was;—showing that he did not dare to take his own way, and giving honour to Heaven (as the supreme Decider). What was good in him (or in his views) he ascribed to others; what was wrong, to himself; thus teaching men not to boast, and giving honour to men of talents and virtue.
>
> 昔者，聖人建陰陽天地之情，立以為易。易抱龜南面，天子卷冕北面，雖有明知之心，必進斷其志焉。示不敢專，以尊天也。善則稱人，過則稱己。教不伐以尊賢也。[58]

Even though seeking assent, one may not be able to attain that desire, and what can be done in these circumstances? The counsel of ghosts may conflict with that of men, but if we don't believe in ghosts, can the counsel of men simply overturn and replace that of the spirit world? In general, what does it really mean when we speak of the aid of the spirits?

Jao Tsung-i: This was a very grand ceremony employing the sacred tortoise, in which only feudal lords could make offerings. The royal court was precise and demanding in its preparations, but of course ordinary people would not have been the same. This was the divination practice of the rulers. This is a complicated and subtle issue. Looking primarily at the issue of consensus, naturally in ancient times some important matters would be decided directly by the kings, and then later on the annalists would choose how to record them based on whether they deserved praise or blame.

In the age when belief in the spirits was dominant, one could not neglect them in any activities. One had to ignite a religious feeling, purify the mind, and concentrate the will, so as to have a glorious achievement. In battle one depended on the aid of the High Lord, in the hope that the soldiers would be

58 *Liji zhengyi*, 48.1567. Trans. Legge, *Lî Kî*, 2:233, slightly modified.

loyal and devoted. In every affair one cannot be half-hearted, but must rely upon the aid of Heaven and men. Since the High Lord was watching, the Zhou had to destroy the Shang before they could succeed. "To perceive clearly these spiritual forces depends upon the man" 神而明之，存乎其人, which means that the spirits will only aid the right person.[59]

Thus, you elevate your spirit, using divine aid to cure illness, and so to write literature. According to traditional thought, literature has its own divine impetus, the way that Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) spoke of.[60] At one time you can write fine poems because you have the aid of spirits. At other times, though, not necessarily. If the spirit does not come, if it does not stay present, then the work will be mediocre. But this is not to say that every time the spirit will move you. That kind of opportunity does not come often, perhaps no more than a few times in a lifetime. To be able to write just seven or eight fine poems is already a great thing.

2.3 *Institutions and Processes*

Shi Yidui: The *Record of Rites* quotes Confucius as saying, "The way of the Xia esteemed the mandate; the people of Yin (Shang) esteemed the spirits; the people of Zhou esteemed ritual" 夏道尊命，殷人尊神，周人尊禮.[61] What is meant by ritual (*li* 禮) here, though, is really a kind of institution. The continuation and implementation of this system took many different forms. The method was typically to use the following two elements: divining with shells, or divining with yarrow stalks. Could these activities of ritual and worship really be seen as processes and sequences that are not unlike a game performed with concepts and numbers?

Jao Tsung-i: In the Shang Dynasty, apart from divination with tortoise shells or bones, there was also divination with yarrow stalks (a.k.a. milfoil sortilege), using numbers to represent Yin and Yang forces. There were already the sixty-four hexagrams carved onto all kinds of bones, stones, pottery, and bronze vessels. The *Changes* manuscript excavated from Mawangdui has different names and sequences for the hexagrams. For instance, the first hexagram, Qian 乾, is instead called Jian 鍵, which makes sense because Jian means a key, the male part of a lock, and the two hexagrams Qian and Kun 坤 are the gateway

59 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7.345.

60 In his poem "Fengzeng Wei zuocheng zhang ershier yun" 奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻, Du Fu wrote of "wielding the brush as if moved by a spirit" 下筆如有神. See *Dushi xiangzhu*, 1.74.

61 *Liji zhengyi*, 54.1732–34.

to all the *Changes*. Qian opens the gate, so it is like the key you put into a lock. The names of the hexagrams include both concrete and abstract terms which complement and balance one another, richly exploiting the literary method of *bixing* 比興. The *bi* refers to analogical thinking, but *xing* means to borrow one object so as to inspire some kind of insight or understanding. In fact both devices frequently employ indirect metaphors rather than more obvious similes, and require some kind of inference from their meaning. One hexagram can represent many different objects, inspiring the diviner's imagination. The interpretation of one of the hexagrams is thus almost like interpreting a literary device. In ancient China, apart from divination by hexagrams, there was also divination by dreams, as in ancient Babylon. According to the *Rites of Zhou*, the Grand Diviner possesses "three divinations by turtleshell, three divinations by the Changes, three divinations by dreams, so as to observe the fortune of the state, and then make proclamations so as to correct governance" 三兆三易三夢之占，以觀國家之吉凶，以詔救政.[62] Originally these were also accompanied by verses, 1,200 for each of the divinations. These must have been literary works, but unfortunately have been lost.

The Shang had a complex set of rituals and procedures for divination. In the Zhou there were major reforms to these. The Zhou employed three different systems of Changes divinations together, and were not at all as slapdash about them as today. The Three Changes refer to three original divination methods: Lianshan 連山 (Continuous mountains), Guicang 歸藏 (Returning to concealment), and the Zhou Yi 周易 (Changes of Zhou), which would become the standard *Book of Changes*. They each had a different configuration of the sixty-four hexagrams. For the Lianshan, the first was Gen 艮 (#52 in the Zhou Changes). For the Guicang, the first was Kun 坤 (#2 in the Zhou Changes). The Shang specially emphasized the importance of earth, as the place where all things "returned to be concealed." The highest god of the Shang people was Di 帝, the controller of the entire universe, who was himself divine and "led the people to serve the gods" 率民以事神.[63] The Zhou people revered ritual, and emphasized Heaven more, so the Zhou Changes places the Qian hexagram first before Kun. The suburban sacrifices to Heaven were carried out at the winter solstice, the starting point for the Yang force. Shang and Zhou had separate institutions, and the Zhou institutions were further developed.

The customs and practices of ancient Chinese religion were characterized by Confucian scholars in a single term *li* 禮, "ritual." *Li* originally refers to any kinds of activities for serving the spirits and bringing down blessings

62 *Zhouli zhushu*, 24.753.
63 *Liji zhengyi*, 54.1733.

on society. The system of ritual encompassed sacrificial rites, oaths and covenants, feasting, diplomacy, etc., for all of which there were ceremonies divided into different ranks. The Zhou people employed the ritual teachings attributed to Yao, and greatly increased the attention devoted to ritual etiquette. The center of all social activities was ritual etiquette, unlike under the more ancient traditions of Xia, with their less sophisticated practices of *wen* 文, "ceremonial patterning and aesthetic order."

Shi Yidui: In ancient times, the procedures for divination were very intricate and elaborate, but the basic types, stages, and etiquette were all predetermined. But in reality, were there also features that were flexible? Or that were even free and unrestricted?

Jao Tsung-i: Originally *bu* 卜 (divination by shells or bones) and *shi* 筮 (divination by milfoil stalks) were two different activities. According to ancient Chinese numerology, the tortoise was considered a generative or prime number (*shengshu* 生數), while yarrow stalks were composite numbers (*chengshu* 成數). The people of the Spring and Autumn period had a very clear understanding of this. Generation and composition refer to two different stages in the development of living things. Generative numbers only go up to five, and all the other numbers are composed from them. Seven, eight, nine, and six develop out of them and so are called the composite numbers. From the oracle bone inscriptions we can understand that tortoise-shell divination generally stopped at five divinations, a generative number. The Shang people had distinct uses for *bu* and *shi*, so they may have had the concept of composite numbers as well. For instance, looking at various inscriptions using the hexagrams, they often use the number six to indicate the number of lines.

The *Record of Rites* says:

> When the wise kings of the Three Ages served the spirits of Heaven and Earth, they all did not neglect the use of divination by shells or by stalks, and did not dare to defile the spirits by using them selfishly. Thus they did not violate the appropriate dates and did not neglect the divination tools. Nor did divinations of milfoil and tortoiseshell succeed one another.
>
> 昔三代明王皆事天地之神明，無非卜筮之用，不敢以其私，褻事上帝。是故不犯日月，不違卜筮。卜筮不相襲也。[64]

64 *Liji zhengyi*, 54.1745.

Since *bu* and *shi* were two separate kinds of divinations, they used different tools and procedures. The "Great Plan" chapter of the *Documents* says: "if the tortoiseshells agree, if the yarrow stalks agree" 龜從筮從.[65] Tortoiseshell divination involved distinguishing the form, examining the color and gloss exposed on the shell, as well as examining the cracks made after drilling into it, while divination by yarrow stalks just involved sorting out the stalks and then making a determination based on the resulting hexagram.

The diviners of the Shang used both of these techniques. Both Shang and Zhou would not repeat a divination which had been favorable. In fact, each of the three pre-imperial dynasties (Xia, Shang, Zhou) before the Qin unification had its own set of techniques. From the tomb excavated in Jiahu 賈湖, Henan, which demonstrated use of tortoise divination, we can see that divination may have been popular for some seven or eight thousand years. Though methods differed by period and media, the goal was consistently to seek out an auspicious result, realizing communication between humans and gods. Generally speaking, one could perform sequences of one to five or at most six divinations. Once assent was attained you could stop. The number of divinations is inscribed on the tortoise shell. The Son of Heaven would also go on an inspection tour of the empire once every five years, and each time need to perform a divination. But as for how he would decide the query and the content for the divination, and what procedure was used, that remains to be discovered.

3 The Verification of Spirits

Shi Yidui: In some sense, literature is the product of communication between spirits and humans. This "spirit" can be understood as a supreme controlling force, or as some particular god, such as Shangdi 上帝 (Lord on High). The communication of spirits and men leaves some traces and evidence behind. Here we can find useful clues for investigating the origins of literature as well as problems in the history of the spirit.

Jao Tsung-i: My theory discussed above may be in some tension with our circumstances today. But in antiquity, the Great Diviner (*da zhu* 大祝) was responsible for six invocations, and would compose prayers so as to obtain blessings, seeking to obtain a "continuing divination of good fortune" 恆貞. The records of all these divination activities together make up a rich written

65 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 12.372. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:337.

record. The six genres of the Diviner comprise six different written genres, including the *ci* 祠 (invocation), *ming* 命 (charge), *gao* 誥 (exhortation or proclamation), *hui* 會 (covenant), *dao* 禱 (prayer), and *lei* 誄 (dirge), all of which were related to ceremonial rites. Moreover, the divination itself was a literary genre, as Liu Xie has discussed. This is an example of the special relationship between literature and religion in ancient China. One might call this whole strain of literature a byproduct of religion.

These six genres have been discussed in detail by Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908) in his *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義 (Corrected meaning of the Rites of Zhou). Some excavated materials can also help to explain them further:

1. *Ci* 祠 (invocation): The Han dictionary *Shuowen* says: "The spring sacrifice is called the *ci*. The sacrificial objects are few, but the words are plenty" 春祭曰祠，品物少，多文詞也.[66] See also the Qin bamboo-strip text, *Ma mei ji zhu ci* 馬禖祭祝辭.[67]
2. *Ming* 命 (charge): Bronze inscriptions include phrases like "sending forth his decree" 出厥命,[68] such as the *Yong yu* 永盂, a vessel from the period of King Gong 恭 of Western Zhou (r. 922–900 BCE).
3. *Gao* 誥 (exhortation): The bronze inscription *He zun* 何尊 (from the period of King Cheng 成, r. 1042–1021 BCE) says, "The King exhorted the junior princes of the royal lineage … King Wu reverently announced to Heaven … the King's exhortation having finished" 王鼻宗小子 …… 廷告於天曰 …… 王咸鼻.[69] This inscription is a concrete example of this proclamation genre.
4. *Hui* 會 (covenant): There are examples of covenants like the *Houma Covenants* (Houma meng shu 侯馬盟書) excavated from Houma, Shanxi; and the "Imprecation against Chu" (Zu Chu wen 詛楚文) excavated back in the Northern Song Dynasty.
5. *Dao* 禱 (prayer): Bronze inscriptions often end with a conventional prayer for long life, like the *Hu gui* 獄簋, written on behalf of King Li of Zhou 周厲王 (r. ca. 878–842 BCE).[70]
6. *Lei* 誄 (dirge): The history of the Spring and Autumn Period, *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo tradition), records, in its entry for the sixteenth year of

66 *Shuowen jiezi*, 1A.8.

67 *Shuihudi qinmu zhujian*, "Rishu jiazhong" 日書甲種, 227–28, slip nos. 156 verso–160 verso.

68 *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng*, 7:5564, no. 10322.

69 *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng*, 5:3703, no. 6014. Translation from Cook and Goldin, eds., *A Sourcebook of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions*, 18. *Gao* 鼻 is a variant graph for 誥.

70 *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng*, 4:2688, no. 4317.

Duke Ai's 哀 reign (479 BCE), Duke Ai's eulogy for Confucius, which may be seen as a model of this genre.[71]

The six genres of the Great Diviner can be seen as forms of literature intended for ritual. Sacrifices and warfare were the two great affairs of the state. Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226) once wrote that "literature is the great enterprise of governing the state" 文章經國之大業.[72] This kind of literary composition accompanying great state ceremonies, in ancient times, was mainly composed by the diviner himself. Unfortunately relatively few writings of this type have been transmitted. Some quite long documents have been excavated, such as the *Shi Qiang pan* 史牆盤 inscription recording the virtue of the ancestors, or the inscription on the vessel of *Zhongshan wang fanghu* 中山王方壺, admonishing King Si 嗣. These are all deeply moving, solemn, and sincere pieces, comparable to the admonitory pieces in the *Documents* itself.

3.1 *Divination Texts and Hexagram Texts*

Shi Yidui: Divinatory writings were all the tools used by shamans to commune with Heaven. They were a kind of document and archive, but also literary compositions.

In the late Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) there was a scholar of the imperial academy, Wang Yirong 王懿榮 (1845–1900), who accidentally came upon writing on some "dragon bones" being used by doctors. He suspected that this was a kind of writing that long predated seal script, or even the bronze inscriptions of the Zhou Dynasty, and eventually confirmed that these were records of inscriptions from the Shang. Professor Jao, you have studied these writings from the Shang Dynasty from a young age, and have numerous publications in this area. You must have your own reflections on these ancient records of divination.

Jao Tsung-i: There are two kinds of oracle bone inscriptions. One is composed on the plastron of a tortoise (the flat shell covering its underbelly rather than the shell over its back). The other kind was inscribed on an ox scapula (shoulder bone). Both were used in antiquity to communicate between men and spirits.

The Xiaotun 小屯 inscriptions are the records of divinations or tribute offerings made by professional diviners of the Shang either for prognostication or accompanying other rites of the royal house. Thus they also function as a kind of archive of the Shang royal house, and an important primary source for understanding Shang history. Moreover, they contain numerous mentions of past rulers and lords of the Shang, who ought to date back to the time of the

71 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 60.1945. See also Durrant et al., *Zuo Tradition/Zuozhuan*, 1943.
72 *Wenxuan*, 52.2271.

Xia: indirect records of the Xia period as seen by the Shang. These records are considerably more reliable and important than the transmitted histories.

These oracle bone inscriptions are the most ancient form of Chinese writing, so they are the most accurate record of the earliest stage of the Chinese language and writing system. China has traditionally been thought to have a culture that has lasted five thousand years, but the historical and cultural artifacts from before the Zhou are not well known. Confucius already considered them very remote and lamented that written texts could not always be verified. But the discovery of the oracle bones has verified that many of the transmitted records of the Shang were accurate, and provided much new evidence regarding Shang society and culture. Recently the discovery of a tortoise shell and two fragments excavated from the Neolithic site at Jiahu 賈湖, in Wuyang 舞陽 County, Henan have contributed additional evidence on the origins of Chinese writing. The shell is inscribed with three symbols, one of which can be recognized as the character 目 "eye." The Carbon-14 dating method has shown that this inscription dates to seven or eight thousand years ago. The study of oracle bone inscriptions has become its own field of historical research which has extended our knowledge of Chinese history to periods before the Zhou.

Shi Yidui: This kind of record of divination was sometimes very simple, only recording "good fortune" or "bad fortune." Others are more detailed, recording time, place, human actors, and the result of the divination, giving a more complete record. According to the investigation of Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978), there are pieces as long as 64 characters, and in one extreme example the inquiry said to have come true as late as 179 days after the divination itself.[73] If one does not include the record of the decision, the text is relatively brief.

Jao Tsung-i: A full and complete divination text generally includes four parts.

1) An introduction recording the date and the name of the diviner;
2) the charge (*ming* 命), namely the topic of the divination;
3) the prognostication, according to the signs observed;
4) the decision statement, recording the result of the divination, always using words like *yun* 允 or *yun bu* 允不, marking the decision.

On the last point, some scholars have explained *yun* as a *yanci* 驗辭 (word indicating verification of the inquiry), but comparing the inscriptions in general, it seems that they often inquire about a question, not necessarily about whether something will come true in the future, so I prefer to call it a *duanci*

73 Editor's note: The text may refer to Guo Moruo's discussion in *Buci tongzuan*, 15, though it is not an exact quote.

斷辭, "decision statement." Sometimes a section may be abbreviated, omitting the charge, or there are also examples where only the charge is inscribed on the plastron, while the introductory portion is inscribed elsewhere on the back of the tortoise.

The longest inscription recording events may be that of "Petty Official Qiang" 小臣牆, which reads:

> Petty Official Qiang went to attack, and captured Wei, as well as 24 people of Mei and two chariots. ... 1,570, and one hundred ... they offered human sacrifice to Zu Ding, displayed the victory at the capital Gan, and bestowed.
>
> 小臣牆比伐，禽危、美人二十四，車二兩 …… 千五七十，奚百 …… 用美于祖丁，僤甘京，易（賜）.[74]

The original vessel is preserved at the National Museum of China, and included in the museum's publication *Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguancang fashu daguan* 中國歷史博物館藏法書大觀, vol. 1, #208. Wei and Mei are both place names. Weifang 危方 was particularly large in area, and apart from it there were also Upper Wei and Lower Wei, the three of which together made the Three Wei. According to traditional views, they were located in either western Gansu or in Dunhuang. Mei refers to Meiyang 美陽, and Gan to Ganting 甘亭 (both probably in the area of modern Xi'an, Shaanxi). This is the same Gan referred to in the "Oath of Gan" 甘誓 chapter of the *Documents*: "There was a great battle at Gan" 大戰於甘.[75] The text concludes by saying that they collected the army at Gan and made a victory display there.

Shi Yidui: Divination by bones and shells, or divination by stalks and hexagrams, were both widely practiced, and so there developed different literary forms associated with the two types. The "Documents and Records" 書記 chapter of the Southern Dynasties treatise of literary criticism, *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 (The literary mind carved as dragon), by Liu Xie, states: "To divine is to observe. When the constellations glide and hide (appear and disappear), you must wait cautiously to see them, climbing up on the observation tower and recording the clouds, and hence it is called *zhan*, to divine" 占者，覘也。星辰飛伏，伺候乃見，登觀書雲，故曰占也.[76] The texts of oracle bone inscriptions

74 *Jiaguwen heji*, 12:4541, no. 36481 recto.

75 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 7.207. This locale was later known as Shiniudao 石牛道.

76 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 25.458.

are often beautifully written and full of aesthetic appeal. These later developed into a kind of literary form. As for texts interpreting the hexagrams, Liu Xie also mentioned these in the first chapter of *Wenxin diaolong* "On Tracing the Origins of the Way" (Yuandao 原道).[77] As artistic creations, these should both be considered two of the earliest examples of literary works in China.

Jao Tsung-i: First of all, the oracle inscriptions tend to describe divinations in pairs of statements, already anticipating the development of literary parallelism in China. Aside from that, in their diction and precision of expression, one can see their high rhetorical ambitions. As Liu Xie said, the people of Shang had literary cultivation, so "in stringing together words and composing longer pieces, they always employed careful selection" 綴字屬篇，必經練擇.[78] Even though they may only consist of a few words, they have clearly undergone careful consideration and preparation. Moreover, writers in the Shang Dynasty liked to employ unusual characters and aim for intricate patterns, not just a basic or ordinary mode of expression. These rhetorical techniques would later influence the *Book of Odes*, especially the "Canons" (Ya 雅) section. One cannot say that the Shang had no literature.

The oracle bone inscription #3 discovered at Qijia Village 齊家村, Zhouyuan 周原 reads:

> Moreover, the saying about eating goes: After suffering losses, doubts are dissolved.
>
> Do not say this: Not eating his food but dwelling in his evil-dispelling site.
>
> 又言飤曰：既喪，疑乃螪（融）。毋又言曰：弗食氒䍜，征（誕）住氒衎。[79]

It is twenty characters in all, written out as a single line of small characters, each of which is exquisitely written. The sentence itself is smooth and easy to recite.

As for the literary features of the texts for the *Changes* hexagrams (*yaoci* 繇辭), these are similar to today's "fortune-telling poems" (*qianshi* 籤詩),

77 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 1.2.

78 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 39.624.

79 *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, 149.

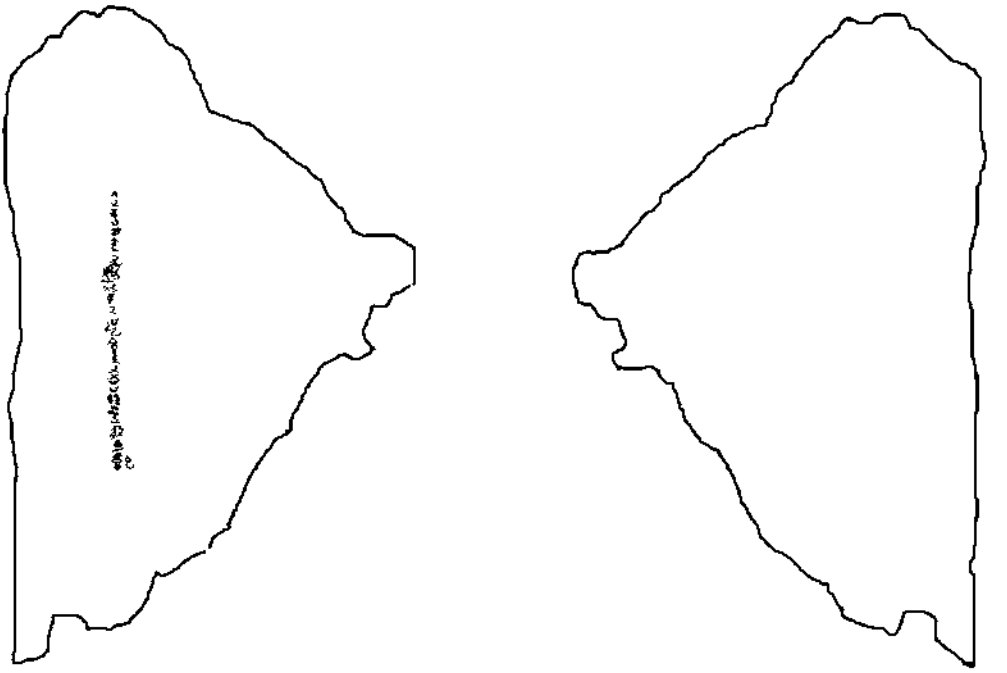


FIGURE 1.1 Zhouyuan oracle bone inscriptions no. FQ3 (facsimile tracing)
IMAGE CREATED BY LEUNG YUET NGO, JAO TSUNG-I ACADEMY OF SINOLOGY

though of course not identical. Today these *qianshi* are heptasyllabic, while the hexagram readings are usually irregular with three or four characters per line. The *Changes of Zhou* as transmitted today preserves many of these or similar kinds of fortune-telling. But in ancient times, each of the Three Changes had its own texts. The version of the *Guicang* (Returning to concealment) excavated from Hubei has its own texts for the hexagrams. Nowadays everyone accepts the *Guicang* as a legitimate version of the *Changes*, but until recent years there was no reliable source for it from antiquity. The bamboo strips excavated from Hubei correspond closely to fragments of the *Guicang* quoted in transmitted texts. Thus we can be sure that the Shang Dynasty already had its own *Guicang*, or, in other words, its own distinctive interpretations of the hexagrams separate from those in the *Changes of Zhou*. These are the earliest examples of rhyming verse, dating from even earlier than the *Book of Odes*.

The second and third sections of the *Odes*, the "Canons" (Ya 雅) and "Eulogies" (Song 頌), are both related to the concept of spirit, but they are not

by any means the earliest such texts. The chapter on "Prayers and Covenants" 祝盟 in the *Wenxin diaolong* tells us that Yiqi 伊耆 (a.k.a. Yandi 炎帝) initiated the La 臘 ritual to worship the Eight Spirits with the prayer:

Earth, return to your home,	土反其宅
Water, return to your valley.	水歸其壑
Insects, appear no longer,	昆蟲毋作
Plants and trees, return to the swamps.	草木歸其澤[80]

Yiqi may thus be considered an early writer of the Neolithic period. This prayer is much earlier than the *Odes*, which do contain a hymn to the gods: "May the Spirit, the Father of husbandry, / Lay hold of them, and put them in the blazing fire!" 田祖有神，秉畀炎火.[81] But the syntax here is very simple. These examples are very difficult to understand without applying the perspective of religion and of spiritual forces beyond humankind.

Shi Yidui: This is very persuasive. Unfortunately, in the past few decades, scholars have paid more attention to the "Airs of the States" 國風 than the other two sections of the *Book of Odes*. Just as you have said, they have valued only the more popular contents, and forgotten that there is also a spiritual element that is ranked above the human.

Jao Tsung-i: The *Zuozhuan* records that Duke Xian 獻 of Jin made a divination regarding the concubine Li Ji 驪姬, which read:

Possessed, she will change,	專之渝
and steal your savorous repute.	攘公之羭
Now sweet-smelling, now foul,	一薰一蕕
But in ten years that reek will remain.	十年尚猶有臭[82]

Li Ji was the daughter of Lord Li Rong 驪戎. The message of this passage is that Li Ji should not have be taken as a bride. Duke Xian did not trust it and married her anyway. This planted the seed of disaster that would eventually lead to his death along with that of his heir Shensheng 申生.

The meter of these texts is irregular, but they do rhyme, so they resemble other songs without being quite the same. In the *Zuozhuan* there are many examples of this kind of prognostication.

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80 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 10.176.

81 *Odes* 212/2. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 14.993. Trans. Legge, *She King*, 381.

82 Duke Xi, year 4. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 12.383.

Shi Yidui: The poem "The Great Brightness" 大明 in the "Major Canons" section of the *Book of Odes* reads:

This King Wen,	維此文王
Watchfully and reverently,	小心翼翼
Brilliantly he served the Lord on High,	昭事上帝
And so received many blessings.	聿懷多福[83]

And in "Solemn Temple" 閟宮 from the "Eulogies of Lu":

How glorious and great was Jiang Yuan,	赫赫姜嫄
Her virtue did not bend.	其德不回
Relying on the Lord on High,	上帝是依
Suffered no disaster, no harm.	無災無害[84]

Both of these examples are ritual songs that refer to "Shangdi" 上帝 or the "Lord on High." Can we be sure of the referent here?

Jao Tsung-i: This term Shangdi or "Lord on High" already existed in the Shang Dynasty. The people of Zhou adopted it as well, as a kind of reminder to themselves. The Shangdi referred to in the *Odes* only appears in context of war. "Great Brightness" is about the battle of Muye 牧野 and Zhou history. The implication is that Shangdi is watching over you, so do not waver in your loyalty, but be painstakingly cautious, and single-mindedly resist the enemy. "Solemn Temple" says that Jiang Yuan caused the fall of the Shang, so it is also explaining the historical origins of the Zhou. Apart from these, Shangdi also appears in the *Documents*, but only three times in the oracle bone inscriptions.

"Great Brightness" is often quoted, including in the *Five Phases* (Wuxing 五行) texts from Guodian and Mawangdui, and later become a ritual hymn. But the referent of Shangdi here remains hard to determine.

3.2 *Spiritual Reflection and Spiritual Patterns*

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, the term "spiritual patterns" (*shen li* 神理) appears frequently in the poetry of the Six Dynasties. The first occurrence of the term is in Cao Zhi's 曹植 (192–232) elegy for his father Emperor Wu of the Wei 魏, Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220), which reads: "Having thoroughly mastered human affairs, he perceived and mirrored spiritual patterns" 人事既關，聰鏡神理.[85] In other

83 *Odes* 236/3. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 16.1135. Trans. modified from Legge, *She King*, 433.
84 *Odes* 300/1. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 20.1655.
85 *Wenxuan*, 19.914.

words, he was perceptive of the *shenli* in human affairs, so there must have been a gradual transition from their use regarding human affairs into literature.

Jao Tsung-i: This term *shenli* was often used in poetry by Six Dynasties writers. Just looking at Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433), he used it more than a few times. For instance, in his poem on "Recounting My Grandfather's Virtue" 述祖德詩, praising his grandfather Xie Xuan 謝玄 (343–388):

Rescuing the drowning by means of his sense of the Way,	拯溺由道情
To pacify the violence he relied on spiritual patterns.	龕暴資神理[86]

Xie Lingyun praises Xie An's real achievement in winning the battle of Feishui 淝水, and attributes it to his knowledge of the Way and of spirit. Li Shan's 李善 (d. 689) commentary to these lines is where the line from Cao Zhi is quoted. When we talk about *shen li* it belongs to the human realm rather than literature. Because spiritual patterns are a kind of insight drawn out of one's experience of the spiritual. So Xie is saying that he used spiritual patterns to resist evil and rid the world of anarchy, rescuing the common people.

In another poem, "Written on Command Accompanying an Imperial Visit to Jingkou and Beigu" 從遊京口北固應詔, Xie asserts:

Jade seals caution for integrity and trust,	玉璽戒誠信
Yellow chambers convey supreme elevation.	黃屋示崇高
Human matters are directed by the teaching of Names,	事為名教用
While the Way surpasses by means of divine patterns.	道以神理超[87]

Xie had received the imperial appointment at Beigu (modern Zhenjiang 鎮江, Jiangsu) and was not entirely pleased about it. As the Xie clan was in tension with the current emperor Liu Yu 劉裕 (363–422), he did not wish to serve as an official under Liu. But since he was the Duke of Kangle 康樂, he had no choice but had to take up the appointment. Still, he took advantage of this opportunity to express some of his feelings about the situation.

I once wrote out these last two lines as an antithetical couplet and sent them to a friend in Europe. This friend is a scientist who studies Chinese science. He was very grateful and hung it in his office. But he did not understand how to explain these lines, so he wrote a letter to ask our mutual friend Paul

86 *Wenxuan*, 19.914.
87 *Wenxuan*, 22.1037.

Demiéville (1894–1979). I still don't know what the result was. That must have been back in the 1970s.

These two lines, according to Li Shan's commentary, mean the following: the two things mentioned above, jade seals and yellow chambers, are employed for the teaching of Names, the Confucian political teaching. The term *shi* 事 "matter" refers to these two things. The jade seals represent integrity and trust, and the yellow chambers refers to the palaces where the Emperor resides, which is why they represent the highest prestige. Both the virtues of integrity and trust, and the elevated prestige of the Emperor, belong to the realm of *mingjiao* 名教, namely the Confucian teaching of roles and responsibilities. This interpretation thus relates the meaning to the latter couplet to the terms from the previous couplet. But this is Li Shan's explanation, so it is not necessarily what Xie Lingyun intended. In any case, I used a selective quotation of the poem, choosing just the latter couplet and omitting the previous one, because its general implication is so wonderful, extending far beyond the immediate context.

Shi Yidui: Li Shan's commentary makes the meaning too explicit. Better not to explain and let the lines transcend their particular moment. Cutting off the previous couplet, the scope covered by the latter couplet becomes much broader, and very appropriate to send to a friend.

Jao Tsung-i: Cutting off the previous two lines, the couplet becomes something more indefinite, not limited to a particular situation. Otherwise, nobody could apply it to his own circumstances, except for the Emperor himself as in its original context! It means that the superior Way must also accord with spiritual patterns, and therefore can also go beyond the concrete circumstances. Li Shan's commentary says: "as for the supreme Way, it asserts spiritual patterns and goes beyond" 而其至道，實神理而超然也.[88] So ultimately, one should separate this couplet entirely from the rest of the poem. That way, the spiritual patterns can be applied in regard to many different aspects of life. They can be applied to literature but also many other things. This Way is a supreme Way, because it accords with pervasive spiritual patterns. In this way, spiritual patterns become even more important.

The Way is the "spirit" of these "spiritual patterns." Whether or not one can transmit this kind of spirit depends on the individual person's spirit. Transmitting the spirit is not like drawing a whole circle, sometimes just a

88 *Wenxuan*, 22.1037.

few strokes will be enough. The Way is a sublime spirit that is full of spiritual illumination.

Shi Yidui: It seems that Xie Lingyun's poem is sublime in this regard.

Jao Tsung-i: I cannot be certain about his intention. But nearly every one of Xie Lingyun's poems has two or three lines that are relatively metaphysical and are quite excellent. This is the inspiration of spiritual illumination; without the spiritual dimension, such achievement would be impossible.

Shi Yidui: Only in this way can Xie apply the finishing stroke. If it were something that happened every time it could hardly be so precious. Still, there are some literary historians who treat these as the so-called "metaphysical tail" 玄言尾巴, and think that the author has added them on unnecessarily, which is a pity.

Jao Tsung-i: This is because they do not understand Xie's ideas, and don't get the meaning of this line "The Way surpasses by means of divine patterns" 道以神理超.

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, you have worked extensively on Xie Lingyun. In fact, your scholarship seems to have something in common with Xie's.

Jao Tsung-i: I have put some effort into understanding him and have also been influenced by him. I especially esteem him. He was the only Chinese poet who also knew Sanskrit. I was the first person to point this out, though now there are other scholars who have discussed it. He participated in the work of translating Buddhist sutras. When he speaks of these *shenli*, it has a close connection with Buddhist thought.

I also like the Buddhist sutras. I even went to India several times, and tried to introduce Buddhist concepts into literary research.

Shi Yidui: So Li Shan's commentary may not fit with Xie's real meaning.

Jao Tsung-i: I do not dare to criticize him, he was also an honest person. But he did not dare to step back a bit, to look a little higher above himself. He lacked this kind of boldness, this spirit. He was a philologist, not a historian, not a thinker. On this point, he is a little different from me. Historians look at what happened before and after; thinkers look at the argument. But they cannot discuss the thing itself, that is quite different.

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, you once pointed out that many poets before Xie Lingyun also discuss abstract ideas, but they tend to be dull and repetitive. For instance, Ban Gu's 班固 (32–92) discursive poems have been much criticized.[89] What is the problem there?

Jao Tsung-i: The failure of poetry about ideas is because if you talk about ideas directly they turn into an obstacle. There are two major obstacles to poetry: the obstacle of ideas and the obstacle of things. Metaphysical poetry suffers from the obstacle of ideas. For instance, in the poetry of Xie Lingyun's contemporary Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (384–456), he describes too many specific objects, and suffers from the "obstacle of matters" (*shi zhang* 事障). To remedy this failure, you need to dissolve the abstractions into the sentiments and scenes of the poem, either expressing the ideas by means of the scene, or using the scene to model the ideas, or solely discussing things and not ideas, dissolving the ideas into the whole world of the poem. Of these various methods the final one is supreme, because it achieves the "charm of underlying principle" (*li qu* 理趣).

3.3 *Literature of Feeling and Literature of Ideas*

Shi Yidui: Ritual literature, or divinatory literature, can be used to express one's thoughts or recount virtuous deeds. All of this belongs to the domain of the ancient *wu* 巫 diviners/shamans. In the Chinese case, when writing began, it possessed sacred significance. The inscriptions on bronzes and the *taotie* 饕餮 decorative patterns were both severe and solemn. In the case of divination about the future, using numbers to represent Yin and Yang, the reciprocity and mutual correspondence had something similar with the *bixing* type of analogical thinking. Ultimately, though, these were differentiated as writing about feelings and about ideas, or alternatively one might say there were separate expressive tendencies, either towards aesthetic pattern or towards practical function.

Each of these two different tendencies has its own origin. The origins of *li* 理, "pattern, principle, idea, coherence" can be traced back to the ritualists in antiquity. Though the literature of *li* is governed by religion, it is not entirely determined by religion. What influence do these distinctions have for literature?

Jao Tsung-i: In ancient times religion was primarily the worship of the spirits, *shen*. In literature, religious hymns occupied an important place. This was

89 Editor's note: Perhaps referring to his "Poem on History" (Yongshi shi 詠史詩).

particularly true in the ancient literature of the Near East and India. The name of the Babylonian god Marduk derives from *mar* ("son" in Akkadian) and *utu* ("sun"), so it means "the son of the sun" (according to J. Bottero). Sun-worship was also prevalent in ancient Egypt. Amon (meaning the sun's circle) was the supreme god of the universe.[90] Hebrew literature was heavily influenced by this tradition, as can be seen in Psalm #104.

The principal concept in Chinese literature was first identified as either *zhi* 志, "intent," or *de* 德, "virtue." The earliest statement of Chinese literary thought is *shi yan zhi* 詩言志.[91] Literary historians have already discussed this extensively, and it is well known. But the dirges of the Great Diviner are also a kind of writing that communicates the *zhi*. The *Mozi* 墨子 says: "Dirges record the ambitions of the deceased" 誄者，道死人之志.[92] *Shi yan zhi* means that the living borrow the method of poetry to tell of their own thoughts, expressing their feelings by means of rhyme. By contrast, *lei dao zhi* 誄道志, "dirges tell of men's intent" means writing on behalf of the dead, examining how their inner feelings and thoughts were reflected in the lives they lived.

Chinese literature also has a strain of works that record virtuous deeds or character. A commentary to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* says, "When the feudal lords met each other, they would present speeches praising the lords of the past" 諸侯相見，號辭必稱先君.[93] Many inscriptions on bronze drinking vessels also praise the virtue of the ancestors. Sons and grandsons are cautioned never to forget the deeds of their ancestors, and to use them as a model of virtue. These two kinds of literature, expressing one's own thoughts or praising the ancestors, thrived simultaneously. Lu Ji 陸機 (261–303) wrote a rhapsody on the topic and Xie Lingyun wrote a poem entitled "Recounting the Virtue of My Grandfather" 述祖德, which are both extant. To discuss Chinese literature solely in terms of expressing the author's own thoughts, rather than in terms of praising the virtue of others, would be woefully incomplete.

The chapter "On Ritual" (Li lun 禮論) in *Xunzi* 荀子 says: "To value the origin of it is called the decorative pattern, to cherish the use of it is called the inner pattern. When the pattern is made of both combined, so as to return to Grand Unity, this can be called the great flourishing" 貴本之謂文，親用之謂理。兩者合而成文，以歸太一，夫是之謂大隆.[94] It says also: "When the

90 Hymns to him can be found in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. James B. Pritchard, pp. 369–71.

91 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 3.95.

92 *Mozi jiangu*, 13.470.

93 Duke Zhuang, year 4. *Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan zhushu*, 6.144.

94 *Xunzi jijie*, 13.416.

decorative patterns are elaborate, and practical use is sparse, this is Ritual in its ascendance. When decorative patterns are sparse, but actual use is elaborate, this is Ritual at its nadir. Decorative patterns and practical use are different as inside and outside, surface and reverse" 文理繁，情用省，是禮之隆也。文理省，情用繁，是禮之殺也。文理情用相為內外表裏.[95] *Xunzi* makes a clear distinction between decorative patterns (*wenli*) and actual use (*qingyong*) so as to explain Ritual. One important element is "pattern," and the ultimate message has to do with Grand Unity (Taiyi 太一). For the *Record of Rites* says "Ritual must originate with Grand Unity" 夫禮必本於太一.[96] The people of Warring States, Qin, and Han China all spoke of Grand Unity, while the Neoconfucian thinkers of the Song Dynasty would later speak instead of the Grand Pivot (Taiji 太極). This shows that the "patterns of men" must be traced back to the "patterns of Heaven." The "patterns of Heaven" have their own Chinese origin without connection to its later meaning in Chan Buddhism.

Shi Yidui: The school of Xuanxue 玄學 (Profound learning) arose in the Six Dynasties, and in this period the old concept of *li* 理 (pattern, order, coherence) became a hot topic of discussion. It was already used commonly in literary works, but ordinarily when we discuss Six Dynasties literature, the typical view is that it was a period of formalism when writers only cared about surface rhetoric, and ignored precisely this underlying concept of *li*.

Jao Tsung-i: To say that Six Dynasties literature is attentive solely to verbal artistry is not right. At that time, since intellectual developments were generally inspired by Buddhism, not to mention the rise of Daoism as well, there were many new theories, belonging to these two new types of spiritual practice and belief. People don't read the literature of this period much today only because it is at too high a level for them.

The "Wenxue" 文學 (Letters and scholarship) chapter of *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A new account of tales of the world) mentions many new literary concepts. At that time, half the writers and scholars were Buddhist monks, and the other half were scholars of Xuanxue. Thus, I myself have a weird idea, I believe that the Wei and Jin was actually a period of proto-Lixue 理學 (Learning of principle, also a kind of Neoconfucianism). Nowadays people speak of Lixue as a new school of Confucian thought that arose in the Song Dynasty, but this is not too accurate. We should add on a proto-Lixue period in the Wei and Jin. When we describe this as a period of Xuanxue we overlook the component

95 *Xunzi jijie*, 13.422–23.
96 *Liji zhengyi*, 22.824.

of *li* 理. For me, though, to speak only of *xuan*, the Mystery, and not of *li*, the underlying Pattern, is incorrect. *Li* has multiple layers: there is the pattern of the universe, of Heaven and Earth, of human life, of literature. In this period all these patterns are frequently spoken of. It was not only the Song writers who understood Lixue. Thus, rather than call this the age of Xuanxue, I prefer to call it the period of proto-Lixue.

We have never paid enough attention to the discussions of *li* in the Wei and Jin, because the people discussing this topic are mostly monks. In general, Wei and Jin literature is ethereal and remote, but in the Qi and Liang the style evolved to be more flowery, elegant, and alluring. The reason that Wei-Jin literature developed its distinctive style is because of the influence of Xuanxue. The "Letters and Scholarship" chapter says: "In his conversation Xun Can aimed for the profound and remote" 荀粲談尚玄遠.[97] It also says, "When Zhi Dun first started [the debate], he changed his direction to stay far from that topic; but after engaging more than four times, without noticing he had slipped into the realm of the Profound" 支初作，改轍遠之，數四交，不覺入其玄中.[98] Because they had entered into the Profound (*xuan*), their style and manner became lofty and rarefied. Ever since the Wei and Jin, both argumentative writing or writing on topics of character and talent all developed this "ethereal and remote" (*qingyuan* 清遠) manner, establishing one major route for later literature. Of Wei and Jin writings, the best is Guo Xiang's 郭象 (ca. 252–312) commentary to *Zhuangzi* 莊子. Guo's writing is superb and may be considered the representative model of the pure and remote style.

Shi Yidui: The Six Dynasties was an important period for Chinese thought. Discussions of the boundaries between material form and concepts beyond the material flourished, in particular the relation between *xuan* 玄 and *li* 理. This was also the period when *Wenxin diaolong* was composed. Liu Xie must have had a good understanding of the contemporary trends. But it seems he was not willing to go in a higher direction. His thought did not reach the highest level of the spiritual order and spiritual reflections, and remained stuck in formalistic thinking.

Jao Tsung-i: Liu Xie's theories derive from Zong Bing (discussed above). The two characters *shenli* appear in *Wenxin diaolong* eight times, as I have counted, including already in the first chapter "Yuan dao" 原道 (Tracing the origins of the way). But the word *li* is not very prominent for Liu Xie, who cares more

97 4/9. *Shishuo xinyu jianshu*, 4.236.

98 4/51. *Shishuo xinyu jianshu*, 4.277. Cf. Richard B. Mather, Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 125.

about "spiritual reflection" (*shensi* 神思) or simply "imagination." So he does not discuss the principles underlying literature and does not specially value "spiritual patterns." He is also not particularly willing to promote these, and also had a longing to return to lay life and serve as an official. So he urgently praises Confucius and discusses Confucian thought. In reality, though, he did not actually understand Confucianism. Since he was unable to become an official, he returned to be a monk again. He was not particularly high-minded. It was not so much that he did not understand the concept of spiritual pattern, but he was willing to remain at the external level of material form, and couldn't reach the highest level of thought. Today people who study art would say there is visual art, aural art, sensory art, etc., but if you want to reach the inner mind, reach the power controlling the mind, at the level of spirit there is a spiritual power, the *shenming*. Just looking at material form is too superficial.

Shi Yidui: Your view is that when the ancients discussed spiritual patterns, they were truly enlightened, because this is a relatively advanced kind of thinking. It is a kind of logical thinking with spirit placed at the center, something quite extraordinary.

Liu Xie valued the literature of feeling rather than the literature of ideas, and cared about rhetoric and literary form. His intellectual activities thus ended at the level of ordinary thinking, and so were not so enlightened. However, he was unwilling to reject Confucian thought, and also unwilling to reject Daoist thought.

Jao Tsung-i: Liu Xie was reading books inside a Buddhist temple. He read Confucian books, and used Confucian ideas to write out his own treatise. In discussing writing, though, he was inspired by the concept of spiritual principles. The first chapter of *Wenxin diaolong* includes the lines: "The articulated patterns of language are the heart-mind of Heaven and Earth. … That which directs it all is nothing else but the spiritual pattern underlying it" 言之文也，天地之心哉。…… 誰其尸之，亦神理而已.[99] And Liu Xie also wrote: "The Profound Sage composed the canons, the uncrowned king transmitted the admonitions. They all traced the origins of the Way and mind so as to elaborate their writings, and investigated spiritual patterns so as to set forth their doctrines" 玄聖創典，素王述訓。莫不原道心以敷章，研神理而設教.[100] He was very clear about the importance of *shen*. He also has an entire chapter on "spiritual reflection" (*shensi* 神思) which is related to this. He proposed this term spiritual reflection, but did not refer directly to spiritual illumination

99 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 1.2.
100 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 1.2–3.

(*shenming*), or to the spirit *per se*. He thought that composing literature originated in one's own thoughts, so he set forth from this concept of spiritual reflection. We are different from him. He must have been attempting a compromise, since all of his writing attempts to harmonize different points of view.

Shi Yidui: Nowadays some people identify him as a Confucian and a materialist, others say he is a Daoist.

Jao Tsung-i: This kind of opinion is correct but also false, since Liu Xie's thought contains Confucian and also Buddhist elements. It is just like in Xie Lingyun's poem, "The Way surpasses by means of divine patterns."[101] The Way requires spiritual patterns, and relies on them. It is only once you have them that you can talk of surpassing, transcendence. Another poem by Lingyun's cousin Xie Zhan 謝瞻 (383–421) reads: "When you look for the path, the path has already diverged; / When you attain the principle, the principle was already correct." 尋塗塗既睽，即理理已對.[102] He was especially concerned with *li*, and excelled at finding a kind of underlying principle that surpassed outer forms out in the midst of nature. His landscape poetry has its own spiritual patterns.

Shi Yidui: Su Shi also knew this, and understood how to find spiritual patterns underlying natural phenomena. Many of his writings reflect this instinct, looking for a path towards higher things.

Jao Tsung-i: It was Six Dynasties writers, above all, who best understood spiritual patterns, and integrated them into literature itself. In one composition there may be one or two lines inspired directly by spirit. Here I would give another example to illustrate the point. A piece in the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of refined literature) that discusses landscape is the "Rhapsody on the Ocean" (Hai fu 海賦) by Mu Hua 木華 (fl. 290). I don't find it particularly outstanding. But there is another poem of the same title that was not included in the *Wenxuan* anthology, and this one is extraordinarily good. For example:

> The Way is pristine at Heaven's beginning,
> the mechanism thrives beyond the forms of things.
> There is no reason for something to be and yet there is something;
> it's not by attaching to things that you achieve the result.

101 *Wenxuan*, 22.1037.
102 *Wenxuan*, 25.1191.

There is no reason for nothing to be and yet there is nothing;
trusting in absence of mind you can penetrate to Grand Unity.
Without moving,
moving can make the mountain peaks collapse on one another.
Without a sound,
a sound can cause Heaven and Earth to join in harmony.

道湛天初，機茂形外。亡有所以而有，非膠有以生末，亡無所以而無，信無心以入太。不動，動是使山岳相崩。不聲，聲故能天地交泰。[103]

There is no something and there is no nothing: even these fundamental concepts, the twin mysteries of existence and nonexistence, are illusory. This is the language of Buddhism. Without moving, the mountains fall, but not making any sound, through pure silence, and all becomes harmonious. These are extraordinary lines on the spirit behind existence. Mu Hua could not have written at this level. This is why the *History of the Southern Dynasties* (Nan shi 南史) tells us that Emperor Ming 明 of the Liu-Song (r. 466–472) liked hearing about the doctrines of the Profound Learning, which was a popular pastime in those days. Yet this pastime was related to Xie Lingyun as well. At that time, everyone was talking about spiritual patterns. So I feel that the peak of literary history was right then in the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Shi Yidui: From spiritual insight to spiritual patterns follows a creative process. From antiquity onward, reaching to Xie Lingyun, that is already a peak in the Six Dynasties. Liu Xie's *Wenxin diaolong* discusses spiritual pondering but not spiritual patterns. This is a defect. You have also pointed out that Liu Xie was not indifferent to logic. He also studied some Indian logic (i.e., *Hetuvidyā*). This is part of the process to reach a high level of thought, the realm of deep insight. Only it is regrettable that Liu Xie remained at a more mundane level and did not attain the boundary between Heaven and Man. You have studied Indian logic and thought, Professor Jao, and not just superficially. You must have your own experience of how spiritual patterns function in the process of artistic creation.

103 Zhang Rong 張融, "Hai fu" 海賦, "Quan Qi wen" 全齊文, in *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 15.3b; *Nan Qi shu*, 41.807. Note that *Nan Qi shu* has 非膠有於生末.

Jao Tsung-i: Liu Xie's method ends up being limited to discussing action, but does not discuss the internal impulse of the action. This is abstract but is also concrete. Liu Xie finds there are three different methods of writing, but I find there are four. Apart from the literature of form, sound, and emotion, there is also the literature of *li* (of ideas). Actually, this point was added already by the Six Dynasties writers. From this point on the quality of literature reached new heights. This was a period that cared about underlying principle. Liu Xie and Six Dynasties writers lived in an age of "the literature of ideas," connecting Daoism and Buddhism, but he himself advocated the literature of passion. If you only discuss passionate emotion, though, that is too vulgar, so this is his greatest defect.

CHAPTER 2

Sudden Enlightenment and Gradual Enlightenment: in Conversation with Shi Yidui

Editor's Note: This chapter is selected from the same volume as the previous one, but ranges even more broadly and ambitiously through the impact of Chan Buddhism on Chinese literature and painting. The transitions between topics are occasionally startling, but fit with the spirit of Chan itself; the trajectory of Jao's thought here is intuitive rather than historical, and the course of the discussion occasionally spurs him to think of a poem or a painting from a totally different chronological period than that which had been under discussion before. Nonetheless, some of his fundamental principles and deepest convictions are revealed here; above all, the necessary but sometimes convoluted interrelation between slow, sustained practice, and the necessity of the instantaneous flash of discovery that makes it all worthwhile.*

Shi Yidui: Chan Buddhism is a Sinicized kind of Buddhism. It was transmitted from India but differs from the Indian forms of Buddhism. Through Sinicization, it became unified with traditional Chinese culture, so that it is a variety of Chinese Buddhism with its own special character and system (according to Master Taixu's 太虛 [1890–1947] words). Chinese Chan is a religion but also transcends religion; or perhaps one can say, it is a poeticized kind of religion. Many Chinese scholars have been fond of Chan, and have seen regarded it as a kind of philosophy of living, as well as a consolation for the soul. Poetry and art, in particular, are intimately related to Chan. I hope you can discuss these issues, Professor Jao.

Jao Tsung-i: Chan 禪 (or more fully Channa 禪那) is the Chinese transcription of Sanskrit Dhyāna. After it was transmitted to China, it underwent a major transformation. I have visited many grotto temples in India that were dedicated to Dhyāna. There the monks sit in silent meditation until they have reached nirvana, and in those ancient caves in the deep forest undergo ascetic regimens. In China, by contrast, Chan was adapted in lively and creative ways into everyday life. Ordinary activities could be reconceived and gain new affirmation so long as they were understood as having Chan motives behind them. The Sixth Patriarch 六祖 (i.e., Huineng, to be discussed below) already said clearly: Chan does not mean mere meditation, but also requires that you cultivate in

* Translated by Nicholas Morrow Williams.

your heart a pure tranquility like an ocean of light. Chinese Chan thus had a very different flavor from that of its origins in India. Moreover, once Buddhist poems (in Sanskrit *gāthā*) became popular, Chinese Chan became practically inseparable from Chinese poetry, not to mention many other modes of artistic production.

1 The Sixth Patriarch of Chan and the Rise of Chan Poetry

Shi Yidui: The collection *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Compendium of the five lamps), compiled by Puji 普濟 (1179–1253), tells us that:

> When the Buddha was at the assembly on Vulture Peak, he held out a flower to show the audience. Everyone was silent, but only the venerable Kāśyapa broke his decorum and smiled. The Buddha said: "I possess the Eye-treasury of the Proper Dharma, the wondrous mind of Nirvana. The true form has no form, and the gate to the marvelous dharma does not rely on writing, and is transmitted outside without any teacher. Thus I instruct the great Kāśyapa."
>
> 世尊在靈山會上，拈花示眾。是時眾皆默然，唯迦葉尊者破顏微笑。世尊曰：「吾有正法眼藏，涅槃妙心，實相無相，微妙法門，不立文字，教外別傳，付囑摩訶迦葉。」[1]

Kāśyapa obtained the secret transmission of the Dharma of the mind, and then the twenty-eighth generation of the transmission was Bodhidharma, who traveled to China from the West, and transmitted the Dharma of the mind. The marvelous truth of the flower sermon became the basic teaching of Chan. This story shows the enthusiasm of the Buddhist sect for their Way. In China, through its further evolution, Chan became integrated with poetry, or perhaps one should say poeticized, thus providing a new kind of *gong'an* 公案 ("public case" or "encounter dialogue") used for teaching Chan.

Jao Tsung-i: Chan used poetic language to explain deep issues, overcoming the shackles of logical, argumentative language, cutting straight through to the core, using the literary method of "setting out a single statement as the rallying whip" 立片言之警策 [adapting Lu Ji 陸機, see ch. 5] to open up the intelligent

1 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 1.10.

mind.[2] This is the mode of nonduality, which helps humanity to eliminate confusion and attain enlightenment. This method is a kind of artistic method for attaining new awareness.

1.1 *The World of Chan and the World of Poetry*

Shi Yidui: The poeticization of Chan, or the Chan-ization of poetry, and the assimilation of the Chan monks and the scholars, became major characteristics of Chinese culture. Chan monks speak of a wondrous enlightenment, combining the past, present, and future, or past life, present life, future life, all in the present. It is just like in Li Shangyin's 李商隱 (812–858) verse, "The three lives I hear together in a single chiming bell from the tower" 三生同聽一樓鐘.[3] A person's life—that is, a person's past, present, and future lives—an instant, eternity: all these are contained in the sound of the bell, which gives a sense of infinite reverie. What is the connection between this feeling of inclusiveness and Chan Buddhism's special mode of life?

Jao Tsung-i: The origin and transmission of Chan seem to have taken place primarily in Hunan, Jiangxi, and the mountain ranges in the north of Guangdong. Chan monks lived together with the mountain peasants. Here they encountered the awesomeness of nature, the open space, vastness, and tranquility, and they obtained an unparalleled sense of liberation. Their living space was precisely a space defined by art, in which everything they encountered, whether plants, or trees, or hills, or rocks, could be a guide to the Way. A snap of the fingers, a bend of the brow, a yawn, a cough, each of these also contains the Buddha nature. "Once you are enlightened you immediately arrive in the Buddha land" 一悟即至佛地.[4] Drinking water, gathering firewood are both wondrous principles. In anything you can experience the realm of poetry. On any occasion you might recite a few Chan verses. A flower happens to be held up to an answering smile, in the instant of single breath, all revealing the world of Chan, and also the world of poetry. Chan was originally not supposed to be established in writing, but nonetheless we have many records of the conversations of Chan monks. The verses or *gāthā* they composed can generally be considered Chinese poems.

If someone asked, what is Chan? I would not answer myself, but instead quote the words of two great monks.

2 Lu Ji, "Wen fu" 文賦, in *Wenxuan*, 17.767.

3 Li Shangyin, "Ti sengbi" 題僧壁, *Li Shangyin shige jijie*, 1292.

4 *Liuzu tanjing jianzhu*, 2.163.

1) Someone asked: "What is Chan?" The teacher [Zhexi Congshi 柘溪從實] said: "Not to be connected to the white clouds."

問：如何是禪? 師曰：不與白雲連。[5]

2) Someone asked: "What is Chan?" The teacher [Xinluo (i.e., Silla) Baiyan 新羅百巖] said: "Old tombs cannot be homes." Someone asked: "What is the Dao?" The teacher said: "Working in vain in the tracks of carriage horses." Someone asked: "What about doctrine?" The teacher said: "What was not fully contained in the sutras."

問：「如何是禪？」師曰：「古塚不為家」。曰：「如何是道？」師曰：「徒勞車馬蹟。」曰：「如何是教？」師曰：「貝葉收不盡。」[6]

These questions and answers look like they are not even connected, but looking at their deeper meaning, one can see the significance behind them. Throughout the traditional literature of the past, Chan language composed of this kind of analogy and hidden metaphor resembles the *bixing* technique of the *Book of Odes*. This linguistic technique is already imbued with a major aesthetic quality.

Shi Yidui: Chan excels at drawing out deep meaning from everyday life: "at once Mind and Buddha" 即心即佛, "without Mind there is no Buddha" 非心非佛.[7] In the process of drawing out this meaning, apart from the Buddha nature, the poem's own theme and the interrelated cultural references all become very important too. The Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638–713), as is recorded in the *Platform Sutra* 壇經, came from a very poor background, and only learned about the dharma by listening to people recite the sutras. He was treated as an ignorant man of Lingnan (Guangdong) who did not understand Buddhist doctrine, an illiterate southern savage, who nobody imagined would become a Buddhist sage.

Jao Tsung-i: I have visited the Sixth Patriarch's birthplace in Xinzhou 新州 (in present-day Xinxing County, Guangdong), and paid homage at his old home. This changed my understanding of him greatly. First, his father Lu Xingtao

5 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 6.341.
6 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 6.340.
7 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 19.1264.

盧行瑶, originally from Fanyang 范陽, was actually from an elite clan there. Second, it says in his biography from the Song that "the renovated home of the Sixth Patriarch was made into the Temple of State Merit" 六祖舍新興舊宅為國恩寺, and it is of massive scale, from which we can tell he was no homeless refugee. Third, Huineng built a tomb for his parents, and returned to his old home to pass away, after achieving enlightenment. The *Platform Sutra* tells us that "the falling leaf returns to the root" 落葉歸根,[8] just as the Confucian doctrine says: "according to ritual propriety, one does not forget his own origin" 禮不忘本.[9] I suspect that Huineng actually received a deep education at home in his youth, and was not dispossessed and illiterate, which allowed him to recite the *Diamond Sutra* 金剛經 with perfect concentration, and interpret the teachings of the *Nirvana Sutra* 涅槃經, and earn respect as an itinerant monk. His greatness lies in the way that he concealed his own talent, and originally would not even express himself. As a result, though, later historians have introduced many apocryphal episodes to flesh out his biography.

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, you have discussed "poetry and Chan insight," and once showed that Chan may have a history predating even its supposed founder Bodhidharma, based on a discussion in Huijiao's 慧皎 (497–554) *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks) about Chan and the transmission of the Chan sutras from abroad, and moreover, have dated the synthesis of Chan and poetry to an earlier period as well. You cite, for instance, Xie Lingyun's use of the word *chan* in his poem "Establishing a Temple Meditation Lodge at Stone Cliff" 石壁立招提精舍詩:

> Observers of emptiness perch in my meditation chamber, 禪室栖空觀
> Analyzing marvelous doctrines in my sermon hall. 講宇析妙理[10]

And you have also pointed out that in the Eastern Jin (317–420), Bo Daoyou 帛道猷 (fl. ca. 454–464) of Mount Ruoye 若耶 composed a poem for the monk Zhu Daoyi 竺道壹 (d. between 397–410), "writing a poem touched by inspiration" 觸興為詩, showing that from a very early period there was an affinity between Buddhist monks and poetry.[11] Chan and poetry had a mutual

8 *Liuzu tanjing jianzhu*, 10.368.

9 *Hanshu*, 22.1043.

10 Xie Lingyun, "Shibi li zhaoti jingshe" 石壁立招提精舍, *Xie Lingyun ji jiaozhu*, 163.

11 Bo Daoyou, "Yu Zhu Daoyi shu" 與竺道壹書, "Quan Jin wen" 全晉文, in *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 159.6a. See also the poem in Lu Qinli, 1088.

attraction, and the boundary between them was crossed already very early. Just as the Tang monk Shide 拾得 (fl. 627–649) said:

My poems are also poems,	我詩也是詩
Although some men call them *gāthā*.	有人喚作偈
Poems and *gāthā* are basically the same,	詩偈總一般
When you read them you have to pay attention.	讀時須仔細[12]

Chinese *shi* 詩 (lyric poems) and Buddhist *ji* 偈 (from Sanskrit *gāthā*) already were scarcely different in Shide's eyes. From the point of view of literary technique, though, would the authors after all put greater effort into *shi* poems?

Jao Tsung-i: The number of monks who could write well was enormous. During the Sui Dynasty, the monk Zhenguan 真觀 (538–611) at the age of eight could already recite the *Book of Odes* and *Rites*, and had composed a poem on an apple matching Secretary Yu 庾. People at the time had a saying: "In Qiantang there is one only one Zhenguan, but he is worth half the whole world!" 錢唐有真觀，當天下一半.[13] A Southern Dynasties monk named Huixiu 惠休 (5th c.) surpassed Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513) in rhetorical flair, so that when Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (d. 518) evaluated him in the *Shipin* 詩品 (Poems ranked), he wrote of Huixiu's "excessive sensuality, and passion exceeding his talent" 淫靡，情過其才,[14] and Emperor Wu 武 of the Liu-Song (r. 420–422) even commanded that he give up the tonsure. The poems of Tang monks are collected in the *Tangseng hongxiu ji* 唐僧弘秀集 (Flourishing talents among the Tang monks) in ten fascicles, still extant. It begins with Jiaoran 皎然 (ca. 720–ca. 800) and ends with Zhixian 智暹 (perhaps misplaced because he actually lived in the Song rather than the Tang).[15] The preface reads, "Since the moral teachings of poetry have already fallen into decline, its pillar of support has instead been those black-robed men [monks]" 詩教湮微，取以為緇流砥柱.[16] After this, there was the *Ming seng hongxiu ji* 明僧弘秀集 (Flourishing talents among the Ming monks) in thirteen fascicles. On the other hand, the *Yinchuang zalu* 吟窗雜錄 (Miscellaneous records from the singer's window) selects outstanding lines by monks past and present, such as Guanxiu's 貫休 (832–912) "The frost on one sword chilling fourteen provinces" 一劍霜寒十四

12 Shide, "Shi" 詩, 807, rpt. in *Quan Tang shi*, 4:9104.
13 *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, 30.1034.
14 *Shipin jizhu*, C.421.
15 Zhixian was perhaps the Tang poet Zhiyuan 智遠. See *Tangseng hongxiu ji*, "Jieti" 解題.
16 *Tangseng hongxiu ji*, preface, 2.

州;[17] or Yuanlan's 元覽 (fl. 770s) "It is the great ocean that empowers the fish to plunge, / The broad sky that affords a bird to soar" 大海從魚躍，長空任鳥飛.[18] These were frequently recited by later readers, but do not actually touch on any Chan principles. Similarly, the *Shi yi* 詩議 and *Shi ge* 詩格 by monks of the late Tang, though they analyze the form, techniques, and rhetoric of poetry, do not transfer Chan principles into poetry. It was only after the Sixth Patriarch had initiated the Chan sect, and Chan poems were disseminated widely, that various teachers began to use them to explain doctrine, enlighten their audience, writing poetic responses known as *songgu* 頌古, and using this entertaining method so as to transmit the dharma. Chan Buddhism had originally discarded writing, but at this point it began to rely on writing once again, using poetry to add more decorative enticements on behalf of Chan students.

These Chan poems generally treated the Buddha nature a spiritual substance, which they could use the language of poetry to bring into reality. For instance:

1) In what way does a monk help other people? He said: "A single rain nourishes all, the thousand mountains grow bright with color."

   如何是和尚利人處？曰：一雨普滋，千山秀色。[19]

2) What was [Bodhidharma's] intention in coming from the West? He said: "The white gibbon hugs its young as it comes to the green mountains, / The bees and butterflies rely on the flowers amid the green leaves."

   如何是西來意? 曰：白猿抱子來青嶂，蜂蝶御花綠葉間。[20]

The esteemed leaders of Chan were fond of composing poems, and it became a kind of fad among Chan followers. Most of these poems were composed spontaneously but still had profound implications. The entire collection *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄 (Record of transmissions of the lamp) is full of Chan poems, to the extent it can almost be seen as a poem anthology. In general the poet-monks were expert in poetic craft and scholarship as well, and Chan

17 *Yinchuang zalu*, 32.894.
18 *Yinchuang zalu*, 32.907.
19 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 2.67.
20 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 2.67.

poems form an enormous and valuable corpus, preserved also in Japanese collections like Gidō Shūshin's 義堂周信 (1325–1388) *Sogen renpō shū* 祖苑聯芳集.

As for outstanding monk-poets, a good example is Jiaoran, who had lines like this:

White clouds can serve a function in poems,	白雲供詩用
Pure flutes rise from the right side of the seat.	清吹生座右[21]
Flowers cover but do not stain the ground,	花滿不污地
Clouds so thick they come to touch your robes.	雲多從觸衣[22]
In the long night I send forth a Chan ditty,	永夜出禪吟
And the pure gibbons respond all of their own.	清猿自相應[23]

A proverb of the time said, "Zha [Huzhou] has its Zhou [Jiaoran]; he knows how to be refined and exquisite" 霅之晝，能清秀.[24] Jiaoran truly lived up to the example of his ancestor Xie Lingyun.

Guanxiu also has excellent lines such as the following:

To the myriad conditions I closed my eyes entirely,	萬緣冥目盡
A single line could not describe their depth.	一句不言深
Wildfires scorch the stones of meditation,	野火燒禪石
The remnant cloudwisps reflected in the chestnut forest.	殘霞照栗林[25]
Authentic manner is contained in white hair,	真風含素髮
Autumn hues enter the numinous tower.	秋色入靈臺[26]
It's only proper to write in a high place,	惟宜高處著
And send it to Xie Xuancheng [Tiao].	將寄謝宣城[27]

These lines all have a truly lofty conception. Therefore Xu Yan 徐琰 (1220–1301) evaluated them as follows: "Savoring their words, truly one should regard

21 *Quan Tang shi*, 816.9188.
22 *Quan Tang shi*, 815.9175.
23 *Quan Tang shi*, 818.9219.
24 *Quan Tang wen*, 919.9573.
25 *Quan Tang shi*, 831.9373.
26 *Quan Tang shi*, 833.9397. "Numinous tower" (*lingtai* 靈臺) also represents the heart-mind, according to Guo Xiang 郭象. See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 23.795.
27 *Quan Tang shi*, 832.9387.

them as superior, and not treat them as merely the works of poet-monks" 味其語，正宜高處著眼，不當以詩僧看也.[28]

1.2 *Jade-Carving Chisel and Luminous Ocean*

Shi Yidui: There was a transformation in the method of practice employed by the Chan monks, from silent meditation in seated posture, into itinerant meditation. Instead of a single monk sitting in silence, responding to his environment, and tacitly receiving the myriad phenomena around him, towards a mutual, shared process of teaching and training. It was no longer an individual practice. Because of this, the social basis for Chan also changed, shifting from the base of society to the middle or upper class. Moving out of the mountains to the great metropolises, they taught their Chan discoveries and demonstrated their enlightenment. Even Huineng, though he may have concealed his talent at first, could not stay permanently in the hills with the hunters. The Chan monks also wrote verses called *songgu* 頌古, which were commentaries and responses to the *gong'an* dialogues. These are poems with a specifically Chan import, and constitute yet another method of "clarifying the mind, revealing the inner nature" 明心見性. Chan monks expended much effort on poetry, and poets also expended effort on Chan. What lies in common between the two is that they are both done in order to attain enlightenment.

Jao Tsung-i: Huihong Juefan 慧洪覺範 (a.k.a. Dehong 德洪, 1071–1128) of Jiangxi often met with Su Shi and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105). He composed the *Shimen wenzi chan* 石門文字禪 (Written Chan from Shimen), which includes lines like, "Poetry is like painting a fine horse: / You have to capture that daemonic grace right when you set down the brush" 詩如畫好馬，落筆得神駿.[29] It is exactly what has been called, "In the statutes and etiquette mastering the outer learning, / With poetic insight you enter the gate of Chan" 律儀通外學，詩思入禪關.[30] Poetry belongs to the "outer learning," but even though it is a different path it ultimately rejoins the "inner learning" of Chan itself. Thus Daguan 達觀 (1543–1603) wrote in the preface to *Shimen wenzi chan*:

> Chan is like spring, and writing is like the flowers. Spring's essence lies in flowers, the complete realization of flowers is spring. Flowers' essence lies in spring, the complete realization of spring is flowers. So why does

28 *Chanyue ji jiaozhu*, 534.
29 *Shimen wenzi chan*, 2.16 (23).
30 *Quan Tang shi*, 273.3082.

> anyone say that Chan and writing are two different things? Thus Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑒 (782–865) and Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. ca. 866) employed the method of striking with a stick and shouting constantly, respectively, but never gave up writing. Qingliang 清涼 (referring to Qingliang Chengguan 澄觀 [737–838]) and Tiantai 天台 (founded by Zhiyi 智顗 [538–597]), though they wrote commentaries to the sutras and composed their own essays, never failed to be Chan. Thus, should we really say that Chan and writing are twofold? Therefore these writings are called "written Chan" (*wenzi chan*).
>
> 禪如春也，文字則花也。春在於花，全花是春。花在於春，全春是花。而曰禪與文字有二乎哉。故德山臨濟，棒喝交馳，未嘗非文字也。清涼天台，疏經造論，未嘗非禪也。而曰禪與文字有二乎哉。名其所著曰文字禪。[31]

This passage employs strange language but has a coherent argument. Chan abandons writing but then become reunited with writing. Monks use the power of meditation to take the medicine of wisdom, and meditation can produce wisdom. Poetry is another expression of wisdom, so poetry too can result from meditation. For meditation and wisdom fundamentally are one and the same.

As for poetry gaining strength from Chan, this is not only because Chan is used as a chisel to carve jade. It is more that a residue left over from enlightenment helps to foster the mind of poetry, with lines full of life helping to foster the poet's compositional method, with the highest level of enlightenment assisting the high quality of the verse, the brilliant and pellucid quality helping to structure the remoteness of their verses' imaginative realm. From Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837–908) all the way to Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634–1711), many poets were expert at using Chan while not getting mired in Chan, so that it helped enliven their verse. Yan Yu 嚴羽 (d. ca. 1245) even borrowed from Chan to compose his treatise on poetry, grasping its inner workings and then disseminating them to later readers, even though he could not benefit from the fruits of his own work.

Sikong Tu praised Xiangyan Zhixian 香嚴智閒 (d. 898), saying: "I have long since appreciated your meaning" 大師之旨，吾久得之, and also, "When not even one grain of dust flies, therein I perceive your power" 一塵不飄，見大師力.[32] Chan Master Zhixian resided at Mount Xiangyan in Dengzhou 鄧州. He once paid respects to Lingyou 靈祐 (771–853) of the Great Mount

31 *Shimen wenzi chan*, preface, 1 (4).

32 Sikong Tu, "Xiangyan zhanglao zan" 香嚴長老贊, in *Quan Tang wen*, 808.8496.

Gui 大溈山. Lingyou was ultimately defeated in debate, and then burned all the records of conversations, saying, "A painted cake cannot satisfy hunger" 畫餅弗可充飢也.[33] Crying, he departed Mount Gui and moved to the site where Huizhong 慧忠 (675–775) had lived in Nanyang 南陽. While he was cutting the grass and striking tiles together by himself, he suddenly achieved enlightenment. Xiangyan was the successor to Lingyou, and composed the "Eulogy to the Three Illuminations" 三照頌. He praised the realm of "silent illumination" 寂照 as follows.

> Unmoving like a mountain, the myriad things all rest; 不動如山萬事休
> A pristine pool, clear to the very bottom, has never wavered. 澄潭澈底未曾流
> Inside proper thought-instants continue one after the other, 箇中正念常相續
> The moon brilliant in the center of Heaven, clouds and fog recede. 月皎天心雲霧收[34]

The description has already broken through the first gate, confirming that he has already entered the mind-state of emptiness and silence. This is the message and the power of Xiangyan's thought. Sikong Tu said that he had long since appreciated his meaning, so that his meditation would surely obtain success. Looking at the twenty-four "Evaluations of Poetry" (Shipin 詩品), the very first one is called "Bold and Solid" 雄渾, and says, "Passing beyond the form, / You obtain the center of the circle" 超於象外，得其環中.[35] Though this borrows from *Zhuangzi* as well, the circle here also represents an empty circle, zero. This noble, spare, and refined style is like that of Qiji 齊己 (863–937), and also seems to borrow from contemporary discussions by monks. So we can see that when Sikong Tu discussed poetry, though no word in his writings refers explicitly to Chan, in fact he has mastered the essence of Chan.

Shi Yidui: Chan within poetry, poetry within Chan, together compose the world of poetry and the world of Chan. Their commonality lies in the way that they master the patterns of worldly things and unite them with the mechanism of nature, achieving a kind of purification and elevation of the self.

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33 *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, 13.303.
34 *Chanzong baodian xubian*, 747.
35 *Quan Tang shi*, 634.7284.

For instance, Su Shi composed the poem, "Seeing off Master Canliao" 送參寥師:

Superior, you studied the bitterness of emptiness;	上人學苦空
Hundred thoughts already cold as ash.	百念已灰冷
Blowing on the sword hilt makes barely a whimper,	劍頭惟一呿[36]
Charred grain grows no new shoots.	焦穀無新穎
Why bother chasing me and my ilk,	胡為逐吾輩
Competing in the rich brilliance of writing?	文字爭蔚炳
A new poem is a like a shard of jade,	新詩如玉屑
Each original phrase fresh and startling.	出語便清警
Tuizhi [Han Yu] told us that in the cursive script,	退之論草書
None of the myriad things can ever be dismissed.	萬事未嘗屏
Your melancholy and every other mental disquiet,	憂愁不平氣
You may lodge in the galloping of your brush.	一寓筆所騁
He specially blamed the men who follow Buddha,	頗怪浮屠人
That they look upon their bodies like a dried-up well.	視身如丘井
Diffidently devoted to the bland and tranquil,	頹然寄淡泊
Who among them could stir up a fierce and bold spirit?	誰與發豪猛
When I think carefully, however, it is not so:	細思乃不然
True artfulness is not a matter of phantasmal images.	真巧非幻影
If you want to make the language of poetry marvelous,	欲令詩語妙
You cannot have enough of emptiness and silence.	無厭空且靜
Silence truly can comprehend all the various actions,	靜故了群動
Emptiness truly can encompass the myriad scenes.	空故納萬境
Having considered the world, then flee from the human realm,	閱世走人間
After perceiving the body, recline amid cloudy peaks.	觀身臥雲嶺
Salty and sour mix with all the other tastes,	鹹酸雜眾好
Amid them there is one ultimate flavor that persists.	中有至味永
Poetry and the dharma do not conflict with one another;	詩法不相妨
Please consider this view as well.	此語更當請[37]

36 According to *Zhuangzi*, "If you blow on a sword hilt, it makes only a whimper" 吹劍首者，呿而已矣; meaning roughly, if you talk about something of little value, your talk itself is not impressive. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 25.894.

37 Su Shi, "Song Canliao shi" 送參寥師, *Su Shi shiji*, 17.905–7. I have also consulted the partial translation of Ronald Egan in *Word, Image, and Deed*, 198–99.

Also, in his poem "For Wu Deren and Chen Jichang" 寄吳德仁兼簡陳季常 Su wrote:

> Throughout my life I have lodged in objects but not remained with objects, 平生寓物不留物
> At home I have studied how to forget the Chan of home. 在家學得忘家禪[38]

He advocated attaining a silent observation of the movement in the world from a position of chill and indifference, lodging with things but not remaining with them, and gathering together the myriad scenes of the world into oneself. That is, in silence observing the movements of things, in emptiness drawing in the forms of things. From this point one can attain the level described as that where "The true force expands and fills, / The myriad phenomena lie on the margin" 真力彌滿，萬象在旁 by Sikong Tu in "Evaluations of Poetry."[39] This is a purification and an elevation.

Qichan 棲蟾 (fl. ca. 896) says that poetry is the Chan of the Confucian scholars. So those who have mastered Chan may belong to the outward-facing or inward-facing type. The outward-facing ones are relatively wild and may engage in "crazy Chan" (*kuang chan* 狂禪). The inward-facing ones see Chan as a way to calm one's mind and establish one's destiny, arranging and calming oneself, in a way relatively close to Confucians. This also refers to a kind of purification and elevation of the spirit. This should include poetic composition and other forms of artistic endeavor, which have a natural bond with Chan, in that they have the same intrinsic value from the point of philosophy.

Jao Tsung-i: The principles of painting often have correspondences to philosophy. This is especially true of landscape paintings of bare, desolate, expansive scenes, which cause the viewer to become aware of the vastness of the universe.

Cheng Sui 程遂 (self-styled Goudaoren 垢道人, 1605–1691) drew a landscape painting with rough brushstrokes and ink wash of scattered peaks and ancient caves. He inscribed it:

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38 Su Shi, "Ji Wu Deren jian jian Chen Jichang" 寄吳德仁兼簡陳季常, *Su Shi shiji*, 25.1341.

39 *Quan Tang shi*, 634.7296. The "Evaluations of Poetry" set of poems may actually have been attributed to Sikong Tu only long after the Tang. Shi suggests the reader should consult Zhao Rengui's 趙仁珪 *Chanxue yaoyi* 禪學要義. See *Zhongguo wenhua jingdian yaoyi quanshu*, 422.

Within this view half is hazy and confused, 望裏半氤氳
Amid sparse trees all else is white cloud. 林疏盡白雲[40]

This is one example. Speaking of finger painting, one can also think of the second chapter of *Zhuangzi*, the "Discourse on Seeing Things as Equal" 齊物論, which says "Heaven and Earth are one finger" 天地一指.[41] More precisely, the chapter explains:

> To use a finger as a metaphor for the nonfingerness of a finger is not as good as using nonfingerness as a metaphor for the nonfingerness of a finger. To use a horse as a metaphor for the nonhorseness of a horse is not as good as using nonhorseness as a metaphor for the nonhorseness of a horse. Heaven and earth are the same as a finger; the myriad things are the same as a horse.
>
> 以指喻指之非指，不若以非指喻指之非指也。以馬喻馬之非馬，不若以非馬喻馬之非馬也。天地一指也，萬物一馬也。[42]

Inspired by this passage, the monk Chengjiu 成鷲 (1637–1722) has a poem entitled "Fingertip Painting" 人指頭畫. Painters from the early Qing Dynasty excelled in a kind of spiritual intelligence, their paintings rich in marvelous insights, so Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611–1671) composed a painting of "Meaning Resides beyond the Brush" 意在筆外, and Dai Benxiao 戴本孝 (1621–1693) has a painting on the topic "Centering the Meaning beyond Phenomena" 象外意中.

Perceiving the Way in painting, attaining the center of the circle: an even more comprehensive discussion of this point is in Gong Xian's 龔賢 (1618–1689) "Letter to Hu Yuhun" 與胡玉昆書. This letter manages to do everything while doing nothing; its calligraphic style and the energy of its ink are fused to achieve a grand harmony. There is nothing that surpasses this in painting.

Dai Benxiao's scroll painting "Centering the Meaning beyond Phenomena" has a self-authored inscription as preface which reads:

> The six methods of painting take as their model the ancients. The ancients took as their model the Maker of Changes. When you have the Maker of Changes at hand, your brush and ink can capture anything.

40 Gu Wenbin 顧文彬, "Goudaoren wang li yinyun tuzhou" 垢道人望裏氤氳圖軸, *Guoyunlou shuhuaji*, 5.30b, rpt. in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1085:252.

41 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 2.73.

42 English translation quoted from Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, 16.

FIGURE 2.1–2.2 Two leaves from Dai Benxiao's 戴本孝 album "Landscapes" 山水圖冊. Album of twelve leaves; ink on paper. 21.4 × 16.7 cm each. Public domain. IMAGE COURTESY OF METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK. PURCHASE, THE DILLON FUND GIFT, 1989. ACCESSION NUMBER: 1989.142A–L. HTTPS://WWW.METMUSEUM.ORG/ART/COLLECTION/SEARCH/39931

Though I combine the various schools to form my own school, in each I can observe what their study and natural talent have achieved. Having discarded the practices of sketching the minute details of reality, instead I draw my inspiration from beyond words and images. The painters of today surpass the ancients because the momentaneous meeting of Heaven and Earth has penetrated into their own minds, spirits, intelligence, so that they can master the continuity within transformation to an infinite degree. The master perceives the Way in this instant. In my own painting, when I first set out my brush, I did not dare to have any prior perceptions, but simply let it rise and fall as it would. Master Qu Yuan in his poem "Far Roaming" advised us to "Unify your vitality, concentrate spirit," and "don't move in advance of things."[43] This would be enough to be equivalent to the Maker of Changes. In this scroll my barren brushtip

43 Williams, *Elegies of Chu*, 77.

sweeps rapidly, hurriedly and loudly. I can not predict how the connoisseurs will evaluate it. In the ninth month of 1691, I, Benxiao, common woodcutter of the grotto-heaven of Changzhen Qiongxiu, have inscribed this at Donggao, at the age of 71.

六法師古人，古人師造化。造化在乎手，筆墨無不有。雖會諸家以成一家，亦各視其學力天分所至耳。脫盡廉纖刻畫之習，取意於言象之外，今人有勝於古人。蓋天地運會與人心神智相漸，通變於無窮，君子於此觀道矣。余畫初下筆，絕不敢先有成見，一任其所至以為起止。屈子〈遠遊〉，所謂「一氣孔神」，「無為之先」，寧不足與造化相表裏耶。是卷枯穎迅掃，戚戚有聲，未卜精鑒作何臧否也。辛未九月，長真璚秀洞天樵夫本孝識於東皋，時年七十有一。[44]

Sikong Tu's "Poetic Evaluations," #1, says in the first poem "Passing beyond the form, / You obtain the center of the circle" 超於象外，得其環中, as we have seen above, and this preface borrows that. It also quotes from the speech attributed to Wangzi Qiao 王子喬 (Prince Qiao) within the "Far Roaming" 遠遊 of the *Chuci* 楚辭:

The Way can be received—
    but cannot be transmitted.
So minute it has no interior—
    so vast it has no bounds.
Don't let your soul be agitated—
    but rather act spontaneously.
Unify your vitality, concentrate spirit—
    maintaining them through the nighttime.
"Respond to things only vacantly"—
    do not move in advance of them.[45]
Let each kind achieve fullness—
    this only is the gate of Potentiality.

道可受兮，不可傳。其小無內兮，其大無垠。
無滑而魂兮，彼將自然。壹氣孔神兮，於中夜存。
虛以待之兮，無為之先。庶類以成兮，此德之門。[46]

44 Zi Wu, *Lidai Huangshantu tihuashi kaoshi*, 129.
45 Cf. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4.147.
46 Ll. 63–74. *Chuci buzhu*, 5.167; Williams, *Elegies of Chu*, 77.

Also, the chapter of *Liezi* 列子 on Confucius quotes Kangcangzi 亢倉子 saying: "My body is joined to my mind, all of which are joined to my vital breath. My vital breath is joined to my spirit, and my spirit is joined to nothingness" 我體合於心，心合於氣。氣合於神，神合於無.[47] So "Far Roaming" speaks of unifying vitality and concentrating the spirit. Dai Benxiao had a deep appreciation of this passage, which is why he says above: "the momentaneous meeting of Heaven and Earth has penetrated into their own minds, spirits, intelligence, so that they can master the continuity within transformation to an infinite degree."[48] This point can help clarify the difference between "expressing in painting" 寫畫 and "painting a painting" 繪畫, which is the same as the distinction between the painting of the artisan and the painting of literati. A painter first determines the layout, then begins to move the brush. In this way the brush is always controlled by the contours of the image, and cannot simply move at will. But for "expressing in painting" the case is different; you cannot have any prior conceptions in advance, but move where the impulse leads, so that your vital energy moves together with your spirit, and the movement of that vital force rushes in overflowing and overwhelming, while the spiritual patterns are self-sufficient, which is why the poet instructs to "concentrate spirit." This image is called "Centering the Meaning beyond Phenomena" because it is not driven by forms of phenomena, but can go beyond them, letting the intent follow along with the brush in its motion, spontaneously attaining the center of the circle, so as to respond to something unfathomable, which is why it is called "Centering Meaning."

Philosophical principles and poetry have an intimate connection, which accounts for the special appeal of Chan Buddhism. Among these, the symbolic, intuitive, and poetic language of Chan contains within it deep ideas. This technique should probably not be called religious so much as simply aesthetic.

Shi Yidui: During the Northern Song, the practice of writing *songgu* poems became popular, and many literati also participated in Chan. Huang Tingjian composed some *songgu* in the *ci* 詞 (song lyric) form. His collection of *ci* lyrics includes four to the tune of "Fisherman's Pride" 漁家傲 written in imitation of Baoning Renyong 保寧仁勇.[49] His preface to the *ci* collection *Little Mountain Lyrics* 小山詞 (by Yan Jidao 晏幾道, 1038–1110), states: "When I was young, I occasionally composed song lyrics, to accompany entertainments and drinking. But the monk Faxiu 法秀 (1027–1090) blamed me for encouraging vice by

47 *Liezi jishi*, 4.124.

48 Zi Wu, *Lidai Huangshantu tihuashi kaoshi*, 129.

49 *Shangu ci jiaozhu*, 77–85.

my writing, and said that according to his law, I ought to go to that hell where the tongue is seared"[50] 余少時，間作樂府，以使酒玩世，道人法秀獨罪余，以筆墨勸淫，於我法中，當下犁舌之獄.[51] This is one example of discussing *ci* lyrics by means of Chan, which shows that this genre historically shared a connection with Chan just as rich as that of *shi* poetry.

Jao Tsung-i: That Chan can be used to interpret poetry is well known, but reading Chan into *ci* lyrics is something less understood. Jiang Shunyi 江順詒 (b. 1823) in his compilation of *ci* criticism, *Cixue jicheng* 詞學集成, quotes Hesheli Rushan's 赫舍里如山 (courtesy name Guanjiu 冠九, b. 1811) preface to *Xin'an ci* 心盦詞 (by He Zhaoying 何兆瀛, 1809–1890):

> "When will there be a bright full moon again?" is an example of immortal writing in *ci* lyrics. "Blowing folds in a pool of spring water" is an example of Chan Buddhism in *ci* lyrics.[52] It is hard to study to become an immortal, but you can study Chan. … Thus *ci* can form a realm: an empty pond reflecting the moon, above and below permeating one another wholly, freeing one from conscious knowledge. A pure chime clears out the dust, marvelous incense is scented far away, and one participates in the untainted karmic causes. Birdsong and a curtain of pearls, flowers falling spontaneously, this surpasses even perfect enlightenment.
>
> 「明月幾時有」，詞而仙者也。「吹皺一池春水」，詞而禪者也。仙不易學，而禪可學矣。…… 是故詞之為境也，空潭印月，上下一澈，屏智識也。清磬出塵，妙香遠聞，參淨因也。鳥鳴珠箔，羣花自落，超圓覺也。[53]

This Chan interpretation of *ci* lyrics opened up a new path for the *ci* genre. But Jiang only provides this one example. I have searched through past collections of *ci*, though, and discovered not a few examples where Chan is integrated into *ci* lyrics.

Ci became increasingly flowery and ornate in the late Ming, and accordingly were less suited to Chan principles. *Ci* poets generally used Chan for two kinds of metaphors. First, for seeking repentance, and second, for seeking liberation. Repentance belongs to a more negative mode, being only a temporary

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50 See, e.g., "Sutra on Hell" 泥犁經, *T* 86: 1.908b.

51 "Xiaoshan ji xu" 小山集序, in *Yuzhang Huang xianshen* wenji, 16.25a.

52 A famous line by Feng Yansi 馮延巳 (903–960).

53 Jiang Shunyi, *Cixue jicheng* 詞學集成, 7.8a/b, rpt. in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1735:41.

consolation, but seeking liberation could often have a creative function, and led writers to explore new realms of the *ci*.

During the Chongzhen 崇禎 (1628–1644) reign, Wu Bentai 吳本泰 (b. 1573) from Qiantang 錢塘 named his own *ci* collection "Qiyu zhang" 綺語障 (The flowery-words obstacle to enlightenment). "Flowery words" comes from the *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 (Clarification of the terms of Mahāyāna), which says: "The evil words are not upright, just like flowery colors are not pure color. Drawing on this analogy, these words can be called exquisite words" 邪言不正，其猶綺色，從喻立稱，故名綺語.[54] For Buddhists these were prohibited, so they had to seek repentance for their sins in poetry. As for seeking enlightenment, this focuses on creating a new realm of lyrics, using Chan as metaphor for this realm. This is discussed best by Nie Xian 聶先 (17th c.). He wrote in the preface to *An Anthology of One Hundred Masters of Ci Lyrics* (*in the Qing Dynasty*) (Baimingjia cichao 百名家詞鈔):

> I am familiar not with *ci* lyrics but with Chan Buddhism, so allow me to make my case with the latter. The Fifth Patriarch of Chan, Hongren 弘忍 (601–675), shared a line with his disciple Foguo 佛果: "I call repeatedly for the maid, for no reason at all, / Just to make the beloved hear my voice and know my presence."
>
> Foguo entered the chamber and said: "The memory of a romance from youth / Is known only to that beauty herself." What a wonderful *ci* lyric: like exquisite delicacy.
>
> Zheng Huangniu 政黃牛 (Weizheng 惟政, 986–1049) wrote: "True emptiness cannot be perceived without voice and color, / for it is as if hearing alone gibbon's cry beneath the moon at the night." What a wonderful *ci* lyric: close to a vision of cold clarity.
>
> Duan Shizi 端師子 (Xiyu Jingduan 西余淨端, 1039–1104) wrote: "I was by origin an angler on the river of Xiao and Xiang, and by myself, / I wondered all around the four corners of the world." What a wonderful *ci* lyric: a vision of boldness and liberation.
>
> Huihong Juefan 慧洪覺範 (1071–1128) wrote: "The autumn clouds have yet dispersed, while the snow comes covering mountains. / Laughingly I point to the thousands of mountain peaks, where I would like to return." What a wonderful *ci* lyric: a vision of simple vividness. As is said in the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, "The Buddha told Ananda, 'Marvelous sounds can be brought forth from zithers, harps, and mandolins only when there are skilled fingers to play them.'"

54 *T* 1851: 44.613.

> Now all these gentlemen in their *ci* poetry create marvellous sounds with their skilled fingers … They would cause all under heaven who have eyes to see it, all those with ears to hear it; so that the blind men attempting to touch the elephant would have their heavenly-endowed eyes abruptly; so that the bell-ringing deaf have their ears hear the sound of a swift pillar-destroying bolt. It is like the sweet-smelling elephant that can cross a river with feet still standing on the river bed, unlike rabbit or horse; or like the ringing in the nighttime of the temple bell decorated with the pattern of whales: such a great joy is their vivid language!
>
> 余不知詞而知禪，請以禪喻。五祖舉示佛果云：「頻呼小玉元無事，祇要檀那認得聲。」果入室云：「少年一段風流事，祇許佳人獨自知。」此絶妙好詞也，近於麗纖。政黃牛云：「解空不解離聲色，似聽孤猿月下啼。」此絶妙好詞也，近於清寒。端師子云：「我本瀟湘一釣客，自東自西自南北。」此絶妙好詞也，近於豪宕。洪覺範云：「秋陰未破雪滿山，笑指千峯欲歸去。」此絶妙好詞也，近於淡冶。《首楞嚴》曰：「佛謂阿難，辟如琴瑟、箜篌、琵琶，雖有妙音，若非妙指，亦不能發。」今諸公之詞，各以妙指而發妙音。…… 使天下之人，有目共覩，有耳共聞。盡使摸象之盲人，扣鐘之聾者，忽如天眼頓開，疾雷破柱，直得香象渡河、華鯨夜吼，豈不快哉！[55]

This preface is a splendid piece of casual prose. It uses the technique of exaggeration (*atiśayokti*) along with the skillful deployment of simile (*upamā*) and metaphor (*rūpaka*). With wise and incisive Buddhist teachings throughout, it is a paramount example of the method of adapting Chan into literary form.

Li E 厲鶚 (1692–1752) has a lyric to the tune of "Joy Equal with Heaven" 齊天樂, beginning "The sound of autumn" 秋聲, which contains the splendid lines, "Opening the gate all alone by myself, / The whole courtyard is nothing but moonlight" 獨自開門，滿庭都是月.[56] The language is like that of the *Zhiyue lu* 指月錄 (Record of pointing at the moon), so Tan Xian 譚獻 (self-styled Futang 復堂, 1832–1901) praised it as "song lyric Chan" 詞禪.[57] Dong Chao 董潮 (1729–1764) in his lyric to the tune of "Sharing the Force of the East Wind" 東風齊著力 has a line, "Wind gentle on the stone steps, / shadows of banners, daylight sinking back. / At the corner of the balcony you laugh with delight, / and where your eyes focus, / The black is shallow and the red deep. /

55 *Bai mingjia cichao* 百名家詞鈔, comp. Nie Xian 聶先 and Zeng Wangsun 曾王孫, preface, 1b–3a, rpt. in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1721:141–42.

56 *Fanxie shanfang ji*, 9.673.

57 Tan Xian, *Qie zhong ci* 篋中詞, 2.21b, rpt. in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1732:642.

Did you know / that peach blossoms and swallows / are all the Chan mind too?" 石壇風靜，旛影晝沈沈。欄角嫣然一笑，凝眸處，黛淺紅深。君知否，桃花燕子，都是禪心.[58] These lines have an extraordinary, otherworldly sense of serenity, and have been praised as "true song lyric Chan" 真詞禪也. Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1907) also has these outstanding lines in his lyric to the tune of "Gathering Mulberries" 采桑子: "Death is the mind of [Buddhist] Chan, / life is the mind of [Daoist] Transcendents: / The same kind of practice but two different minds" 死是禪心，活是仙心。一樣工夫兩樣心.[59] Without death you cannot live; this is truly a marvellous observation. Thus ultimately it is possible to access the Chan mind by means of the *ci* lyric just as much as by *shi* poetry.

1.3 *Where the Water Ends, When the Clouds Rise*

Shi Yidui: The *Jingde Records of the Transmission of the Lamp* (Jingde chuandeng lu 景德傳燈錄) records a dialogue between Chan master Congxian 從顯 (906–983) of Guanyin 觀音 temple in Hongzhou 洪州 and his students:

> Then a monk asked: "The householder was silent. Mañjuśrī praised him deeply—what does this mean?" The teacher replied: "You ask, I answer." He asked again: "Then if someone comes forth, how should he live?" The teacher said: "Go to the place where the water ends, sit and watch for when the clouds rise."[60]
>
> 時有僧問：「居士默然，文殊深贊。此意如何？」師曰：「汝問我答。」曰：「恁麼人出頭來，又作麼生？」師曰：「行到水窮處，坐看雲起時。」[61]

And Jiaoran has a poem "Mountain Rain" 山雨:

> A sheet of rain, then half the mountains clear.
> Winds blowing on over the west river,
> The trees all rustling softly, my heart and ears and pure.
> Cranes amid the clouds are startled in coming down,
> The water's fragrance gathers unexpectedly.

58 *Guochao cizong xubian* 國朝詞綜續編, comp. Huang Xieqing 黃燮清, 2.12b, rpt. in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1731:456.

59 Du Wenlan 杜文瀾, *Xiyuan cihua* 憩園詞話, 2, rpt. in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1734:301.

60 Lines from the Wang Wei poem "Zhongnanshan bieye" 終南山別業 (Estate at Mount Zhongnan), a.k.a. "Rushan ji chengzhong guren" 入山寄城中故人. See *Wenyuan yinghua*, 250.5a.

61 *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *T* 2076: 51.417b.

Wind circling, the rain pauses, the plantain leaves moist,
Hearing a drop now and then I enter daytime meditation.

一片雨，山半晴。長風吹落西江上，滿樹蕭蕭心耳清。雲鶴驚亂下，水香凝不然。風迴雨定芭蕉濕，一滴時時入晝禪。[62]

In the first example, a couplet of Wang Wei 王維 (ca. 701–761) becomes an inspiration for Chan, borrowing the vision of the poem to suggest a path to enlightenment. In the second, the sound of a water droplet inspires the poet to meditation. While utterly calm, these lines are also dynamic, directly conveying the sensation of the "original mind" of Chan, achieving a union of poetic and Chan dimensions. From these examples we can appreciate how poetry is not just an embellishment added onto Chan, but rather the two are mutually enhancing and mutually productive. When Chan employs poetry, or when poetry employs Chan, the two realms ultimately become hard to distinguish from one another.

Jao Tsung-i: Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148) wrote in his *Shilin shihua* 石林詩話 (Stone forest poetry talks):

> In Chan Buddhism, Yunjian discusses three types of verse. First, there is the line about following the waves and riding the billows, meaning to follow and accord with the patterns of nature, not be confined by old conventions. Second is the line about slicing across the myriad currents, meaning passing beyond words, where ordinary perceptions cannot reach. Third has to do with encompassing all within Heaven and Earth, tallying with everything in the vastness, without any omission to be found. Their relative depth also follows in the same order, from least profound to most profound. I once teased a student by saying that the poetry of Old Du also includes these three types of statements, only their order is different. "Wild rice drifting on the waves, the sinking clouds are black; / Dew chill on lotus pods, the plummeting powder is scarlet": these are lines that encompass all within Heaven and Earth. "Falling flowers and floating threads: the bright sun is still, / Chirping pigeons and fledgling swallows, deep in the green spring": these are lines that follow the waves and ride the billows. "Remote on the earth for a hundred years, isolated behind my brushwood gate, / In the fifth month the river is deep and my

62 *Quan Tang shi*, 820.9250.

> grass dwelling cold": these are lines that slice across the myriad currents. I can study alongside the person who understands this.
>
> 禪宗論雲間有三種語。其一為隨波逐浪句，謂隨物應機，不主故常。其二為截斷衆流句，謂超出言外，非情識所到。其三為函蓋乾坤句，謂泯然皆契，無間可伺。其深淺以是為序。予嘗戲為學子言，老杜詩亦有此三種語，但先後不同。以「波漂菰米沈雲黑，露冷蓮房墜粉紅」為函蓋乾坤句。以「落花游絲白日靜，鳴鳩乳燕青春深」為隨波逐浪句。以「百年地僻柴門迥，五月江深草閣寒」為截斷衆流句。若有解此當與渠同參。[63]

Yunjian 雲間 should actually refer to Yunmen 雲門 (i.e., the Yunmen sect established in Mount Yunmen in Shaozhou in the Tang). Chan Master Deshan Yuanmi 德山緣密 from Dingzhou 鼎州 was the successor of Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949). Yuanmi had once elaborated on Wenyan's concept of "Smashing through the three gates with one arrowhead" 一鏃破三門, and so devised the "three sentences of Yunmen": "I have three sentences to show everyone. The first one encompasses Heaven and Earth. The second slices across the myriad currents. The third follows the waves and rides the billows. How can you tell the difference? If you can distinguish them, then you are capable of learning. If you can't tell them apart, you might as well be rolling on the ground on the street in Chang'an" 我有三句語，示汝諸人。一句函蓋乾坤，一句截斷眾流，一句隨波逐浪。作麼生辨？若辨得出，有參學分。若辨不出，長安路上輥輥地.[64] Master Wenyan had once said "Encompassing all of Heaven and Earth, eyes keen enough to distinguish each ounce or grain, not meddling in worldly affairs: how do you think you can handle that?" 函蓋乾坤，目機銖兩，不涉世緣，作麼生承當.[65] So "encompass Heaven and Earth" was originally the phrase of Master Wenyan, later reused by other masters of Yunmen, building on this tradition.

Yunmen's verses were especially rich in poetic nuance. The examples suggested by the three sentences are very numerous. In the interaction of Chan and poetry, sometimes a whole verse is quoted, sometimes an original is composed, sometimes used as a device to strike you back into attention, sometimes used to represent a space. To speak of "following the waves and riding the

63 *Shilin shihua*, 4b–5a, rpt. in *Siku quanshu*, 1478:988. While in most woodblock prints of later times, Yunmen 雲門 is corrupted into Yunjian 雲間, there is a Yuan print that correctly reads 雲門; see Ye Mengde, *Ye xiansheng shihua*, A.3b–4a.

64 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 15.935.

65 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 15.930.

billows" is a general image meaning to look at things from a broad point of view, while "slicing the myriad currents" is narrow, so it means to look at things from a focused point of view. The methods for attaining enlightenment are various, so the verses assisting in it differ accordingly. These three sentences are not limited to Du Fu's verse, the other great poets would exemplify them as well, but this is up to the reader to sense on his own.

Shi Yidui: These three types of phrases can be used to explain poetry but also to explain Chan, in accordance with the complementarity between poetry and Chan. In the records of the Chan monks, this kind of dialogue has an extraordinary value for understanding both poetry writing and also Chan practice.

Jao Tsung-i: The monk Zhiyi 紙衣 (i.e., Kefu 克符) of Zhuozhou 涿州 asked Linji 臨濟 (d. ca. 866): "How do you remove the person but not the scene, or remove the scene but not the person, or remove both person and scene, or neither person nor scene?" 如何是奪人不奪境，奪境不奪人，人境兩俱奪，人境俱不奪四境界. So Master Linji wrote verses to illustrate his answers for each kind of perspective. For the first two scenarios he wrote:

> Removing the person but not the scene:
> The warm sun fosters life, dispersing a brocade over the ground;
> The infant's hair flows down, white as willow-floss.
>
> 奪人不奪境：煦曰發生鋪地錦，嬰兒垂髮白如絲。
>
> Removing the scene but not the person:
> The royal commands have already traveled throughout the entire realm,
> But the generals beyond the pass are cut off from all fog or dust of travel.
>
> 奪境不奪人：王令已行天下徧，將軍塞外絕煙塵。[66]

This exchange is based entirely on using the method of metaphor and stimulus from ancient Chinese poetry. So composing a Buddhist verse can be just like composing any poem. It is just as Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927) said of the "realms" (*jingjie* 境界) of poetry: there is a realm with a self in it, and a realm without any self. To remove the person but not the scene refers to the realm of no-self, while removing the scene but not the person would have to

66 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 11.656.

be the realm with a self, wouldn't it? This parallel may not work out exactly, but regarding the division of self and other, and the creation and elimination of the scene around the person, the Buddhists have fully investigated all this and developed comprehensive doctrines. Later interpreters can hardly do more than rehash the discoveries of these Chan writers.

Shi Yidui: Yi Yingding 伊應鼎 noted in his commentary to the poetry of Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634–1711, a.k.a. Yuyang shanren 漁洋山人), *Yuyang shanren jinghua lu* 漁洋山人精華錄, that:

> For a pentasyllabic quatrain, the supreme possibility is to be classical, limpid, calm, and remote. In describing landscape, it ought to be as with Wenbo Xuezi—wherever you looked the Way was right there, appearing straightaway to the touch, without any intellectual effort.[67] When writing of feelings, then it ought to be like Xi Kang waving his hand and sending off an interlocutor with his gaze,[68] with the intent right in the center, and the spirit roaming beyond the external phenomena. Thus for Chan, anything that is merely sayable is crude, and only the unsayable is marvelous, but that the unsayable itself is unsayable is the most marvelous of all.
>
> 五言絕句，以古澹閑遠為上乘。言景，則當如溫伯雪子之「目擊而道存」，信手拈來，不假思議也；言情，則當如嵇叔夜之手揮目送，意在箇中，神遊象外也。故禪宗以可說為粗，以不可說為妙，是「不可說」亦不可說為妙中之妙。[69]

This seems to represent a basis for the view of poets that poetry can communicate Chan understanding. The two are hard to distinguish, but one can at least distinguish between the skill with which they are integrated in either crude or marvelous manner. But there must be different aims with regard to craft, or what is unsayable, not to mention the relation between composing poetry and practicing Chan itself.

Jao Tsung-i: Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551–1602) discussed the transformations within Du Fu's poetry, and said: "Changing the primary framework transforms

67 As he is praised by Confucius in *Zhuangzi*. See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 21.706.

68 As Xi Kang wrote in a poem, "Zeng xiucai ru jun" 贈秀才入軍 (4 of 5), of "Sending off the returning goose with my gaze, playing the five strings of the zither with my hand." 目送歸鴻，手揮五絃. See *Wenxuan*, 24.1129.

69 *Yuyang shanren jinghua lu. Huixin oubi*, 5.1b. See also *Yuyang jinghua lu jishi*, 1.111.

the primary scene as well. The framework is easy to see but the scene is harder to discern" 變主格，化主境。格易見而境難窺.[70] He cites the cases of the "heaven and earth of the Brocade River" 錦江天地, the "floating clouds on Jade Goblet Mountain" 玉壘浮雲[71] as examples where the scene is changed within a word; "a sheer cliff beyond the clouds" 絕壁過雲, "sparse pines blocking the water" 疏松隔水[72] as examples where the scene changes within a line; and "the water of Kunming Lake" 昆明池水,[73] "gale fierce and Heaven high" 風急天高[74] as examples where the scene is changed within the whole poem. I find that this distinction between word, line, and poem is forced and hard to make in practice. But the transformation of the scene is what makes it possible that when the spirit moves, Heaven follows, letting the heart be free to follow its own desire. Because the scenery outside differs, the realm created within the poem will differ as well. It is just as Chan master Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069) said: "Sacred pearls in the palm, they reflect all the colors and share in their radiance; when the cherished moon is in the sky, it traverses the thousand rivers as it reveals its image" 摩尼在掌，隨眾色以分輝；寶月當空，逐千江而現影.[75] How can you keep in accord with the patterns of natural transformation? Where are the boundaries between self and other? In this way, whether discussing *shi* or *ci* poetry, or Chan verses, the principle should be consistent throughout.[76]

2 Complete Penetration without Obstacle, Chan Mind Just So

Shi Yidui: Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366) said: "Penetrating the principles, the spirit's fuel is furthered; / In brilliant gleam the divine fire is passed on" 窮理增靈薪，昭昭神火傳.[77] Chan and poetry in their mutual relationship have built up a long tradition. The method of participating in Chan may include all kinds of methods of this type, using similes and analogies, direct statement or

70 *Shisou*, 5.90.

71 Du Fu, "Denglou" 登樓, *Dushi xiangzhu*, 13.1130.

72 Du Fu, "Qiyue yiri ti Zhong mingfu shuilou ershou" 七月一日題終明府水樓二首, *Dushi xiangzhu*, 19.1651.

73 Du Fu, "Qiuxing bashou" 秋興八首, *Dushi xiangzhu*, 17.1484.

74 Du Fu, "Denggao" 登高, *Dushi xiangzhu*, 20.1766.

75 *T* 1993: 47.631b.

76 Editor's note: the source text contains a paragraph about Fang Yizhi 方以智 and painting here which seems to be an irrelevant interpolation.

77 Zhi Dun, "Shu huai shi qi'er" 述懷詩其二, *Zhidao lin ji* 支道林集, 6b, rpt. in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1304:48.

associative thinking, using metaphor directly or indirectly, employing literary techniques or rejecting them, and so on. Many examples could be cited, and using all these techniques could be seen as a kind of development of one's own individual intelligence. The methods of poetry and of Chan are opposite with regard to writing itself though: one cannot be parted from it, the other cannot rely on it. As to method, one employs method and the other overcomes it. Chan and painting similarly have their own relationship like this.

Jao Tsung-i: Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) signed his own paintings as Huachanshi 畫禪室 (Studio of Chan painting), suggesting the early affinity between Chan and painting. Dandang 擔當 (1593–1673) says: "In painting there is no Chan, but through painting one can understand Chan. What you can say, you can say; what is not so is not so" 畫中無禪，惟畫通禪。將謂將謂，不然不然. Even if it is so there will still be some doubt; but you must distinguish affirmation and doubt. You cannot affirm it and yet also cannot deny it, you cannot say it and yet also there is nothing you cannot say, and so it is by transcending every direction that you reach all the ten directions (the eight directions plus up and down). Without overcoming the present moment, the ten directions are all illuminated. Bringing this illumination into painting and poetry, you will naturally reach a delightful state. Huang Tingjian composed an encomium to his own self-portrait, and criticized Wang Wei's analogy of poetry and painting as follows: "After all, without colors you cannot use poetry to make a painting, nor can you paint a poem without using any sound" 既不能詩成無色之畫，畫出無聲之詩.[78] A colorless painting, a soundless poem: but isn't that more or less what a Chan painting is? In his lines answering Luo Maoheng 羅茂衡, Huang Tingjian also wrote: "Spring grasses, plump cattle freed from their nose tether, / Wild ducks amid water bamboo and bulrushes, flying back home" 春草肥牛脫鼻繩，菰蒲野鴨還飛去.[79] This simple couplet might be read as a lively Chan painting in itself.

So the mindset of a painter must be like the mindset of a Chan monk. At the beginning you have to control and restrain this mind, like the tethered cow, until it is properly trained, when you no longer need the tether, and then it is like the wild duck coursing at will over the seas and through the skies. In painting, you begin by means of method, but in the end you must overcome method. You start out with the method until you are capable, then you change

78 Huang Tingjian, "Xiezhen zizan liushou" 寫真自贊六首, *Yuzhang Huang xiansheng wenji*, 14.6b.

79 Huang Tingjian, "Fengda Maoheng huizhi changju" 奉答茂衡惠紙長句, *Shangu waiji shizhu* 山谷外集詩注, in *Huang Tingjian shiji zhu*, 4:12.1176.

it and grow even greater. According to the teaching of Huanglong Huinan: "As long as any thread of doubt is there, you have not achieved the level beyond learning, and then how can you roam seven ways up and down and eight ways side to side, following the turnings of Heaven and the spinning Earth?" 但有纖疑在，不到無學，安能七縱八橫，天迴地轉哉.[80] The brilliant painters Bada Shanren 八大山人 (born Zhu Da 朱耷, 1626–1705) and Shi Tao 石濤 (1642–1707) both attained that aesthetic realm beyond the reach of study alone. The ink sprayed forth in a force like clouds collapsing; their brushes penetrated the emptiness; their colors were like blue mist. The aesthetic effect of such creativity is as if dead ash can be revived, barren wood can bloom in spring: this kind of freedom of the creator is what Huanglong Huinan meant by "seven ways up and down and eight ways side to side."

All this is the same as with Chan insights. As we have seen above, Ye Mengde used Chan as a metaphor for poetry, as we have seen, first with the line about following the waves, second with the line about cutting across the current, and third with the lines that encompass everything at once, "Wild rice drifting on the waves," "dew chill on lotus pods": all this could also be applied to painting, and so be used to encompass all the phenomena of Heaven and Earth in a single artwork.

2.1 *Displaying Method and Achieving Enlightenment*

Shi Yidui: About sudden enlightenment and gradual enlightenment: the Fifth Patriarch, Hongren 弘忍 (601–675), had two disciples Shenxiu 神秀 (606–706) and Huineng 慧能 (638–731), who taught different Chan practices and different methods for achieving enlightenment. Shenhui 神會 (668–760) summed up Shenxiu's method of the mind in the following quatrain:

Focusing the mind to enter meditation,	凝心入定
Stilling to mind to perceive purity;	住心看淨
Stir up the mind to illuminate what lies outside,	起心外照
Master the mind to verify that within yourself.	攝心內證[81]

This explains the method and process of gradually attaining enlightenment. Through all kinds of skillful means, step by step you approach a higher awareness. The Fifth Patriarch was especially particular about processes like "pointing to a thing and asking its meaning" 指事問意 and "using something as verification" 就事而徵.

80 *T* 2036: 49.678a.
81 *Shenhui yulu*, 108.

But Huineng, by contrast, said:

> Out of the inner mind knowledge becomes self-aware. If you have some heretical thoughts, and are overcome by false thoughts, then even if you are instructed from the outside by goodness and knowledge, you cannot be saved. But if there arise true insights into prajña, then in a single instance all those false thoughts will vanish. If you perceive your own nature, then with enlightenment you arrive at once at the Buddha land.
>
> 自心內有知識自悟，若起邪迷，妄念顛倒，外善知識雖有教授，救不可得。若起真正般若觀照，一剎那間，妄念俱滅。若識自性，一悟即至佛地。[82]

This sudden approach to enlightenment was a giant leap forward. Pushing open the door of your own nature, you could open up the path of the myriad faculties.

According to the Chan school, each person has his own aims. By perceiving the differences in method, the Fifth Patriarch was followed by the Northern School represented by Shenxiu and the Southern School represented by Huineng. After the Sixth Patriarch, the Southern School continued to develop and establish separate lineages. This division in Chan had a deep impact on poetic composition and other artistic activities.

Jao Tsung-i: In the Six Dynasties, the North and South were divided, and their culture became quite distinct, and consciously opposed. The "Biographies of the Confucian Scholars" 儒林傳 chapter in the *History of the Northern Dynasties* (Beishi 北史) discusses these differences in scholarly customs. After the Chan school arose, and Huineng and Shenxiu established different paths, Huineng then crossed over the mountains, and disseminated his own path throughout the country. It was said that "Shenxiu's school was the Northern and Huineng's the Southern. The names of the Northern and Southern Schools arose for this reason" 謂秀宗為北，能宗為南。南北二宗，名從此起.[83] Master Hongbian 弘辯 of Jianfu 薦福 Temple responded to Emperor Xuanzong's 宣宗 (r. 846–859) question as to why there were these two schools of Chan: "In their teachings about the path to enlightenment they differed in being sudden or gradual, which is why we say the Southern was sudden and the Northern gradual. It is

82 *Liuzu tanjing jianzhu*, 2.163.
83 *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, 8.178.

not to say that the Chan masters were originally distinguished as Northern or Southern" 開導發悟有頓漸之異，故云南頓北漸，非禪師本有南北之號也.[84]

When we come to discuss writing and poetry too, we can use the Northern and Southern Schools to establish the basic opposition [of gradual or sudden enlightenment], and this division has been followed by later generations as well. In fact this is not related to their original Buddhist implications but is merely a kind of metaphor. People in the Tang already used North and South to represent the sudden or gradual approaches to enlightenment. There is a record of a monk asking the Master Shifo Xiaotong 石佛曉通 (Northern Song) of Yuezhou 越州: "What is the sudden teaching?" The Master said, "It is the moon setting on a chilly pool." He asked "What is the gradual teaching?" The Master replied: "The clouds appearing in the emerald heavens" 如何是頓教？師曰: 月落寒潭。曰：如何是漸教？曰：雲生碧漢.[85] Using scenery as an analogy is a poetic answer. When using the Northern and Southern Schools to interpret poetry, they have this same kind of metaphorical implication but not a strict technical meaning.

Shi Yidui: The Third Patriarch, Sengcan 僧璨 (510–606), wrote an "Inscription on Trusting the Mind" 信心銘 promoting the method of the mind. It says:

Eliminating bonds, eliminating anxiety,	絕緣絕慮
There is no place you cannot penetrate.	無處不通
Returning to the root to obtain the essence,	歸根得旨
Following the illumination [of external objects] you lose the source.	隨照失宗
But a single instant of reflexive illumination	須臾返照
Is superior to the previous emptiness. …	勝卻前空
Released into spontaneity,	放之自然
The body no longer departs or stays.	體無去住
Letting nature be in accord with the Dao,	任性合道
It roams at will, free of all worry.	逍遙絕惱[86]

Using the method of "reflexive illumination" (*fanzhao* 返照, a keyword of Chan thought), i.e. reflection on one's own inner nature, one can trigger sudden enlightenment, and directly penetrate the great meaning of the Dharma, attaining the realm of spontaneity and freedom in accordance with the Dao. That is, you cannot let yourself be controlled by speech, but have to be liberated from language, and to do this one must use dynamic language, dynamic methods, so

84 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 4.225.
85 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 16.1065.
86 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 1.49.

as to achieve the sudden awareness of Chan process. This is another way of reiterating the Chan principle of "not relying on writing" 不立文字. Approaching artistic creation from this point of view, is there a shortcut to approach it?

Jao Tsung-i: The scholar Wu Lai 吳萊 (1297–1340) composed five "Postfaces to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*" 春秋後題. The first is entitled, "Postface on the *Overall Meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals*" 春秋通旨後題, and elucidates the meaning of Zhao Fu's 趙復 (Southern Song) scholarship, as well as discussing how to read the commentary to the *Annals* by Hu Anguo 胡安國 (1074–1138):

> If you want to read Master Hu's commentary, you first need to seek out its overall meaning. Thus it is said that historical writings are like painting by brush, while the classical texts are like spontaneous nature. But looking at these in turn, how does natural spontaneity differ from painting? Because it continues to transform along with worldly affairs, and so the primary canons are transmitted by the mind entirely apart from histories, and determine the great decisions of the sages at exactly the right moments.
>
> 欲觀正傳，又必先求之通旨，故曰史文如畫筆，經文如化工。若以一例觀，則化工與畫筆何異？惟其隨事而變化，則史外傳心之要典，聖人時中之大權也.[87]

Wu Lai is pointing out this same method of non-duality in the transmission between minds, without making use of historical records. Real scholarly erudition consists precisely in this kind of transmission, in recognizing the meaning that lies beyond the text, "seeking out its overall meaning," and not getting bogged down in superficialities. The text of the classics is not like mechanical painting by brush, nor is it a simple matter of inscribing events in writing. This is the ultimate shortcut to enlightenment with regard to the classics.

However, in artistic creation, there is also an incremental perspective. Painters who are truly steeped in the art of calligraphy understand its relation with the principles of painting, and can find inspiration wherever they go. But this is something they can only achieve through long practice and not attain rapidly. The mastery of the arts first requires long and diligent application, not just the "Eight Reversions" 八還 of the Buddha;[88] and the depth of one's creation will match the "Ten Stages" 十地 of progress towards boddhisattvahood.

87 Wu Lai 吳萊, "Chunqiu tongzhi houti" 春秋通旨後題, *Yuanying ji*, 12.28a.

88 Editor's note: The Eight Reversions, such as light returning to its origin in the sun, are originally described in the *Śūrangama sūtra*. See *T* 945: 19.111a/b. But they are elaborated on further in later Chan thought.

The masters of the Ming had a deep recognition of the common principles underlying both calligraphy and painting, so their achievements often surpassed their predecessors. This critical insight had the utmost significance.

Gong Xian 龔賢 (1618–1689) wrote a letter to Hu Yuanrun 胡元潤 saying:

> It is said that "After painting for ten years, you no longer have any traces of obstruction. After twenty years, you can no longer be said to remain in *hunlun* (primordial state of chaos)." That the accomplished painter no longer has the traces of obstruction is well known. But to suppose that one can surpass the state of *hunlun*, is this not the opposite of the truth? Some painters call *hunlun* what is simply vagueness, but this is not *hunlun*. Only when the brushstrokes are so subtle that there is no longer any distinction between the technique of the brush and the movement of the ink constitutes true *hunlun*. My honorable friend, in generations of family scholarship, you and your brother have imbibed deeply and slept and dreamt among the haggard brushtips and the stubborn stones for forty years, but I have still not seen your limits. Since I would not want to be slandered as someone who speaks out boldly about the wonders of the Five Marchmounts without even having left the inner chambers, how dare I even speak further?
>
> 畫十年後，無結滯之跡矣。二十年後，無渾淪之名矣。無結滯之跡者，人知之也。無渾淪之名者，其說不亦反乎。然畫家亦有以模糊而謂之渾淪者，非渾淪也。惟筆墨俱妙，而無筆法墨氣之分，此真渾淪矣。足下兄弟，世其家學，沈酣夢寐於枯毫頑石間者四十年，吾竟不能窺所至。夫未離閨閾，而談五岳之奇，雖稱亦謗也，余何敢。[89]

The word *hunlun* is seen already in *Liezi* 列子: "When vital energy has form and substance but they are not yet distinguished, this is called *hunlun*. *Hunlun* refers to when the myriad things are all in a state of undifferentiated chaos" 氣形質具而未相離，故曰渾淪。渾淪者，言萬物相渾淪而未相離也.[90] In *Zhuangzi*, moreover, the closely related *hundun* 混沌 is identified as the "Ruler of the Center" 中央之帝.[91] Both these terms represent a state of spontaneous creativity, but can also be used as a metaphor for a state of harmony, since there are no limitations or conflicts. Gong Xian borrows this Daoist term as a metaphor for painting, not as a synonym for something vague or unclear, but

89 *Chidu xinchao*, 10.262.
90 *Liezi jishi*, 1.6–7.
91 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 3.317.

rather for the ultimate, seamless blending of brush and ink. To achieve this state of *hunlun* requires one to pass through three stages;

1. No longer having the defect of any obstruction after ten years of practice. Defects in use of the brush and in the effects of the ink.
2. No longer deserves to be called *hunlun* after twenty years of practice. No longer vague, unclear.
3. After forty years of practice, true *hunlun*. No longer any distinction in the use of the brush and the effects of the ink, but purely in accordance with spontaneous forces of nature.

Shi Yidui: The Buddhists distinguish between the Greater Vehicle (*Mahāyāna*) and the Lesser Vehicle (*Hīnayāna*), and painters contrast the shaping force of Nature with the painter's craft. The corresponding status of each one is clear. In the process of artistic creation, though, the principles of Chan and painting can become integrated with each other.

Jao Tsung-i: Dong Qichang borrowed the concept of "Eight Reversions" from the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* (*Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經), which was especially influential in Chan, and used them to analyze painting. In studying the painters of the past, the important thing is to be able to match them even though the spirit is remote from them, just like the legendary hero Nezha 哪吒, who carved up his own bones to return them to his father. The meaning of *huan* 還 "reversion" here is critical. The way of learning the various arts always begins with attaining the methods in order to be capable oneself; but then advances to changing those methods in order to achieve greatness for oneself. Therefore one needs first to synthesize all these methods and only then to depart from the traditional craft. The brush of Bada Shanren derives from Dong Qichang, but by his late work, Bada had already carved up the bones completely, showing his deep understanding of the "Eight Reversions," so that he was able to realize his own unprecedented artistic vision. His seal itself reads "Eight Reversions," following the proposal by Dong.

Shi Tao in his *Record of Sayings on Painting* (Huayu lu 畫語錄) established the original and inspiring theory beginning with "painting the One" 一畫. "One" can produce two, then produce three, then all the other forms. Mastering one you can then control all the many forms, and what you attain just depends on how variously you apply it.[92] His painting *Sketch of Exploring All the Strange Peaks* (Soujin qifeng dacaogao 搜盡奇峰打草稿) at the Palace Museum in Beijing is extremely dense and intricate, and the scroll *Ten Thousand Ugly*

92 Shi Tao, "Yihua zhang" 一畫章, *Kugua heshang huayu lu*, 91.

Inkblots (Wandian emo 萬點惡墨) is also distinguished by its complexity. But the basis for this was his mastery of the principle that "One contains the whole" 一即一切. Bada was the opposite. He concentrated on returning to the source, and his achievement lay in simplicity. He tried to comprehend all the various shapes but then return them to simplicity, to one, satisfying the principle that "One contains the whole" in his own way. In this sense Shi Tao was closer to the Lesser Vehicle of Buddhism, but Bada was a Chan master of the Greater Vehicle of Mahāyāna.

2.2 *Immediacy and the Marvelous Way*

Shi Yidui: Chan masters prioritize the instantaneous, immediate insight, the "silent illumination," a private consciousness-raising and a transcendence of the self. All of these happen in the immediate present and belong to a present-oriented type of practice. That is to say, the marvelous Way of Chan lies in the immediate present. But this Way seems very hard to grasp.

Jao Tsung-i: Wang Shizhen wrote in his poem "Chan Master Huanglong Huitang" 黃龍晦堂禪師:

> Shangu [Huang Tingjian] was a master debater, 山谷大辯才
> But the marvelous doctrines are no more than chaff and husks; 妙義皆糠枇
> Just as the courtyard is redolent of osmanthus, 滿院木犀香
> So I conceal nothing from you. 吾無隱乎爾[93]

Huanglong Huitang was a companion of the famous poet Huang Tingjian, identified here by his style name, Shangu. According to the story, the Chan Master asked Huang Tingjian: "How do you understand the sentence, 'I conceal nothing from you'?" Huang's explanation was masterful, but Huitang disagreed with it, and Shangu did not concede. At this time an autumnal fragrance was filling the courtyard, so Huitang said, "Can you smell the fragrance of osmanthus?" Huang Tingjian replied: "I can." So Huitang said, "I conceal nothing from you." Then Huang Tingjian conceded the victory to Huitang.

I once saw a commentary to Huang Tingjian's poetry by the Japanese poet-monk of the Five Mountains (Gozan 五山), Banri Shūkyū 萬里集九 (b. 1428), entitled *Chōchūkō* 帳中香 (Fragrance from behind the curtain) in 21 volumes, that he collected and annotated for decades. It has an epigraph (by Shunkei

93 Wang Shizhen, "Huanglong Huitang chanshi" 黃龍晦堂禪師, *Yuyang jinghua lu jishi*, 12.1899.

Sōki 春渓宗熙, a.k.a. Hannya Tessen yaō 般若鐵船野翁, 1411–1494) which borrows this allusion:

> Incense was burned by the poet-founder of the Jiangxi school,
> But from Huanglong's spittle there arose a purer fragrance.
>
> 香為江西詩祖焚，黃龍涎亦起清芬。

The commentary to the *Yuyang shanren jinghua lu* (on the "Chan Master Huanglong Huitang") said, "The ultimate patterns and the marvelous Way are only in the immediate moment. If you mistake it in the present, but only seek it out in old pieces of paper, it is never there. … The garden of Huitang was redolent with the scent of flowers, which is right in front of you, something totally vivid, totally present, utterly vital, utterly appealing" 至理妙道只在當下，當面錯過，但從故紙上尋求都無是處。……晦堂滿院花香，當前指點，真箇是現現成成、活活潑潑的一箇.[94] This explains that Chan is something into which you can only achieve a silent insight, but cannot discuss or analyze.

Shi Yidui: A Chan master said, "Only somebody lost looks within words. The wise person becomes aware by turning to the mind" 迷人向文字中求，悟人向心而覺.[95] Huang Tingjian's experience shows how one must focus on the immediate environment, "responding to the moment, following the reflections of things," so as not to die of literalism. Therefore one needs to encounter some spiritual inspiration in one's environment (*xing hui* 興會). Composing poems, meditation, painting are all examples of this.

Jao Tsung-i: Zou Yigui 鄒一桂 (1686–1772) also discussed the relation between poetry and painting. He says that "lodging one's inspiration in painting is just the mirror image of the poets" 繪事之寄興，與詩人相表裏.[96] Wang Yu 王昱 (1714–1748) says that before one paints one must first "cultivate inspiration" (*yang xing* 養興), just as before writing a poem one must first store up some inspiration. Song Dazun 宋大樽 (1746–1804) says: "If you do not rely on a moment of inspiration to complete a work, all you have are mere traces … If you apply your craft solely to a single instant of experience, you still dare not wait

94 *Yuyang shanren jinghua lu. Huixin oubi*, 5.18b. See also *Yuyang jinghua lu jishi*, 12.1899.
95 According to the *Dazhu chanshi yulu* 大珠禪師語錄. *Chanzong yaoji bazhong*, B.33.
96 Pan Wenxie, *Zou Yigui shengping kao yu Xiaoshan huapu jiaojian*, 2.121.

for this moment, as the artist himself does not know the causes" 不佇興而就，皆迹也……適工於俄頃者，此俄頃亦非敢覬也，而工者莫知其所以然.[97]

Qing-Dynasty critics of poetry liked to use similar terms like, "lodging inspiration" 興寄 or "images of inspiration" 興象. Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–1797) wrote that, "If you write rapidly without making corrections, your inspiration goes straight into the words" 文不加點，興到語耳 and "People live in houses, but I come from beyond Heaven" 人居屋中，我來天外.[98] This is like the idea of Liezi, to ride upon the wind without any conditions or constraints. Creating a painting is the same. A beautiful conception is not going to be available all the time. Every work has to be made on the spur of the moment as the spirit moves you.

Shi Yidui: Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–976) said, "The magic cinnabar is forged nine times into a potion, and iron is gradually converted into gold. When the ultimate principle is stated just once, it converts the ordinary person into a sage immediately" 神丹九轉，點鐵成金。至理一言，轉凡成聖.[99] Even with the benefit of the cinnabar, the recipes for Daoist immortality still require the repetitive effort of compounding the ingredients. Similarly, before a moment of enlightenment, one may practice for a very long time. Gradual enlightenment means that through steady practice ignorance is converted into awareness. Sudden enlightenment means becoming aware of one's nature and attaining Buddhahood in the present moment. The two are only separated by that one moment. Discipline, meditation, and wisdom are traditionally the three components of Buddhist practice, the methods used to instruct ordinary believers and lead them on the path towards enlightenment in an accretive process. So the training beforehand is also very important.

Jao Tsung-i: If you wait to compose the poem it will surely not be a good poem. If you analyze it in terms of Buddhism, it will not end up satisfying the doctrine. And if you apply Chan theory to poetry too strictly it will end up imposing shackles on it, rather than helping to interpret it. Recent scholars have adopted the approach of using Chan to interpret poetry to the extent of applying the Five Ranks theory of the Caodong 曹洞 school,[100] but they do not realize that poetry is also about sudden inspiration. "At a moment of inspiration the spirit arrives; you cannot mark a sign on a boat like the man attempting to remember

97 *Mingxiang shilun*, 4.
98 *Xu shipin zhu*, 146.
99 *Zong jing lu*, 1.53.
100 For details see below.

where he had dropped his sword in a river, or climb a tree in pursuit of a fish [like the man in *Mencius*]" 興會神到，不可刻舟緣木求之.[101]

2.3 *Rightful Moderation and Delightful Harmony*

Shi Yidui: The Lion Forest garden in Suzhou was built by the monk Tianru 天如 (i.e., Weize 惟則, 1286–1354) in the Yuan Dynasty. The bamboo, trees, and unusual rocks all form a painting-like scene. Tianru was the author of the *Lengyan jing huijie* 楞嚴經會解 commentary to the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, as well as a dialogue compilation and other recorded sayings. He was said to have made a fundamental transformation in the Chan practices of his school.[102] Professor Jao, you once used the original manuscript of his *Pu shuo* 普說 (Sermon discussion), held at the Bei Shan Tang 北山堂 collection in Hong Kong, as the basis for a lecture. At that time, you sliced across the myriad currents, pointing directly at the mind and inner nature: it was just like being right there in the Lion Forest, communing with the spirit of Tianru, and the whole lecture room was transformed into a Chan hall![103] It was a remarkable moment. Tianru's own scholarship originated from the "Two Peaks" (two masters both with *feng* 峰 "peak" in their names). The first "Peak" was Zhongfeng 中峰, a.k.a. Tianmu Mingben 天目明本 (1263–1323), nineteenth patriarch of the Linji 臨濟 sect, who lived at Shiziyan 師子岩 on Mount Tianmu. But he had previously studied with the second "Peak," namely Gaofeng Yuanmiao 高峰原妙 (1238–1295) of Hangzhou.

Did your study of Tianru and its lessons and insights also have an influence on your artistic production?

Jao Tsung-i: Tianru's manuscript *Pu shuo* is a tremendous piece, a very long scroll with the individual characters over an inch in height.

The brush style is expansive, lucid, and solemn to the point of astonishing tens of thousands of people and thus deserved to be called a magnificent piece of calligraphy. The colophons at the end are innumerable. One says, "When the lion roars, the brains of all the other beasts are split in half" 獅子一鳴，百獸腦俱裂 (penned by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒, 1558–1639). Another says, "Using the brush as a rod, dotting the painting with shouts (to bring the student back to attention)" 以筆為棒，點畫為喝. And again: "By hand and mouth, with the voice

101 *Chibei outan*, 18.436.

102 *Tianru weize chanshi yulu* 天如惟則禪師語錄, in *X* 1403:70.842b.

103 Jao Tsung-i, "Shizilin yu Tianru heshang," *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji*, 7:360.

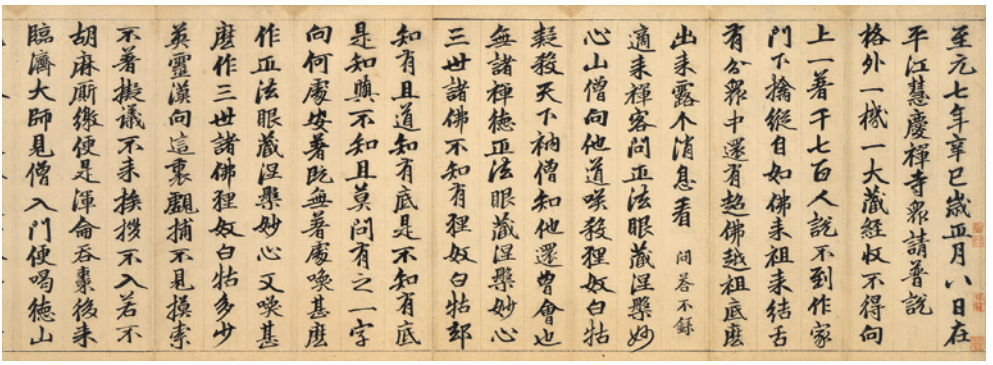

FIGURE 2.3 Tianru's 天如 manuscript *Pu shuo* 普說, Monk Weize 釋惟則, *Sermon Discussion* in Running Script 行書普說卷, Yuan Dynasty 元, Handscroll, ink on paper 水墨紙本手卷, 32.7 × 1,134.5 cm, Collection of Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學文物館藏, Gift of Bei Shan Tang 北山堂惠贈, Acc. no.: 1997.0230. The image may not be copied or used without authorization.

of no more than a fly, it vies with the lion's roar" 亦手亦口，以蒼蠅聲，敵獅子吼 (penned by Zhou Yongnian 周永年, fl. 1643–1644).[104]

Examining the Yuan printing of the *Leftover Sayings of Tianru* 天如剩語, I found that it records that on the Buddha's Birthday, the Master once showed a staff to the students and said, "There is an opening atop the crown of the head, so plainly visible it cannot be covered. There is also a trigger under the heel, so full of life that it cannot be blocked" 頂門上有一竅，露堂堂，無所覆藏。脚根下有一機，活鱍鱍，無所滯礙.[105] What an incisive remark! Tianru's scholarship applied Chan to Pure Land thought. He borrowed from the 108 verses of Zhongfeng to compose the *Huowen* 或問 (Someone asks), which says, "The Pure Land is not separate from the original mind, nor does it differ from the original meaning of He Who Came from the West, Bodhidharma; it only conforms to the variousness of the *ji* 機, 'faculty/occasion'" 淨土不離本心，與西來意曾何差別，特被機之異而已.[106] He sets out from the art of

104 Duan Fang 端方, *Renyin xiaoxia lu* 壬寅消夏錄, rpt. in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1089:451.

105 *Tianru weize chanshi yulu*, *X* 1403: 70.834b.

106 See Zheng Yuanyou's 鄭元佑 (1292–1364) 1352 preface to *A Collection of the Leftover Sayings of Monk Tianru of the Lion Forest* 師子林天如和尚剩語集, compiled by Shanyu 善遇 and published around 1354 in two fascicles. The Yuan print Jao consulted was probably the one held in the Special Collections of the Fung Ping Shan Library, The University of Hong Kong.

calligraphy, and proceeds by means of the *ji*, the path of his thought and the path of his brush melding into one. Each brush stroke penetrates deep into the viewer's flesh with its unstoppable force. Someone accustomed to flattering language and charming appearances, upon seeing the master's calligraphy, ought immediately to feel a gasp of awe and an unbearable sense of shame before it.

The scholarship of the Chan masters influenced the arts, and by the Yuan it had already made a permanent mark on poetry and painting. When Bada Shanren borrowed the concept of "Eight Reversions" 八還 as his art name, it was once thought that he had been inspired by Dong Qichang's *Huachanshi suibi* 畫禪室隨筆 (Essays of the Chamber for painting Chan), but in fact the source was Zhu Yunming's 祝允明 (1460–1526) "Gāthā Composed in a Dream" 夢中伽陀,[107] which had already alluded to the "Eight Reversions" from the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* (*Lengyan jing*). From this we can see that the famous painters from Suzhou were well versed in Chan. Zhou Yongnian 周永年 wrote a colophon on this scroll in the year before the fall of the Ming, 1643. Zhou had used up all his life's energy to compile the *Wudu fasheng* 吳都法乘 (Dharma annals from the Wu capital). All writings having to do with Tianru are gathered in this text, from which we can see his influence on the painters of Suzhou.

Shi Yidui: The original discussion of host and guest was presented by the founder of the Linji school of Chan, Yixuan 義玄 (d. ca. 866). It consists of four different modes:

> When host and guest meet they vie with each other in discussion. At times, in response to something, they may manifest a form; at times they may act with their whole body; or they may use tricks or devices to appear joyful or angry; or they may reveal half of the body; or again they may ride upon a lion or mount a lordly elephant.
>
> A true student gives a shout, and to start with holds out a sticky lacquer tray. The teacher, not discerning that this is an objective circumstance, goes after it and performs antics with it. The student again shouts but still the teacher is unwilling to let go. This is a disease of the vitals that no doctoring can cure; it is called "the guest examines the host."

107 Zhu Yunming, "Ji mengzhong zuo gatuo" 記夢中作伽陀, in *Wudu fasheng* 吳都法乘, *B* 0193: 34.905a.

> Sometimes a teacher will offer nothing, but, the moment a student asks a question, grabs it away. The student, his question having been taken from him, resists to the death and will not let go. This is called "the host examines the guest."
>
> Sometimes a student comes forth before a teacher in conformity with a state of purity. The teacher, discerning that this is an objective circumstance, seizes it and flings it into a pit. "What an excellent teacher!" exclaims the student, and the teacher replies, "Bah! You can't tell good from bad!" Thereupon the student makes a deep bow: this is called "the host examines the host."
>
> Or again, a student will appear before a teacher wearing a cangue and bound with chains. The teacher fastens on still more chains and cangues for him. The student is so delighted that he can't tell what is what; this is called "the guest examines the guest."

> 如主客相見，便有言論往來。或應物現形，或全體作用，或把機權喜怒，或現半身，或乘師子，或乘象王。
>
> 如真正學人，便喝，先拈出一箇膠盒子。善知識不辨是境，便上他境上作摸作樣。學人便喝，前人不肯放下，此是膏肓之病不堪醫，喚作「客看主」。
>
> 或是善知識不拈出物，隨學人問處即奪。學人被奪，抵死不放，此是「主看客」。
>
> 或有學人，應一箇清淨境出善知識前，善知識辨得是境，把得拋向坑裏。學人言：「大好善知識」。即云：「咄哉！不識好惡。」學人便禮拜，此喚作「主看主」。
>
> 或有學人，披枷帶鎖出善知識前，善知識更與安一重枷鎖。學人歡喜，彼此不辨，喚作「客看客」。[108]

Similarly, you once explained the Five Ranks of Caodong Chan based on the teaching of Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840–901):

> Absolute: The realm of emptiness originally without objects. ("In emptiness there is a path beyond the dust and dirt.")
> Relative: The realm of the senses, containing all the different forms.
> Relative in the Absolute: Action contrary to principle. ("Third watch at the beginning of the night before the bright moon.")

108 *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao chanshi yulu* 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄, *T* 1985: 47.501a. Translation quoted from Sasaki, trans., *The Record of Linji*, 23–24.

> Absolute in the Relative: Relying on matters to enter true principle. ("Don't let your head get lost again but distinguish the images.")
> Absolute within the Comprehensive: Responding to all the conditions in the darkness, not falling into any of the traces of being. ("Two blades engaging in combat, but no need to escape.")
>
> 正位—即空界，本來無物。（「無中有路隔塵埃」）
> 偏位—即色界，有萬象形。
> 正中偏—背理就事。（如「三更初夜月明前」）
> 偏中正—舍事入理。（「休更迷頭猶認影」）
> 兼（帶）中至—冥應眾緣，不墮諸有。（「兩刃交鋒不須避」）[109]

You then commented that, interpreting these in analogy to the relation of master and servant, then "the Master is the Absolute and the Servant the Relative. When the servant faces the master, that is the Absolute in the Relative, and when the master looks at the servant that is the Relative in the Absolute. When the relation of master and servant is harmonious, then that is the Absolute within the Comprehensive" 君為正位，臣為偏位。臣向君是偏中正，君視臣是正中偏，君臣道合是兼帶.[110]

Could you clarify how these become relevant for the theory of painting too?

Jao Tsung-i: The Linji discussion of guest and host is actually negative in purpose. The intention is to "recognize devils and glean the wondrous," to teach people how to distinguish between the proper or improper. The Five Ranks of Caodong have a more constructive function, since they are intended to eliminate any kind of deception or pretense, prevent you from getting mired in worldly things, to eliminate the boundary between Form and Emptiness, and ultimately achieve the unification of worldly matters and underlying principle.

I believe that Bada Shanren's way of using nonduality to compose paintings, according to Chan principle, had four features: first, using empty space and gradations of depth to represent the distinction between Form and Emptiness; second, using horizontal arrangement, and density of imagery, to reveal the beauty of transformations between the absolute and relative, to stabilize the center of gravity of the painting; third, to use the correspondence of top and bottom, front and back to achieve the full coherence of composition in the painting; fourth, using the relative weight and complexity of brushstrokes to achieve dynamic and forceful effect, representing the mutual influence of the

109 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 13.787.
110 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 13.787.

scene and the person. The most critical of all these is the "Absolute within the Comprehensive," which aims to realize a silent synthesis of all conditions, allowing the whole painting to become one seamless whole. This is the highest possible realm of art.

Bada's close friend Jizhi 機質, a monk from Nanchang 南昌, wrote the following verse for him:

The sound of chanting is lost beyond the thousand peaks,	梵音撇在千峰外
Clapping hands, tapping palms, you can play tricks.	拍手拊掌會捏怪
Seeing through Heaven and Earth, communing in secret,	識破乾坤闇裏閶
Illumination permanently unites the Three Realms.	光明永鎮通三界[111]

This says that you can penetrate directly to the sources of the mind without chanting or reciting scriptures, and so encounter the secrets of Heaven and Earth. A great painter must play tricks and experiment with the strange so as to create a unique realm. Thus he may clap hands together to celebrate this creation. In the third line, the word *yin* 閶 derives from *Analects* 10/2: "When you speak with the high grandees, you must be agreeable and proper" 與上大夫言，闇闇如也. The Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) commentary glosses *yinyin* as "neutral and proper" 中正,[112] but the *Shuowen* dictionary instead glosses this graph as "offering correction in a cordial and pleasant manner" 和說而諍.[113] It means to attempt to reach a harmonious agreement in the course of conversation or debate. So the secret of Heaven and Earth lies in achieving this goal tacitly. How do you attain this enlightenment? According to Buddhist principles, you attain Thusness (*tathatā*), true reality, by means of ignorance. According to the principles of painting, it is out of the sharp black contours of the image that you lay out a new realm. Thus, to attain a state of harmony representing the Absolute in the Relative, or to overcome the relation of host and guest to reach an accommodation, it will not be easy to attain the goal without a deep imbibing of Chan principles. Thus I believe that Bada's method of composition is not the normal route used by painters, but comes out of the Chan conception of an "alternative transmission beyond verbal doctrine." This

111 Jao noted elsewhere (Chen Hanxi, *Rao Zongyi xueyi ji*, 142) that the poem was introduced to him by the art historian Wang Shiqing 汪世清 (1916–2003), who had quoted it from the sixth *juan* of *Guochao shizheng* 國朝詩正.

112 *Lunyu zhushu*, 10.139. Cf. translation in Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1:227.

113 *Shuowen jiezi*, 3A.52.

is not a forced interpretation but is the authentic meaning of his methods, properly understood.

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, you have a deep understanding of the Chan mechanisms in Bada's painting. In your article on "Explaining the Painting of Bada Shanren" 八大山人畫說, you present an incisive account of how his painting is successful. What lesson should we take from how he mastered the art of painting?

Jao Tsung-i: The eccentricity and intricacy of Bada Shanren's painting would later become a model for expressionist painters in general. Li Kuchan 李苦禪 (1899–1983) once said, "My whole life I have revered Bada's composition" 一生最佩服八大的章法.[114] Li indeed attained mastery by studying Bada, and so was also able to compose numerous insightful essays on painting. He believed that "When we trace the sources [of Bada's painting], it should derive from Ma Yuan and Xia Gui of the Southern Song" 究其淵源，當是南宋馬（遠）、夏（珪）遺範.[115] But this is not exactly on target. Bada was from a young age deeply acquainted with Chan, and at a young age received the orthodox teaching from Oldman Geng'an 耕庵老人 (Yingxue Hongmin 穎學弘敏, 1606–1671), the Caodong master. Geng'an belonged to the Caodong lineage of Boshan Yuanlai 博山元來 (1575–1630), so Bada was deeply familiar not just with Linji Chan but also Caodong Chan. I believe that he employed the profound insights of both the "host-guest" dynamic and the Five Ranks of Caodong in his own painting. This was what allowed him to be so original in composition and layout. This is the true origin of his painting style.

3 A Purified World, Ice Colder than Water

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, your painting *Ten Thousand Ugly Inkblots* (Wandian emo tu 萬點惡墨圖) uses the ink wash method of Shi Tao (mentioned above) to depict mountains and forests.

It expresses the painting inner feelings and characters, the result of your long Chan practice. When Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896–1994) saw it, he wrote a colophon at the beginning of the scroll, which praised it in these terms: "Ice is colder than water" 冰寒於水. He meant that the imitation had excelled even the original model. When your painting and calligraphy collection, *Rao Zongyi*

114 Li Kuchan, "Du Bada Shanren shuhua suiji," 1:3.
115 Li Kuchan, "Du Bada Shanren shuhua suiji," 1:3.

FIGURE 2.4–2.5 Jao Tsung-i's painting *Ten Thousand Ugly Inkblots* 萬點惡墨圖 in imitation of the style of Shi Tao 石濤

IMAGE COURTESY OF MS YIU CHING FUN, JAO TSUNG-I FOUNDATION

shuhua 饒宗頤書畫, was published in 1993, you also wrote a *ci* lyric for it to the tune of "Charms of Niannu" 念奴嬌 with the title "Writing a Colophon to My Painting and Calligraphy Collection " 自題書畫集:

> Shen Meisou 沈寐叟 (1849–1923) said: "Once you have passed through the barrier of Yuanjia's 元嘉[116] landscape, then the 'moon of detachment' appears spontaneously there." The "moon of detachment" is a phrase from the Huayan Sutra, and I borrow its meaning here.[117]

The myriad peaks seem to sleep:	萬峰如睡
looking upon the pollution of the human world,	看人世污染
what has it all become?	竟成何物
Fortunately illuminated by numinous rhinoceros horn,	幸有靈犀相照徹
In silence I face a shelf full of books.	靜對圖書滿壁
Stones cannot speak,	石不能言
nor flowers parse our speech,	花非解語
grieving in the snow on the East Veranda.	惆悵東欄雪
While rivers and mountains show off their blooms,	江山呈秀
let's chat instead about masters from the ocean of texts.	待論書海英傑
Closely reading the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in the painting,	細說畫裏陽秋[118]
an insight into the sources of the heart	心源了悟
rises out of this clear autumn.	興自清秋發
Imagine that wild place of mists within the underbrush,	想像荒煙榛莽處
where the soaring goose of a subtle brush appears and then vanishes.	妙筆飛鴻明滅

116 Yuanjia was the style name of Wan Zuoheng 萬祚亨, a late-Ming landscape painter.

117 Specifically, it is the name of a Buddha. See *T* 293: 10.801c.

118 See *Shishuo xinyu* 8/66, which uses the similar phrase "Spring and Autumn Annals in a. human skin" 皮裏陽秋, referring to someone who makes clear judgments in his mind without enunciating them. Cf. Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 245. *Shishuo xinyu jianshu*, 8B.546.

That Departmental Cavalier [Xu Xuan] wrote unrestrainedly; 騎省縱橫[119]
the Master of Writing [Zhang Zao] painted in diluted ink. 文通破墨[120]
Through this secret concord of minds we can reach far as the Hairless Pole in the far North. 冥契通窮髮
Fine mountains, fine rivers: 好山好水
I find in my own breast detachment like the winter moon! 胸中解脫寒月[121]

When poetry has been transformed into Chan, and Chan transformed into poetry, even though they may aim in different directions, they have an intersection point which is in the realm of a poem like this. Chan and poetry, one mechanism of meditation and one artistic scene, together produce a new world.

Jao Tsung-i: When the monk Chengjiu 成鷲 (1637–1722) saw a finger painting by Yue Kuairan 樂塊然 (a Qing painter), he composed a poem on it:

Heaven and Earth are just one great finger.[122]
The Creator of Things exerting transformative effort becomes the Creator of Changes.
Mountains, river, grasses, trees expose their spirit,
Wind, clouds, lightning, rain add some panache.
The great amorphous mass from the beginning was false but now is true,
The great Earth has sunk away and what was true is false.

---

119 Jao's note: Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) commented on the calligraphy of Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916–991), "He roams unrestrained and wild, without even the slightest show or pose." Wang Shizhen (1526–1590), however, said: "When he copied the Mount Yi Stele, he only matched the forms. When you look for the special charm of the scattered traces of snowdrift, the wild geese fluttering together, you find yourself imagining only the overgrown brush in the wild mists, and so must heave another sigh." Xu the senior himself said that he had "obtained his master somewhere between Heaven and Man." I would not dare to compare myself with Master Xu, but merely thought of these words, and tried to express my own thoughts on it.

120 Zhang Zao 張璪, the Tang painter whose "diluted ink" technique (using water to dilute ink into various shades which then combine for a rich, multilayered effect) is mentioned, along with Wang Wei's, in *Lidai minghua ji*, 10.318.

121 Jao Tsung-i, *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji*, 20:753. Translation quoted from Williams, *Residue of Dreams*, 140.

122 Just as in the passage from the second chapter of *Zhuangzi*, quoted above.

A single finger hanging high up in the void,
Remains for us humankind to make of it a painting.
Master, master, you are human and also of Heaven,
You may call yourself "Kuairan" (alone) but you are not alone.
Hand deft and mind keen, you can smash through convention,
One finger brought forth, the Chan of the flower offering.
Claws grow, nails lengthen, no more than a grain of millet,
Encompassing the Trichiliocosm of Heaven and Earth.
A flat skiff passing by, I sit unbalanced,
Greatly startled, little surprised, put forth an empty fist.
My empty fist raised has no naming finger,
Closing once and opening once, the edge is rounded.
At once I seek some paper to satisfy my drawing itch,
But my brush is old indeed and would return to the country.
Handling a drop of ink on the nail, a drop of water on the finger,
Heavy or light, shallow or deep, all of it is the ultimate truth.
Blurry, hazy clouds coming from the sky,
Suddenly a lone crag rises from the earth.
Old eyes looking on beside cannot see it,
Hard to conceive that a person can match Heaven's craft.
How great, that heroic man,
How fine, that strange man!
Ears and eyes have far exceed the tainted senses,
Liver and gall have not a speck of pollution.
The rising energy crosses the void, throughout past and present,
And the myriad phenomena are manifold in one square inch.
A modest finger seems hardly much at all,
And yet just like this, it can point out Heaven, point out Earth.

天地之大一指也，造物化工成造化。
山川草木露精神，風雲雷雨供揮灑。
混沌初開假即真，大地平沉真復假。
高懸一指在虛空，留與人間作圖畫。
先生先生人也天，自稱塊然非塊然。
手靈心敏破常格，指頭揭出拈花禪。
爪生甲長一粟許，函蓋乾坤三大千。
扁舟過我坐未穩，大驚小怪呈空拳。
空拳豎起無名指，一闔一闢機鋒圓。
須臾索紙見技癢，管城老矣甘歸田。
甲端點墨指點水，濃澹淺深皆至理。

溟濛雲氣自空來，兀突孤峰從地起。
老眼旁觀得未曾，天工人代難思議。
大哉偉丈夫，善哉奇男子。
耳目迴塵根，肝膽無渣滓。
浩氣橫空亘古今，萬象森羅方寸裏。
區區一指何足多，指天指地須如此。[123]

This is mainly talking about *Zhuangzi*, borrowing the finger painting to explore the idea that Heaven and Earth are just a finger, but it is not inferior to the *Zhuangzi* either.

3.1 *Facing Upwards, Facing Downwards*

Shi Yidui: Master East Slope 東坡 (sobriquet of Su Shi 蘇軾, 1037–1101) is not just an outstanding writer but also a thinker of the Song Dynasty. Qian Mu 錢穆 (1895–1990) has said that among Confucian scholars, Su Shi was the equivalent of Su Qin 蘇秦 (d. 284 BCE) and Zhang Yi 張儀 (373–310 BCE), and the equivalent of Laozi and Zhuangzi among the court officials.[124] But his extraordinary artistic production must have some cause beyond just his individual talent and insights, something having to do with his Chan practice and his understanding of Chan principle.

Jao Tsung-i: Wang Zhuo's 王灼 (1105–ca. 1160) *Biji manzhi* 碧雞漫志 evaluates Su Shi's *ci* lyrics in this way: "Master East Slope was not obsessed with music itself; he just wrote songs occasionally so as to point out the path upwards, to renew the ears and eyes of all under Heaven, so that writers could begin to realize how to express themselves fully" 東坡先生非心醉於音律者，偶爾作歌，指出向上一路，新天下耳目，弄筆者始知自振.[125] East Slope had an extremely high ambition, so when he wrote *ci* lyrics, they were not like ordinary pieces of his contemporaries, but had something like the highest teachings of Chan, which Wang describes here as "the path upwards." Actually this all applies not just to Su Shi's *ci* but to his other poetry as well.

"The path upwards" is originally a technical term of Chan Buddhism. The *Record of Transmissions of the Lamp* records: "Master (Baoji) entered the hall and told the audience: '... The path upwards was not transmitted by a thousand sages. Scholars tired out their bodies searching for it, like gibbons seizing

123 Chengjiu heshang 成鷲和尚, "Guan Yue Kuairan zuo zhitouhua quezeng" 觀樂塊然作指頭畫卻贈, in *Xianzhitang ji*, 5.93.

124 Qian Mu, *Song Ming lixue gaishu*, 27–28.

125 *Biji manzhi*, 2.11.

at their own shadows'" （寶積禪）師上堂示眾曰：「…… 向上一路，千聖不傳，學者勞形，如猿捉影」.[126] And again, the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Compendium of the five lamps) says: "Master Jingyin Jicheng of the Eastern Capital told someone expert in Huayan that: 'There is a path upwards that has not been transmitted by the thousand sages. The expert then asked, 'How can I follow the path upwards?' The teacher replied: 'You are more likely to attain it by going downward.'" 東京淨因繼成禪師謂有善華嚴者：「有千聖不傳底向上一路在。」善問曰：「如何是向上一路？」師曰：「汝且向下會取」.[127]

According to Chan teachings, there are two paths, upwards and downwards. Wang Zhuo describes the achievement of Su Shi's *ci* as leading upwards because they are so deeply steeped in Chan principles. As Su Shi wrote of the poetry of Li Zhiyi 李之儀 (1038–1117): "Whenever you achieve excellence you are practicing Chan" 每逢佳處輒參禪.[128] Here Su Shi is actually referring to himself. But Li Zhiyi originally had a line: "Insight into the brush is like insight into Chan" 悟筆如悟禪.[129] And he also wrote: "Explaining Chan and writing poems have no difference, but the number who can manage it is very few" 說禪作詩本無差別，但打得過者絕少.[130]

At this time, scholars generally were well aware of the unity of poetry and Chan, but no one could put it into practice as well as Su Shi. Thus Huang Tingjian said: "When East Slope (Su Shi) writes about the truth (*prajñā*) of Buddhism, he writes from left to right, and he writes from top to bottom, and there is no superfluous word in all of it" 東坡於般若，橫說豎說，了無賸語.[131] Su Shi's writings are indeed full of wisdom. Liu Xizai 劉熙載 (1813–1881) also wrote: "East Slope's poems excel at creating something out of emptiness, and also at creating something of nothing. The hinge to all this came out of his Chan insights" 東坡詩善於空諸所有，又善於無中生有，機括實自禪悟中來.[132] This is quite correct. Poems that Su Shi wrote at Mount Lu 廬山 like "For Elder Zong of Donglin" 贈東林總長老 and "Inscribed on the Wall of Xilin" 題西林壁 are more or less *gāthā* verses, religious poems expounding Buddhist ideas.

126 *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *T* 2076: 51.253b.

127 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 12.769–70.

128 "Colophon to the Poetry Collection by Li Zhiyi" 題李之儀詩後. Su Shi, "Ye zhi Yutang, xie Li Zhiyi Duanshu shi baiyu shou, du zhi yeban, shu qihou" 夜直玉堂，攜李之儀端叔詩百餘首，讀至夜半，書其後, *Su Shi shiji*, 30.1616.

129 Li Zhiyi, *Guxi jushi quanji* 姑溪居士全集, rpt. in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, "houji" 後集, 6.

130 Li Zhiyi, *Guxi jushi quanji*, rpt. in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 222.

131 He Wen 何汶, "Zeng Donglin zongzhanglao" 贈東林總長老, *Zhuzhuang shihua*, 9.179.

132 Liu Xizai, *Yigai*, 2.66.

Particularly after he moved to the south, Su Shi had very close contacts with monks, and all his writings are chock-full of Chan inspiration.

Shi Yidui: After East Slope, Huang Tingjian opened up a new path, and was not constrained to Su Shi's vision. In his poem "Again Following the Rhymes of and Responding to Lüzhong and Nanyu" 再次韻兼簡履中南玉, he wrote: "When you find some awareness in a single line, the Way has won a victory; / No longer does the dust arise in your breast" 句中稍覺道戰勝，胸次不使俗塵生.[133] And in "For Gao Zimian" 贈高子勉 he wrote: "The art of writing a line is fresh, bold, and unique; / The source of the words like the vast spirit behind them" 句法俊逸清新，詞源廣大精神.[134] These have a rare appeal. But how did he compare with Su Shi in terms of their Chan cultivation?

Jao Tsung-i: There are numerous confirmations of Huang's Chan practice. Fan Wen 范溫 (fl. 1122) records him saying: "For a scholar perception is primary. When the Chan teachers speak of the 'Proper Dharma Eye-treasure,' they mean you must have this kind of eye in order to achieve the Way" 學者先以識為主，禪家所謂正法眼藏，直須具此眼目，方可入道.[135] And Huang also said: "A verse has its own eye. If a scholar does not understand how marvelous this is, he will never succeed in achieving resonance of language" 句中眼，學者不知此妙語，韻終不勝.[136] Fan Wen then used these comments to compose his own *Poetry Eye of Qianxi* (Qianxi shiyan 潛溪詩眼) in one fascicle.

The "dharma eye" is spoken of frequently in Chan. After Wenyi 文益 (885–958) passed away, he was given the posthumous name Fayan 法眼, Dharma Eye. There is no need to try to identify in words what the Proper Dharma Eye is. For instance, when Fan Wen says that Huang Tingjian uses "resonance" 韻 as the Proper Dharma Eye of a poem, his mistake is only to reveal this. Huang Tingjian uses the method of being unconventional, "wearing your socks inside out" (like Tang poet Wang Fanzhi 王梵志), emphasizing craft, unlike Su Shi whose success lies in his comprehensiveness and fidelity to nature. Huang Tingjian felt that the resonance of a poem is the eye in each line, not knowing that Sikong Tu had already discussed the attainment of something beyond the resonance, the flavor beyond salty or sour, the resonance beyond all resonance, all of which reaches another level beyond Huang's conception. The *Hundred*

133 Huang Tingjian, "Zai ciyun jian jianlü zhongnanyu sanshou" 再次韻兼簡履中南玉三首, *Shangu shiji zhu* 山谷詩集注, in *Huang Tingjian shiji zhu*, 13.476.

134 Huang Tingjian, "Zaiyong qianyun zeng zimian sishou" 再用前韻贈子勉四首, *Shangu shiji shizhu* in *Huang Tingjian shiji zhu*, 2:16.576.

135 Fan Wen, *Qianxi shiyan*, rpt. in *Song shihua quanbian*, 2:1246.

136 Hui Hong 惠洪, *Lengzhai yehua* 冷齋夜話, rpt. in *Song shihua quanbian*, 3:2446–47.

Parable Sutra (Baiyu jing 百喻經) by Saṃghasena (5th c.) satirizes a man who, as a guest at another's house, saw the host adding salt to the food. The visitor concluded that salt must be the best part of the meal and so went on to eat salt by itself.[137] Because he was too attached to the taste, he could not comprehend anything beyond it. To privilege the resonance of poetry but not see beyond it is the same kind of mistake. Huang Tingjian praised East Slope for his superb scholarship and the resonance of his poetry, that it was precisely that he was capable of the resonance but not limited by it that he so surpassed others, and Huang himself lamented that he could not equal Su. This shows the superiority of the one over the other.

3.2 *Form/Emptiness and Being/Nothingness*

Form and emptiness, being and nothingness: their relationships reflect how we view human life and the universe. For Chan Buddhism, each technique, each new scene, helps poetry and Chan to develop, opening up a vaster cosmos. The representative example is of course the dialogue in the *Platform Sutra* about the mirror and stand:[138]

Shenxiu's poem:

The body is the Bodhi tree,	身是菩提樹
The mind is like a clear mirror.	心如明鏡台
At all times we must strive to polish it,	時時勤拂拭
And must not let the dust collect.	莫使有塵埃[139]

Huineng's verse:

Bodhi originally has no tree,	菩提本無樹
The mirror also has no stand.	明鏡亦非台
From the beginning there is no thing at all;	本來無一物[140]
Where is there any room for dust?	何處有塵埃[141]

It seems that Huineng's negations of both the tree and the stand rely on the principle of "original nothingness" 本無, but by taking in these concrete

137 *T* 209:4.543a.

138 Translation modified from Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 130, 132.

139 *Liuzu tanjing jianzhu*, 1.87–88.

140 But in the Dunhuang version, this line is "Buddha nature is always clean and pure" 佛性常清淨.

141 *Liuzu tanjing jianzhu*, 1.99.

examples, he refutes Shenxiu, and exposes a new vantage point on the essence of reality, and so his work was highly praised by the Fifth Patriarch.

Jao Tsung-i: This concept of "original nothingness" has a very deep origin. In the Eastern Han translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Perfection of wisdom in 8,000 lines; Daoxing bore jing 道行般若經, *T* 224), it was already used as one of its chapter titles, meaning that everything was originally non-existent, including all the various dharmas, and even that the Tathāgatha Buddha was originally non-existent. Later, when Chan monks began to insult the Buddha and the patriarchs, they also said that the Tathāgatha Buddha was non-existent. Huineng said originally there was no tree, there was no stand, showing his deep understanding of this truth.

Shi Yidui: The chapter on "Original Nothingness" describes an ideal state, the highest state. Huineng is revealing a kind of superior knowledge, the illumination of prajñā, not ordinary technique. It was the perception of form/emptiness and being/nothingness within the universe.

Jao Tsung-i: Chan employs many metaphors which possess the artistic technique of only describing a scene but not explaining the meaning behind it. Deep truths are contained within this. Chan had already become as versatile as a chisel for carving jade, and could form links with every kind of art. Increasingly Chan and art were inseparable, and poets often received inspiration from Chan. Some of Huang Tingjian's poems are essentially just Buddhist verses themselves, such as:

> Since I saw Marquis Luo we have not had any casual words,
> But I took pains to ask about Guishan's line on "being" and "nothingness."[142]
> Spring grasses, plump cattle freed from their nose tether,
> Wild ducks amid water bamboo and bulrushes, flying back home.[143]
>
> 羅侯相見無雜語，苦問溈山有無句。
> 春草肥牛脫棄繩，菰蒲野鴨還飛去。[144]

142 Guishan Lingyou 溈山靈祐 (771–853).

143 This couplet was also translated in the previous section; see Jao's comments there also.

144 These four lines are from Huang Tingjian, "Fengda Maoheng huizhi changju" 奉答茂衡惠紙長句, *Shangu waiji shizhu*, in *Huang Tingjian shiji zhu*, 4:12.1176.

The "plump cattle" are often used in the Chan texts as the allusion to the "steer" 牯牛, i.e. the castrated buffalo, used as a metaphor for a practitioner pursuing absolute truth. The last line uses the story of Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814) visiting Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) when he suddenly saw wild ducks flying past. Chan masters aim to break through our mental distinctions, showing that both "being" and "nothingness" are actually themselves illusory. Guishan also has a line about overcoming them as well. Chan doesn't value knowledge relying on logical inference (*biliang* 比量, *anumāna-pramāṇa*), only the knowledge attained by direct perception (*xianliang* 現量, *pratyakṣa-pramāṇa*).

Shi Yidui: Professor Jao, you have discussed the theory of emptiness in Buddhism. There are "ten great emptinesses" 十大空. Among these, the simplest are the "center" and "periphery." The empty and non-empty are both periphery, both stand on one side. When you talk about emptiness, you are standing on one side; if you say non-empty, you are still standing on one side. The emptiness of non-emptiness is the only true emptiness, the only "marvelous being" 妙有. The meaning of "marvelous" here is actually "not-having," so "marvelous being" means the kind of being that is not-being. True emptiness is the same as being that is not being; this is Madhyamaka theory. You have called this the "theory of interior and surface." This is a Buddhist allusion, but can it also be applied to the analysis of poetry?

Jao Tsung-yi: East Slope once evaluated the poetry of Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), writing that its achievement lay in "dry blandness" 枯淡.[145] The outer appearance is dry and dull, but the inner meaning is rich and moist. After Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (Tao Qian 陶潛, ca. 365–ca. 427), Liu Zongyuan is the next great exemplar of this quality. Su then elaborates that if both interior and surface were dull and bland, then the literature would be worthless. "The Buddha said that it is like when you eat honey, and it is sweet throughout, both interior and surface. But when you eat the five different flavors, everyone can tell the sweet from the bitter, but hardly one or two people out of a hundred can distinguish the inner and outer qualities from one another" 佛言譬如食蜜，中邊皆甜。人食五味，知其甘苦者皆是，能分別其中邊者，百無一矣.[146] Some people only notice the blandness on the surface, but not the enrichening moisture on the inside. Some people don't appreciate Tao Yuanming's verses because they have little ornate rhetoric, and thus until the Tang they were not widely read, and not seen as poetry of the first rank. This was because he

145 Quoted in He Wen, "Liu Zihou" 柳子厚, *Zhuzhuang shihua*, 8.157.
146 Quoted in He Wen, "Liu Zihou," *Zhuzhuang shihua*, 8.157–58.

is different from Xie Lingyun or Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (384–456), whose poems have such elaborate surfaces of form and sound. Only in the Song did people notice the real taste of Tao's poetry, because they noticed the inner quality of the poetry, not its surface. This interpretation borrows from Buddhist thought. East Slope quoted, from the sutras, the Buddha's comparison to how honey is sweet both on the surface and inside, and this has since become a well-known maxim.[147]

Shi Yidui: Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611–1671) was a prolific and almost encyclopedic scholar, but you have singled out his criticism on painting for special attention. Besides summarizing his ideas in six key points, you also explained how he introduced Madhyamaka philosophy into art criticism. This is an extremely sophisticated theory about transcending the binary oppositions of form and emptiness, or being and nothingness, and it can greatly enlighten us.

Jao Tsung-i: Fang Yizhi was famous for his writing from a young age. After he took up the tonsure, he had no fixed name, though his most commonly-used sobriquet was Wuke 無可 (Impossible). It is said he first gained fame from his painting, though he was also born in an eminent family, and possessed unusual intelligence from childhood. Before he was thirty he had achieved the greatest success and prosperity, but at that very moment he became a monk and began a lifestyle of utter simplicity and tranquility. He earned fame for his *Tong ya* 通雅 (Comprehending the elegant) in fifty-two *juan*. His essay "Fundamentals of Painting" (Huagai 畫概) is included in the thirty-second chapter of *Tong ya* on "Talent." He discusses the following key points that deserve to be mentioned here:

1. The character *hua* 畫 can be a verb, "to paint," or a noun, "ruled painting" (using a ruler to mark out straight lines for a painting), or just "painting" in general. But the three senses share a common source. So the proper form of *hua* is 畫, a composite of *hua* 画 "to demarcate," and *bi* 聿 "brush."
2. The use of the brush is the same in calligraphy and painting.
3. Sparse and dense styles in painting later developed into the southern and northern painting traditions.
4. No single painter integrates all the different techniques at once, so one needs to learn from the special strengths of various painters.
5. Using poetry to illustrate painting, layered mountain ridges are like a long ballad; far-off hills with isolated bases are like pentasyllabic or heptasyllabic quatrains.

147 As in the *Forty-Two Chapter Sutra* 四十二章經, *T* 784: 17.724a.

6. The Beiyuan 北苑 school originated by Dong Yuan 董源 (d. ca. 962) was located in Yunjian 雲間 (in modern Shanghai); the school originated by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) was centered in Jinchang 金閶 (in modern Suzhou).

These various views all had their original value in the context of Ming discourse on painting, and collectively are not inferior to those of Dong Qichang or Mo Shilong 莫是龍 (1537–1587). They deserve further examination.

Fang Yizhi also has various scattered remarks that can be collected from other books. For instance, a compilation of remarks on painters by Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612–1672) includes an entry for the Ming painter Zhang Xueceng 張學曾, which attributes the following remarks to "Wuke" 無可 (Fang Yizhi's style name):

> Though we know the "Six Laws" of painting, expressionist painting has no single law. Its most marvelous point is nothing other than that it does not fall into either being or not-being. People in the world who aspire to master the craftsman's brush are obstructed by their methods; those who aspire to the literati brush are obstructed by their not having any obstruction. The pivotal moments must be passed through one by one, and after that the green hills and white clouds can attain their great self-spontaneity. Such a mighty and expert brushstroke should be neither human nor heavenly; otherwise, even though the caliber of the painting is exquisite, he cannot be called a proper artist. But at the same time you cannot seize a fixed set of knowledge and copy it out as from a painting manual, to so as to reach the first or second rank. If you have people of the caliber to smash a Sumeru or dry out the waters of Penglai, why not take all the five senses bestowed from the sky, and use a brush as fine as a grain of rice, to paint all the thousand ages of past and present?
>
> 雖有六法，而寫意本無一法。妙處無他，不落有無而已。世之目匠筆者，以其為法所礙；其目文筆者，則又為無礙所礙。此中關棁子，原須一一透過，然後青山白雲，得大自在。一種蒼秀，非人非天，不然者，境界雖奇，作家正未肯耳。然亦不可執定一樣見識，以印板畫譜，甲乙品題；倘有碎須彌、乾蓬萊底漢，何妨更具空中五色，以粟米一毫，畫盡千世古今耶？[148]

This is an extremely important passage, pointing out the marvelous points of painting, the necessity not to fall into either side of "being" and "not-being,"

148 Zhou Lianggong, *Duhua lu* 讀畫錄, 3.32–33, rpt. in *Qingdai zhuanji congkan*, 71:40–41.

and criticizing both the craftsman and the literati painter. To be obstructed by method means to get stuck in visual resemblances, while to be stuck in not-having-method, to be obstructed by non-obstruction itself: this is to introduce the theory of Madhyamaka Buddhism directly into painting. Zhou Lianggong had produced paintings of Chan principles that could not be transmitted in words; but even so, here Fang Yizhi was able to produce a verbal theory of Chan painting.

3.3 *Great Penetration, Great Awareness, Great Liberation*

Shi Yidui: Investigating the history of the spirit and searching for the ultimate principles: generally Buddhist believers need to undergo dual regimens, both physical and mental, to achieve enlightenment. In your preface to Ikeda Taisaku's 池田大作 (1928–2023) *Wode shizun guan* 我的釋尊觀 (Chinese translation of his Japanese book *Ware no shasonkan*, "My view of the Buddha"), you write that the Buddha illuminates everything throughout the spiritual realm, possessing unlimited potential for enlightenment.[149] What is your meaning there?

Jao Tsung-i: India is a ferociously hot country. Around New Delhi the temperature is regularly over 40 degrees Celsius. In this environment, ancient Indian thinkers understood heat as the motivating force for the universe. The Sanskrit word *tapas* originally refers to heat, and then was extended to refer to ascetic practices. In the Vedas, it becomes a term for the regularity of nature (*ṛta*) and truth (*satya*). The objective of these thinkers was to look towards the future, to establish something that would endure for ages to come. This whole viewpoint was diametrically opposed to that of the ancient Chinese, who emphasized the immediate reality. The Chinese valued filial piety: the hair and skin of your body are received from your parents, so you are never supposed to let them suffer harm. The Indians, by contrast, were disdainful of the physical body, even to the extent of seeing it as an impure excrescence, the shackles of the soul. The vow of abstinence, *vrata*, guarantees self-punishing behavior like keeping fires lit all around oneself even while enduring the scorching sunlight. Only this kind of physical pain could qualify as proper ascetic practice.

The Śākyamuni Buddha himself underwent ten years of ascetic lifestyle in the forests by the Nairanjananadi River (in Bihar state in Eastern India). Only afterwards did he achieve his sudden enlightenment under the sacred fig trees

149 Ikeda Taisaku, *Wode shizun guan*, 1.

(*pippalā*), and determine to abandon his ascetic practice and seek another path. He taught that all living beings are equal, and abandoned his princely rank to join the common people. He then first began to preach, and taught of the interconnectedness of karma. He explained that the origin of suffering was that we are mired in ignorance. First one must eliminate ignorance, and only then can one find the key to the twelve interdependent connections of "dependent arising" (*yuanqi* 緣起, *pratītyasamutpāda*), and achieve true freedom.

Just as the Buddha rejected fire worship in favor of a higher enlightenment, Chinese Buddhists also learned to reject the "burning house" of the *Lotus Sutra* and seek spiritual purity instead. In ancient times, Mount Wutai 五台, which was an international center of Buddhist activity, was also known as "Mount Clearcool" 清涼山. India and China often seem utterly different on a basic level and it seems extremely hard to find ways to interrelate the two cultures. But the channel of Buddhist interactions revealed that Chinese culture actually did have elements consistent with Indian Buddhism, or aspects of it. It was no coincidence that after Buddhism came to East Asia, the Mahāyāna tradition developed even further than in India.

I once lived in India for some time, and made sure to visit and pay homage at the Deer Park where the Buddha preached.

Shi Yidui: After Huineng obtained the cassock and alms bowl, he fled to the south, evading death by taking refuge among a gang of hunters, and spending some fifteen years there. To fulfill his mission of disseminating the dharma, he went to Faxing Temple 法性寺 in Guangzhou. When he first visited it, he happened to see Master Yinzong 印宗 explicating the *Nirvana Sutra*. At the time there was a flag rustling in the breeze. One monk said the wind was moving; another said the flag was moving; the debate continued. Huineng entered and said: it is not the wind that move, nor is it the flag; it is the compassionate mind that moves. And all in the audience were stunned.

The key of this famous dialogue is in the *xin*, "heart-mind." Chan mind and poetry mind; "the mind remote, the place itself grows apart" 心遠地自偏.[150] Spatial distances on the earth are actually determined by the mind as well. Dong Yue 董說 (1620–1686) of Wuxing 吳興 (who became a Buddhist monk after the fall of the Ming Dynasty) wrote *Chan Songs* (Chan yuefu 禪樂府), revising key stories of Chan into song lyrics. Generally each one has a three-word title, such as this one:

150 A famous line from Tao Yuanming. See *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian*, 3.219.

Wind and Flag Move 風旛動

It is not the flag,
It is not the wind;
A bronze bell within the eye of a brow-mite is sounded.[151]
It is not the wind,
It is not the flag;
A single sail advancing, there are gibbons on both banks.
It is not the flag that moves,
It is not the wind that moves;
Plum blossoms scattered in the well, even the clay ox feels pain.[152]
That the wind moves is false,
That the flag moves is false.
Like willow catkins floating freely, play the pipes as you like!

不是旛，不是風。蟭螟眼裡擊金鐘。不是風，不是旛。一片征帆兩岸猿。非旛動，非風動。梅花墮井泥牛痛。風動非，旛動非。柳絮悠揚信口吹。[153]

The incisive use of imagery in the poem is full of a Chan significance. It cannot really be read as an ordinary poem but rather ought to be considered commentary on the dialogue above.

In our world today both wind and flag are moving very hurriedly. The world is becoming materialistic, more militaristic, but not more cultured. How can we settle our minds? How can we preserve the unmoving mind as it wanders through the darkness?

Jao Tsung-i: Chan is a positive and affirming ideology, but also a strict one. Mazu Daoyi said: "Each day you don't practice you don't eat."[154] You just need to examine the *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規 (Pure regulations of Baizhang) by Baizhang Huaihai to understand this. Chan monks endured very strict

151 The brow-mite is an insect so tiny it inhabits the eyebrows of a mosquito; a Daoist image for the relativity of scale, as in *Baopuzi*: "The brow-mite is lodge in the brow of the mosquito, but it laughs at the great Peng bird that circumnavigates the heavens" 蟭螟屯蚊眉之中，而笑彌天之大鵬. *Baopuzi waipian jiaojian*, 27.27.

152 The clay ox is used as symbol for evanescence in Chan discourse, particularly in the idiom "like clay oxen entering the ocean" 泥牛入海.

153 Wu Xingdong 吳興董, *Chan yuefu* 禪樂府 (*Congshu jicheng*), 15a–b.

154 *Baizhang conglin qinggui zhengyi ji* 百丈叢林清規證義記, comp. Huaihai, comm. Yi run 儀潤, 5.328, in *X* 1244: 63.412c.

regulations, and were not at all the uninhibited, wild characters familiar from later periods (practitioners of so-called "crazy Chan").

Shi Yidui: There is a common truth and a truth of the Way; higher faculties and lower faculties; the distinction between monks and laypeople: all of these oppositions seem to signal a vast gulf between two different worlds. Chan monks seek out the three separate worlds beyond thought, image, and location. The truth of life and the origins of the universe must involve an awareness of emptiness and nonexistence, but without becoming attached to either being or non-being, and beyond thought. The mind of a painter possesses another world of its own. Bada Shanren said: "The mind of the Buddhist is pure; the mind of the dharma is illumination; the Way that is unobstructed in every place, that itself is the pure light" 佛者心，清淨是；法者心，光明是；道者處處無礙，淨光是.[155]

So the key for a painting is also to depict this pure realm that corresponds to the emptiness and purity of the Buddhist mind. This realm must be exactly the Chan ideal of a world beyond thought, beyond image, beyond location.

Professor Jao, you have a poem that goes:

> Hues of water, mountains' face all reserving their gleam;
> Kindling of the soul, divine fire, scatter forth your abundant fragrance.
> Fingering forth more verses to startle people,
> Without drums, without any bells, I can still make a place to worship.
>
> 水影山容盡斂光，靈薪神火散餘香。拈來別有驚人句，無鼓無鐘作道場。[156]

Huang Miaozi 黃苗子 (1913–2012) used this poem to speculate that you seek out an ideal realm in emptiness. He also points out that you have written modestly, "I paint and write calligraphy just for fun" 作畫寫字，只是搞笑.[157] But the function of this "fun" is something like the encounter dialogues of Chan. According to Huang Miaozi, you are practicing Chan daily, already integrating being, non-being, form, and emptiness into your own works. Your practice is using Chan in your painting, entering Chan into your own realm of scholarship. What has been your experience as you have achieved this synthesis of scholarship, art, and Chan?

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155 Borrowing from Linji 臨濟 in *Wudeng huiyuan*, 11.645.

156 Jao Tsung-i, *Rao Zongyi yishu chuangzuo huiji*, 8:127.

157 Huang Miaozi, "Tan Rao Zongyi," 39.

Jao Tsung-i: I'm torn between laughter and tears. The psychological state after achieving Buddhist awareness is not at all a state of confusion. We laugh and cry for another reason. Departing from the world, entering the world: these may be considered opposite ideas, if you use customary logic to consider them. But if you use the Madhyamaka theory of the Eight Negations 八不 to examine them, what difference is there really?[158] Bada Shanren's own name shows that he had a profound understanding of this truth, as he applied the Eightfold Path in his own name (Bada meaning "Eight Greats").

Geshan 个山 (Bada shanren 八大山人, whose original name was Zhu Da 朱耷, 1624–1705) has a poem inscribed on a painting, composed at an early age, when he was still relatively conventional. It applies Chan allusions but strikes the reader as quite rigid, simply rehearsing phrases from the Linji collections. He has not yet dared to "leap into the pit" and "face death without hesitation." Still, his comments on painting emphasize purity (*jing* 淨) and treat it as the highest truth, which deserves more attention.

His name "Geshan" also draws on Chan thought with the character *ge* 个(個). Master Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (830–902) of Hongzhou 洪州 was asked by his own teacher, Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869):

> The Master asked Yunju: "Where have you been?"
> "I've been walking the mountains," replied Yunju.
> "Which mountain was suitable for residing on?" asked the Master.
> "None was suitable for residing on," said Yunju.
> "In that case, have you been on all the country's mountains?" said the Master.
> "No, that isn't so," said Yunju.
> "Then you must have found an entry-path," said the Master.
> "No, there is no path," replied Yunju.
> "If there is no path, I wonder how you have come to lay eyes on this old monk," said the Master.
> "If there were a path, then a mountain would stand between us, monk," said Yunju.
> The Master said, "Henceforth, not by a thousand, not even by ten thousand people will Yunju be held fast."
>
> 山問師：「甚處去來？」師曰：「蹋山來。」山曰：「那箇山堪住？」師曰：「那箇山不堪住。」山曰：「恁麼則國內總被閻黎占却？」師

158 The Eight Negations are: neither arising nor ceasing, neither passing nor permanent, neither same nor different, neither going nor coming.

> 曰：「不然。」山曰：「恁麼則子得箇入路？」師曰：「無路。」山曰：「若無路，爭得與老僧相見？」師曰：「若有路，即與和尚隔山去也。」山乃曰：「此子已後，千人萬人把不住去在。」[159]

From this we can see that the name Geshan (One Mountain) originates from Master Dongshan. Also, Master Huangbo 黃檗 (d. 855) said, "Each person is a Buddha" 个个是佛, "Each grain is round" 顆顆皆圓.[160] Also, the colophon to the self-portrait of Bada Shanren, *Geshan xiaoxiang* 个山小像, written by Cai Shou 蔡受, says, "Each mountain each mountain, both with form and formless, are all just a single dot in the circle" 个山个山，形上形下，圜中一點,[161] meaning one is the same as the whole, the whole is the same as one.[162] Each and every one, and the individual, can represent anything and can also be anything. A perfect circle represents comprehensive wholeness without obstruction. Such is the Chan mind, and so also is the Buddha nature.

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159 *Wudeng huiyuan*, 13.794. English translation modified slightly from Powell, *Record of Tung-shan*, 39.

160 *Zhiyue lu*, 198.

161 Zhu Da, *Bada Shanren shufa quanji*, 1:1.

162 *Liuzu tanjing jianzhu*, 2.142.

CHAPTER 3

Chinese Characters and Poetics

Editor's Note: This essay opens with hoary chestnuts of Western theorizing about the Chinese script by Pound and Fenollosa, but goes on to draw on the full range of Jao's erudition to present his own novel and important views on the poetic significance and function of the script. He gives numerous examples from his own rich experience in which the specific graphic form of the Chinese script influences the literary, poetic, and sensory effect of poetic writing. This functions as a significant counterargument to the views that have dominated recent Western scholarship, which prioritize the spoken language over the written medium. Jao, never susceptible to the easy simplification, gives a powerful argument for taking into account both script and sound in any balanced appraisal of literary technique.*

1 Starting with Ezra Pound

In his classic book *ABC of Reading*, Ezra Pound (1885–1972) quotes Ernest Fenollosa's (1853–1908) essay "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry."[1] Ezra Pound elaborated on Fenollosa's main ideas to compose "The Chinese Ideogram," and offers the following view about the visual drama of the Chinese character:

> The Egyptians finally used abbreviated pictures to represent sounds, but the Chinese still use abbreviated pictures AS pictures, that is to say, Chinese ideogram does not try to be the picture of a sound, or to be a written sign recalling a sound, but it is still the picture of a thing; of a thing in a given position or relation, or of a combination of things. It means the thing or the action or situation, or quality germane to the several things that it pictures.[2]

Here Ezra Pound states that the ancient Chinese used graphs to create characters in accordance with people's impressions of ordinary objects. He

* Translated by Frankie Chik Hin Ming and revised by Nicholas Morrow Williams.

1 Editor's note: on this work see Fenollosa and Pound, *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry: A Critical Edition*.

2 Ezra Pound, *ABC of Reading*, 21.

confirmed Fenollosa's argument that the "language written in this way simply HAD TO STAY POETIC," and thought that this showed the necessary relationship between Chinese characters and poetics. But it is a pity that Pound did not study Chinese characters in depth. Chinese characters do not only rely on pictographic or graphic structures, but they also employ sounds. Chinese characters consist of both pictographic and phonetic components. Of the Chinese characters, most are *xingsheng zi* 形聲字 (compound characters consisting of a semantic classifier and a phonetic determinative, or simply "phonosemantic characters" for short). That Chinese characters have been misunderstood as "ideograms" is only a result of looking at the issue solely through the perspective of graphic structure. In fact, Chinese characters already passed beyond the stage of ideographic writing since the early period of history. The oracle bone inscriptions from the Shang Dynasty are mostly phonetic loan characters and phonosemantic characters that represent the sounds of the words, but could not convey the full meaning of the intended word through their graphic elements alone.

In sum, Chinese characters consist mainly of phonetic components, while pictographic components are only auxiliary to these. This can also be seen from the fact that in the Bronze Age, a character could have numerous graphic variants. Although semantic components could be interchanged, the sounds which phonetic components represented were relatively stable. Thus, it is impossible to discuss Chinese characters through their pictographic structures alone. Due to the limits of his information on the subject, Pound could not understand this point.

2 The Earliest Signs and Chinese Characters

We now have archeological findings to prove the date when Chinese characters were first created. Carbon-14 testing has determined that the date of the ceramic signs from the Banpo site of the Yangshao 仰韶 culture in Xi'an of Shaanxi Province was between 4,800 and 4,200 BCE. Some believe that the signs were no more than isolated symbols and could not be characters *per se*, but in fact, the signs discovered at this site have also been found elsewhere. For instance, the character "T" can also be seen on the pottery from Xia County of Shanxi Province. The pottery from as far away as Qingyuan of Guangdong Province and Hong Kong on the south of China also carries identical characters. It is very common among the ceramic inscriptions from almost all sites that the character "X" signifies the number five. It illustrates the close relationship between the ceramic signs and the Chinese characters as they would develop later on.

The radiocarbon dating of the Jiangzhai site located in the Lintong District of Shaanxi Province was approximately 4,000 BCE, and the symbols inscribed on the potteries from this site had such graphs as  (the graph resembles a sheep's head with horns). Inscribed on the painted pottery jars discovered from the Tangwangchuan in the Tao River of Gansu Province was the graph  , which resembled two persons kneeling side by side and was obviously the predecessor of characters like *bi* 比 or *cong* 从 in the Shang Dynasty. Moreover, the pottery from the site of the late Dawenkou 大汶口 culture in Shandong Province, which has been dated to the period 4,300–1,900 BCE, is inscribed with a graph depicting the sun rising across the horizon (some believe it is the character *dan* 旦). This graph is quite similar to (*utu*) in Sumerian, which signified the Sun (*Šamaš*), and the Egyptian hieroglyph  that signified the horizon. The graphic structure of this graph already consisted of more than two single characters. Thanks to these early symbols on ceramic shards, we now know that the date when Chinese characters were invented can be pushed back as early as 4000 BCE.[3] As a result of their recent research on the early forms of writing in the Near East, scholars have determined that the time when the symbol  , which was used to calculate sheep in the clay token system, developed into a letter can be estimated as 5000 BCE Both cases illustrate our new understanding of the global origins of writing.

3 The Earliest Rhymed Narrative Poems

It is impossible to determine the exact date of the "Ya" 雅 (Canons) and "Song" 頌 (Eulogies) sections of the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of odes). Most Western Zhou bronze inscriptions already made use of end-rhyme. *Da feng gui* 大豐敦 is a bronze vessel dated to the reign of King Wu of Zhou 周武王 (mid-11th c. BCE), and the inscription cast on it is mostly in rhyme. The inscription of the *Shi Qiang pan* 史牆盤, a bronze vessel which was recently excavated in Shaanxi and is dated to the reign of King Gong of Zhou 周共王 (982–967 BCE), is a longer inscription that can be read as a piece of Zhou poetry. The inscription has 280 characters divided into 64 lines, which are generally tetrasyllabic. Every line of the inscription rhymes except the last paragraph. The "Zai shan" 載芟 (Weeding, #290) poem with 31 lines is the longest piece in the "Zhou Eulogies" section of the *Shijing*, but it is only half the length of the *Shi Qiang pan* inscription. The poem "Huang yi" 皇矣 (Splendorous indeed, #241) in the "Major

3 Editor's note: These are discussed extensively in Jao's 1998 on the origins of writing, *Fuhao, chuwen yu zimu: Hanzi shu*.

Canons" 大雅 section, for instance, has in total 96 lines, which are divided equally into eight 12-line stanzas, and is similar to the *Shi Qiang pan* inscription. We can assert without doubt that since the mid-Western Zhou Dynasty onwards, long rhymed narratives of such length had already appeared. The *Shi Qiang pan* inscription frequently uses disyllabic compound words and is written in a eulogistic form similar to the *song* "Eulogies." The following are some examples:

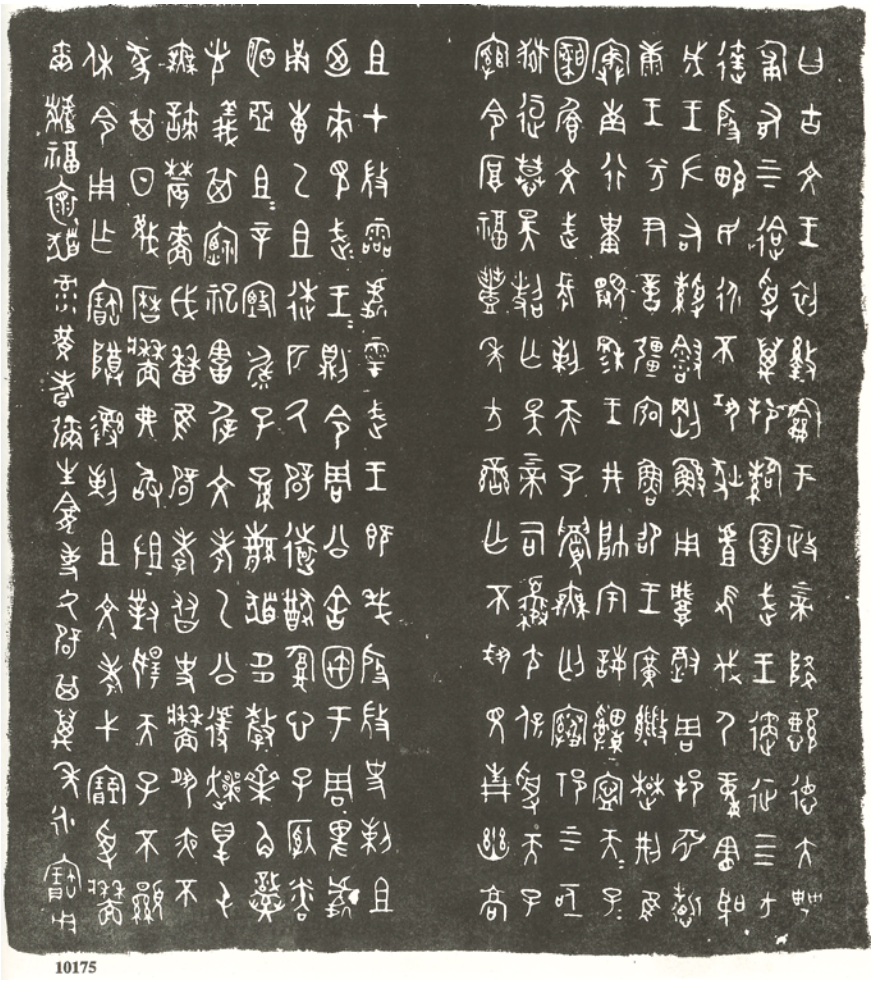


FIGURE 3.1 Rubbing of *Shi Qiang pan* 史牆盤 inscription. From *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成. Rev. ed. Compiled by Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo. Vol. 7: 5484, no.10175. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007
IMAGE COURTESY OF ZHONGHUA BOOK COMPANY, BEIJING 中華書局（北京）

Accordant with antiquity was King Wen!	曰古文王
He first brought harmony to government.	初戾各于政
The Lord on High sent down fine virtue and great security.	上帝降懿德大屏
Extending to the high and low,	匍有上下
He joined the ten thousand states.	會受萬邦
Capturing and controlling was King Wu!	嗣圉武王
(He) proceeded and campaigned through the four quarters.	聿征四方[4]

The compound words in the inscription can be categorized into the following types:

1) Synonymous parallelism, such as *Chu Jing* 楚荊 (Chu and Jing);
2) Complementary antonyms, such as *shangxia* 上下 (up and down);
3) Nouns with adjectives, such as *shangdi* 上帝 (the Highest Deity) and *yide* 懿德 (excellent virtues);
4) Disyllabic adjectives, such as *shuchi* 舒遲 (calm and unhurried).

They are the same types of phrases that were later called *pianzi* 駢字 (parallel words). It is obvious that the Western Zhou Dynasty already marked the onset of the development of disyllabic compounds. That Chinese writing has developed from single characters into disyllabic compounds is an inevitable process which is still continuing even nowadays. This use of related terms in parallel structures would also become the backbone of poetic composition.

4 Monosyllabic and Polysyllabic Words

Chinese is generally a monosyllabic language, and it is also a feature of Chinese characters that they are monosyllabic. Since each character represents one sound, the combination of syllables can easily achieve harmony and good order. However, Chinese script and spoken language became disassociated for two reasons. First, there is no exact correspondence between Chinese characters and spoken words, for a monosyllabic character is only a component of a word. Second, Chinese characters *per se* cannot directly represent spoken language. Many spoken words do not have corresponding characters, and many created characters also have diachronic and regional differences. Both reasons

4 *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng*, 7:5484, no. 10175; translation quoted from Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, 184.

have contributed to the inconsistency between language and writing. The Chinese language also has numerous homophones. We can do a rough estimate on the basis of the classic rhyme dictionary *Guangyun* 廣韻. Of the 26,194 characters included in the *Guangyun*, there are only 3,802 distinct pronunciations, which account for merely 14.5% of the total characters, while 22,392 of the characters can be considered homophones for these. Despite their huge number, many homophones were not of practical use. The compilers of the rime dictionary grouped the homophones in accordance with the rhymes of their finals. Nevertheless, many of them possess only reference value, since they are only variants or obsolete characters and have become relics in history.

The phonetic components of Chinese characters may have had something to do with language at the earliest stage. A character could either use a phonetic component to distinguish its pronunciation (*xingsheng* 形聲, "formulating the sound") or borrow another character to represent its pronunciation (*jiayin* 假音, "loaned pronunciation"). When it evolved completely into an independent character, it was no longer related to the word it had originally represented. The gulf between writing and language became so large that modern etymologists cannot help but to make various hypotheses and conjectures when studying the phonetic components of *xingsheng zi* (phonosemantic characters) and *jiajiezi* 假借字 (phonetic loan characters).

Monosyllabic characters were not numerous enough to distinguish all the concepts needed for expression, and they could lead to confusion very easily. Compound words were created as a result to cover their shortage. A compound word consists of two monosyllabic characters, and its main function is to add another character to fill the semantic need. Since a monosyllabic character only has a limited semantic scope, another character must be attached to the original one to form a new compound word which extends, transfers, and strengthens the meaning. I will present two sets of common poetic compounds to exemplify this point:

feng 風 (wind)	*fengqi* 風氣 (atmosphere) *fengjiao* 風教 (moral education) *fenghua* 風化 (morals transformation) *fengsu* 風俗 (customs) *fengwu* 風物 (natural features) *fengliu* 風流 (talent in literary writing) *fengli* 風力 (strength of wind) *fengge* 風格 (styles) *fenggu* 風骨 (wind and bone) *fengfan* 風範 (demeanor) ……
xing 興 (rise)	*xinghui* 興會 (flash of insight) *xingzhi* 興致 (mood) *xingxiang* 興象 (inspiring imagery) *xingqu* 興趣 (interests) ……

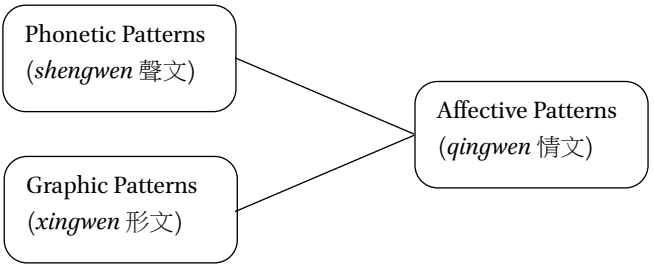
The characters *feng* and *xing* seem to be the roots of all the compounds listed above, in all of which they are placed first. The combinations of the roots and the added characters constitutes a series of compound words. Although the compound words are derivatives of each root, their meanings are dramatically different. Each of these words has its own path of development; they appeared in specific contexts and were created for specific reasons. Because of their specific histories, they can even be used in dating texts.

5 The Development of *Xingsheng zi* and Their Aesthetic Functions

Since the Shang and Zhou Dynasties onwards, many *xingsheng zi* (phonosemantic characters) have been created, and they represent the mainstream of Chinese writing throughout its development. Graphic components were often added to distinguish different characters. The complicated structures of bronze scripts indicate that people at that time were fond of repeatedly adding additional graphic components on existing characters. The Qin imperial government unified the Chinese characters and simplified their structures. Generally speaking, a phonosemantic character still consists of a graphic component and a phonetic component. That people can immediately understand the category to which the word represented belongs is the most important differentiating function of a graphic component. For instance, people will immediately know the character relates to a mountain when seeing the component *shan* 山 (mountain), or similarly for water when they see the component *shui* 水 (water). This aspect makes the characters relatively easy to understand. Chinese characters are different from the Egyptian hieroglyphs, in which phonetic components were added on to the semantic components, graphic components were added on to the graphic components, and phonetic components were added on to the phonetic components. The Egyptian hieroglyphs became so complex that they were finally retired from use.

Xingsheng zi are conjunctions of graphic and phonetic components. The graphic and phonetic components have a beautiful symmetry, no matter whether they are placed on the left or on the right, on the upper or at the bottom, or on the inside or on the outside. The graphic and phonetic components oversee one's visual and auditory perceptions respectively. They produce different senses of beauty at the same time and evoke people's emotional responses. The cumulative effect is to produce emotional patterns (*qingwen* 情文) as well:

TABLE 3.1 Phonetic patterns, formal patterns, and affective patterns



The impressions evoked by the phonetic and graphic components of a *xing-sheng zi* each in turn lead to different associations, which are powerful and convenient weapons to constitute poetic language. "Repeated classifier" (*lian-bian* 聯邊) is a phenomenon in Chinese poetry, referring to the repetition of certain graphic components. Depending on the circumstances this may seem redundant or it may be used intentionally for poetic effect. For example, the following are two well-known couplets by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433):

> Wild clover and duckweed drift over the water's depths, 蘋萍泛深沈
> Wild rice and rushes burst across the limpid shallows. 菰蒲冒清淺[5]
>
> Caltrop and lotus leaves grow together in exuberance; 芰荷迭映蔚
> Calamus and barn grasses lean against one another. 蒲稗相因依[6]

The words *ping* 蘋 (wild clover), *ping* 萍 (duckweed), *gu* 菰 (wild rice), and *pu* 蒲 (water rushes) all share the *cao* 艸 (grass) classifier; the words *fan* 泛 (to drift), *shen* 沈 (to sink), *shen* 深 (deep), *qing* 清 (clear), *qian* 淺 (shallow) all share the water classifier. This technique is applied in both couplets, which are also graceful in their rhythms. Both *ping* 蘋 and *ping* 萍 share a *p* initial, and both *qing* and *qian* share an aspirated affricate initial, so both pairs also employ alliteration. Both *gu* 菰 and *pu* 蒲 have a *-u* final and belong to the *yu* 虞 rhyme group; and both *shen* 沈 and *shen* 深 have an *-m* final and belong to the *qin* 侵 rhyme group. So the couplets also make use of internal rhyme or assonance.

5 This couplet is from the "Cong jin zhujian yueling xihang" 從斤竹澗越嶺溪行. *Wenxuan*, 22.1048.

6 This couplet is fom "Shibi jingshe huan hu zhong zuo" 石壁精舍還湖中作. *Wenxuan*, 22.1044. For the translation, see Timothy Wai Keung Chan, *Considering the End*, 132.

Similar artistry is visible in the second line of the first couplet. Both lines of this couplet contain two disyllabic compound words connected by a single verb (*fan* 泛 and *mao* 冒) respectively. Four compounds form two pairs in this couplet. Not only are their graphic components extraordinarily well-organized, but their phonetic components are also alliterative and rhyming. Only the Chinese characters can create such a harmonious sense of both graphic and aural beauty through their careful patterning.

6 The Principles of Character Formation and the Concept of *Lei* 類 (Category)

The principles of character formation identified in the Han Dynasty are called the *liushu* 六書 (Six types of writing). These principles all rely on the fundamental concept of *lei* 類 (category); and of the six types of writing, three are closely related to the concept of category:

1) *Xiangxing* 象形 (Representing the shape): "[Cang Jie] followed the categories and the forms/shapes of every category, so the characters were called *wen*" 依類象形，故謂之文.[7]
2) *Huiyi* 會意 (Combining meanings): "Pairing up their categories and combining their meanings to reveal what is intended" 比類合誼，以見指撝.[8]
3) *Zhuanzhu* 轉注 (Redirected glosses): "establishing a category for a heading, and words with the same meaning can be mutually interchangeable" 建類一首，同意相受.[9]

These methods of "following the categories," "pairing up their categories," and "establishing a category" all proceed according to the categories of the words. We can see many examples of categorical thinking in ancient Chinese philosophy. The "Appended Statements Commentary" (Xici zhuan 繫辭傳) in the *Book of Changes* (Yijing 易經) says, "Aspects are grouped in accordance with their categories, and objects are divided in accordance with their classes" 方以類聚，物以群分.[10] The *Mozi* 墨子 says, "[One] can approximately describe the myriad objects …… to take in accordance with their categories, and to offer in accordance with their categories" 摹略萬物 …… 以類取，以類予.[11] This

7 *Shuowen jiezi*, 15A.314.
8 *Shuowen jiezi*, 15A.314.
9 *Shuowen jiezi*, 15A.314.
10 For the text, see Kong Yingda, ed., *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7.303. Jao's note: In Hunan, I saw the silk manuscript of the *Zhouyi* dated to the reign of the Emperor Wen of Han 漢文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE) from the Mawangdui, on which the "Xici zhuan" was attached.
11 *Mozi jiaozhu*, 11.627.

shows how important this concept of *lei* "category" has always been. Although the *lei* under discussion is not the same as an Aristotelian "genus," it has a similar function, encouraging people to understand the objects according to their categories and apply this principle in the creation of characters so that every character can be categorized appropriately. For example, all characters related to "mountain" or "water" should be grouped together by the graphic components *shan* and *shui*, after which the phonetic components should be added to signify their pronunciations. The graphic components define the boundaries of their semantic scopes, while the phonetic components signify their pronunciations. In such a way, a particular object in the universe naturally falls into a certain category. Many *xingsheng zi* in the Han dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* were presented with the following formula: "it comes from X, and Y is its pronunciation" 从某，某聲. By "it comes from X," Xu Shen 許慎 (58–147) means that the character belongs to a specific category. As for the character whose meaning we do not know, its attribution can be understood when we look at its graphic component (i.e., *pianpang* 偏旁, radical), and we can therefore understand at least half of its meaning. For instance, when looking at the radical *mu* 木 (tree) of both *song* 松 (pine tree) and *bai* 柏 (cypress), we immediately know that both words refer to trees and can make the logical analogy to similar cases. Thus, this type of characters has a convenient logic for both the writers and readers of *xingsheng zi*.

Since the unification of the Chinese writing system onwards, the structure of both seal and clerical characters became organized and standardized, and the strokes of Chinese characters achieved a new balance of proportions. The degree of pictoriality that earlier Chinese characters had possessed was reduced, and the more complicated structures were simplified. Many materials regarding the characters used in the ancient states of Jin, Chu, Zhongshan, and Qin have recently been excavated. Through a detailed comparison, we can basically understand why the Qin eliminated the redundant variants and finished standardizing Chinese characters. Here is one example:

TABLE 3.2 Comparison of the different forms of the Chinese character *wu* 吾

Forms of wu 吾					
	Mao Gong ding 毛公鼎	Stone drum inscriptions 石鼓文	Imprecation against Chu 詛楚文	Small seal script of the Qin 秦小篆	Mawangdui Silk manuscripts 馬王堆帛書

The complexity of the character was reduced so that only the graphic component *kou* 口 and the phonetic component *wu* 五 were kept. Classifiers were established and characters could be put into different categories respectively. The principles of Chinese character formation could be summed up in a well-ordered way, and dictionaries could be composed in which characters were arranged systematically.

7 The Conventions of Ellipsis and Reduplication

It has often been pointed out that ellipsis (*shenglue* 省略) is a characteristic feature of Chinese poetry. In poetic language, the subject which indicates the personal name and the proposition which indicates the location are often omitted. In fact, ellipsis were already in widespread use in the oracle bone divinations dated to the reign of Wu Ding 武丁 of the Shang Dynasty, and this phenomenon is clear when we compare the contemporaneous oracle bone divinations. For example, if a subject (the name of a diviner) or a date has been recorded on oracle bone A, it can be omitted on the oracle bones B and C. Sometimes, when a divination for an event is specifically recorded on the upper part of an oracle bone, it can be omitted in the lower part of the same oracle bone. The ellipsis of prepositions can be seen everywhere. For example, the phrase "offering *to* my older brother Ding an ox [as a sacrifice]" 用一牛于兄丁 could be simplified as "offering my older brother Ding an ox as a sacrifice" 用一牛兄丁. Even a verb could be omitted, and the above phrase could be written even more economically as "[offering] my older brother Ding an ox [as a sacrifice]" 兄丁一牛.

Lüeci 略辭 (elliptical expressions) are also common in bronze inscriptions. After comparing the inscriptions on the bronze vessels discovered from the same site, we can recognize the use of ellipsis. For instance, the following bronze vessels were discovered from a Western Zhou tomb in the eastern suburbs of Luoyang:[12]

12 Editor's note: For more information on these vessels, see Gao Xisheng, "Jianlun Luoyang chutu xi Zhou qingtong dakou zun."

TABLE 3.3 Bronze vessels discovered from a Western Zhou tomb

X 𠂤	*She* created wine vase *zun* 射作尊	*Yan* steamer （甗）
She created Fuyi 射作父乙		Wine vessel *jue* （爵）
Created Fuyi 作父乙		Wine beaker *gu* （觚）
X 𠂤	*She* 射	Wine vase *zun* （尊）

Some of the inscriptions on different bronze vessels had the founders' names omitted, while some had the names of either the ancestors or the bronzes omitted. This peculiar kind of expression, using only a few cryptic words, originated very early.

A similar example appears in the transmitted history, *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo tradition):

> The Son of Heaven is buried after seven months, leaders of the same axle standard attending; a prince after five months, those joined with him in covenants attending; a high officer after three months, those of the same rank attending; and a regular officer after a full month, his relatives by marriage attending.[13]
>
> 天子七月而葬，同軌畢至，諸侯五月，同盟至，大夫三月，同位至，士踰月，外姻至。[14]

The first sentence of this excerpt said that being buried seven months after death was a ritual exclusive to the Sons of Heaven. The months of waiting decreased by degrees to the vassals, grand masters, and servicemen. The

13 For the translation, see Durrant et al., trans., *Zuo Tradition*, 15.
14 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 2.66.

phrase *erzang* 而葬 (to be buried) was omitted when it came to the vassals and the officials after them. Nevertheless, the meaning is self-evident from context.

It is thus clear that ellipsis was not limited to poems but was a general convention of the Chinese language. It is only because of the word limit per line that this convention is applied more frequently in poetic language.

A piece of writing can be more vigorous with the use of *chongdie* 重疊 (repetition or reduplication) of a character. This is particularly true when the key word of a piece is repeated multiple times. For example, in the *Zuozhuan* passage when the Master of Chu (Chuzi 楚子, future King Zhuang 莊, r. 613–592 BC) asked about the size and weight of the tripods, the word *de* 德 (virtue) is used six times as the keyword of the passage.[15] In Lü Xiang's 呂相 speech severing diplomatic relations between his own state of Jin 晉 and Qin 秦, the phrase *wo shiyi* 我是以 (I therefore) is used five times throughout his speech, and the word *wo* 我 (I) is even used more than forty times.[16] The following is an excerpt of his speech:

> Lord Kang was of our Jin extraction, yet he wished to disrupt and ruin our lord's house and to overturn the altars of our domain. He led noxious vermin from our line to destabilize our borders; that is why we had the Linghu campaign.[17]
>
> 康公我之自出，又欲闕翦我公室，傾覆我社稷，帥我蝥賊，以來蕩搖我邊疆，我是以有令狐之役。[18]

In this excerpt, the first-person pronoun *wo* is used both as subject (I) and an object (me). In most cases *wo* was used in the possessive case (my), but in Chinese grammar, a word can remain unchanged even when it is used in different cases, and people can recognize to which cases they belong on the basis of the context, which enables a kind of verbal repetition. The anecdote about how Lü Xiang cut off diplomatic relations with Qin was treated by Song-Yuan literati as "the standard model of literary composition" 作文法度.[19]

We can see even more striking examples of repetition in poetry, such as the verse "Spring Days" 春日 by Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508–555), Prince of Xiangdong 湘東 and briefly Emperor Yuan 元 during the Liang Dynasty (502–557):

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15 This speech is in the entry for the third year of Lord Xuan. See Durrant et al., *Zuo Tradition*, 601–3.

16 See "Lu Xiang jue Qin" 呂相絕秦, in *Xian Qin wenxue shi cankao ziliao*, 206.

17 For the translation, see Durrant et al., *Zuo Tradition*, 805.

18 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 27.870.

19 Liu Xun 劉壎, *Yinju tongyi* 隱居通議 (*Congshu jicheng* edition), 18.189.

The Spring festival at each new Spring is fine;	春還春節美
The Spring wind skimming by Spring days.	春日春風過
The heart of Springtime varies every day;	春心日日異
And Spring passions burgeon everywhere.	春情處處多
Spring fragrance stirs everywhere;	處處春芳動
And Spring birds are transformed each day.	日日春禽變
The Springtime atmosphere is vivid in the Spring;	春意春已繁
Yet one Spring person cannot be seen this Spring.	春人春不見
I cannot see anyone filled with the longings of Spring;	不見懷春人
I can only observe the newness of the Spring scenery.	徒望春光新
Spring griefs tie themselves up in the Spring;	春愁春自結
Who can untie the knots of the Spring?	春結誰能申
I would tell of the delight of the Spring garden;	欲道春園趣
But then I recall that person of the Spring.	復憶春時人
Where now are the people of Spring time?	春人竟何在
Enduring the lack of that Spring season last;	空爽上春期
Recollecting those Spring flowers that have wilted,	獨念春花落
All just like every Springtime in the past.	還似昔春時[20]

The word *chun* 春 (spring) occurs 23 times in this poem. Sometimes, the word even appears twice in a single pentasyllabic verse. Repetition and parallelism within couplets, such as *riri* 日日 (everyday) and *chuchu* 處處 (everywhere), can also be seen here. The effect is fresh and spellbinding, with a kind of incremental repetition that creates a powerful momentum throughout the poem.

Yet this is not the limit of this poetic device. In a poem responding to Xiao Yi's poem with matching rhymes, Bao Quan 鮑泉 (d. 552) also repeated the word *xin* 新 (new) thirty times, as in the following six lines:

The **new** orioles return a**new** [in this year];	新鶯始新歸
The **new** butterflies start again **new** flight.	新蝶復新飛
……	
The new fan is like the **new** moon;	新扇如新月
The headscarf imitates the **new** cloud.	新蓋學新雲
The **new**ly dropped tears resemble a string of pearls;	新落連珠淚
Which make **new** spots on the vermilion skirt.	新點石榴裙[21]

20 *Yutai xinyong jianzhu*, 7.322.

21 "Feng he Xiandong wang chunri shi" 奉和湘東王春日詩, Feng Weine, *Gushiji*, 80.14a–14b; 102.7b–8a.

The above two poems, which were outstanding verse of the genre of *gongti shi* 宮體詩 (palace-style poetry), were included in the much later anthology *Shiji* 詩紀 by Ming scholar Feng Weine 馮惟訥 (1513–1572).[22] The masterpiece "Night of Flowers and Moon on the Spring River" 春江花月夜 by Tang poet Zhang Ruoxu 張若虛 (ca. 670–ca. 730) advanced this technique even further. Later, an anonymous poet from mid-Tang who wandered in Tibet composed the "Song of White Clouds" 白雲歌, a graceful heptasyllabic ancient-style poem which includes the following lines:

I wonder why the white clouds behave like this;	不知白雲何所以
They climb up the mountains every year again.	年年歲歲從山起
When the clouds hide, they do not necessarily return to the stones;	雲收未必歸石中
The stones flip upside down and are buried in cloud.	石暗翻埋在雲里
The changes undergone by mortals are analogous to the white clouds;	世人遷變比白雲
The white clouds, without any intention, flow in their fullness.	白雲無心但氤氳

This poem, which repeats the keyword *baiyun* 白雲 (white clouds), can be seen in Pelliot manuscript 2555 from Dunhuang, now preserved in Paris.

Repeating characters and words in new contexts is one of the fundamental skills of versifying. Chinese poems generally have lines of fixed lengths, and since all Chinese characters are monosyllabic, the number of characters of each line will be the same. Within this regularity the repetition of particular words can have a distinctive beauty, creating new rhythms within the overall meter.

8 Parallelism and Tonal Prosody

Parallelism and tonal symmetry are the outstanding linguistic structures in Chinese literature. In the Six Dynasties period, Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 522) already discussed the issue of parallelism in the "Parallel Expressions" (Lici 麗辭) chapter, #35 in his treatise *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍. Liu Xie argued that there are four types of parallelism: *yandui* 言對 (verbal parallelism), *shidui*

22 Feng Weine, *Gushiji*, 80.14a–14b; 102.7b–8a.

事對 (factual parallelism), *fandui* 反對 (contrasting parallelism), and *zhengdui* 正對 (perfect parallelism). Among these various types, perfect parallelism is considered inferior to the others because it is too repetitive.

There are some standard rules governing parallelism. In strict Chinese parallel couplets, no repeated word is allowed. More importantly, what is exclusive to the Chinese language is that tones should also be harmonized in a couplet.

Parallelism can be used either at the level of the individual line or on the scale of the complete work. In the history of Chinese literature, there were four special genres which especially prioritized the use of parallelism:

1) *duizhen* 對貞 (paired divination) statements of the Shang oracle bone inscriptions;
2) *pianwen* 駢文 (parallel prose), in which each line consists of four or six characters, which originated in the Six Dynasties period;
3) *lüshi* 律詩 (regulated poems) in the Tang Dynasty: the third and fourth lines in an eight-line regulated verse poem form a parallel couplet, as do the fifth and sixth lines;
4) *babi wen* 八比文 (eight-legged essay, an argumentative essay consisted of eight groups of sentences of equal length which were in pair), a genre which scholars since the Ming Dynasty composed for the civil-service examination.

People were particularly fastidious about the couplets in poetry. In the Tang Dynasty, many works were composed to discuss the methods of composition and prohibitions for antithetical couplets. In the Tang, composing poems and regulated *fu* were the major subjects of the civil examination. As a result, rime dictionaries and *leishu* 類書 (encyclopedia or commonplace book) were composed as the times required. Xu Jian 徐堅 (659–729) compiled *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Notes for initial study) under the auspices of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756). Each chapter of this work begins with sections on *xushi* 敘事 (general introduction) and *shidui* 事對 (sentences arranged in parallel), followed by excerpts from certain poems, *fu*, and so on. Later on, pedagogical works such as Li Han's 李瀚 (d. 962) *Mengqiu* 蒙求 were mainly composed in couplets as well. The *Fenlei zijin* 分類字錦 (Brocade of words, categorized) in 64 fascicles, which was finalized by the imperial court in 1721, was a comprehensive collection of proverbs and couplets.

Parallel prose remained so popular in the Tang and Song Dynasties that it became the principle form used to compose imperial edicts and literati memorials. These refined compositions are each supposed to contain at least one splendid couplet or aphorism that can be extracted and admired for its own sake. The genre of parallel prose was also applied in the imperial edicts issued

to foreigners, such as the piece written for Trần Nhật Cảnh 陳日暻〔燝〕(1218–1277), the monarch of Annam. The expertise in parallel prose was called at that time "learning of ingenuity and erudition" 敏博之學.[23] Even the essay "Against Examination Essays" (Fei chengwen 非程文) from the Yuan Dynasty, a diatribe attacking in a satirical manner the faults of provincial examinations, was itself written in a parallel style.[24]

When even practical writings were embellished with the use of parallel style, poetry relied on it even more. Japanese monk Kūkai's 空海 (774–835) *Bunkyō hifuron* 文鏡秘府論 enumerated 29 types of parallelism that can basically be divided into two major categories: *xiangfan* 相反 (mutual opposition) and *xiangsheng* 相生 (mutual generation). The former is what Liu Xie called contrasting parallelism, meaning the objects in a couplet are in perfect opposition but do not advance an argument or narrative; the latter, which was sometimes called *liushui dui* 流水對 (flowing parallelism), means that the lines in a couplet are related in a more organic way in which the argument proceeds along with the parallelism like a flowing stream. The *pailü* 排律 (extended regulated verse) is another form of regulated poem that extends longer than ordinary regulated verse.

Parallelism was of particular importance in traditional Chinese literature. Children were requested to learn to write couplets, and only after prolonged training could they skillfully compose poems.

Chinese prosody is based on a combination of initials, finals, and tones of which each Chinese character is made up. Since Chinese characters are monosyllabic, Chinese poems are highly regular in terms of line length. The styles of Chinese poems vary depending on the number of the characters. Trisyllabic poems, in which each line consists of just three characters, are often seen in the inscriptions on bronze mirrors. The structure of tetrasyllabic poems, whose lines consisting of four characters, is the same as eulogies and stele inscriptions. When pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic poems developed, the number of words became regular and the couplets in poems were beautifully arranged. To ensure that the various sounds within a poem should be placed in appropriate harmony, the patterns of *ping* 平 (level) and *ze* 仄 (oblique) tones should be arranged to form the melody of the poem. As a result, the *ping*, *shang* 上 (rising), *qu* 去 (departing), and *ru* 入 (entering) tones are strictly distinguished; moreover, the *qing* 清 (clear) and *zhuo* 濁 (turgid) consonants (voiceless and voiced, in modern terminology), and the light and heavy sounds should also be taken into consideration. From the Qi-Liang Dynasties to the late Tang period,

23 Liu Xun, *Yinju tongyi*, 21.211.

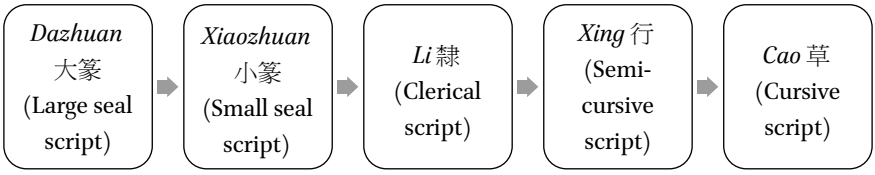
24 See Tao Zongyi, *Nancun chuo geng lu*, 28.307–9.

plenty of works on the four tones and prosodic faults were composed. Chinese prosody developed even stricter requirements in the later genres *ci* 詞 (song lyrics) and *qu* 曲 (aria), in which a tune must have a prescribed number of characters and pattern of tones. The *Shengdiao pu* 聲調譜 (Manual of tones and intonation) from the early Qing further analyzed the rhythm of a piece on the basis of individual lines. It also discussed ancient-style poems after first introducing the regulated form. This paper will not review the ways tones are used in poetic prosody, since they have been widely studied.

9 The Development of Chinese Characters from a Functional Medium to an Aesthetic One and the Simplification of Poetry

Last but not least, Chinese scripts have experienced several stages of evolution:

TABLE 3.4 Several stages of evolution of Chinese scripts



The major developments of the Chinese writing system are that the individual strokes and entire characters have both become more rectilinear; that the structure become more rounded and fluid, less solid and fixed; and that the process of writing has grown faster and faster. The script of each period has its unique beauty. The rich variety of Chinese calligraphy has facilitated the artistry of Chinese characters, so that they are not merely practical tools, but a medium for personal and spiritual expressions.

The well-arranged and beautiful lines in regulated poems are the most dazzling and effective parts of the poems. There developed a practice of quoting the outstanding couplets in isolation for admiration and study. In the Tang and Five Dynasties period, many works known as *Shiju tu* 詩句圖 (Chart of lyrical verses) were composed. Zhang Wei's 張為 (9th c.) *Shiren zhuke tu* 詩人主客圖 (Chart of poetical hosts and guests) was the seminal work for the collage of verses extracted from other poems.[25] Thereafter, many models of verse

25 For Zhang Wei's work, see Luo Genze, *Wan Tang Wudai wenxue piping shi*, 50.

writing were composed through the practice of extraction. In the collections of famous poets' works, the lines of certain couplets were often extracted to represent the poets. The heptasyllabic regulated poems by Lu You 陸遊 (1125–1210) were so exceptionally well-crafted that 77 were extracted and included in Chen Yinghang's 陳應行 (fl. 1175–1194) *Xu Jutu* 續句圖 (Diagram of verses continued).

Since the Song Dynasty, *yinglian* 楹聯 (pillar couplets), the couplets which are hung on the pillars of a great hall, have been in vogue. As a combination of poetic writing and calligraphy, pillar couplets are artistic productions *par excellence*. The lines of a pillar couplet simplify and epitomize a complete poetry. The custom to compose pillar couplets remains in existence nowadays. It demonstrates the socialization and popularization of poetic composition, which are key trends in Chinese literary history.

10 Conclusion

Over the centuries Chinese poetry has been written in an impressive variety of different forms, adopt many different prosodic regulations. Verse forms in Chinese literature can be divided into four major types: *fu* (rhapsodies), *shi* (lyric poems), *ci* (song lyric), and *qu* (aria). *Gushi* 古詩 (ancient-style poems), *yuefu* 樂府 (Music Bureau songs), *lüshi* (regulated poem), and *jueju* 絕句 (quatrain) are the most stable poetic forms. Among these, both the regulated poem and the quatrain have regulated numbers of characters and tone patterns. Poets could be freed from the burden of designing their own forms, and conserve their energy for the content of poetry, when following the above styles in their poetic compositions. On the other hand, the modern poetry of the 20th century is a form of free verse which does not have a fixed form at all. As a result, a poet has to labor to balance both content and form in composing a new poem. Modern-style verse is still immature, and the fact that poets must take pains with respect to formulating original syntactic structures is one of the reasons for its immaturity.

In the West, linguistics has become the dominant discipline for examining literary works. Since the spoken Chinese language and written Chinese characters operate at a certain remove from one another without corresponding rigidly, spoken language is less important than script in Chinese. China is unified by its system of characters. Although dialects are many, the characters are identical and shared by all people living in China. This demonstrates the leading role of Chinese writing in Chinese culture. Unlike Western cultures, in which language and writing operate in an equivalence which brings forth

literature (language = writing > literature), the major cultural characteristic of Chinese culture is that literature is produced by writing alone (writing > literature). Thus, the linguistic approach alone is inadequate in analyzing Chinese literature. This incongruity is particularly obvious in poetics. From this point of view, borrowing Western theories to assess Chinese poems is often a Procrustean venture.

CHAPTER 4

Confucian Learning and the Art of Rhetoric

Editor's Note: The emphasis in the second chapter on Chan Buddhism should not mislead the reader into thinking that Jao was less interested in Confucian thought. To the contrary, his studies of aesthetics and literature were grounded in his mastery of the Confucian Classics, as was true for the literati throughout the history of imperial China. This essay is modest in length, but gives a masterful analysis of the Confucian view of the art of rhetoric. Rather than attempting to show that China has its own rhetorical tradition parallel to that of Europe, Jao makes the subtler argument that Confucian theories of rhetoric have always integrated an emphasis on the moral caliber of the person into their arguments. As stated in the pivotal passage of the Book of Changes that he quotes, "The words of a man who has lost his standpoint are contorted": even when it appears to be focused on the quality of verbal expression, Confucian rhetoric does not ignore the deeper motivations and specific situation of the speaker.*

Before discussing the topic of rhetoric, we should clarify two points:

First, rhetoric in the sense of *xiuci* 修辭 or "the refinement of words" was taken extremely seriously in ancient China. However, the refinement of words here refers not precisely to what is called rhetoric in the West, but to the accordance between words and conduct, exterior embellishment and inner virtue. Originally, the refinement of words encompassed both speech and writing. This is the point of Confucius' ancient saying that "speech without ornament cannot travel far" 言之無文，行之不遠,[1] which also indicates the intrinsic connection between speech and its ornamentation. Speech is therefore crucial for Confucian learning. In the West, the term "rhetoric" refers to the art of speech. The term "oratory," deriving from ῥητορεία in Greek and oratoria in Latin, refers to the craft of speech, and it is only later that it comes to refer to the composition of essays and in particular, the craft of writing or the ornament of words and techniques and forms of expressions. The arrival of Western rhetoric in China was quite recent. Originally, it was characterized by its Western features. For example, the *Xiucige* 修辭格 of Tang Yue 唐鉞 (1891–1987) follows the set pattern of the English grammar by J.C. Nesfield (1836–1919), and covers only the form of phrasing and style of organization. Though the title was original,

* Translated by Xu Zhenxu and revised by Nicholas Morrow Williams.

1 *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 9.243.

this sort of rhetoric already had begun in China much earlier with the *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 of Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 522), who discusses this subject in the series of chapters beginning with his 26th chapter on *shensi* 神思 "spiritual reflection" or simply "imagination."

Since the Meiji period, Japanese scholars have written numerous studies of rhetoric. Takata Sanae 高田早苗 (1860–1938) and Shimamura Hōgetsu 島村抱月 (1871–1918) both wrote works entitled *Bijigaku* 美辭學. The phrase *biji* (Ch. *meici* 美辭) here comes from the essay "On the Exposition of the Way" (Biandao lun 辯道論) by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232): "To appeal to them with pleasant countenance, to guide them by beautiful verbiage" 溫顏以誘之，美辭以導之.[2] This saying would seem to imply that rhetoric is the refinement of words. However, in the classical period of the Qin and Han Dynasties (221 BCE–220 CE) the refinement of words that Confucians talked about was called *wende* 文德, the *virtue* of ornament, rather than *wenshu* 文術, the *craft* of ornament. The Confucian refinement of words is thus quite distinctive from the kinds of rhetoric talked about in modern times because it always has a moral component.

Furthermore, the refinement of words, in Confucian thought, contrast sharply with that of the political strategists. The traveling diplomats and persuaders in ancient times cared deeply about speechmaking and debate. In the Spring and Autumn (770–476 BCE) and Warring States periods (475–221 BCE), diplomatic language was taken seriously due to the practical need for it. The recitation of classic poetry, such as the three hundred poems of the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of odes), was for the purpose of making good diplomatic responses, since the fate of a kingdom could be determined by a single sentence at the right moment. Thus, there was special training in language for purposes of diplomatic interaction. Speech was one of the Four Subjects of Confucian Learning: virtuous conduct, ability in speech, administrative ability, and erudition in ancient literature. The topic of speech could be developed in two different directions, in relation to moral doctrine or political tactics. In Confucian thought, one uses refined speech to make sure that one practices what one preaches, but the political strategists—or specifically the *zongheng jia* 縱橫家 concerned with political alliances and competition during the Warring States era—instead used flowery language to dazzle and impress their audiences. Their use of rhetoric was not motivated by sincere intention nor grounded in moral concerns, just as is pointed out in the "Treatise on Arts and Letters" in the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Hanshu 漢書): "When evil people use

2 "Quan Sanguo wen," *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 18.6b.

it, they elevate deceit and forsake honesty" 邪人為之，則上詐諼而棄其信.[3] The Confucian teaching of refinement of words that is my topic here is based instead in the Confucian classics and commentaries. For this purpose, major works such as *Zhanguoce* 戰國策, *Han Feizi* 韓非子, and *Guiguzi* 鬼谷子 will be omitted from the discussion.

1 Verbal Refinement and Establishing Sincerity Comprise the Union between the Interior and Exterior

The concept of *xiuci* "verbal refinement," comes from the "Commentary on the Words of the Text" 文言 for the first hexagram Qian 乾 in the *Book of Changes*: "The superior man improves his character and labors at his task. It is through loyalty and faith that he fosters his character. By *refining his words*, so that they rest firmly on truth, he makes his work enduring" 君子進德修業，忠信所以進德也，脩辭立其誠，所以居業也.[4] Speech is a matter of external expression, but sincerity is about the inner person, and only when inner motivation is substantive can the speech carry weight. Refinement of words concerns beauty, and sincerity is about both truthfulness and goodness, without which there will be no beauty at all. Only with truthfulness and goodness can there be sincerity.

The best exposition of sincerity can be found in the *Doctrine of the Mean* (Zhongyong 中庸). We can confirm by means of the combination of the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Book of Changes* that "sincerity" (*cheng* 誠) encompasses both truthfulness and goodness. The *Doctrine of the Mean* says: "There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self; if someone does not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself. Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men.... He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and holds it fast" 誠身有道，不明乎善，不誠乎身矣。誠者，天之道也；誠之者，人之道也。……誠之者，擇善而固執之者也.[5] From these words, we can see that "sincerity" in Confucian conception includes both truthfulness and goodness. The expression of sincerity lies not only in being true to oneself but also in extending this sincerity to others. The *Doctrine of the Mean* further says:

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3 *Hanshu*, 30.1740.

4 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 1.18. English translation quoted from Wilhelm, *I Ching*, 380–81 ("working on" changed to "refining").

5 *Liji zhengyi*, 53.1689. The Doctrine of the Mean originally belonged to the *Liji* (Book of rites), but in the Song Dynasty was included in the Confucian "Four Books." These are translated in the first volume of Legge's *Chinese Classics*, which we follow here. See translation in Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1:413. Though there are livelier translations of some of the Confucian classics than Legge's, he remains the only scholar to translate all the main classics into English, so we often use his translations in this chapter, for sake of consistency.

> Sincerity is the end and beginning of things; without sincerity, there would be nothing. On this account, the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing. The possessor of sincerity does not merely accomplish the self-completion of himself. With this quality, he completes other men and things also. Completing himself shows his perfect virtue (*ren*). Completing other people and things shows their knowledge. But these are virtues belonging to nature, and this is the way by which a union is effected by the external and internal. Therefore, whenever he—the entirely sincere man—employs them,—that is, these virtues, their action will be right.
>
> 誠者物之終始，不誠無物。是故君子誠之為貴。誠者非自成己而已也，所以成物也。成己，仁也；成物，知也。性之德也，合外內之道也，故時措之宜也.[6]

The virtue of humaneness (*ren* 仁) means having sincerity in one's heart, and wisdom means extending this sincerity to all things. Refinement of words falls in the domain of wisdom, and the establishment of sincerity is a kind of humaneness. Establishing sincerity in the matter of the refinement of words is the union of interior and exterior.

Yet some aim to refine speech without being sincere or virtuous, as Confucius points out in *Analects* 1/3: "Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue" 巧言令色，鮮矣仁.[7] Beautiful speech must be based on the inner sincerity to be valuable. The saying that "the virtuous will be sure to speak correctly" 有德者必有言 in *Analects* 14/5 means that the establishment of sincerity will contribute to the refinement of words,[8] to the point that the interior is in a union with the exterior and the humaneness and wisdom are both achieved. On the contrary, the succeeding assertion in the same entry of *Analects* that "those whose speech is good may not always be virtuous" 有言者不必有德, so that the refinement of words is not accompanied by goodness.[9] From the broader perspective, those who achieve ultimate sincerity can develop the nature of things to fulfillment, and fully participate in heaven and earth, and this is called "attaining greatness." On the other hand, on a local scale, they can straighten out the crooked, so that even the crooked can attain sincerity, and become perceptive and illustrious, and this is what

6 *Liji zhengyi*, 53.1694; trans. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1:418. This is *gewu* 格物, or recognizing the principles of things. The ultimate principle is sincerity, as it is said: "It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can fulfill his own nature" 惟天下至誠，為能盡其性 (*Liji zhengyi*, 53.1691).

7 *Lunyu zhushu*, 1.4; trans. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1:139.

8 *Lunyu zhushu*, 14.207; trans. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1:276.

9 *Lunyu zhushu*, 14.207.

is called "penetrating to every detail." From this we can see that the establishment of sincerity should be aligned with the refinement of words so that the inside fits the outside, and the speech fits the act. It is only then that one can become a superior person with civility and wisdom.

The "Record of Example" 表記 in the *Li ji* 禮記 (Book of rites) explains the principle of refinement of words and the establishment of sincerity.[10] It says:

> Therefore when a superior man puts on the dress of his rank, he sets it off by the demeanor of a superior man. That demeanor he sets off with the language of a superior man; and that language he makes good by the virtues of a superior man. Hence the superior man is ashamed to wear the robes, and not have the demeanor; ashamed to have the demeanor, and not the style of speech; ashamed to have the style of speech, and not the virtues; ashamed to have the virtues, and not the conduct proper to them.
>
> 是故君子服其服，則文以君子之容，有其容，則文以君子之辭，遂其辭，則實以君子之德。是故君子恥服其服而無其容，恥有其容而無其辭，恥有其辭而無其德，恥有其德而無其行.[11]

From the above passage, it can be seen that robes, demeanor, speech, virtues, and conduct are consistent with one another. From this, we can perceive that there is a co-dependent relationship between the refinement of words and virtuous conduct. "The Record of Example" also quotes the words of Confucius: "What is required in feeling is sincerity; in words, that they be subtle" 情欲信，辭欲巧.[12] That feeling should be sincere refers to the establishment of sincerity and that words should be subtle refers to the refinement of words. This coincides with the saying in the "Commentary on the Words of the Text" section of the *Book of Changes*, quoted above. The "Record of Example" also states: "The superior man does not consider that his words (alone) show fully what a man is. Hence when right ways prevail in the kingdom, the branches and leaves (from the stem) of right conduct appear; but when there are not right ways in the kingdom, the branches and leaves of (mere) words appear" 君子不以辭盡人，故天下有道則行有枝葉，天下無道則辭有枝葉.[13] The branches and leaves of speech refer to trifling words, which lead to the inconsistency

10 According to Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), "the virtue of a superior person can be seen from his demeanor and exterior." 以記君子之德，見於儀表者也. *Liji zhengyi*, 54.1713.

11 *Liji zhengyi*, 54.1724; trans. Legge, *Lî Kî*, 2:337.

12 *Liji zhengyi*, 54.1745; trans. modified from Legge, *Lî Kî*, 2:349. Legge translates *qiao* 巧 as "susceptible of proof" based on Zheng Xuan's commentary.

13 *Liji zhengyi*, 54.1742; trans. Legge, *Lî Kî*, 2:347–48.

between words and conduct. Thus words are inferior to conduct, and words are only valuable when they are sincere. It is just as is said in the *Analects* (1/6): "When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in studying *wen* (writing, aesthetics, culture)" 行有餘力，則以學文.[14]

2 Knowing People from Their Words

The term *ci* 辭 "words" encompasses both speech and written documents. It is what mirrors inner thought. Intrinsic qualities will eventually be revealed in the exterior. Thus, the *Book of Changes* says: "The feelings of the holy sages reveal themselves in the judgments [their words]" 聖人之情見乎辭.[15] Yang Xiong said: "Speech is the sound of the heart" 言，心聲也.[16] We can discover from people's use of words the quality of their persons and whether they have good hearts. This is what understanding people is all about. Understanding others' feelings was considered a specialized area of knowledge in Confucian thought, and was crucial for engaging in politics. It is said in the *Book of Documents*: "[The essence of virtuous governance] lies in knowing men, and giving repose to the people" 在知人，在安民....[17] "When the sovereign knows men, he is wise and can put everyone into the office for which he is fit. When he gives repose to the people, his kindness is felt, and the black-haired [the common people] cherish him in their hearts" 知人則哲，能官人；安民則惠，黎民懷之.[18] There are ancient books dealing specifically with the problem of knowing people. The *Dadai liji* 大戴禮記 (Record of rites compiled by the Senior Dai) mentions the method that King Wen 文 of the Zhou used to select his officials: an examination of truthfulness, the examination of intention, the examination of the voice, observation of countenance, examination of what is hidden, and appraisal of virtue.[19]

The idea that one can determine a man's temperament and moral qualities from his manner of speech is also expressed in the important passage that concludes the entire "Appended Statements Commentary" (Xici zhuan 繫辭傳) in the *Book of Changes*:

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14 *Lunyu zhushu*, 1.8; trans. modified from Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1:140.

15 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 8.349; trans. Wilhelm, *I Ching*, 327.

16 *Fayan yishu*, 5.160.

17 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 4.123; trans. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:70.

18 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 4.123; trans. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:70. From the "Counsels of Gaoyao" (Gaoyau mo 皋陶謨) chapter.

19 These words also appear in *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書. *Yi Zhou shu huijiao jizhu*, 7.757.

> The words of a man who plans revolt are confused. The words of a man who entertains doubt in his inmost heart are ramified. The words of men of good fortune are few. Excited men use many words. Slanderers of good men are roundabout in their words. The words of a man who has lost what he was guarding are contorted.
>
> 將叛者其辭慙，中心疑者其辭枝，吉人之辭寡，躁人之辭多，誣善之人其辭遊，失其守者其辭屈.[20]

These lines are the most sophisticated among the theoretical writings of Confucianism. Though brief, they leave a deep impression upon the mind. Mencius's important concept of *zhiyan* 知言, "knowing words," seems to derive from this same theory as well. What counts as knowing words? Mencius said: "When words are one-sided, I know how the mind of the speaker is clouded over. When words are extravagant, I know how the mind is fallen and sunk. When words are all-depraved, I know how the mind has departed from principle. When words are evasive, I know how the mind is at its wit's end" 詖辭知其所蔽，淫辭知其所陷，邪辭知其所離，遁辭知其所窮.[21] We can tell what people think and whether they are good or bad from what they talk about.

Since I have spoken above at a theoretical level, now I will turn to some historical examples. There are good examples of knowing people by their words in both the *Zuo Tradition* (Zuozhuan 左傳) and *Discourses of the States* (Guoyu 國語). For instance, the *Discourses of the States* records that Duke Xiang of Shan 單襄公praised Ji Zhou 姬周, a man from the state of Jin 晉, who would later become Duke Dao 悼 of Jin (r. 573–558 BCE): "He will ultimately attain the kingdom of Jin, for his conduct is refined [*wen*]" 將得晉國，其行也文.[22] Duke Xiang used *wen*, cultural refinement or civility, to summarize the character of Ji Zhou, and to indicate the all-encompassing significance of the concept, further saying:

> His conduct can be said to be refined in civility (*wen*), and because he is refined he will be able to obtain heaven and earth. Blessed by heaven and earth, he will get his own kingdom while he is still young. Respect is the deferential side of civility; fidelity is the substantial side of civility; fidelity is the reliable side of civility; humaneness is the benevolent side of civility; dutifulness is the regular side of civility; wisdom is the chariot

20 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 8.379.
21 *Mengzi zhushu*, 3A.92. *Mencius*, 2A/2; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, *Works of Mencius*, 191.
22 *Guoyu jijie*, 3.88.

> of civility; bravery is the commander of civility; teaching is what spreads civility; filial devotion is the foundation of civility; kindness is the merciful side of civility; forbearance is the basic resource of civility.
>
> 其行也文，能文則得天地，天地所祚，小而後國。夫敬，文之恭也；忠，文之實也；信，文之孚也；仁，文之愛也；義，文之制也；智，文之輿也；勇，文之帥也；教，文之施也；孝，文之本也；惠，文之慈也；讓，文之材也。[23]

Duke Xiang summarized the eleven qualities of Duke Dao of Jin by one term, that is *wen* 文 "civility." So this term has a comprehensive encompassing both moral and other cultural attainments. Later Duke Dao of Jin indeed restored his kingdom, which proves that Duke Xiang was right about him.

Another important virtue was cooperating in the pursuit of harmoniousness as part of human society, as discussed in an episode from the 20th year of Duke Zhao in the *Zuo Tradition* records the reply of Yan Ying 晏嬰 (d. 500 BCE) to Duke Jing 景 of Qi 齊 (d. 490 BCE):

> When the Prince of Qi returned from the hunt, Yan Ying waited upon him at the Chuan Terrace. Liangqiu Ju galloped his horses to join them there. The lord said, "Liangqiu Ju alone is in harmony with us!" Yan Ying replied, "Ju is in fact in unison with you. How can he be said to be in harmony?" The lord said, "Are harmony and conformity different?"
>
> Yan Ying replied, "They are different. Harmony is like a stew. Water, fire, jerky, mincemeat, salt, and plum vinegar are used to cook fish and meat. These are cooked over firewood. The master chef harmonizes them, evening them out with seasonings, compensating for what is lacking, and diminishing what is too strong. The noble man eats it and calms his heart. With ruler and subject it is the same. When there is something wrong in what the ruler considers right, the subject sets forth the wrong in order to perfect the right. When there is something right about what the ruler considers wrong, the subject sets forth the right in order to eliminate the wrong. In this way, the administration is calm and does not violate standards, and the people will have no heart for contending with one another....
>
> Now Liangqiu Ju is not like this. Whatever you, the ruler, consider right, Liangqiu Ju also calls right. Whatever you consider wrong, Ju also

23 *Guoyu jijie*, 3.88–89.

> calls unacceptable. If you season water with water, who can eat it? If the zithers and zitherns hold to a single sound, who can listen to it? This is how conformity is wrong."[24]

> 齊侯至自田，晏子侍於遄臺，子猶（即梁丘據）馳而造焉。公曰：「惟據與我『和』夫！」晏子對曰：「據亦同也，焉得為和？」公曰：「『和』與『同』異乎？」對曰：「異。和如羹焉，水、火、醯、醢、鹽、梅，以烹魚肉，燀之以薪。宰夫和之，齊之以味，濟其不及，以洩其過。君子食之，以平其心。君臣亦然。君所謂可，而有否焉，臣獻其否，以成其可；君所謂否，而有可焉，臣獻其可，以去其否，是以政平而不干，民無爭心。……今據不然。君所謂可，據亦曰可；君所謂否，據亦曰否。若以水濟水，誰能食之？若琴瑟之專壹，誰能聽之？同之不可也如是。[25]

In this pointed and profound dialogue, it is proposed that the combination of approval and negation is harmony. This means that unity can only be achieved by means of contradiction. Hexagram #38, Kui 睽 (Opposition), in the *Book of Changes* says: "Thus amid all fellowship / The superior man retains his individuality" 君子以同而異.[26] The Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) commentary adds: "He is the same in general principles, but different in specific duties" 同於通理，異於職事.[27] The sameness and difference are not distinguished in terms of issues but about practical attitude: rather than blindly seeking in accordance, it is better to search for accordance from diversity, which pools together the wisdom of multiple people. The *Analects* says: "The superior man is agreeable but not conformist; the petty man is conformist but not agreeable" 君子和而不同，小人同而不和.[28] He Yan 何晏 (190–249) commented: "The mind of the superior man is gentle but looks from different perspectives, which is why he is different. The preferences of the inferior men are the same, yet they compete over their own personal benefit, which is why they are not harmonious" 君子心和，然其所見各異，故曰不同。小人所嗜好者同，然各爭其利，故曰不和也.[29] Only by finding differences can a person be superior; in contrast, the obsequious person is nothing but the inferior. Yanzi 晏子 (6th c. BCE) elaborated on this point, and his analysis into three stages of

24 *Zuo Tradition*, 421, modified. We render *tong* 同 as "conformity."
25 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 49. 1612–13, 1619–20.
26 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 4.189; Wilhelm, *I Ching*, 148.
27 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 4.189.
28 *Analects*, 13/23. *Lunyu zhushu*, 13.203. Cf. Legge's rendering (*Confucian Classics*, 1:273): "The superior man is affable, but not adulatory; the mean man is adulatory, but not affable."
29 *Lunyu zhushu*, 13.203.

approval, disapproval, and compromise have a surprising similarity to the dialectical triad of thesis—antithesis—synthesis. So he had already established the foundation for a logic of argumentative speech.

3 Rhetoric and Pragmatics

Finally, I would like to mention that the understanding of rhetoric in Confucianism is similar to the linguistic discipline of pragmatics in our time. The ultimate purpose of pragmatics is to study how language is properly used to achieve a purpose in social settings. In contrast, rhetoric concerns only the beautification of words. But Confucian thinkers care about rhetorical refinement and "resting firmly on truth" so that their "work may be enduring." This is close to the gist of pragmatics too.

From the above discussion, we can see that rhetoric in Confucianism has an internal aspect of the establishment of sincerity and also an external aspect of knowing people and their words, which is not merely about the form and schema of words but about its essential virtue or *wen*, refinement. In this respect, it is different from the Western rhetoric. The Confucian version of rhetoric as the refinement of words is more about the meaning of words than rhetoric. The following examples are closer to the concerns of modern rhetoric:

– "In language it is simply required that it convey the meaning" 辭達而已矣[30]
– "That in his words and tones he keep far from lowness and impropriety" 出辭氣，斯遠鄙倍矣[31]
– "The words [should] have order" 言有序[32]
– "Not to be lavish of his words" 不辭費[33]

These maxims all indicate that the meaning of statement ought to be clear, consistent, and effective, and possess aesthetic appeal such as to attract interest, shunning lowness and impropriety, all of which resembles Confucian thought; but these are not the ultimate concern of the Confucian refinement of words.

Yet Confucian rhetoric also differs from modern pragmatics. Pragmatics is concerned with the analysis of how to use language properly, how to affect

30 *Lunyu zhushu*, 15.248; *Analects* 15/40; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1:305.

31 *Lunyu zhushu*, 8.113; *Analects* 8/4; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1:209.

32 From hexagram #52 (Gen 艮) in the *Book of Changes*. *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 5.253; Wilhelm, *I Ching*, 203.

33 From the "Summary of the Rules of Propriety" 曲禮 of the *Record of Rites*. *Liji zhengyi*, 1.15; Legge, *Lî Kî*, 63.

a person's conduct and thought, and the category and function of language. It concerns the phenomena and usage of language, not so much the intention and inner correctness, and the elements of truth and goodness. So then it becomes concerned only with the trivial and forgets the fundamentals. The discipline of understanding people and words is the Chinese form of pragmatics, but it is oriented towards morality, takes the establishment of sincerity as fundamental, and is a field of learning with a solid foundation. So it is not a pure linguistic discipline, but a hybrid kind of learning, blending rhetoric with morality.

It has been claimed that the Chinese lack conscious reflection on language. That is wrong. The Confucian refinement of words is pragmatics based on morality, and so deserves further examination by modern linguistics. I have made this point in the hope that it will catch the attention of the experts in other disciplines. These are my personal opinions and I look forward to their comments.

The above notes were taken by Lin Juntian 林均田.

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CHAPTER 5

On the "Wen fu" and Music

Editor's Note: Lu Ji's "Wen fu"* (*Rhapsody on Writing or Belles Lettres*) *is one of the masterpieces of Chinese literary criticism, but its implications are exceptionally difficult to grapple with, since it is itself written in an allusive poetic form, the medieval rhapsody or fu* 賦. *In this magisterial essay, Jao Tsung-i considers it both in relation to the traditional scholarly cruxes, including the dating and circumstances of composition; and in conjunction with the other writings of Lu Ji and his younger brother Lu Yun; but then goes on to consider the work in relation to the much broader issue, of special concern to Jao himself, of medieval musical theory. The whole piece is at once an erudite treatment of all the pertinent issues and a radically innovative reading in light of broader cultural themes, and shows off Jao's scholarly method at its best.*

The writings of Lu Shiheng 陸士衡 (or Lu Ji 陸機, 261–303) have been admired ever since they were composed, since they are so exquisite that each of his words can be compared to jade from the realm of immortals. Among all of his works, the "Wen fu" 文賦 (Rhapsody on writing) stands out for its abstruse language and unlimited scope of implied meanings. The literary critics in the Six Dynasties period, such as Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 522) and Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (ca. 469–518), did not leave any positive comment on the piece.[1] But

* Translated by Frankie Chik Hin Ming and revised by Nicholas Morrow Williams.

1 Zhong Rong's "*Shipin* xu" 詩品序said, "Lu Ji's 'Wen fu' is comprehensive in reasoning but does not pose any criticisms. Li Chong's *Hanlin* is clear in arguing but not precise" 陸機〈文賦〉通而無貶；李充〈翰林〉，疏而不切. See *Shipin jizhu*, B.186. The "Zongshu" 總術 chapter of Liu Xie's *Wenxin Diaolong* 文心雕龍 argued, "The 'Wen fu' of Master Lu Ji has been known for its penetrating and exhaustive discussion of the art of writing, but, in its superficial attention to details, it has not adequately dealt with the substance. Thus, we know he has not exhaustively investigated the common principle underlying the many variations [allusion to a lost Ode, quoted in the *Hanshu*, 6.169]; and his 'Wen fu' can hardly qualify to be words of wisdom [deep insight or understanding]" 昔陸氏〈文賦〉，號為曲盡，然汎論纖悉，而實體未該。故知九變之貫匪窮，知言之選難備矣. See *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 44.655; English translation modified from Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 328. When commenting on the literati after the Emperor Wen of Wei 魏文帝 (r. 220–226), the "Xuzhi" 序志 (Relating my intentions) chapter also argued, "Lu Ji's 'Wen fu' is ingenious but trifling and in disorder" 陸賦巧而碎亂. See *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 50.726. Nevertheless, many arguments of the *Wenxin diaolong* were in fact based on the "Wen fu." Thus, the "Wende" 文德 chapter of Zhang Xuecheng's 章學誠 (1738–1801) *Wenshi tongyi* 文史通義 contended that, "When Liu Xie stood out, he based [his theories] on Lu Ji's theory

Zang Rongxu's 臧榮緒 (415–488) *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty) commented of Lu Ji that, "[He] was proficient in understanding the facts and the principle [behind the facts]; he was also aware of various literary genres. He therefore authored the 'Wen fu'" 妙解情理，心識文體，故作文賦.[2] This statement suggests that the main purpose of the "Wen fu" was to distinguish and analyze different literary genres. Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226, Emperor Wen of Wei 魏文帝) composed the *Canonical Disquisitions* (Dianlun 典論), in which he distinguished among four main literary categories: *zouyi* 奏議 (memorials and disquisitions), *shulun* 書論 (letters and memorials), *minglei* 銘誄 (inscriptions and dirges), and *shifu* 詩賦 (lyrical and rhapsodic poetry).[3] Cao's categorization was the first in history and thus remained crude. Later Huan Fan 桓範 (d. 249), who had a broader view, composed the "Disquisition on the Four Essentials" (Siyao lun 四要論), of which three chapters were about literary genres: "Xuzuo" 序作 (On composition), "Zanxiang" 讚象 (Encomia to images), and "Minglei" 銘誄 (Inscriptions and dirges).[4] It was a prevailing custom in this period to make elaborate discussions about literary genres. In addition to the "Wen fu," the preface to the *Poetic Evaluations* (Shipin 詩品) also mentioned Li Chong's 李充 (4th c.) "Disquisition on the Forest of Letters" (Hanlin lun 翰林論), Wang Wei's 王微 (415–453) "Mighty Treasure" (Hongbao 鴻寶), Yan Yanzhi's 顏延之 (384–456) essays from his *Family Admonitions* (Tinggao 庭誥), and Zhi Yu's 摯虞 (250–300) *Monograph on Literary Composition* (Wenzhang zhi 文章志).[5] Zhong Rong even said, "An examination of these experts shows that they all talk about the genres but do not highlight which are superior" 觀斯數家皆就談文體，而不顯優劣.[6] Others, such as Ren Fang's 任昉 (460–508) *Origins of Literary Composition* (Wenzhang shi 文章始),[7] also focused on the same

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but advocated the discussion on the literary mind" 劉勰氏出，本陸機氏說而昌論文心. See *Wenshi tongyi jiaozhu*, 324. The preface to the "Wen fu" said, "Often I look upon the compositions of talented men, and recognize for myself the efforts of their minds." 余每觀才士之所作，竊有以得其用心. See *Wenxuan*, 17.761. Originating from this understanding, Liu Xie maintained, "The literary mind means the efforts one makes in the composition of writing" 文心者，言為文之用心也. See *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 50.725.

2 This statement was cited in Li Shan's 李善 (630–690) commentary on the *Wenxuan*. See *Wenxuan*, 17.761.

3 *Wenxuan*, 52.2271.

4 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 47.28b–30b.

5 *Shipin jizhu*, B.186.

6 *Shipin jizhu*, B.186.

7 The "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 of the *Suishu* 隋書 recorded Ren Fang's *Wenzhang shi* with one *juan*. The commentary on the entry said this work had been lost (*wang* 亡). See *Suishu*, 35.1082. Alternatively, Chen Zhensun's 陳振孫 (13th c.) *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 recorded Ren Fang's work under the title *Wenzhang yuanqi* 文章緣起, also in one *juan*. See *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, 22.641.

purpose. Ultimately, Liu Xie's *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 (Literary mind and the carving of dragons) was the most detailed work among others, as it synthesized previous classifications of literary genres.[8] The *Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of refined literature), compiled by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), the Crown Prince Zhaoming 昭明 of the Liang Dynasty (502–557), also categorized selected writings into thirty-eight genres. The classification of literary genres in Lu Ji's "Wen fu" and the comments on those genres therein "summed up one genre with only few words, and all of its explanations were authoritative and could not be changed" 以數字括論一體，皆塙不可易.[9] Lu Ji's work drew a connection between the past and the future. It further examined the authorial intentions to illustrate the expressiveness and obstruction of composing literary works. Therefore, Zang Rongxu appraised Lu Ji correctly when he commended him for "understanding the facts and the principles [behind them], and perceiving distinctly the various literary genres" 妙解情理，心識文體.[10]

Genre theory was one of the most important components of Chinese literary criticism. Writers of literary works all put a high priority on distinguishing various literary genres.[11] A literary *ti* (form, body, genre) can be understood in two different ways: it can refer to the *tizhi* 體製 (genre) of writings in terms of their regular form and structure; but it can also refer to the to the *tixing* 體性 (style) of writings in terms of their general orientation and authors' personalities. Obviously, genre and style were two different things from the very

8 Liu Xie's conception of genres is presented in the section of *Wenxin diaolong* from chapter 5, "Bian Sao" 辨騷 (Distinguishing the elegy), to chapter 25, "Shuji" (Epistolary writing), building on a tradition of discussing writing since the times of Huan Fan. Chapter 27 to 30, from "Tixing" 體性 (Style and nature) to "Dingshi" 定勢 (Determining the momentum), focus more on the style of a literary work.

9 Huang Kan, *Wenxuan Huangshi xue*, 94.

10 *Wenxuan*, 17.761.

11 The *Wenzhang bianti xushuo* 文章辨體敘說 was composed by Wu Ne 吳訥 (1372–1457) in the Ming Dynasty. It says: "Genre takes priority in literary composition" 文章以體製為先. See *Yuhai*, 202.21a. Chen Hongmo 陳洪謨 (1476–1527) also claimed that "Nothing is important than clarifying the genre of a piece of writing" 文莫先于辨體. See *Wenti mingbian xushuo*, 80. Both are about the production of literary form (*tizhi* 體製). By contrast, Liu Xie contended in the "Tixing" chapter of *Wenxin diaolong* that, "it is important that a man imitate one certain style to initiate his training process and continue to develop his talent in a way which conforms to his nature. This is the principle to be used as a guide in literary composition." 宜摹體以定習，因性以練才，文之司南，用此道也. *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 27.506; for translation, see Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 225. Liu also argued in the "Dingshi" chapter, "one chooses a style in accord with a genre, adapting his style to the particular situation" 循體而成勢，隨變而立功者. *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 30.530; trans. Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 240. Here Liu is discussing a different aspect, the style and character of a work (*tixing* 體性).

beginning. However, from the Wei 魏 Dynasty (220–265) onwards, both could be referred to as *wenti* 文體. We have just already discussed the genre classifications of written works. As for literary style, Liu Zhen 劉楨 (d. 217) stated, "The *ti* of writing refer to the strength or weakness of the substance of writings; to put it in an easier way, it means that the momentum of the writing lasts even once the words are finished" 文之體指實強弱，使其辭已盡而勢有餘.[12] Both Lu Jue 陸厥 (472–499) and Liu Xie gave this concept an alternative name, *tishi* 體勢 (momentum, manner, affect). The "Determining the Momentum" 定勢 chapter of the *Wenxin Diaolong* said, "One's emotion has a number of different moods, and each must be expressed in a particular style of *wen*. All writers choose the genres which accord with their emotional moods, and adopt the styles proper to these genres" 情致異區，文變殊術，莫不因情立體，即體成勢也.[13] This statement describes the overall impact on the reader supplied by the literary form. The "Style and Nature" (Tixing 體性) chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong* (#27) is another text which discussed the formation of literary genres.

The materials that touched on the development of literary genres include the postscript to Xie Lingyun's 謝靈運 (385–433) biography in the *Songshu* 宋書 of Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513), in which we read, "The Han-Wei period lasted for around four-hundred years ... the genres of writings have changed three times in this period" 自漢至魏，四百餘年 …… 文體三變.[14] Moreover, Jiang Yan's 江淹 (444–505) "Prefaces to the Poems in Diverse Forms" 雜體詩序 says, "What was produced in Wei or fashioned in Jin are also distinct in form" 魏製晉造，固亦二體.[15]

In addition, other sources that discussed the uses of various literary genres include: Zhang Rong's 張融 (444–497) "*Menlü* zixu" 門律自序 (Preface to the *Household Regulations*) said:

> As for the stylistic forms of my writings, many of them have shocked the people in the world ... How could writings have a fixed stylistic form?

12 This is a statement by Liu Zhen as quoted in the "Dingshi" chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong*. See *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 30.531. The biography of Lu Jue of the *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 recorded a letter Lu Jue sent to Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513), which said, "Since the Emperor Wen of Wei discussed the classification of writings, literati have been deeply influenced and discussed the pure and turgid *qi*. Liu Zhen's memorials greatly illustrated the essence of the styles of writings" 自魏文屬論，深以清濁為言，劉楨奏書，大明體勢之致. See *Nan Qi shu*, 52.991.

13 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 30.529. Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 238, translation slightly modified.

14 *Songshu*, 67.1778.

15 "Quan Liang wen," *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 38.8a. For the translation, see Williams, *Imitations of the Self: Jiang Yan and Chinese Poetics*, 43.

> What is usual is that all writings have their forms, and the rule is to ensure writings can generally keep to their forms … As for my writings, how can their forms be different [from others]? … I would not care if you (i.e., his sons) can obtain an alternative form.
>
> 吾文章之體，多為世人所驚 ……夫文豈有常體？但以有體為常，政當使常有其體。……吾之文章，體亦何異？……汝若復別得體者，吾不拘也。[16]

Wang Ruoxu 王若虛 (1174–1243) wrote the essay "On Writing" (Lunwen 論文) in his *Hunan yilao ji* 滹南遺老集 (Collection of an aged survivor in Hunan), in which he made a similar argument: "As for the fixed stylistic form, there is no such thing. But a piece of writing must have a general form" 定體則無，大體須有.[17]

The *ti* here specifically refers to the style but not the genre of a piece of writing. We can see from the "Wen fu" that, although passages like "The lyric follows inner sentiments and is gorgeously intricate" 詩緣情而綺靡 discuss genres explicitly,[18] the *ti* of writings in other passages of the "Wen fu" refers instead to the style and manner of a composition. For instance:

Forms have myriad variations	體有萬殊
but things lack a single measure.	物無一量
In profuse diffusion, in flickering flight,	紛紜揮霍
their shapes are hard to describe.	形難為狀[19]
As for dealing with things, it has manifold guises;	其為物也多姿
as for dealing with forms, its alterations are ceaseless;	其為體也屢遷
as for combining ideas, artifice is supreme,	其會意也尚巧
as for deploying language, allurement is all.	其遣言也貴妍
……	
Only if you master transformations in their proper sequence,	苟達變而識次
it is as if the current begins to flow and you receive all the streams.	猶開流以納泉[20]

16 *Nan Qi shu*, 41.812.
17 *Hunan yilao ji*, 37.6a.
18 *Wenxuan*, 17.766.
19 *Wenxuan*, 17.765.
20 *Wenxuan*, 17.766.

The above excerpts state that writings have no fixed forms, and one should be flexible in writing. What distinguished Lu Ji from Liu Xie and Zhang Rong? We know how important the theory of genres is in the "Wen fu." As a result, when studying the "Wen fu," one should start from Zang Rongxu's statement that Lu Ji "appreciated in his heart the various literary genres."

1

The "Wen fu" is a masterpiece in the medieval Chinese literary criticism and is highly valued by recent scholars of literary criticisms. Its influence goes far beyond China proper. Scholarship on the "Wen fu" can be categorized into the following types:

1) Specialized annotations to the ten lines on the composition of different genres. For instance, Wang Kaiyun's 王闓運 (1833–1916) "Da Chen Fuxin wen" 答陳復心問 was based purely on Lu Ji's theory and showed a great originality. See Wang's *Wangzhi* 王志.
2) Investigations of the intention and meaning of the "Wen fu" include Huang Kan's 黃侃 (Huang Jigang 黃季剛, 1886–1935) *Wenxuan Huangshi xue* 文選黃氏學 and his student Cheng Huichang's 程會昌 (more commonly known as Cheng Qianfan 程千帆, 1913–2000) *Wenlun yaoquan* 文論要詮,[21] as well as Luo Hongkai's 駱鴻凱 (1892–1955) *Wenxuan xue* 文選學.
3) Examinations of the date of the "Wen fu" and the life of the author, including Lu Qinli 逯欽立 (1911–1973), Chen Shih-hsiang 陳世驤 (*pinyin* Chen Shixiang, 1912–1971), Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫 (1902–1995), Achilles Fang (Fang Chih-t'ung 方志彤, 1910–1995),[22] and Takahashi Kazumi 高橋和巳.[23]
4) Translations, including those by Georges Margouliès, V.M. Alexéiev, Chen Shih-hsiang, E.R. Hughes, Achilles Fang, and so on.[24]

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21 Cheng Huichang, *Wenlun yaoquan*, 84–98.

22 For Lu Qinli's article, see "'Wen fu' zhuanchu niandai kao." In the postscript of the revised edition of the *Essay on Literature*, published in 1952, Chen Shih-hsiang discussed the date of composition of the "Wen fu." See Chen, *Essay on Literature*, xxxiii–xxxv. Also see Achilles Fang, "Review on E.R. Hughes, *The Art of Letters, Lu Chi's 'Wen-fu,' A.D. 302*," 615.

23 Takahashi Kazumi, "Riku Ki no denki to sono bungaku," parts 1 and 2.

24 Here is a bibliography of the translations of the "Wen fu":

Georges Margouliès's French translation; see Georges Margouliès, *Le "Fou" dans le Wen siuan: Etude et textes*, 1926. It was republished in 1984 in Paris.

The Russian rendition by V.M. Alexéiev, "Classe des sciences littéraire et linguistiques."

2

In regard to the date of the "Wen fu," Wang Mingsheng 王鳴盛 (1722–1792) wrote in his *Shiqi shi shangque* 十七史商榷 (Evaluations of the seventeen histories):

> Du Fu's (712–770) "Drunken Ballad: Parting from My Cousin Once Removed Qin On His Return after Failing the Examination" says, "Lu Ji composed the 'Wen fu' at the age of twenty." Now I have read Lu Ji's biography in the *Jinshu* but cannot find the assertion that Lu Ji composed the "Wen fu" at the age of twenty. Du Fu probably had other evidence.
>
> 杜子美〈醉歌行—別從侄勤落第歸〉詩云：「陸機二十作〈文賦〉。」今觀《晉書》本傳無二十作〈文賦〉語，子美殆別有據也。[25]

In this passage Wang proposes that Du Fu's statement should have been based on other evidence that is unknown to us. But both recent scholars Lu Qinli and Chen Shih-hsiang argued instead that the "Wen fu" was composed in Lu Ji's later years, and their arguments are conclusive. However, Jiang Liangfu's *Lu Pingyuan nianpu* 陸平原年譜 (Chronological biography of Lu Pingyuan) argued instead that Lu Ji composed the "Wen fu" in the first year of the Taikang 太康 era of the Jin 晉 Dynasty (i.e. the fourth year of the reign of Tianji 天紀 of the Wu 吳, 280) when he was twenty years old. Jiang wrote:

> The eighth letter which Lu Yun sent to Lu Ji said, "Your *wen fu* have abundant diction, and are rich in gorgeous rhetoric. But if your *wen* is too varied in form, its intention will be unclear." Here he is discussing *wen fu* alongside rhapsodies such as "Moved by the Seasons," "Fan," and so on. If this is referring to the single composition "Wen fu," then the piece was probably composed after the execution of Sima Lun 司馬倫 (240–301), the Prince of Zhao, when Lu Ji was around 41 years old. However, I suspect

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Chen Shih-hsiang, *Literature as Light Against Darkness: Being a Study of Lu Chi's "Essay on Literature," in Relation to His Life, His Period in Medieval Chinese History, and Some Modern Critical Ideas; with a Translation of the Text in Verse*; and idem, *Essay on Literature written by Third-century Chinese Poet Lu-Chi*.

Part of Chen's translation was translated into Japanese by Ikkai Tomoyoshi 一海知義. See Chen Shih-hsiang, "Riku Ki no shōgai to *Bun no fu* seisaku no seikaku na nendai" 陸機の生涯と「文賦」制作の正確な年代, trans. Ikkai Tomoyoshi 一海知義.

Achilles Fang, "Rhymeprose on Literature: The *Wênfu* of Lu Chi (A.D. 261–303)."

25 Wang Mingsheng, "Lu Ji ru Luo nian" 陸機入洛年, in idem, *Shiqi shi shangque*, 49.443.

> that the words *wen fu* here should be understood separately as *wen* and *fu*. Otherwise, it will contradict the following phrase, "But if the writing (*wen*) is varied in form, its intentions must be unclear." Therefore, I still follow the Minister of Work's [referring to Du Fu by his highest official title] theory that "Lu Ji composed the 'Wen fu' at the age of twenty."
>
> （陸）雲與機第八書有「文賦甚有辭，綺語頗多，文適多體，便欲不清」云云，與〈感逝賦〉、〈扇賦〉等同稱，似〈文賦〉應作於趙王倫誅後，即機年四十一前後。然此處「文賦」二字恐當作「文」與「賦」解；不然，則與「文適多體，便欲不清」二語，不甚可通。故仍從工部「二十作〈文賦〉」之說。[26]

Using the compound word *wen fu* as a general term for all kinds of *belles lettres* was common in this period. For example, Wang Can's 王粲 (177–217) biography in the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 said, "Liu Zhen (d. 217) composed several dozen pieces of *wen fu* in total" 劉楨咸著「文賦」數十篇.[27] However, let us carefully read this letter Lu Yun sent to his older brother (i.e. the eighth letter):

> [I, Lu] Yun, bow to you again. When I examine your various *fu*, they all incorporate an abundance of excellent allusions, to which I cannot add anything further … next, I read "Recounting My Cares," which expresses deep affection and true sayings. This *fu* is indeed pure and exquisite … The *wen fu* are splendidly articulate and abound in gorgeous rhetoric. But if your writing assumes multiple forms, its intentions may become unclear. I wonder if you, my older brother, would answer me there? Again, "Eulogy in Praise of Virtue"[28] is extremely beautiful. I was sorrowful when I read the piece. As for the "Rhapsody on the Fan," the beginning and the end

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26 Jiang Liangfu, *Lu Pingyuan nianpu*, 22.322.

27 *Sanguo zhi*, 21. 601.

28 The biography of Zhang Hua 張華 in the *Jinshu* states: "After [Zhang] Hua was executed, [Lu Ji] composed an eulogy. He also composed the 'Yongde fu' [Rhapsody in praise of virtue] to mourn Zhang Hua" 華誅後，（陸機）作誄，又為〈詠德賦〉以悼之. See *Jinshu*, 36.1077. Lu Ji's collection did not include the "Yongde fu," while the letter Lu Yun sent to his older brother called it instead the "Yongde song" 詠德頌. Zhang Hua was murdered in the fourth month of the first year of the Yongkang 永康 reign (300) of the Emperor Hui of Jin 晉惠帝 (r. 290–306), when Lu Ji was forty years old. The "Yongde fu" has been lost. Lu Ji's "Zude fu" 祖德賦 (Rhapsody on the virtue of my ancestors) was cited in *Yiwen leiju*, 20.372–73. Jiang Liangfu thought that *yongde* was mistranscribed as *zude*, so that piece is actually the "Yongde fu" mentioned here; see Jiang Liangfu, *Lu Pingyuan nianpu*, 22.360; also Jiang Liangfu, *Zhang Hua nianpu*, 70. However, we lack strong external evidence to confirm his argument.

> are more comprehensible when I read the main body of this *fu*. This *fu* appears to move fast but is slow. When saying "the dragon is seen when there are dark clouds," it appears to violate the regulations. The "Moved by the Seasons" can be ranked highly … We can say that the "Rhapsody on the Waterclock"[29] is pure and well-crafted. You, my older brother, have sent me numerous writings, and they are so innovative and remarkable that they must truly intimidate people.
>
> 雲再拜。省諸賦，皆有高言絕典，不可復言。…… 次第省〈述思賦〉，流深情至言，實為清妙。……〈文賦〉甚有辭，綺語頗多，文適多體，便欲不清，不審兄呼爾不？〈詠德頌〉甚復盡美，省之惻然。〈扇賦〉腹中愈首尾，發頭一而不快，言「烏雲龍見」，如有不體。〈感時賦〉愈前。……〈漏賦〉可謂清工。兄頓作爾多文，而新奇乃爾，真令人怖。[30]

This letter first mentioned "I examine your various *fu*" and further mentioned "Recounting My Cares," "Eulogy in Praise of Virtue," "Rhapsody on the Fan," "Moved by the Seasons," and "Rhapsody on the Waterclock." It is evident that the phrase "Wen fu" here referred to a specific text, and not the general term referring to *wen* and *fu*. As for the phrase *wen shi duo* 文適多體 (a writing can fit various forms), Achilles Fang argued that it shared the identical idea with the "Lunwen" 論文 (On writing) chapter of the *Canonical Disquisitions*, which states that "literature comprises many different forms, and few can master them all" 文非一體，鮮能備善.[31] His translation also followed this reading. However, I am hesitant to accept the validity of his argument.[32]

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29 The "Shan fu" can be found in "Quan Jin wen" 全晉文, in Yan Kejun, *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 97.4b–5b, but the title of the *fu* is "Yushan fu" 羽扇賦 instead. As for the "Lou fu," in the commentary on the sentence "the accumulated water violates the principle" 積水違方 in Lu Chui's 陸倕 (470–526) "Xin kelou ming" 新刻漏銘, Lu Ji's "Kelou fu" 刻漏賦 is cited. In *juan* 68 of the *Yiwen leiju* and other encyclopedias, it was called "Louke fu" 漏刻賦. *Yiwen leiju*, 68.1198.

30 *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 2.1111–12. For the translation of these letters we have also consulted Satō Toshiyuki's *Riku Un no Kenkyū* and its Chinese translation, *Lu Yun yanjiu*.

31 *Wenxuan*, 52.2270.

32 As for Achilles Fang's translation and annotation of the sentence "The *Wen fu* had considerably great words and lots of embellished words …… *wen* can fit various forms" in Lu Yun's letter, see Fang, "Review on E.R. Hughes, *The Art of Letters, Lu Chi's 'Wen-fu,' A.D. 302*," 632. His translation reads, "The 'Wen *fu*' is very eloquent, and there are quite a number of beautiful passages in it. As literature is a thing that can take on diverse forms, it would be difficult to treat it completely." It should be noted that the punctation of this sentence is problematic. If the sentence was punctuated as 文適多，體便欲不清，不知

Close scrutiny of the letters Lu Yun sent to his older brother shows that they discussed the "forms" of writing, and why it is not suitable to compose overly lengthy pieces. Lu Yun's statements are presented below:

1) There are as many writers who care most for the length of a piece of writing as there are hogs and sheep. Someone composed the "Rhapsody on the Cicada" comprising 2,000 words, and the "Rhapsody on the Recluse" with around 3,000 words. Not only do they never achieve magnificent rhetoric, but their forms are not commensurate with the subjects. In fact, the length of a composition should not exceed that of ancient times. From the past to the present, none has ever surpassed you in making the creative sounds and excellent music, my older brother. Although your previous writings are full of strange splendors, they are still inferior to your current writings in terms of the form.

   有作文唯尚多，而家多豬羊之徒，作〈蟬賦〉二千餘言，〈隱士賦〉三千餘言。既無藻偉，體都自不似事，[33] 文章實自不當多。古今之能為新聲絕曲者，無又過兄。兄往日文雖多瑰鑠，至於文體，實不如今日。[34]

2) My older brother, the length of your writing is ever on the increase. However, the actual value of writing does not lie in its length. But I must say that if these longer pieces of writing were on par with yours in quality, my older brother, people would never tire of them in spite of their length.

   兄文方當日多，但文實無貴於為多，多而如兄文者，人不饜其多也。[35]

兄呼爾不, it should be translated as: "But if a text is lengthy (*duo* 多), the style (*ti* 體) then is apt not to attain *qing* 清, I wonder if you agree on this point." (My gratitude is due to Dr. G.E. Sargent, with whom I studied this translation.) See also *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1111.

33 Here I follow Ding Fubao's 丁福保 edition of the *Quan Jin wen*, which punctuates these six words as one sentence: *ti dou zi busi shi* 體都自不似事, which is grammatically identical to the alternate way of parsing the line *ti bianyu buqing* 體便欲不清 (see the above note). Lu Yun's discussion on the "Rhapsody on the Fan" also says, "Seems not to have a proper form...." 如有不體. The word *ti* that appeared multiple times meant the form of a composition. See letter #7; *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1112; Satō, *Riku Un no kenkyū*, 127.

34 Letter #21. *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1089; Satō, *Riku Un no kenkyū*, 165.

35 Letter #18. *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1079; Satō, *Riku Un no kenkyū*, 154–55.

> 3) My older brother, your "Admonition on the Chief Councillor" is slightly overlong and is not as refined and succinct as the "Admonitions on the Lady Aides" [by Zhang Hua 張華, 232–290].
>
> 兄〈丞相箴〉小多，不如〈女史〉清約耳。[36]

He argued that the value of writings lays not in the length but on the excellence of the form. As a result, he writes of the poem "Recounting My Cares," that it "expresses deep affection and true sayings. This *fu* is indeed pure and exquisite." In light of the other letters to Lu Ji, though, Lu Yun's sentence that starts from "But if your writing …" can instead be read as follows: "When a piece of writing is too lengthy, its form becomes unclear" 文適多，體便欲不清.[37] A piece of writing will automatically be excellent and ingenious when its form is clear. When the writing is too lengthy, its organization suffers. This is Lu Yun's admonition against lengthy writings. The word *ti* or "form" should be placed in the second part of the sentence. Thus Lu Yun's theory is different from Cao Pi's idea that "there cannot be only one form for writings," and his proposition is not illogical at all (excessive length indeed risks damaging other qualities of a piece of writing). After all, *qing* 清 (lucidity, purity, loftiness, etc.) is the core concept of Lu Yun's literary theory. His letter to his older brother also argued:

> In the past, when people discussed writings, the words were prioritized over the underlying feeling, the force[38] of writings was valued while the charm of embellishment was ignored. I recall that you, my older brother, mentioned the discussions on writings by Master Zhang and his sons (i.e. Zhang Hua and his two sons Zhang Yi 張禕 and Zhang Wei 張韙), which I indeed want to follow as well. Now I particularly desire to use this as a model. The lofty ambition and supreme originality of your writings, my

36 Letter #22. *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1095; Satō, *Riku Un no kenkyū*, 169.

37 *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1111.

38 We follow the emendation of 潔 to 勢. The "Determining the Sway" (Dingshi 定勢, #30) chapter of the *Wenxin Diaolong* cited this phrase and said, "Lu Yun said that …… he himself tended in his literary judgments to emphasize expressions rather than feeling, and to pay more attention to the force [in the sense of vigor] than to the beauty of a style" 陸雲自稱往日論文，先辭而後情，尚勢而不取悅澤. See *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 30.531; trans. Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 239. Huang Kan's *Wenxin diaolong zhaji* 文心雕龍札記 said, "It is written in the current edition of the *Lu Shilong ji* as *shang jie* 尚潔. This is because *shi* 勢 and *jie* 絜 are graphically similar in cursive style. So *shi* was first mistakenly transcribed as *jie* 絜 and then as *jie* 潔" 今本《陸士龍集》作尚潔，蓋草書「勢」、「絜」形近，初訛為「絜」，又訛為「潔」也. See Huang Kan, *Wenxin diaolong zhaji*, 30.98.

> older brother, can hardly be overstated. Although you make them all a bit too long, your compositions are fresh and new, and so well-organized that their length cannot be counted as a defect … I, Lu Yun, am fond of succinctness, and prefer not to have too much elaboration. Rather, I value the natural expression of the intention just up to the point that it has been fully achieved.
>
> 往日論文，先辭而後情，尚絜（應作「勢」）而不取悅澤。嘗憶兄道張公父子論文，實自欲得，今日便欲宗其言。兄文章之高遠絕異，不可復稱言。然猶皆欲微多，但清新相接，不以此為病耳。……雲今意視文，乃好清省，欲無以尚，意之至此，乃出自然。[39]
>
> Master Zhang's writings don't have any singular excellence, but they are fine in that the emotions in his writings are succinct and avoid annoying verbosity. When writing is composed properly, it will turn out beautifully of its own accord.
>
> 張公文無他異，正自情省無煩長。作文正爾，自復佳。[40]

These statements alone prove that Lu Yun preferred "succinctness." He praised Lu Ji's writings for being "well-organized;" commenting that the "Recounting My Cares" was "pure and exquisite"; and saying that the "Rhapsody on the Waterclock" was pure and well-crafted. Thus, it can be determined that the word *qing* in the phrase *ti bian yu buqing* 體便欲不清 means "succinctness" or "pure and exquisite." Lu Ji's writings were so elaborate that Lu Yun commented on them with the line "although you make them all a bit too long" 猶皆欲微多.[41] The word *duo* 多 is used in the same way as in the phrase *wen shi duo* 文適多.[42] Therefore, based on his persistent principles of literary criticism, Lu Yun criticized the "Wen fu" for its excessive length and lack of strict organization.[43]

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39 Letter #11. *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1056; Satō, *Riku Un no kenkyū*, 136.

40 Letter #21. *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1089; Satō, *Riku Un no kenkyū*, 165.

41 *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1056.

42 The word *shi* 適 in *wen shi duo* 文適多 can be understood as *ruo* 若, a conditional conjunction. An example of this usage can be seen in the preface to the hermits' biographies of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書: "If it had been possible to alter their determination either to depart or to stay …" 適使矯易去就. See *Hou Hanshu*, 83.2755.

43 Zhang Pu's 張溥 "*Lu Qinghe ji* tici" 陸清河集題辭 in the *Baisan mingjia ji* 百三名家集 said, "Lu Yun's letter to his older brother valued succinctness in its discussion on writings. Beautiful though the 'Wen fu' was, it was still criticized by Lu Yun for its endless stream

Lu Qinli calculated that a total of 35 letters that Lu Yun wrote to his older brother survive. Among these, ten letters which were composed after the second year of the Yongning 永寧 reign (302) touched upon the rhapsodies "Grieved by the Rain" 愁霖賦, "Delighting in the Clearing of the Skies" 喜霽賦, "Ascending the Tower" 登臺賦, and "On the End of the Year" 歲暮賦. That his letters mentioned the "Wen fu" and "Moved by the Seasons" 感時賦 proves that it was in the second year of the Yongning reign that Lu Ji sent Lu Yun the "Wen fu." Thus, the "Wen fu" was likely composed at the earliest in 301, when Lu Ji was 41 years old (by Chinese count). Lu Qinli's dating conforms with the record of "Lamenting the Deceased" 歎逝賦, composed when Lu Ji was forty years old, and is therefore tenable. The names of Lu Ji's *fu* are also alluded to obliquely in the first section of the "Wen fu" itself, as exemplified in the following lines:

1) I mourn for what perishes as the four seasons proceed in cycle.[44] 遵四時以歎逝

Lu Ji wrote the rhapsodies "Moved by the Seasons" and the "Lamenting the Deceased." The "Moved by the Seasons" says, "Experiencing the four seasons, my sensations turn along too, / And I grieve for the chill already upon this year" 歷四時以迭感，悲此歲之已寒.[45] The preface to "Lamenting the Deceased" says, "I am just forty years old. However, many of my revered relatives have died and only few survive" 余年方四十，而懿親戚屬，亡多存寡.[46] Indeed Lu Yun was right when he wrote to his brother that, "'Moved by the Seasons' can be ranked highly."

2) And ponder multiplicity as I behold the ten thousand things. 瞻萬物而思紛
I grieve as the leaves wither in brutal force of autumn, 悲落葉於勁秋
but delight in the tender sprigs of burgeoning spring.[47] 喜柔條於芳春

Lu Ji's rhapsody on "Relating My Thoughts" 述思賦 has the following lines, "My emotions are prone to be moved by what I have seized; / My thoughts are hard to restrain from things not forgotten" 情易感于已攬，思難戢于未忘,[48]

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of beautiful words" 士龍與兄書，稱論文章頗貴清省。妙若〈文賦〉，尚嫌綺語未盡. See *Han Wei Liuchao bai san mingjia ji,* 2:693.

44 *Wenxuan*, 17.762.

45 "Quan Jin wen," 96.2b.

46 "Quan Jin wen," 96.7b.

47 "Quan Jin wen," 97.1a.

48 "Quan Jin wen," 96.3b.

and "the winter birds are sorrowful and rich in sounds; the declined forest are depressive and deprived of colors" 寒鳥悲而饒音，衰林愁而寡色.[49] Also, the rhapsody on "The Journey's Longing" 行思賦, "Longing to Return" 思歸賦, and "Sorrow and Longing" 愍思賦 all had the word *si* 思, "longing," in their titles. The lines "the forceful autumn cannot wither their leaves, / while the fragrant spring cannot send forth its splendor" 勁秋不能凋其葉，芳春不能發其華 in the rhapsody on "Man in Reclusion" 幽人賦 was similar to the lines beginning *bei luoye* 悲落葉 in the "Wen fu."[50]

3) My heart shivers in the chill as if frost-filled, 心懍懍以懷霜
my aspirations remote and removed 志眇眇而臨雲[51]
as if looking down from amidst the clouds.

Lu Ji also wrote rhapsodies on "Floating Clouds" 浮雲賦 and "White Clouds" 白雲賦. In the rhapsody on the "Virtue of My Ancestors" 祖德賦, he wrote, "Their forms shine resplendent with their aspirations pure as frost" 形鮮烈于懷霜.[52]

4) I sing of the dazzling deeds of the virtues of previous generations, 詠世德之駿烈
I chant of the immaculate auras of my deceased forefathers.[53] 誦先人之清芬

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49 "Quan Jin wen," 96.3b.

50 "Quan Jin wen," 96.9b.

51 "Quan Jin wen," 97.1a.

52 "Quan Jin wen," 96.2b.

53 *Wenxuan*, 17.762–63. The word *xianren* 先人 in *song xianren zhi qingfen* 誦先人之清芬 is transcribed as *xianmen* 先民 in the *Bunkyō hifuron* 文鏡秘府論 of Kūkai. Li Shan's commentary cited the line "The former commoners established the model" 先民有作 from *Shijing* 301; see *Maoshi zhengyi*, 20C.1686. Sun Zhizu's 孫志祖 (1737–1801) *Wenxuan kaoyi* 文選考異 said that it was originally written as *xianmin* but was changed as *xianren* in the Tang Dynasty due to the naming taboo. See *Wenxuan kaoyi*, 1.28. Both *Wenxuan pangzheng* 文選旁證 and Hu Shaoying's 胡紹煐 (1792–1860) *Wenxuan jianzheng* 文選箋證 agreed with this explanation. See *Wenxuan pangzheng*, 17.453. *Wenxuan jianzheng*, 18.452. Achilles Fang's English translation is: "He croons the clean fragrance of past worthies." In the *Yiwen leiju*, 20.373, a sentence is quoted from the "Shuxian fu" 述先賦 (Recounting my ancestors): "To admire the brilliant heroes one after another" 仰先后之顯烈, and "Zhuge Liang died and the Wu fell" 亮身沒而吳亡. Since both lines obviously referred to Lu's own ancestors, translating *xianmin* as "past worthies" seems too general. There are certain minor issues in Achilles Fang's translation that deserve further discussion. For example:

Shourao 獸擾: Li Shan's annotation, "*Rao* means to tame" 擾，馴也 (see *Wenxuan*, 17.764), used the commentary on the "Tianguan" 天官 chapter of the *Zhouli* 周禮 (see

The original collected works of Lu Ji included the "Virtue of My Ancestors" 祖德賦 and "Recounting My Ancestors" 述先賦. Yu Xin's 庾信 (513–581) preface

Zhouli zhushu, 30.953). The "Zhi shixing" 志氏姓 chapter of the *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 said, "To tame birds and beasts" 擾馴鳥獸 (See *Qianfu lun jian jiaozheng*, 35.420). The phrase *shourao* was translated by Achilles Fang as, "to the consternation of other beasts." Achilles Fang's understanding of the word *rao* as *jingrao* 驚擾 (to disturb) originated from the commentary by Liu Liang 劉良, one of the so called Five Vassals (Wuchen 五臣) of the *Wenxuan*, who interpreted *rao* as *luan* 亂 (chaos). See *Liuchen zhu Wenxuan*, 17.4a. But this interpretation is less valid than Li Shan's.

Canfeng 粲風 and *yuyun* 鬱雲: The "Wen fu" says "The resplendent breezes lift and the whirlwind rises aloft; the massed clouds rise up out of the forest of brushes." 粲風飛而猋豎，鬱雲起乎翰林 (see *Wenxuan*, 17.765). Lü Xiang 呂向, one of the Five Vassals, said, "Bright indeed, as if standing because of the whirling gusts; flourishing indeed, as if the clouds rise from the forest of writing brushes" 粲然如風飛飇立，鬱然如雲起翰林 (see *Liuchen zhu Wenxuan*, 17.5a). Cheng Qianfan punctuated both sentences as: 粲，風飛而猋豎；鬱，雲起乎翰林 (*Wenlun shijian*, 159). The word *can* means brilliance. Achilles Fang mysteriously translated *canfeng* as "laughing wind," and *yuyun* as "dense clouds."

Shouxi 受欻: Achilles Fang said: "I adopt the reading 欻 in place of the usual 嗤 or 嗤; Hu K'o-chia [胡克家] in his textual notes recommends this reading." According to Hu Kejia's 胡克家 (1757–1816) *Wenxuan kaoyi* 文選考異: "In both instances, *xi* 欻 should be understood as the homophonous 欻 ... The *Shuowen* does not include the word *chi* 嗤 but includes *xi* 欻. It says, '*Xi*x [as a reduplicative] refers to the appearance of laughing with *qian* 欠 as the radical and 出 as the phonetic ...' There *xi* is misprinted as *chi*. Both of these comments should be corrected." 兩「欻」字皆當作「欻」……《說文》無嗤字，有欻字，云：「欻欻，戲笑貌。从欠出聲。……」彼誤「欻」為「嗤」，當互訂正. See *Wenxuan*, 17.780. Citing Hu's argument, Achilles Fang suggested the word must be *xi* 欻, and the word *xi* 欻 with the mountain radical instead was a printing error. The latter form did not appear in any pre-modern dictionary. Xu Xunxing's 許巽行 (Xu Jiade 許嘉德, fl. 18th century) annotation in his *Wenxuan biji* 文選筆記 and Xue Chuanjun's 薛傳均 (1788–1829) *Wenxuan guzi tong shuzheng* 文選古字通疏證 both advocated the same correction. See *Wenxuan biji*, 3.46a–46b; *Wenxuan guzi tong shuzheng*, 4.4a–5b.

Qiaoxin 巧心: As to the sentence "Even profundity emitted from the intelligent mind ..." 雖濬發於巧心 (see *Wenxuan*, 17.771), Achilles Fang translated as: "Originality is a thing often looked at askance by the fixed eye." Chen Shih-hsiang translated as: "Although an art truly wrought from the depths of a master mind." It is noted that Achilles Fang only used "originality" to translate the first part of the sentence, but this word is not semantically sufficient. Unfortunately, Li Shan did not provide commentary to the term *qiaoxin*. A commentary on the *Wangsun zi* 王孫子 entry in the Confucian category of the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 of the *Hanshu* 漢書 notes that this work is "alternatively known as *Qiaoxin*" 一曰《巧心》 (see *Hanshu*, 30.1725). The "Xuzhi" chapter of *Wenxin diaolong* says, "In the past, Juanzi had the zither-like mind and Wangsun had the skillful mind. The mind indeed is beautiful, and that's why I use this word" 昔涓子《琴心》，王孫《巧心》。心哉美矣，故用之焉 (see *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 50.725). The word *qiaoxin*, which derives its meaning from the "Yiwen zhi" of the *Hanshu*, is used in the "Wen fu" as the antithesis of

to the "Lament for the Southland" 哀江南賦序 says, "Lu Ji was first in his *fu* to relate the virtue of the past generations" 陸機之辭賦，先陳世德.[54]

Since the "Wen fu" was composed in his later years, Lu Ji was able to mention and summarize the *fu* that he had composed during his lifetime in the first section of the "Wen fu." It is therefore proven that the "Wen fu" was not composed by Lu Ji in his twentieth year.

3

Many scholars of the history of Chinese literary criticism have already discussed the theories presented in the "Wen fu." The most interesting theory appeared in a paragraph discussing the highest principle of the composition of writing. The paragraph used musical theories to contend that the composition of writing should include the following five elements: *ying* 應 (response), *he* 和 (harmony), *bei* 悲 (sorrow), *ya* 雅 (elegance), and *yan* 艷 (allure). When speaking of the difference between the *qing* 清 (clear) and *zhuo* 濁 (turgid) *wenqi* 文氣 (*qi* in writings), Cao Pi's essay "On Writing" in *Canonical Disquisitions* argued:

> Compare it to music: though the melody is identical and the rhythm follows the same rule, when it comes to blowing the pipe music there are unequal abilities, and some by nature may be either skillful or inept; even though the father or the elder brother may have mastered the instrument, he is unable to transfer the same ability to a son or younger brother.
>
> 譬諸音樂，曲度雖均，節奏同檢，至於引氣不齊，巧拙有素，雖在父兄，不能以移子弟。[55]

The metaphorical use of music illustrated that the *qi* in writings were the natural *lülü* 律呂 (pitch pipes or pitches by which produced), i.e. the temperaments, of literati. The *qi* in writings were no different from the musical tones that there were unchangeable hierarchical differences among various *qi*: those with superior *qi* were wise, and those with inferior *qi* foolish. Although Lu Ji discussed the faults in the composition of writing, his predecessor Cao Pi had

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the phrase *zhuomu* 拙目 (the short-sighted) in the following line. Chen's translation as "Master mind" is not exactly right either.

54 "Quan Hou Zhou wen" 全後周文, in *Quan shanggu sandai qinhan sanguo liuchao wen*, 8.5a.

55 *Wenxuan*, 52.2271.

FIGURE 5.1 Female musician with zither. Sui Dynasty. IMAGE COURTESY OF METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. ROGERS FUND, 1925. ACCESSION NUMBER: 25.82.2. HTTPS://WWW.METMUSEUM.ORG/ART/COLLECTION/SEARCH/59776

indeed already begun to do so. Relevant statements in the "Wen fu" include the following:

1) Compare it to a string of limited range, strung alone— 譬偏絃之獨張
Within it lies clear song, but nothing resonates. 含清唱而靡應

Huang Kan's comment is: "The above explained that a composition is minor because it is clear but does not resonate properly with others" 以上言清而無應，此文「小」之故.[56]

56 *Wenxuan Huangshi xue*, 95.

2) Like when the common pipes are played accelerando— 象下管之偏疾
and the accompaniment is not in harmony. 故雖應而不和

Huang Kan commented: "The above explained that the words of a composition are coarse because they respond to but do not harmonize with each other" 以上言應而不和，此辭「窳」之故.[57]

3) As if the strings are too fine and studs pressed too abruptly, 猶絃么而徽急
so that the music is in harmony but lacks somber tone. 故雖和而不悲

Huang Kan commented: "The above explained that the principle a composition presents is void because the words of it harmonize each other but have no sorrow" 以上言和而不悲，此理「虛」之故.[58]

4) Though you recognize "Dew on the Fieldpath" and "Among the Mulberries" 寤防露與桑間
still they are only somber but not properly elegant. 又雖悲而不雅

Huang Kan commented: "The above explained that the sounds of a composition are vulgar because the writing has sorrow but has no elegance" 以上言悲而不雅, 此聲「俗」之故.[59]

5) Though you sing only once you hear three sighs in answer, 雖一唱而三歎
for this music is properly elegant but lacks allure. 固既雅而不豔

Huang Kan commented that "This is because the writing is *verbose*" 此質之故.[60] I think the word *duo* (verbose) is inappropriate here and should read *zhi* 質 (substantive) instead. Li Shan's 李善 (630–689) commentary says,

> Here he argues that the form of a literary composition must balance pattern and substance, on the one hand, and interdependence of elegance and allurement, on the other hand. Since recent writings have less decoration and more substance, they are properly elegant but lack allure. When compared to unseasoned broth, they even lack its aftertaste. When

57 *Wenxuan Huangshi xue*, 95.
58 *Wenxuan Huangshi xue*, 95.
59 *Wenxuan Huangshi xue*, 95.
60 *Wenxuan Huangshi xue*, 95.

> compared to the ancient music, both are like limpid streams. This is to say how excessively plain they are, even though they contain good substance.
>
> 言作文之體，必須文質相半，雅豔相資。今文少而質多，故既雅而不豔。比之大羹，而闕其餘味；方之古樂，而同其清汜。言質之甚也.[61]

Thus, the lack of "response" would lead to the defect of being too modest in scope (*xiao* 小); the lack of "harmony" would lead to the defect of coarseness (*yu* 窳); the lack of "strong emotion" would lead to the defect of hollowness (*xu* 虛); the lack of "elegance" would lead to the defect of vulgarity (*su* 俗); and the lack of "allurement" would lead to the defect of verbosity. Achilles Fang and Chen Shih-hsiang translated the aforesaid defects as follows:

	Achilles Fang's Translation	Chen Shih-hsiang's Translation
Miying 靡應	No "music"	Without "resonance"
Buhe 不和	No "harmony"	(Throw the hymn into) "discord"
Bubei 不悲	Not "sad"	(Fails to move with) "pathos"
Buya 不雅	Not "decorous"	(An offence to) "grace"
Buyan 不豔	Lacking in "beauty"	(Innocent of) "glamour"

When using the words *pi* 譬, *xiang* 象, and *you* 猶, the above passages all made metaphorical use of music, and argued that literary composition can be analogous to playing a zither. Thus, it is better to interpret all five elements from a musical perspective.

Ying 應: This is the method of harmonizing, referring to making the *sansheng* 散聲 (unpressed sounds) and *anyin* 按音 (pressed sounds) of the two strings on the zither in resonance, or creating *fanyin* 泛音 (overtones) in different positions that resonate together, so as to harmonize two different sounds. The difference in tune leads to the difference in the orders of the chords and the corresponding positions of the studs. The tuning pitch-pipes should be adjusted one pipe faster or slower when a cord change leads to change in the tune, for the harmony between each sound. For instance, when the *huangzhong diao* 黃鐘調 (Yellow Bell mode) is played, the overtones of the seventh and fourth strings should resonate with the pressed sounds of the eleventh *hui* of the fifth string and of the eighth *hui* of the first string respectively. Both "Da hujia" 大胡笳 (Large Hu reed pipes) and "Zhaojun yuan" 昭君怨 (Resentment of Wang Zhaojun) belong to this tune pattern. To sum up, *ying* means to keep the musical sounds of different strings in tune with each other, and to achieve

61 *Wenxuan*, 17.770.

a concord in the pitches in the same and different positions of various octaves. This is the basis for melodies, which people who can play the seven-stringed zither understand. E.R. Hughes inappropriately translated *ying* as "Answer." The "Musicality" (Shenglü 聲律, #33) chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong* says:

> When one detects a discordant note while playing a zither, he is aware of it and will retune the string. But if there is any tonal fault in a literary composition, the writer seldom recognizes it and makes the necessary corrections. The musical note is produced on strings, and yet it is possible to achieve harmony; but one often fails to achieve concord with the sounds which are born in the mind. Why? Because it is easy to be clever when listening to notes from an external source but difficult to be understanding when listening to the inner voice. The reason for this is that, when we listen to instrumental notes, it is our hands which adjust the strings; but when we listen to the inner voice, we often confuse the sounds with other mental activities. Music may be governed by mathematical formulas, but these cannot be adapted for verbal expressions.[62]
>
> 今操琴不調，必知改張，攡文乖張，而不識所調。響在彼絃，乃得克諧，聲萌我心，更失和律，其故何哉？良由外聽易為察，內聽難為聰也。故外聽之易，絃以手定，內聽之難，聲與心紛；可以數求，難以辭逐。[63]

As a method of keeping all notes concordant while playing a zither, *ying* served also as a metaphor in Liu Xie's further discussions of literary technique.

He 和: In the *Guoyu* 國語 (Conversations of the states), court musician Ling Zhoujiu 伶州鳩 said, "Notes are used to harmonize music, and pitch-pipes are used to balance notes … Harmony refers to the notes resonate and mutually stabilize each other, while balance refers to low and high notes do not overstep eachother"聲以和樂，律以平聲……聲應相保曰龢（和），細大不逾曰平.[64] *He* therefore means the ways of putting small, large, short, and long sounds in a consecutive order while maintaining the harmony among them. Thus, the problem of the *cuiyin* 瘁音 (dreary tones) style is their lack of volume, and that of the *pianji* 偏疾 (excessively abrupt) method is being too hasty. Both situations lack proper harmoniousness. Liu Xie likened the comparable situations

62 Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 257–58.
63 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 33.552.
64 *Guoyu jijie*, 3.111.

in literary compositions to "literary stutterers" (*wenjia kouji* 文家口吃).[65] He argued, "*He* refers to the harmony of different sounds and tones, and *yun* to the assonance of the same final vowel" 異音相從謂之和，同聲相應謂之韻.[66] Although *yun* and *he* were originally used to discuss music, they were also used in discussions on writing. As a matter of fact, Lu Ji's theory laid the foundation of Liu Xie's argument. Nevertheless, being affected by the theories of tone and rhythm since the Yongming 永明 era (483–493), the *yun* and *he* that Liu Xie discussed also referred to the harmony of the patterns of *ping* 平 (level) and *ze* 仄 (oblique) tones in sentences and the rhyming between sentences.[67]

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65 The "Musicality" 聲律 (#33) chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong* says, "Should any one element in the concatenation go amiss, a discord will result. It is a type of disease which may be called a stutter in literary writing" 迂其際會，則往蹇來連。其為疾病，亦文家之吃也. *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 33.553. For the translation, see Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 258.

66 *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 33.553. Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 259.

67 Lu Ji often used the Chu sounds when talking about rhyming. Lu Yun's letter to his older brother said, "[My works are composed in the] Chu sounds ... I wish you, my older brother, would correct them. Master Zhang [Hua] said to me that your works are undoubtedly rooted in Chu. For when you compose fine writing you think of the writing you used to know in the past." 音楚，願兄便定之。……張公語雲云：兄文故自楚，須作文為思昔所識文. (See *Lu Shilong wenji jiaozhu*, 8.1068). According to the "Musicality" (Shenglü 聲律) chapter of *Wenxin diaolong*: "The poets of the *Odes* generally emphasize purity and conciseness in their rhyme scheme. But the *Chuci* manifest Chu characteristics, and their pretentious rhyme scheme is very complicated indeed. When Zhang Hua treated of rhyme, he said that Lu Ji exhibits many Chu characteristics; and in the 'Wen fu,' Lu himself mentioned, 'Keep the full details without change.' [Lu] may be said to have attached himself to the musical pattern of Lingjun (Qu Yuan), and to have lost sight of the classical music based on the *huangzhong*." "詩人綜韻，率多清切，《楚辭》辭楚，故訛韻實繁。及張華論韻，謂士衡多楚，〈文賦〉亦稱「知楚不易」，可謂銜靈均之餘聲，失黃鐘之正響也."

Wenxin diaolong zhu, 33.553; trans. Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 260, translation slightly modified. Liu Xie complained of Lu Ji's overuse of the Chu style which caused him to stray from proper elegance. Only through a comparison between the uses of rhyming in Lu Ji's works, *Chuci*, and the works of the writers in the Jin-Liu Song period, can one understand the reasons for the difference and similarity between them. Such an interesting issue must be examined in future research. The sentence "The accomplishment will be great and the complications few. So choose just what is enough and do not change it" 亮功多而累寡，故取足而不易 (*Wenxuan*, 17.767) in the "Wen fu" was cited and rephrased by Liu Xie as "Keep the full details without change" 知楚不易. Huang Kan argued, "Liu Xie cited 'choose just what is enough and do not change it' to demonstrate the majority of Chu elements in Lu Ji's works, and this evidence was not changed by the words of Master Zhang. The word *zhi Chu* is an error caused by the preceding text" 彥和蓋引「取足不易」以明士衡多楚，不以張公之言而變。「知楚」二字，乃涉上文而訛 (*Wenxin diaolong zhaji*, 33.107). Based on Huang Kan's argument, Wang Liqi 王利器 (1912–1998) also suggests, "The 'Wen fu' also said that

Bei 悲: The playing of the zither is supposed to provoke strong emotions in the listener; otherwise, it would not be considered effective.[68] It is the same in the composition of literary works. A piece of writing would be apathetic if it cannot provoke any strong emotion. To ensure the stirring of strong emotions, one must compose a piece on the basis of his feelings, but not to create new emotions for the purpose of composition. Only when strong emotions are already in one's mind can the emotions have their outward manifestation. The *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (Garden of persuasions) recorded an anecdote about Yongmen Zhou 雍門周, who explained to Lord Mengchang 孟嘗君 that one must have a breast full of wounded sentiment, and only then could he mobilize the sounds of *gong* 宮 and *zhi* 徵, and deftly wield the sounds of *yu* 羽 and *jiao* 角. Then the audience would shed tears that drench their lapels.[69] The *Guan Yinzi* 關尹子 also said that an expert in playing a zither should have a sorrowful and reflective heart. With such a heart, his hands and the zither will tally with each other automatically. Thus, the music would be moving if it is created through one's emotion.[70] How can the composition of writing be different from that? Thus, one must not disregard natural principle, and seek out the imaginary. Disregarding natural principle will lead to a lack of content, while seeking out the imaginary will lead to the loss of a genuine intention. How could sounds and words with no emotional attachments touch the chords of others' hearts?

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it chooses just what is enough and does not change it" 〈文賦〉亦稱取足不易 (*Wenxin diaolong xinshu*, 33.93). Both sentences were translated by Achilles Fang as, "This clever trick will spare you the pain of deleting and excising." Not only did he ignore the variant from the *Wenxin diaolong*, but he did not translate the original meaning of the sentences accurately.

68 Editor's note: On the very complex historical developments here, it is useful to consult the thorough English-language survey by Ronald Egan: "The Controversy over Music and 'Sadness' and Changing Conceptions of the Qin in Middle Period China."

69 *Shuoyuan jiaozheng*, 11.281.

70 *Guan Yinzi*, 3.55–56. The following passage from the "Liyan shang" 立言上 of the *Jinlou zi* 金樓子 declared that one should first have a sorrowful heart and compose a piece of writing in accordance with the emotions:

"The song 'Fulling Clothes' is pure and penetrating because there is a sorrowful man. This poem is about a scholar in autumn whose sorrow originates from his heart. 'Fulling Clothes' is stirred by external things, while both inner and outer matters stirred by one another. The feeling of anxiety leads to the sorrow, and then a deeper melancholy comes in turn. If a person is not sensitive to these things, why would he sigh in grief, why would he sigh in resentment?

擣衣清而徹，有悲人者，此是秋士悲於心。擣衣感於外，內外相感，愁情結悲，然後哀怨生焉。苟無感，何嗟何怨也？"

Jinlou zi shuzheng jiaozhu, 4.636.

Ya 雅 (orthodox, proper, elegant): there was a distinction between the orthodox music and the licentious music of Zheng. The orthodox music was the morally proper kind, opposed to the licentious and vulgar music. The song "Fanglu" 防露 (Warding off dew) that Lu Ji mentioned was actually the same as "Fanglu" 房露 (Dew in the chamber),[71] while the "Sangjian" 桑間 (Among the mulberries) was the song that contributed to the fall of a state mentioned in the *Liji* 禮記 (Record of rites).[72] A fragment from *Shuoyuan*, cited in the encyclopedia *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔, says, "Sun Xi studied the emotional music and brought a Chinese zither to compose the sounds of Zheng and Wei. The Duke Ling of Wei 衞靈公 (r. 534–493 BCE) was greatly affected and therefore composed a melody for the Duke of Wei. [The Duke Ling] then sang his music to harmonize Sun Xi's music" 孫息學悲歌，引琴作鄭、衛之音。靈公大感，故作衞公之曲，歌而和之.[73] This anecdote exemplified how a piece of zither music could be emotional but not elegant. The *yaqin* 雅琴 (elegant zither) was treated in the Western Han as exemplary of the virtuous music. Liu Xiang's 劉向 (79–8 BCE) "Fu on the Elegant Zither" 雅琴賦 said:

> Wandering my mind to broaden my horizon; 游予心以廣觀
> How quiet and gentle the virtuous music is. 且德樂之愔愔[74]

71 The Li Shan commentary mentioned two explanations of the "Fanglu" 防露. In his commentary on the "Wen fu," he proposes: "It is unknown. One of the explanations is that the 'Shanju fu' 山居賦 (Rhapsody on dwelling in the mountains) by Xie Lingyun said, 'The traveler from Chu [i.e. Qu Yuan] went into exile and then composed the "Warding off Dew."' The original commentary says, 'The Chu man was exiled, and Dongfang Shuo was moved by the riverbanks and composed the "Qi jian."' However, Xie Lingyun also had his own 'Qi Jian' ... Thus, he called the 'Qi Jian' 'Fanglu.'" 未詳。一曰謝靈運〈山居賦〉曰：「楚客放而〈防露〉作。」注曰：「楚人放逐，東方朔感江潭而作〈七諫〉。然靈運有〈七諫〉……遂以〈七諫〉為〈防露〉也。」 *Wenxuan*, 17.770. See also *Xie Lingyun ji jiaozhu*, 456; for the English translation of the "Shanju fu," see Francis Westbrook, "Landscape Description in the Lyric Poetry and 'Fuh on Dwelling in the Mountains' of Shieh Ling-yunn," 254. Alternatively, Xie Zhuang's 謝莊 (421–466) "Yue fu" 月賦 (Rhapsody on the moon) has the line "to play the 'Fanglu' repeatedly" 徘徊房露, to which Li Shan commented, "The 'Fanglu' is an ancient piece of music. The 'Wen fu' said, 'Be aware of "Fanglu" and "Sangjian"—Though strong emotion is present, it may lack dignity.' In ancient script, the word *fang* 房 and *fang* 防 were interchangeable" 防露，蓋古曲也。〈文賦〉曰：「寤〈防露〉與〈桑間〉，又雖悲而不雅。」房與防古字通. *Wenxuan*, 13.602. The second explanation is correct. Scholars such as Sun Zhizu 孫志祖, Xue Chuanjun 薛傳均, and Hu Shaoying 胡紹瑛 have accepted the commentary on the "Yue fu." See *Wenxuan guzi tong shuzheng*, 13a.

72 *Liji zhengyi*, 37.1258.

73 *Beitang shuchao*, 106.10a.

74 *Wenxuan*, 18.848. Liu Xiang's "Yaqin fu" was cited in Li Shan's commentary on the line "Quiet and gentle is the zither's virtue" 愔愔琴德 of the "Qin fu" 琴賦. See *Wenxuan*,

In the Han Dynasty, a number of musical scores entitled "Elegant Zither" were created by music masters named Zhao 趙, Shi 師, and Long 龍.[75] The *Bielu* 別錄 (Classified record) said, "[Zhao] Ding was skilled at playing the zither. He played the 'San cao' when staying in the state of Yan idly, and many of the audience were moved to tears by his music" （趙）定善鼓琴。時閒燕，為散操，多為之涕泣者.[76] This is an example of how a piece of music can be elegant and emotional at the same time. It also said, "A gentleman can calmly concentrate on his reflections because of the comfort of the elegant zither. The tunes called *cao* [mastery, integrity—perhaps loosely to be rendered, "measure"] are created of sadness and anxiety that the path ahead for the gentleman is blocked. It implies that [a gentleman] would not depart from moral conduct, even when encountering calamities" 君子因雅琴之適，故從容以致思焉。其道閉塞悲愁而作者，名其曲曰「操」。言遇災害，不失其操也.[77] As for "the music created out of harmony and joy by someone who has things working in his favors, it is called *chang* [fluidity, unimpededness, or simply melody]" 道行和樂而作者，命其曲曰「暢」.[78] Both *cao* and *chang* depended on one's failure and success, and the mind of the zither-player will also vary because of one's fortunes. *Cao* (measure) has its name because in bad times a person should still preserve his own virtue and live out the proper way even in face of failure. *Chang* (melody) has its name because, when a person is successful in the world, he should benefit all under Heaven and then his way would be smooth and freely flowing. No matter whether a piece of music is composed during its composer's failure or success, it needs to be measured against what is right and proper and maintain that manner. That is the reason why such music is called that of the "elegant zither." The *Qilüe* 七略 (Seven digests) stated, "As for the word *yaqin*, the *qin* refers to 'refrain,' while the *ya* refers to 'propriety.' As a whole the word means a gentleman should maintain propriety and refrain from excessive behavior" 雅琴，琴之言禁也，雅之言正也，言君子守正以自禁也.[79] The word *chang* can even be paired with "elegance" and form the compound *yachang* 雅暢 (elegant melodiousness). The

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18.848. For the translation of this sentence of the "Qin fu," see Knechtges, *Wenxuan or Selections of Refined Literature*, 3:303.

75 See the "Monograph on Arts and Letters" in *Hanshu*, 30.1711.

76 "Quan Han wen," *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 38.3b.

77 See Liu Xiang's *Bielu* cited in the commentary on Cao Bao's 曹褒 (d. 102) biography of the *Hou Hanshu*. Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 35.1201. See also "Quan Han wen," *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 38.3b.

78 See *Fengsu tongyi jiaozhu*, 6.293.

79 See the *Qilüe* cited in Li Shan's commentary on the sentence "I take up my zither and change the mode" 援雅琴以變調兮 from the "Rhapsody on the Tall Gates Palace"

"Rhapsody on the Zither" 琴賦 in the *Wenxuan* anthology has a line: "gracefully playing the measure of Yao of Tang" 雅昶唐堯,[80] for which Li Shan cited from the chapter titled "Yachang" in the *Qilüe*, in his commentary. This shows how highly "elegance" was esteemed in the theory of zither music.

The concept of classical elegance also inspired Lu Ji's theory of writing. However, since the Jin 晉 (266–420) and Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479) Dynasties, writings based on personal feelings were valued more highly, so much so that they often failed to maintain the classical elegance of the past, even though a handful of works dated to this period are worthy to be praised as having a "sorrowful lament that lingers in the mind" 流連哀思.[81] As a result, the postscript to the "Biographies from the Garden of Letters" (Wenyuan zhuan 文苑傳) of the *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 (History of the Northern Qi Dynasty) borrowed the words from the "Wen fu" to make a concluding remark that the writings from the Eastern Jin and the late Liang Dynasty were full of emotion but not properly elegant.[82] Since this issue is crucial to the evolution of literary thought, it deserves further discussion in the following section.

Yan 豔: The substance of an elegant composition is plain if the writing lacks beauty. Thus, unlike his Han predecessors, Lu Ji contended that an elegant and proper composition must also be aesthetically pleasing. The word *yan* has the radical *feng* 豐, which means "big" and already carries the meaning of "being plentiful," later developed into the sense of *meise* 美色 (physical beauty or

(Changmen fu 長門賦). For the translation, see Knechtges, *Selections of Refined Literature*, 3:164, n. l. 65.

80 *Wenxuan*, 18.842.

81 The "Liyan xia" 立言下 chapter of the *Jinlou zi* says:

"What people recite and rhyme, and what lingers one's sorrowful lament is called *wen* ..... To resemble the patterns of the universe, [writings] must be as scattered as woven silks (color patterns), have beautiful *gong* and *zhi* sounds with one's lip and adjacent area forcefully closed (sound patterns), and sway one's emotions and thoughts (emotional patterns). The writings and words in the past and those in the present have different origins.

吟詠風謠，流連哀思者，謂之文……至如文者，惟須綺縠紛披（形文），宮徵靡曼，唇吻遒會（指聲文），情靈搖蕩（指情文），而古之文筆，今之文筆，其源又異。"

Jinlou zi shuzheng jiaozhu, 4.770.

82 "As for the writings from the South of the Yangzi River (Eastern Jin) and the later years of the Liang Dynasty, they deeply valued the frivolous and peculiar style. [This tendency] first started from the palace of the princes and later became the prevalent style of the people. [The writings with this style] created new sounds by mixing distractive and inharmonious sounds. As a result, they were sorrowful but not elegant" 江左梁末，彌尚輕險，始自儲宮，刑乎流俗，雜遝憑以成音，故雖悲而不雅. See *Bei Qi shu*, 45.602.

seductive allure).[83] The *Zuozhuan* 左傳 has the line "beautiful and splendorous" 美而豔,[84] and Fan Ning 范甯 (339–401) in turn praised the writing style of the *Zuozhuan* as "splendorous and rich" 豔而富.[85] The word *yan* was originally an adjective and was later used as a noun. The musical form of *daqu* 大曲 (greater suite) had a *yan* (introduction) and *qu* 趨 (lit. "scurry") before and after the songs, which were approximately similar to the *hesheng* 和聲 (chorus) and *songsheng* 送聲 (coda) in the Wu songs. For example, both "Yange Luo Fu xing" 豔歌羅敷行 and "Yange hechang xing" 豔歌何嘗行 had introductions which served as paratexts embellish the song lyrics. The "Going Out the Xia Gate" 步出夏門行 poem composed by Cao Rui 曹叡 (204–239), the Emperor Ming of Wei 魏明帝 (r. 226–239), had a couplet identified in an old commentary as the introduction to the suite:

> The air is cool and brisk at my morning outing; 朝遊清冷
> I sigh and return at dusk. 日暮嗟歸[86]

The word *yan* was also used to describe the beauty of sounds. For instance, Po Qin 繁欽 (d. 219) said that "its heartbreaking sorrow is enough to move the insensitive and the brilliant all the same" 哀感頑豔, applauding the marvelous singing by a young coachman of Commandant Xue Fang 薛訪.[87] To borrow the phraseology of the "Wen fu," the lyrics that the coachman sang were *bei* (i.e. sorrowful) and *yan* (alluring) that the lyrics were of the utmost beauty. Lu Ji also composed one "Rhapsody on Drums and Flutes" (Guchui fu 鼓吹賦) with the lines:

> To decorate the sounds and form an intricate pattern, 飾聲成文
> and to carve tones into lavish ornaments. 彫音作蔚
> The sounds are distinguished through their shapes; 響以形分
> The tunes are embellished by their harmony. 曲以和綴[88]

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83 In the *Fangyan* 方言 dictionary, it is said that "*Tiao* refers to beautiful forms; *yan* refers to beautiful colors; *yao* refers to the beautiful mind" 美狀為窕，美色為豔，美心為窈. Guo Pu's 郭璞 (276–324) commentary on the word *yan* is that, "It is talking about the bright and beautiful" 言光豔也. See *Fangyan jiaojian*, 2.10.

84 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 5.154.

85 *Chunqiu Guliangzhuan zhushu*, 12.

86 *Gushiji*, 22.18b.

87 *Wenxuan*, 40.1821.

88 "Quan Jin wen," 97.3b.

The shapes of the music and sounds were used in the above *fu* to describe the music and sounds themselves. It is known that *yan* could be applied to both visual and aural patterns of the words. A literary composition will be plain and monotonous if it is more elaborate but empty of substance. Such writing is deficient in beauty since the visual and aural patterns in it do not achieve their full potential.

All of the above five elements are indeed musical principles. Previous scholars could not fully interpret the "Wen fu" since they did not take the musical aspect of the "Wen fu" into consideration in their studies. In sum, it is well-known that both *ying* and *he* referred to the tones and rhythms of both music and writing, while *ya* referred to their exquisiteness. However, the concepts of *bei* and *yan*,[89] which were the equivalent of *qing* 情 (emotion) and *cai* 采 (literary expression) in Liu Xie's theory, exerted a significant influence on the literary criticism from the Jin and Liu Song Dynasties onwards.

4

Sadness as the inner beauty of music was an idea that emerged at a very early stage of Chinese cultural history. It was said in the *Lunheng* 論衡 (Balanced discourses) that Yuezheng Kui 樂正夔 could "tune the sorrowful sounds" 調聲悲者.[90] Another chapter of the same work also said, "The music master Kuang tuned the sounds, and no piece of music he played was not sorrowful"

89 The "Wen fu" said:

There figure and thought may be in intricate accord	或藻思綺合
ethereal, alluring, in unbroken abundance,	清麗千眠
brilliant as extravagant brocade,	炳若縟繡
poignant as an ensemble of strings:	悽若繁絃"

Wenxuan, 17.767. The sentence starts from *bingruo* 炳若 refers to beauty, while that starts from *qiruo* 悽若 refers to *chi* 懘 (inharmony). The biography of Lu Jue of the *Nan Qi shu* recorded Shen Yue's letter responding to Lu Jue which said, "Lu Ji did say, 'Shimmering like a many-co1ored brocade,' but then how could there be 'washing out the dye with the waves of Yangzi River [so as to bring out the brilliant colors of the brocade]'? How could you possibly find one piece of cloth like the white mourning garb of Duke Wen of Wei 衞? So even the words by Mr. Lu can hardly exhaust the subject matter" 士衡雖云「炳若縟錦」，寧有「濯色江波」，其中復有一片是衞文之服？此則陸生之言，即復不盡者矣. *Nan Qi shu*, 52.992. This statement from the letter was a derivation of the previous passage of the "Wen fu."

90 *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 4.195.

師曠調音，曲無不悲.[91] The "Qi fa" 七發 (Seven stimuli) by Mei Sheng 枚乘 (d. 140) states:

> Then, as the season turned its back on fall and edges into winter, Zhi the zither master was ordered to cut one to make a zither; wild silkworm thread is used for the strings.
>
> ... Master Tang played the melody while Bo Ya sang a song. ... Wild beasts heard the music, drooped their ears and could not move. The spiders, *qiao* worms, mole crickets, and ants heard it, propped their mouths on the ground and could not advance. This was known to be the saddest music in the world.

> 於是背秋涉冬，使琴摯斫斬以為琴，野繭之絲以為絃。……使師堂操暢，伯子牙為之歌。……野獸聞之，垂耳而不能行；蚑蟜螻蟻聞之，拄喙而不能前。此亦天下之至悲也。[92]

Likewise in Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) "Qin qingying" 琴清英:

> The Prince of Jin told Sun Xi, "Can your zither performance sadden me?" Sun Xi replied, "Now you abide in a lofty hall, and live in a secluded chamber behind closed doors; treat meat as ordinary as leaves of pulse and wine as no more than water. Nothing can make you sad even though a musician is performing right in front of you." The prince replied, "I lost my parents when I was young, and I do not have any older brother and older sister-in-law. I have sat by myself since the time I ascended the throne, and this long evening has never ended. These are the things over which I can feel sorrow." As a result, Sun Xi held the zither and played it. The Prince of Jin was heartbroken and wept bitter tears. He then asked, "Why did you come so late?"

> 晉王謂孫息曰：「子鼓琴能令寡人悲乎？」息曰：「今處高臺邃宇，連屋重戶，藿肉漿酒，倡樂在前，難可使悲者。」乃謂：「少失父母，長無兄嫂，當道獨坐，暮無所止，於此者，乃可悲耳。」乃援琴而鼓之。晉王酸心哀涕，曰：「何子來遲也。」[93]

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91 *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 30.1199.

92 Knechtges and Swanson, "Seven Stimuli for the Prince," 109, slightly modified. *Wenxuan*, 34.1562–63.

93 *Taiping yulan*, 577.7a/b.

According to the *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 (Diverse accounts of the Western Capital), "Liu Daoqiang, a native of Qi who was skillful in playing zither, composed a movement called 'Solitary Swan and Lone Duck.' Every one that listened to that could not help but be utterly sorrowful" 齊人劉道強，善彈琴，能作〈單鵠寡鳧之弄〉。聽者皆悲不能攝.[94] The *Xinlun* 新論 (New discourses) composed by Huan Tan 桓譚 (36 BCE–35 CE) and Ruan Ji's 阮籍 (210–263) "Yuelun" 樂論 (Disquisition on music) both recorded zither performances by Yongmen Zhou 雍門周 and Jiliuzi 季流子 that made all audiences sorrowful and left them in tears.[95] Moreover, Wang Chong 王充 (27–97) said in various passages within his *Lunheng*:

> All people who heard the sounds wanted to indulge themselves in sorrow.
>
> 聞音者皆欲為悲。[96]
>
> Without sharing the same sounds, all kinds of grievous music can bring pleasure to our ears.
>
> 悲音不共聲，皆快於耳。[97]
>
> Since birds and beasts are fond of grievous sounds, their ears can be said to be the same as human ones.
>
> 鳥獸好悲聲，耳與人耳同也。[98]

Or compare Wang Bao's 王褒 (ca. 84–ca. 53 BCE) "Rhapsody on the Panpipes" (Dongxiao fu 洞簫賦):

> Thus, to the one who understands music, 故知音者
> He will enjoy it while being sorrowful. 樂而悲之
> But those do not understand the music 不知音者
> Will be surprised and find it bizarre. 怪而偉之[99]

94 *Xijing zaji*, 5.213.
95 *Xinjiben Huan Tan xinlun*, 16.67–68. *Ruan Ji ji jiaozhu*, A.99–100.
96 *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 13.617.
97 *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 30.1201.
98 *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 5.245.
99 *Wenxuan*, 17.788.

Or Xi Kang's 稽康 (224–263) preface to the "Rhapsody on the Zither" (Qin fu 琴賦):

> When they acclaim the material from which an instrument is made, they place paramount importance on its perilous and precarious location. When they describe its sounds, they place emphasis on sadness and sorrow. When they praise its influence and effect, they place highest value on the shedding of tears.
>
> 稱其材幹，則以危苦為上；賦其聲音，則以悲哀為主；美其感化，則以垂涕為貴。[100]

Zither performance should focus on sorrow, and this principle also applies to literary composition. Many literary writings from the Jian'an 建安 period (196–220) were beautiful because of the sorrows they expressed. The works by Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220) were praised by Zhong Rong for "having a considerable number of sorrowful and desolate lines" 甚有悲涼之句.[101] The "Sevenfold Sorrow" (Qi'ai 七哀) poems by Wang Can 王粲 (177–217) and Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232) are also outstanding examples. The so-called *qi'ai* (sevenfold sorrows) implies that sorrow is the dominant one among the seven emotions. Lü Xiang 呂向 (8th c.), one of the Five Vassals (Wuchen 五臣) who annotated the *Wenxuan*, said:

> It states that one would be sorrowful when he feels pain, when he feels injustice, when he is moved, when his ears hear or his eyes watch something sad, when he gave a sign of grief, or when his nose tingles with emotion. It is to say that a single event can arouse all seven emotions.
>
> 謂痛而哀，義而哀，感而哀，耳聞而哀，目見而哀，口歎而哀，鼻酸而哀，謂一事而七情具也。[102]

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100 *Wenxuan*, 18.836. Knechtges, *Wenxuan or Selections of Refined Literature*, 3:281. This passage from the "Qinfu xu" was translated by R.H. Van Gulik as follows: "Praising the quality of the instruments, they held delicacy and elaborateness for the best. Describing their tones, they stressed melancholy and sadness. Lauding the influence exercised by their music, they held the power of causing the hearer to weep the most important." See van Gulik, *Hsi K'ang and His Poetical Essay on the Lute*, 72.

101 *Shipin jizhu*, C.362.

102 *Liuchen zhu Wenxuan*, 23.19a.

Wang Can's poem described the hardship of wandering. Cao Zhi's "Sevenfold Sorrow" poem, as well as his "Ninefold Melancholy" (Jiuchou fu 九愁賦), lamented the vicissitudes of his life. Xiao Tong created the category *aishang* 哀傷 (sorrowful laments) to classify the poems and *fu* included in the *Wenxuan* (see *juan* 16 and 23). The Chu tunes of the *xianghe geci* 相和歌辭 (lyrics for accompanied songs) in the *yuefu* poems, including the "Yuanshi xing" 怨詩行 (Lyric of resentment) and the "Yuange xing" 怨歌行 (Song of resentment) also focused on the feeling of sorrow. The "Sevenfold Sorrow" poems belong the category of *yuanshi* 怨詩 (poems of resentment). When performing the above two poems, the music officials in the Jin Dynasty divided them into seven stanzas. Other sorrowful pieces included the "Yintan qu" 吟嘆曲 (Lyric for accompanied songs), "Shangge xing" 傷歌行 (Ballad of anguish), and "Beige xing" 悲歌行 (Ballad of sorrow), as well as Lu Ji's piece "Beizai xing" 悲哉行 (How sorrowful! A ballad) were *zaqu guci* 雜曲古辭 (Ancient lyrics of miscellaneous songs). All of the abovementioned lyrics took sorrow as their shared theme and conveyed the sentiment verbally in coordination with music.

A piece of music is apt to be moving and effective when it focuses on people's sorrow. The original purpose of music is to help one to achieve spiritual pleasure. That the sorrowful tunes, when best appreciated, would lead to an opposite result, has provoked criticisms of the representation of sorrow in music. Ruan Ji's "Discourse on Music," playing with the fact that "music" and "pleasure" are both written with the same Chinese character *yue*/*le* 樂, says:

> When Emperor Shun climbed the Gong tomb and passed by Fanqu, he heard the cry of birds and was touched. He said in tears, "How fine is the cry of birds!" He ordered his attendants to intone the sounds, "Wouldn't it be joyful if stringed instruments could play so as to resemble their cry?" … This is how people treat sorrow as music/pleasure. If they truly treat sorrow as pleasure, then what music/pleasure is there for all the world under Heaven? … As for music, it pacifies people's spirit, so that the deleterious *qi* cannot enter their bodies. Music causes things from distant places to come and gather in the interconnection between Heaven and Earth. Now, when listening to the songs, they burst into tears and are moved, sob and feel their *qi* wounded; they do not feel comfortable in winter and summer, and feel dissatisfied with all things … Although this music come from stringed and woodwind instruments, it is better to call it simply sorrow and not music/pleasure. When people sigh and shake their heads with grief, how can we call this music/pleasure?

> 順帝上恭陵，過樊衢，聞鳥鳴而悲，泣下橫流曰：「善哉鳥鳴！」使左右吟之曰：「使絲聲若是，豈不樂哉！」……夫是謂以悲為樂者也。誠以悲為樂，則天下何樂之有！……樂者，使人精神平和，衰氣不入，天地交泰，遠物來集，故謂之樂也。今則流涕感動，噓唏傷氣，寒暑不適，庶物不遂。……雖出絲竹，宜謂之哀。奈何俛仰嘆息，以此稱樂乎？[103]

Ruan Ji's statement is an important discussion of this theme. It is a common perversion of feeling to make use of melancholy to create pleasurable music, since sorrow so easily touches people's hearts.[104] As a result, people who discussed music usually saw sorrow as beauty, and such a view was also common in the discussions on literature. The "Wen fu" explicitly argued that the composition of writing should be properly sorrowful, and that it was the fault of a poem not to be sufficiently sorrowful. Later on, Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (Emperor Yuan of Liang 梁元帝, r. 552–555) further defined *wen* within the compound term *wenbi* 文筆 (verse and prose) as, "What people recite and rhyme, and what causes one's sorrowful lament to linger is called *wen*" 吟詠風謠，流連哀思謂之文.[105] The sorrowful lament, which referred to the ability to be sorrowful, was the only requisite for *qingwen* 情文 (affective writing) as discussed by Liu Xie, and was used to distinguish *wen* (poetry, *belles lettres*) from *bi* (functional prose). Yu Xin's preface to the "Lament for the Southland" said, "If it does not lack for words of fear and suffering, it is still, at the core, a lament" 不無危苦之辭，惟以悲哀為主.[106] This line copies from the preface to the "Rhapsody on the Zither" by Xi Kang, but its view on sorrow as the core of the aesthetic effect of writing originated from the above-mentioned theory that music must cause its audience to share in a sense of grief.

5

Jian'an literature emphasized the development of lyrical writings and no longer treated writing as a tool to convey the Way. The postscript to Xie Lingyun's biography in the *Songshu* said:

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103 *Ruan Ji ji jiaozhu*, A.99. See also Egan, "The Controversy over Music and 'Sadness' and Changing Conceptions the Qin in Middle Period China," 8.

104 Ikkai Tomoyoshi 一海知義 argued that in the period from the Later Han to the Six Dynasties, dirges were not only sung at funerals but were commonly sung at banquets as well. This is also an example of treating sorrow as pleasure. See Ikkai Tomoyoshi, "*Monzen* bankashi kō."

105 *Jinlou zi shuzheng jiaozhu*, 4.770.

106 *Yu Zishan jizhu*, 2.95.

> As to the Jian'an period, the Cao clan received the heavenly mandate to ascend the throne. The reason why all the works of the Three Emperors of Wei and Prince Chensi [i.e. Cao Zhi] are brimming with literary flourishes was that they interweaved their compositions with true emotions and used literary ornament to envelop the real substance.
>
> 至于建安，曹氏基命，三祖陳王，咸蓄盛藻，甫乃以情緯文，以文被質。[107]

The emphasis on emotions was in connection with the atmosphere of that time, when "people lived in a world marked by disorder and separation, and at a time when morals declined and the people were complaining, they felt all this deeply in their hearts, and this feeling was expressed in a style which is moving. For this reason their works are impassioned and full of *qi*" 世積亂離，風衰俗怨，並志深而筆長，故梗概而多氣.[108] At the same time, however, music appeared to inspire the development of literary criticism.

Cao Cao and Cao Pi, the rulers of the Wei who promoted literature and arts, were also connoisseurs of music. Cao Cao was particularly fond of the old songs accompanied with strings and bamboo winds in the Han.[109] In his last words, he ordered his maid servants and concubines to perform music and dances over his tomb on the first day and fifteenth day of each month after his death.[110] Cao Pi was enthusiastic about the musicality of Xue Fang's coachman's voice, and the pure singing of the lady Suo 瑣.[111] He said in the "Letter to Wu Zhi" 與吳質書:

> Whenever the wine cup was passed around and strings and bamboo-winds joined to serenade us, at the height of the drinking, when ears began to burn and we tilted back our heads and intoned our poems—at such times, thoughtless as we were, did we even realize that we were happy?

107 *Songshu*, 67.1778.

108 "Literary Development and Time" (#45), Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 339. *Qi* is translated as life in Liu's translation. Given the ambiguity of the word *qi* in pre-modern Chinese texts, I use the pinyin here instead to underscore its ambiguity. *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 45.674.

109 As for Cao Cao's indulgence in the *xianghe* songs, see the "Yuezhi" 樂志 of the *Jinshu* 晉書 and the "Yuezhi" 樂志 of the *Songshu* 宋書.

110 See Lu Ji's "Diao Wei Wudi wen bing xu" 弔魏武帝文并序 in the *Wenxuan*.

111 See Po Qin's 繁欽 letter and Cao Pi's reply "Da Po Qin shu" 答繁欽書 for more information.

> 每至觴酌流行，絲竹並奏，酒酣耳熱，仰而賦詩，當此之時，忽然不自知樂也。[112]

This demonstrates that the use of strings and bamboo winds was common as accompaniment to recitation of poems. Cao Zhi also said, "As for being a gentleman but not understanding music, a widespread opinion of old deemed such a person knowledgeable but deluded" 夫君子而不知音樂，古之達論，謂之通而蔽.[113] Their examples showed the importance of understanding music that one could not talk about writing without understanding music, on the one hand, and the close relationship between music and writing, on the other hand. The analogy between music and the *qi* of writing in Cao Pi's *Canonical Disquisitions* was the predecessor of the theory proposed by "Wen fu."

Although zither music generally treated sorrow as beauty, since the Han Dynasty onwards, elegant uprightness was prioritized because of the influence of Confucianism. Yang Xiong's *Fayan* 法言 contended that, "When the sounds are moderate and proper, that produces the elegant mode, but when they are excessive and improper, then you get the Zheng mode [of licentious music]" 中正則雅，多哇則鄭.[114] The *Zuozhuan* recorded an anecdote as follows:

> The musical entertainments of the former kings were what they used to regulate all the hundred affairs, there were therefore five notes, which were juxtaposed, slow and fast, basic and supplementary. Concord was achieved by hitting them correctly. Aside from these five notes being in concord, no further playing could be accommodated, for beyond that are excessive sounds that are too intricate for the fingers and that overwhelm and block up the mind and the ears, so that balance and harmony are forgotten. A noble man does not listen to these.

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112 Trans. Burton Watson, "Cao Pi: Two Letters to Wu Zhi, Magistrate of Zhaoge." *Wenxuan*, 42.1897.

113 Trans. Robert Joe Cutter, "Letters and Memorials in the Early Third Century: The Case of Cao Zhi," 314. This is a speech by Cao Zhi. See Cao Zhi's 曹植 "Yu Wu Jizhong shu" 與吳季重書, the last letter included in the *juan* 42 of the *Wenxuan*. See *Wenxuan*, 42.1907. In his commentary, Li Shan cited the *Collected Works of Cao Zhi* for this letter under another title. The *Wenxuan* may be based on the "Yu Jizhong shu" 與季重書, in which the three sentences were included. In Yuan Jiong's 袁褧 edition, the word *bu* 不 does not appear in front of the word *zhi* 知. Hu Kejia's 胡克家 *Wenxuan Kaoyi* 文選考異 argued that these three sentences were later interpolations. See *Wenxuan*, 42.1908.

114 Nylan, *Exemplary Figures*, 27, slightly modified. *Fayan yishu*, 3.53.

> 先王之樂，所以節百事也，故有五節；遲速本末以相及，中聲以降。五降之後，不容彈矣。於是有煩手淫聲，慆堙心耳，乃忘平和，君子弗聽也。[115]

The moderation and harmony were also valued by Daoism. It was said in the "Zhenming" 甄命 chapter of the *Zhengao* 真誥:

> The Most High Perfected transformed himself into a commoner and went to question him. "Do you often pluck the zither?" The man responded, "At home I often played it." The Perfected asked, "And what was it like when the strings were too loose?" The man replied, "The zither made no sound, neither high pitched nor mournful." He then asked, "And what if the strings were too tight?" The man replied, "Then the sound was cut off and very mournful." Then the Perfected asked, "What was it like when the strings were tightened correctly?" The man replied, "Then all of the notes were in harmony and the music sounded forth wondrously." The Perfected said, "The study of the Dao is just like that. You must control your heart and adjust its tendencies just as though you were playing the zither. Then you may achieve the Dao."
>
> 太上真人忽作凡人，徑往問之：「子嘗彈琴耶？」答曰：「在家時嘗彈之。」真人曰：「絃緩何如？」答曰：「不鳴不悲。」又問：「弦急何如？」答曰：「聲絕而傷悲。」又問：「緩急得中如何？」答曰：「眾音和合，八音妙奏矣。」真人曰：「學道亦然，執心調適，亦如彈琴，道可得矣。」[116]

When it comes to the Way, moderation and harmony are valued; when it comes to the Arts, a piece of music cannot be moving if it is not sorrowful. This shows the difference between the spiritual Way and the expressive arts. The five elements—response, harmony, sorrow, elegance, and beauty—that Lu Ji spoke of are all related and indispensable, and the omission of any of these would cause a defect in writing. As a Confucian concept, elegance was originally used to restrain the sorrow and beauty devolving into excessive grief or licentiousness, respectively. Thus, the people in the Han Dynasty treated

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115 From the first year of the reign of Duke Zhao 昭公 (541 BCE). For the translation, see *Zuo Tradition*, 1329. See also Nakajima Chiaki, "Gakin no ongaku shisō ni tsuite," *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 41.1340.

116 Modified from Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *A Fourth-Century Daoist Family: The* Zhen'gao, *or Declarations of the Perfected*, vol. 1, 162–63. *Zhengao*, 6.101–2.

elegant propriety as the moderating principle. Sorrow was at the center of Lu Ji's theory, in which elegance was used to redeem the fault of sorrow in being promiscuous while beauty was used to redeem the fault of elegance in being plain. The focus of Lu Ji's theory was on being sorrowful and beautiful at the same time. The emphasis on sorrow was based on the inclination toward being sentimental since the Jian'an period onwards, while the focus on beauty led to the overemphasis on adornment from the Jin and Liu-Song Dynasties onwards. Lu Ji's achievement lay in his perception of sorrow and beauty. His *fu* poems "Moved by the Seasons" 感時賦, "Longing for My Relatives" 思親賦, "Recounting My Cares" 述思賦, "Longing for My Native Land" 懷土賦, "Cares along the Road" 行思賦, "Longing for Return" 思歸賦, "Lamenting the Deceased" 歎逝賦, and so on, were what Lu Yun called the "affective writings,"[117] and all of them were sorrowful enough to move people. Claiming that, "By contemplating my sorrow this way, it can therefore be understood" 以是思哀，哀可知矣,[118] Lu Ji himself announced that his literary mind was directed towards sorrow.[119] Lu Yun commented that Lu Ji's writings were full of strange splendors and gorgeous rhetoric, as we have seen above. Zhong Rong praised Lu Ji "for his exceptional talents and the audacity in deploying his words that the whole body of his works is magnificent" 才高詞贍，舉體華美,[120] demonstrating the beauty of Lu Ji's works. Thus, what Lu Ji valued most highly were the sorrow and beauty of a composition. This may be related to the fact

117 The idea that emotions and writings engender each other can also be seen in the "Wenxue" 文學 chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu*:

"When Sun Chu removed the mourning clothes after the death of his wife (Lady Huwu), he composed a poem and showed it to Wang Ji. Wang said, 'I don't know whether the text is born of the feeling, or the feeling of the text, but as I read it I am sad, and the feeling increased weight of the conjugal relation. 孫子荊（楚）除婦服，作詩以示王武子。王曰：「未知文生於情，情生於文。覽之悽然，增伉儷之重。」"

Shishuo xinyu jianshu, 4.300. For the translation, see Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 139 (romanization updated).

118 *Wenxuan*, 16.724.

119 Many of the *fu* Lu Ji composed were mainly about sorrow. For example, when talking about life and death, the "Damu fu xu" 大暮賦序 said, "My joy cannot be extremer than this, and my sorrow cannot be deeper than this" 樂莫甚焉，哀莫深焉 and "It thus unreservedly expresses my sorrow and ends it with its arrival" 故極言其哀，而終之以達 (see "Quan Jin wen," 96.8b–9a). The "Huaishi fu xu" 懷士賦序 also said, "When your thought is flourishing enough, what matters cannot be touched? One cannot be fail to be stirred into song when staying in an alley or crooked lane. Springs of water and plants and trees are enough to cause people to lament" 方思之殷，何物不感？曲街委巷，罔不興詠。水泉草木，咸足悲焉 (See "Quan Jin wen," 96.6a). Thus, most of Lu Ji's *fu* were composed to express his emotions.

120 *Shipin jizhu*, A.132.

that Lu Ji's works are full of Chu elements.[121] Liu Xie says, "Those who pattern their writings after the *sao* genre will succeed in capturing the flowers of charm and high-mindedness" 效騷命篇者，必歸艷逸之華,[122] indicating how much Lu Ji borrowed from the *Chuci* 楚辭.

After the Jian'an period, writings gradually deviated from the way of elegant uprightness. Such a tendency reached its peak during the Jin and Liu Song Dynasties. People at that time further intensified their exclusive emphasis on sorrow and beauty. The origin of this tendency can be traced back to the abovementioned five elements that the "Wen fu" raised. The influence these five elements exerted on the literary development in the Wei-Jin period was so great that it was not until the time of Liu Xie was such a tendency rectified. The following two tables compare the different relationships among these five elements:

TABLE 5.1 Confucian aesthetics since the Han Dynasty

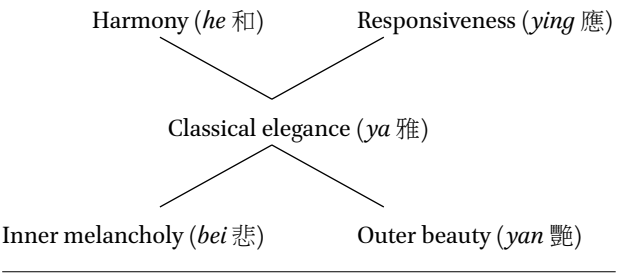

Table 5.1 represents the dominant Confucian idea of elegant propriety since the Han Dynasty onwards. Elegance was in the center in this relationship that

121 Lu Ji's writings bear the mark of Chu immensely. Not only did Lu Ji borrow Chu pronunciations, but he also borrowed the syntactic structure of the "Lisao" 離騷 by Qu Yuan. For instance, the sentence "I must dread lest others have preceded me" 怵他人之我先 in the "Wen fu" was borrowed from "Li sao": "But I fear the Highlord Gaoxin has preceded me" 恐高辛之先我 (*Wenxuan*, 17.768; Williams, *Elegies of Chu*, 10). The sentences "are things to which my heart has submitted" 良余膺之所服 and "and recognize what is pure in former worthies" 識前脩之所淑 are based on "Resolutely I follow the figure of the upright men— / Not such models as vulgar people of this age conform to" 謇吾法夫前脩兮，非時俗之所服 (*Wenxuan*, 17.771; Williams, *Elegies of Chu*, 5). These are some examples. Lu Ji's younger brother Lu Yun was also an expert in the *Chuci* that he composed the "Jiumin" 九愍 modelled on the "Lisao." Lu Yun also commented on the "Nine songs" 九歌, "Jiubian" 九辯, "Yu fu" 漁父, "Jiuhuai" 九懷, and so on in his letter to his older brother. All of these show the specialization in the *Chuci* of both Lu Ji and Lu Yun.

122 "Determining the Momentum" (Dingshi 定勢, #30) chapter. Modified from Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 238. *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 30.530.

it oversaw the moderation and harmony of writing. Although writing could have sorrow and beauty, it must be controlled by classical elegance so that the writing could be sorrowful but not extremely grievous, on the one hand, and be joyful but not licentious, on the other hand. Aesthetic production following this principle still puts priority on the substance.

TABLE 5.2 The aesthetic theory of the "Wen fu" 文賦

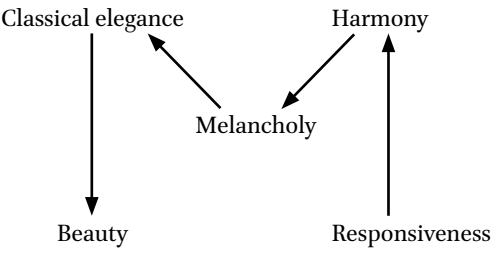

Table 5.2 represents the theory of the "Wen fu" with melancholy at the center. A literary work must not only be harmonized but also sorrowful; and it must not only be elegant but also beautiful. Nevertheless, literati still upheld beautiful words and clung to sorrowful feeling, so that pattern flourished while substance declined.

The above tables illustrate the reason for the development of decoration and substance in tandem. When Liu Xie discussed the emotion and literary expression, he pointed out three major principles in the composition of writing: *xingwen* 形文 (visual pattern), *shengwen* 聲文 (aural pattern), and *qingwen* 情文 (affective pattern). The term *qingwen* first appeared in Lu Yun's letter sent to his older brother:

> I composed the *fu* on "Nine Griefs" as you had asked, but I am not sure what to do since then. But if it's up to me, I would like to think it should be appropriate … As to why you so prefer this, I do not understand why my writings turned out so different from yours, my older brother. Yours is impassioned writing, but passion is something I lack by nature, as my talent lies more in discussing things from a general perspective.
>
> 賦〈九愍〉如所敕，此自未定。然雲意自謂故當 …… 至兄唯以此為快，不知雲論文何以當與兄意作如此異，此是情文，但本少情，而頗能作泛說耳。[123]

123 "Quan Jin wen," 102.6b–7a.

This citation shows the divergence of views on writing between the brothers Lu Ji and Lu Yun. Elaborating on Lu Yun's idea, Liu Xie said, "A literary piece will be pertinent, simple, and truthful, if it is based on feeling" 為情者要約而寫真.[124] Liu Xie further argued:

> Therefore, emotion is the warp of literary pattern, linguistic form the woof of ideas. Only when the warp is straight can the woof be rightly formed, and only when ideas are distinct can linguistic form be meaningful. This is the fundamental principle in literary creation.
>
> 情者，文之經，辭者，理之緯；經正而後緯成，理定而後辭暢：此立文之本源也。[125]

This statement suggested that both ornamentation and substance should be complementary. The emotion and the literary expression must balance one other to avoid the fault where emotion is surpassed by literary elaboration. Thus Liu Xie has properly identified the kernel of Lu Ji's original argument. But since Liu Xie's purpose was to rectify the degenerate tendencies in his own time, they were writing in different contexts, and their arguments need to be distinguished carefully.

6

Cao Pi's *Canonical Disquisitions* drew an analogy between musical rhythms and the *qi* of writing. Lu Ji further used musical principles to explain the regulations of writing. In addition to the abovementioned five elements, Lu Ji also proposes this synaesthetic theory in the "Wen fu":

As for combining ideas, artifice is supreme,	其會意也尚巧
as for deploying language, allurement is supreme.	其遣言也貴妍
The sounds and syllables proceed in rotation,	暨音聲之迭代
just as the five colors mutually enrich each other.	若五色之相宣[126]

124 "Emotion and Literary Expression" (Qingcai 情采, chapter 31), in Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 247. *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 31.538.

125 "Emotion and Literary Expression" (chapter 31), in Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 246–47. *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 31.538.

126 *Wenxuan*, 17.766.

Huang Kan commented: "Later on, in the Liu-Song Dynasty, the theories of rhythmic patterns of Fan Ye 范曄 and Shen Yue were based on Lu Ji's theory, and both of them indeed reached the extremity of profundity."[127] Only when both visual and aural patterns were fully realized could it be true that "The *wen* is so resplendently shown that it overflows my gaze; the sound is serenely piercing and satisfies my ears" 文徽徽以溢目，音泠泠而盈耳.[128] When discussing the changing principles of writing, Lu Ji focused on how the meaning of a composition could "continue the old tradition but also innovate a new tradition," how the rhythm a piece could "pass through the turgid sounds and enter the clear sounds," and how could a piece could be likened to the situation when "the dancers wave their sleeves in accordance with the rhythm, the singers belt out their song along with the strings" 舞者赴節以投袂，歌者應絃而遣聲.[129] Lu Ji's comparison of literature to music demonstrates that he had a considerable understanding of music.

In later generations, only Fan Ye (courtesy name Weizong 蔚宗, 398–445) had a comparable grasp of how literary composition derived from music. His "Letter to a Nephew from Prison" (Yuzhong yu sheng shu 獄中與甥書) said:

> When it comes to music, my listening skill is inferior to my own performance. And yet, what I specialize in is not the orthodox music, which is regrettable. However, since my own music reaches an exquisite peak of artistry as well, how can they really be different? The charm of music cannot be fully expressed through language, and no one knows where the sense beyond the strings, and the sounds echoing in the void, really come from.
>
> 吾於音樂，聽功不及自揮，但所精非雅聲，為可恨。然至於一絕處，亦復何異邪。其中體趣，言之不盡，弦外之意，虛響之音，不知所從而來。[130]

Listening and performing are two different skills. The former is more about appreciation, while the latter is more about practice. To be able to distinguish the good music from the bad, one must first deeply cultivate his interest in musical principles. Fan Ye himself said that his appreciation is not as good as

127 *Wenxuan pingdian*, 62.
128 *Wenxuan*, 17.772.
129 *Wenxuan*, 17.770.
130 *Nanshi*, 33.854–55.

his performance. The level beyond music is such that no intention is added directly by the player, but the audience can hear certain intentions from the music nonetheless. This is the kind of subtle aftereffect in which Fan Ye specialized. Although Fan's idea was inspired indeed by music but not by Chan Buddhism, it later formed the foundation of Zhong Rong's and Yan Yu's 嚴羽 (12th c.) poetic theories. Fan Ye further argued:

> I am innately adept at distinguishing the *gong* sounds from the *shang* and separating the clear from the turgid. I observed the literati, past and present, and found that many of them cannot thoroughly grasp these things. Even though some of them understood, their understanding did not necessarily come from the root.
>
> 性別宮商，識清濁，斯自然也。觀古今文人，多不全了此處，縱有會此者，不必從根本中來。[131]

This passage demonstrates Fan Ye's profound understanding of music. Cao Pi contended that there were both pure *qi* and turgid *qi*, while Fan Ye maintained that there were both pure sounds and turgid sounds. *Qi* was the source of sounds, and sounds could not be produced without *qi*. Po Qin 繁欽 (d. 218) argued, "The latent *qi* circulates inside [the body], and the sorrowful sounds are stimulated from outside. The loud sounds would not rise over the top, while the quiet sounds would not dissipate into the darkness" 潛氣內轉，哀音外激，大不抗越，細不幽散.[132] This theory applies not only to singing, but also to the composition of writing.[133] "Both loud and quiet sounds can be appropriate" 大細得宜 describes a harmony of voices, and the "sorrowful sounds are stimulated from outside [the body]" means sorrow. One must rely on his own inner power, i.e., *qi*, to manage the musical expression. Thus, the internally circulated *qi* for singing music is the same as the *qi* for the composition of writing. Both music and writing were interlinked, so Cao Pi's analogy was not without reason.

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131 *Nanshi*, 48.1195.

132 *Wenxuan*, 40.1821.

133 Sun Deqian's 孫德謙 (1873–1935) *Liuchao lizhi* 六朝麗指 said, "When reading the *belles lettres* of the Six Dynasties, you must understand their subtle ways of concealing their *qi* and transforming it internally. Only then can you master how to meet the transition points in their writing and explicate them properly" 讀六朝人文，須識得潛氣內轉妙訣，乃能於承轉處迎刃而解. It means the flow of the piece can be controlled even without explicit syntactical particles. Sun Deqian, *Liuchao lizhi*, 35b.

Before the emergence of the theories of tone and rhythm in the Yongming period, all literary criticism related to music in one way or another. As perfectly exemplified by Lu Ji's "Wen fu," many major theories of literature were originated from people's understanding of music. Both Lu Jue and Shen Yue were deeply influenced by Lu Ji, and their works even frequently plagiarized the words of Lu Ji's "Wen fu."[134] I briefly mention this point here and hope that future scholars of the history of Chinese literary criticism can contribute their thoughts too.

134 Lu Jue's biography in the *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 includes a letter Lu Jue sent to Shen Yue, in which he writes: "Writing can either be an unimpeded experience or a mental block, and this is unavoidable when one takes part in this activity … That is why Lu Ji always left some regrets when he finished a piece …" As for the discussion on "tortuous incongruity" as well as "seamless usage," the speech on "placing the end right after the top," the metaphor of "color blocking black and yellow" when talking about rhyming scheme, and the simile of how the "five cardinal colors bring out each other's best [in a brocade]" 文有「開塞」，即事不得無之 …… 士衡所以「遺恨終篇」……「岨峿妥怗」之談，「操末續顛」之說，興「玄黃」於律呂，比「五色之相宣」. See *Nan Qi shu*, 52.990–91. Shen Yue replied in his letter: "As a result, I come to the realization that when the Heavenly Inspiration is tuned in, the pitches and rhymes would be perfectly self-arranged. But when the Six Emotions are hampered, the musicality will suddenly fall into disarray …" 故知「天機」啓，則律呂自調；「六情」滯，則音律頓舛也. The terminology here all derives from Lu Ji's "Wen fu." See *Nan Qi shu*, 52.992.

CHAPTER 6

Linked Pearls and Logic: a Case of Intercultural Misunderstanding

Editor's Note: This modest little piece brings to light a fascinating moment in intercultural contact, when the name of an esoteric medieval literary genre was adapted in China to render one of the fundamental concepts of Western logic, the "syllogism." Jao shows patiently that there were better choices in the lexicon of Chinese philosophy, but cannot resist citing a number of exquisite literary examples of the original genre as well, suggesting that this case of intercultural misunderstanding might also be able to serve, if we are careful and attentive enough to its proper nature, as the model for future modes of intercultural communication as well.*

The *lianzhu* 連珠, literally "linked pearls," or simply "string-of-pearls," is a singular literary genre, which is listed by Liu Xie 劉勰(ca. 465–ca. 522) in the category of *zawen* 雜文 "miscellaneous writings." According to the form, sentences in the string-of-pearls suggest their meaning implicitly and must be structured in contrasting parallel couplets, with each half extending the meaning of another. Rather than making statements directly, they take simile or metaphor as the primary means of expression.

Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217–278) wrote in his essay "An Account of String-of-Pearls" 敘連珠: "As a style, its expression is flowery and its words brief. It does not discuss matters directly but uses metaphors to make its point. Nevertheless, the noble and capable can observe and understand it, which fits with the intention of persuasion in the ancient poetry. It is only when the words are as distinct as a string of pearls, which is recognizable and enjoyable, then it can be called string-of-pearls" 其文體辭麗而言約，不指說事情，必假喻以達其旨。而覽者微悟，合於古詩諷興之義。欲使歷歷如貫珠，易看而可悅，故謂之連珠.[1] Liu Xie also wrote:

> Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE), quietly contemplating in the pavilion of letters, and deeply occupied in compilation and writing, collected familiar words and trivial phrases to form *lianzhu*, whose language, though

* Translated by Xu Zhenxu and revised by Nicholas Morrow Williams.

1 Quoted in *Wenxuan*, 55.2383.

> frivolous, is bright and smooth.... Many writers have also imitated the *lianzhu*. Du Du 杜篤 (d. 78), Jia Kui 賈逵 (30–101), Liu Zhen 劉珍 (ca. 100–ca. 126), Pan Xu 潘勖 (d. 215), and others, all intended to make strings of pearls, but only succeeded in stringing together fish eyes.... But Lu Ji alone, through careful consideration, brought to the form new ideas couched in swift-moving language, and extended its scope by neat organization and firm sentence structure.... It is easy to achieve completeness in a short literary piece, and easy too to make one's thoughts presentable when they are not formed in haste. Any piece which is so written as to have clear ideas and lucid diction, coherent content, and melodious sounds, all rolling out fluently and distinctly, is worthy of being called a composition of "pearls."
>
> 揚雄覃思文閣，業深綜述，碎文瑣語，肇為連珠，其辭雖小而明潤矣。…… 自連珠以下，擬者間出，杜篤、賈逵之曹，劉珍、潘勖之輩，欲穿明珠，多貫魚目。…… 唯士衡運思，理新文敏，而裁章置句，廣於舊篇。…… 夫文小易周，思閑可贍。足使義明而詞淨，事圓而音澤，磊磊自轉，可稱珠耳。[2]

According to this description, "string-of-pearls" as a genre cannot consist of just a single item, but an array of items placed together in the proper order, for only then could it "ring clear-cut and clean" and "as distinct as a string of pearls." Then it fits the literal meaning of "linked pearls" as pearls being pieced together one by one. Otherwise, one item is only one pearl, not pearls in a string. This is the traditional genre of string-of-pearls as identified in the 55th fascicle of the *Wenxuan* 文選. There is also another subgenre of string-of-pearls in the area of *shi* poetry. For instance, the Ming painter Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470–1524) wrote "Eleven Poems about the Flower and the Moon in the Style of a String of Pearls" 花月吟效連珠體十一首, the first of which reads:

> It causes endless regret to have flowers without the moon,
> But even greater regret to have the moon without flowers.
> Flowers pretty like the lady before her moon mirror,
> The moonlight like the water shines over scented flowers;
> Leaning on my walking stick under the moon I seek the flowers,
> And taking wine I taste it before flowers, under the moon.
> Such beautiful flowers and such a bright moon;

2 "Miscellaneous Writings" (Zawen 雜文), *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 14.254, 256; Shih, *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 103, 106, modified.

Don't treat moon and flowers as ordinary!

有花無月恨茫茫，有月無花恨轉長。花美似人臨月鏡，月明如水照花香。
扶笻月下尋花步，攜酒花前帶月嘗。如此好花如此月，莫將花月作尋常。[3]

The two words "flower" and "moon" are repeated in each sentence. Although the patterns vary, these two words are constant. This might be yet another kind of verbal play related to the "string-of-pearls" form. But to return to the string-of-pearls proper, consider the following early examples:

I heard:
When the correct path is followed, then the five blessings will arrive.
When the fortune ends, then the six disasters will converge.
Therefore:
Confucius is not alone in feeling sad about the emergence of a unicorn.
Ruan Ji was not alone in crying about the end of a road.

吾聞：
道行則五福俱湊，
運閉則六極所鐘；
是以：
麟出而悲，豈唯孔子？
途窮則慟，甯止嗣宗！[4]

This was written by Xiao Gang 蕭綱 (503–551) when he was in prison.

Meanwhile, the first piece of the fifteen strings-of-pearls written by Liu Xiang 劉祥 (d. 190 CE) goes like this:

A treasure rare in the world,
if it does not suit the times must be devalued;
a vessel that transcends the vulgar,
if not sagely will perish.
And thus:
Shining jade is exiled to the crags of Chu;
the Zhangfu cap was disdained by men of Yue.

3 *Tang Bohu quanji*, 28.
4 "Quan Liang wen," in *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 13.7a.

希世之寶，違時必賤，
偉俗之器，無聖則淪；
是以
明玉黜于楚岫，章甫窮於越人。[5]

The form of these pieces is very special: 1. the adjacent sentences have to be couplets which are either contrastive or complementary; 2. they are linked by the logical conjunction *shiyi* 是以 "therefore" in the middle; 3. they are connected in meaning, usually going from the general to the specific, or deducing concrete cases from abstract principles. Thus the string of pearls seems to enact a kind of logical deduction proceeding from a general proposition to a specific conclusion, but it is not mediated by a middle term as in an actual syllogism. *Shiyi* is merely a conjunction, so, strictly speaking, the piece consists of only two stages, not three.

The syllogism arrives at its conclusion via major premises and minor premises, in the process of which the middle term plays a crucial role. Thus it was translated into Japanese as the "three-section method," *sandan ronpō* 三段論法. Yan Fu 嚴複 (1854–1921) translated the major premise as *lici* 例詞, the minor premise as *anci* 案詞, and the conclusion as *panci* 判詞. However, Yan also criticized the Japanese translation as improper and translated the term syllogism in Mill's *A System of Logic* as *lianzhu* 連珠, "linked pearls." Yan Fu also said in the introduction to his translation of Mill's book as *Mule mingxue* 穆勒名學: "The method of 'linked pearls' is what is most crucial in an argument."[6] This might be considered one example of the practice of *geyi* 格義 "analogical understanding," using indigenous phrases to translate parallel foreign terms.[7] The method is worth attempting, as long as one is careful to verify its results. To translate syllogism as "linked pearls," however, is so problematic that it has led to criticism. In 1909, Zhang Shizhao 章士釗 (1882–1973) wrote "On the

5 Quoted from *Nan shi*, 15.430; for the full text with slightly different wording, see *Nan Qi shu*, 39.714.

6 John Stuart Mill wrote in the third section of his introduction to *A System of Logic: Ratiocinative & Inductive*: "By some, indeed, these previous topics were professedly introduced only on account of their connexion with reasoning and as a preparation for the doctrine & rules of the Syllogism." In the third section of the *Mule mingxue bushou*, which is titled "On Logic as the Scholarship of Pursuing Truth" 論名學乃求誠之學術, Yan Fu translates the above paragraph and mentioned that "the intention of the author is also measured by the syllogism" 作者之意，亦以連珠法例而後為之. This is an instance of his translation of "syllogism" into "linked pearls." See *Mule mingxue*, 4.

7 Editor's note: For an examination of the modern use of the term *geyi*, see Mair, "What Is Geyi, After All?"

Translation of Specialized Terminology" 論翻譯名義, where he criticized Yan for his forced analogies.[8]

In 1919, Zhang was teaching logic at Peking University. He had studied logic in at the University of Edinburgh in 1907. Around the time of the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Chinese intellectuals were learning to accept Western thought, and many worked on the comparison between Chinese and Western logic. Zhang published papers in *Jiayin zazhi* 甲寅雜誌, which show the high level of the reception of Western scholarship in China by that time. Zhang also proposed that the *sanwu biju* 三物必具 ("The three things must be set out, and then there is enough for life") in the "Choosing the Greater" (Daqu 大取) chapter of *Mozi* 墨子 is similar to the syllogism in logic.[9] Thus his theory can be called "The principle of three things" 三物語經.[10] However, the content of *sanwu* is not as detailed as Aristotle's theory in his *Prior Analytics*. Thus this analogy only has limited applicability.

The term syllogism was phonetically translated as *xilushisimo* 細錄世斯模, from the Latin *syllogisme*, in the book *Minglitan* 名理探.[11] This book was translated together by the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco Furtado (1587–1653) and Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565–1630). There is a note commenting that the syllogism is "a form of deduction" 推論一規式也.[12] The identification with *tuilun* 推論 (something like "deduction") is quite right. *Minglitan* was translated from the logic textbook for the Jesuit academy at Coimbra in Portugal. The academy was located in the Pyrenees where the logician Pedro da Fonseca (1528–1599), the teacher of Furtado, resided. Li Zhizao translated this book from Latin with the help of Furtado, so his translation is quite reliable.[13]

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8 Zhang Shichao 章士釗 (1882–1973) wrote this article in 1909 for the newspaper *Guofeng bao* 國風報. It is later collected in his *Luoji zhiyao* 邏輯指要 as its appendix 425–443. It listed four flaws of translation: 1. Conflicting words; 2. forced analogies; 3. incorrect choice of words; 4. the terms being coined are not concise. His objection to Yan's translating syllogism as linked pearls fits into the second flaw: forced analogy.

9 Johnston, *Mozi*, 44.591.

10 This expression can be found in Zhang's *Luoji zhiyao*, 151. The *sanwu* fits Aristotle's "three figures" quite well.

11 *Minglitan*, 1.29.

12 *Minglitan*, 1.29.

13 The word "syllogism" comes from Greek, and Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* is devoted to analyzing the structure and varieties of the syllogism. Western scholars have written voluminously on it. Kant's "The False Subtlety of the Four Syllogistic Figures Proved" is about the law of identity and contradiction. Jonathan Lear's *Aristotle and Logical Theory* begins with a discussion of "syllogistic logic." The treatise on Aristotle's dialectic, *Organon*, which was translated into Chinese as *Minglitan* 名理探 by Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565–1630), says: "The primary field of discussion in logic is the 'syllogism.' The most accurate model of deduction comes from applying the syllogism." 至論要界，則去「細錄世斯

The term *tui* 推, which forms part of the modern concept of "deduction" (*tuili* 推理), appears in the "Choosing the Lesser" (Xiaoqu 小取) chapter of the Warring States classic *Mozi* 墨子: "'Inferring' [*tui*] is to take what has not been ascertained and identify it with what has been ascertained, and so make a judgement" 推也者，以其所不取之同於其所取者，予之也.[14] Thus what is "not chosen" 不取 is the middle term.

> "not chosen" 不取 = "mediating term" 媒詞
> "what is chosen" 所取 = the other two terms

The notion of *tui* in *Mozi* is thus similar to that of the syllogism. Therefore, translating syllogism as *tuili* 推理 is better than as "string-of-pearls." Writings in the form of string-of-pearls employ the literary devices of *bixing* 比興 (comparison and evocative image) and allusion as their vehicles of expression, which have nothing to do with the inference that is emphasized in logic. The translation of syllogism as linked pearls is basically like the old practice of *geyi* 格義 (matching meanings) for Buddhist terms, which is inappropriate in modern times. Zhang Shizhao's correction was wisely made.

Since the first interaction of Eastern and Western thought, many foreign terms were absorbed from Japan without being carefully discussed. Nowadays, *sanduanlun fa* 三段論法 is widely known, while the late Ming and early Qing translation are unheard of. Which one is better deserves careful discussion. In this essay, I have taken the string-of-pearls as an example to show how well scholars around the time of the May Fourth Movement understood and discussed logic. Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future. This essay may contribute a bit to this aspect of cultural exchange.

模」。緣推論極切之規式，在拉細錄世斯模故也. From the *Shangwu shijie mingzhu* 商務印世界名著 version, p. 29. Here the text uses a phonetic translation from Latin as *xilüshisimo*. This valuable text has a detailed discussion of Aristotelian inference. There have also been new translations of Aristotle's *Categories* in recent years. Wei Zhuomin 韋卓民 (1888–1976) has written *Yalishiduode luoji* 亞里斯多德邏輯 about the question touched in *Prior Analytics*, and in this book he continued to use the translation of *sanduanlun shi* 三段論式 for syllogism.

14 *Mozi jiangu*, 11.416. Johnston, *Mozi*, 45.623.

CHAPTER 7

Suyab, the True Birthplace of Li Bai

Editor's Note: Of all the essays in this volume, this one is the most pedantic, being focused on particularly obscure issues at a particular moment in the frontier history of the Tang Dynasty. And yet the underlying motivation for this rigorous historical study on the various conquests and political maneuvers surrounding Suyab is none other than the most playful and joyous of Tang poets, Li Bai. It sheds extraordinary new light—though in a reticent and oblique manner—on the long-standing controversy over Li Bai's Central Asian origins, and ought to be read in tandem with studies like Elling Eide's "On Li Po," which claims that, "Regardless of whether he was born to it or whether it was acquired, Li Po shows the marked influence of Central Asian culture."*[1]

Investigating Li Bai's 李白 (701–ca. 762) birthplace is a question of literary history, and also a question of frontier history: both a dry and pedantic topic, but also one of broad and compelling interest.

It is now universally acknowledged that Li Bai was born in Suyab (Suiye 碎葉) in modern Kyrgyzstan. The origin of the view can be traced back to the preface to Li Bai's collection *Caotang ji* 草堂集 by Li Yangbing 李陽冰, and "Ligong xin mubei" 李公新墓碑 (New funerary stele for Lord Li) by Fan Chuanzheng 范傳正. Both hold the same opinion that Li Bai was the ninth-generation descendant of Li Hao 李暠, whose native place was Chengji 成紀 in Longxi 隴西 Commandery (located in the southeast of modern Gansu Province).

Li Yangbing says: "To escape legal sanction, Li's family changed their name and moved to [the Central Asian kingdom] Tiaozhi … and then returned to Sichuan at the beginning of the Shenlong period (705 CE)" 中葉非罪，謫居條支，易姓與名；…… 神龍之始逃歸於蜀.[2]

Fan Chuanzheng elaborates further:

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* Translated by Fu Xinci and revised by Nicholas Morrow Williams. Editor's note: I have tried to follow Hucker's *Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* for the numerous titles mentioned in this chapter. For some of the historical background and identifications of persons, I have consulted Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580–800*.

1 Eide, "On Li Po," 389.

2 *Li Taibai ji zhu*, 31.1a/1b.

> During the political turmoil of late Sui Dynasty, Li Bai's family evacuated to Suyab and concealed their names, which is the reason why their information was neglected in documents at that time. At the beginning of the Shenlong era (in 705), they furtively moved back to Guanghan [in modern Sichuan, northeast of Chengdu], and assumed a new identity as local inhabitants there. Li's father had fled his own native place as an émigré (*ke* 客), and hence took Ke as his name.
>
> 隋末多難，一房被竄於碎葉，流離散落，隱易姓名，故自國朝已來，漏於屬籍。神龍初，潛還廣漢，因僑為郡人。父客以逋其邑，遂以客為名。[3]

Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969) first raised this issue in the 20th century when he wrote an essay on Li Bai's native clan, in which he briefly reviewed Fan Chuanzheng's argument.[4] Regarding Li Bai's birth year, Chen Yinke asserted that, "When Li Bai moved to Sichuan, he was at least five years old, so Li Bai must have been born in the Western Regions [central Asia], not in China," and "Sichuan was an important site for commercial activities of foreign merchants from Central Asia throughout the Six Dynasties and Tang, so it was customary for Hu people to lodge there." On the basis of these previous studies, the monograph *Dao jiaotu de shiren Li Bai jiqi tongku* 道教徒的詩人李白及其痛苦 (Daoist believer and poet Li Bai, and his sufferings), by Li Changzhi 李長之 (1910–1978), affirmed that Li Bai was born in Central Asia, arguing that "Li Bai was already five years old when he moved to Guanghan in 705 CE. Based on the fact that Li Bai was Han Chinese but born abroad, we can appreciate why he would later have been put in charge of replying to foreign documents at court."[5] Li Changzhi's view of Li Bai's origins is echoed by Zhan Ying 詹鍈, who wrote: "Li Bai's father was originally a Hu merchant who became wealthy after moving to Shu. Regarding Li Bai's education, it must have been a combination of both Central Asian and Chinese languages."[6]

Arthur Waley's 1950 *The Poetry and Career of Li Po* also provided a detailed discussion on Li Bai's origins.[7] He argued that "Li Bai's grandson had inherited from his father Li Boqin 伯禽 some notes about the history of the family, according to which the ancestor was banished to Suyab, the modern Tokmak,

3 *Li Taibai ji zhu*, 31.17b.
4 Chen Yinke, "Li Taibai shizu zhi yiwen."
5 Li Changzhi, *Dao jiaotu de shiren Li Bai jiqi tongku*, 8.
6 See *Li Bai shi luncong*, 24.
7 See Waley, *The Poetry and Career of Li Po*, 103. Romanization has been modernized.

in what is now the Soviet Republic of Turkestan [and today in Kyrgyzstan] … Li Bai must have been born at Suyab, or on the way from Suyab to China." Waley's viewpoint derived from Édouard Chavannes,[8] and was also echoed by other literary historians.[9] Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978) also argued in *Li Bai yu Du Fu* 李白與杜甫 that Li Bai was born in Suyab, showing that most scholars have reached a consensus on this topic.

1 Location of Suyab

According to Pei Ju's 裴矩 (547–627) *Xiyu tuji* 西域圖記, there were three main traffic thoroughfares in the western regions—northern, central, and southern.[10] However, for the "Treatise of Geography" in the *Xin Tangshu*, the main thoroughfares are divided into only two, north and south. Suyab was close to the Chu River 楚河, an outflow of the Suyab River. So, even if the historic site of Suyab was not in Tokmak itself, it must have been in the vicinity of it. Utilizing Suyab as a marker, the south route was by way of the mountains Tianshan 天山 and Lingshan 凌山, reaching Tokmak, Suyab, and Talas, all situated south of the Chu River. The northern route went through Dihua 迪化, the Ili River 伊犁河, and finally arrived at Tokmak as well. The "Treatise on Geography" (Dili zhi地理志) in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New history of the Tang dynasty) says:

> From Anxi … to Issyk-Kul Lake (Rehai) … to Suyab River … then twenty li further west is Suyab. To the north of the city lies Suyab river, forty li north of the river is Jiedan Mountain, where the Te Arrows of the Western Turkic Qagganate (On Oq) appoint their ruler.
>
> 安西 …… 至熱海 …… 至碎葉川 …… 又西二十里至碎葉城。城北有碎葉水，水北四十里有羯丹山，十姓可汗每立君長於此。[11]

8 See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue* (*Turcs*) *occidentaux*.

9 For more articles related to Li Bai's extraction, see Hu Huaichen胡懷琛, "Li Taibai de guoji wenti" 李太白的國籍問題; Sun Kaidi 孫楷第, "Tang zongshi yu Li Bai" 唐宗室與李白; and Yu Pingbo 俞平伯, "Guanyu Li Bai de xingshi jiguan zhongzu de wenti" 李白的姓氏籍貫種族的問題, all included in *Li Bai yanjiu lunwenji*. See also Ōno Jitsunosuke, *Ri Taihaku no kenkyū*. Elling Eide's "On Li Po" discusses Li Bai's father's name Ke 客 and his son's name Boqin 伯禽, postulating that they both derived from Turkic languages.

10 *Suishu*, 67.1579.

11 *Xin Tangshu*, 43B.1149–50.

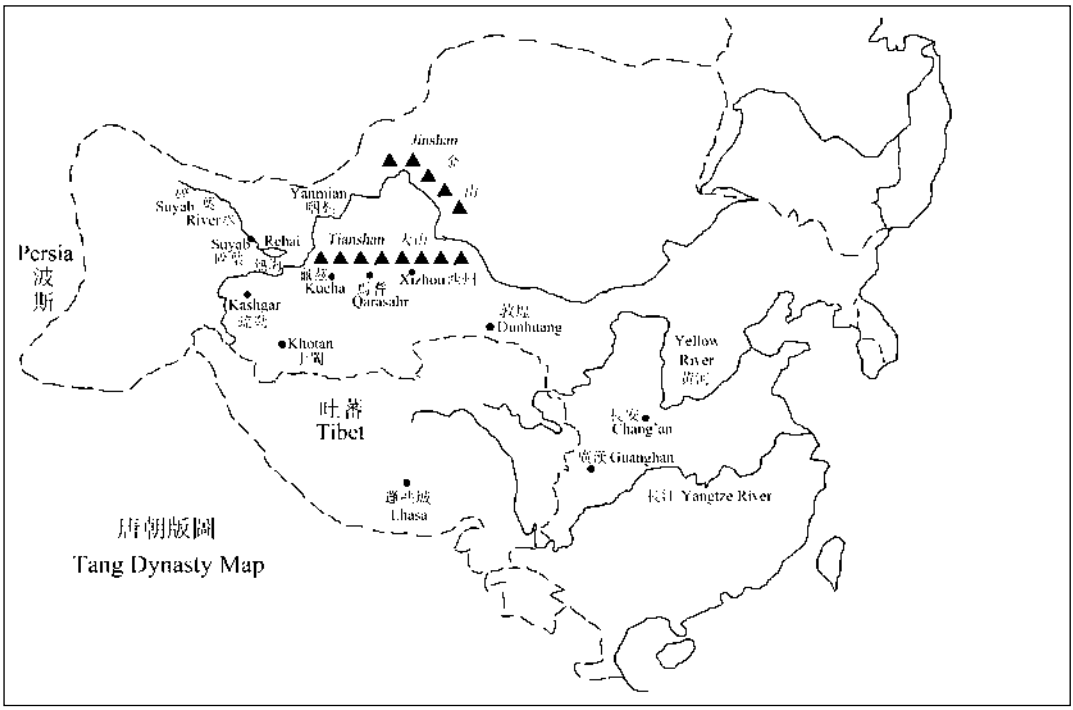

FIGURE 7.1 Map of Suyab area
IMAGE CREATED BY LEUNG YUET NGO, JAO TSUNG-I ACADEMY OF SINOLOGY

This is the only route from Xizhou 西州 (i.e., Xichangzhou 西昌州, whose administrative seat was at Gaochang 高昌, near Turfan) westward to Talas 怛羅斯 (in the northwest of modern Kyrgyzstan). The entry for Jimsa (Beiting 北庭 Protectorate) in the *Xin Tangshu* says that there is another route from Jiaohe 交河 to Suyab. Passing Luntai 輪臺 and onwards to the border of Suyab, one then travels one thousand *li* further west to Suyab City. But all the "Suyab" mentioned here refer to Tokmak.[12] The great translator and traveler, Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), in his *Xiyu ji* 西域記 (Records of the western regions), as well as Du Huan 杜環 in his *Jingxing ji* 經行記 (Records of a lengthy

12 *Xin Tangshu*, 40.1047. For the importance of Suiye in northwestern transportation routes, see the first chapter of Édouard Chavannes's *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Turcs occidentaux*, and Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 1:26–27. Adachi, *Daitō seiiki no kenkyū* includes inscriptions on Mount Zhongling 中凌, Daqing Pond 大清池, Suye Shuicheng 素葉水城, Qianquan 千泉, and Daluosi 呾邏私. More information about the relics can also be found in Yu Hao's *Xiyu kaogulu*, volume 9.

journey)[13] and Jia Dan 賈耽 (730–805), all discussed this main route. The northern route is similar to the path from the Jushihou 車師後 Kingdom (whose capital was at Jiaohe) to Wusun 烏孫 during the Han Dynasty. Xuanzang took the route from Issyk Kul Lake, and entered Central Asia via Suyab.[14] The earliest study about the Suyab River, by Marquart, argued that it was the river named by Arabs, and which is currently called the Chu 楚 or Chui 吹 River.[15] The path towards Rehai 熱海 (Issyk-Kul) was also the most frequently-used road for travelling between east and west.[16] A passage from Du Huan's *Jingxing ji* states: "From Bolian Mountain 敎連嶺, walk some thousand *li* north to Suyab River 碎葉川. East of the river are Rehai and Suyab.... West of the river connects to the Shi 石 Kingdom, a distance over a thousand *li*.... at the source of the river is a city named Talas" 敎連嶺北行千餘里至碎葉川，其川東頭有熱海，又有碎葉城 …… 川西接石國，約長千餘里，…… 川頭有城名曰怛羅斯 ……[17] He Qiutao 何秋濤 (1824–1862) commented:

> In Tang geography, Suyab River was to the west of the Yili River 伊利河, whose strongest current flowed into Rehai. The streams of Rehai could be divided into the Chachaer, Hanai, and Laibulake. The northwest stream is the Chui River, also known as Suyab River, flowing down over three hundred miles into Heshi Lake 和什泊, which is the reason that the lake never froze and so was called "Rehai," the fiery sea. The "Ballad of the Fiery Sea" composed by Cen Shen 岑參 (715–770) includes these lines: "I also hear the voices of the foreigners by the Dalan Khar mountains, / While the waters of the Fiery Sea seem to boil."
>
> 唐碎葉水在伊麗河西。今伊犁河西之水最大者為特穆爾圖淖爾，即熱海也。淖爾所受之水，有察察爾、哈奈和賴布拉克，其水分流西北為吹河，行千有餘里入和什泊，所謂碎葉川，當指吹河言之。因此泊寒

13 *Jingxing ji* by Du Huan has been collated by Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎. See *Tōyōshi ronsō: Wada hakase koki kinen*, 383. Editor's note: There is also a recent annotated edition, *Jingxing ji jianzhu*, with commentary by Zhang Yichun.

14 See Xiang Da, "Rehai dao xiaokao," in "Xiyu jianwen suoji," 35.

15 See Kuwabara Jitsuzō, *Zhang Qian xizheng kao*, 77.

16 Shiratori Kurakichi has a detailed study. See *Shiratori Kurakichi zenshū*, 6:27, 28 and 65–69, on the path described in the *Tang shu* treatises of geography. Regarding Suyab River and Suiye Road, see Matsuda Hisao's *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi chirigakuteki kenkyū*, 414–32.

17 Quoted in *Shuofang beicheng* 朔方備乘 by He Qiutao 何秋濤, "Wusun kao" 烏孫考 in volume 30.25a.

> 而不凍，故稱熱海。乃唐岑參〈熱海行〉詩「側聞陰山胡兒語，西頭熱海水如煮。」[18]

Moreover, the *Xiyu shuidao ji* 西域水道記 by Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848) provides detailed information about Rehai/Issyk Kul:

> Rehai, also named Tus-Kul,[19] is a lake approximately four hundred *li* long, at most one hundred and twenty *li* and at a minimum eighty *li* wide. The water along the bank is so hot it could be used for soldering iron, and hence attracted the interest of Timur (1336–1405). The *Xiyu ji* 西域記 (Records of the western regions) by Bianji 辯機 (619–ca. CE), and the "Ballad of the Fiery Sea" 熱海行 by Cen Shen both asserted that Rehai was the ancient name of the Si River 斯水. When the Immortal of Changchun (Qiu Chuji 丘處機, 1148–1227) visited Genghis Khan, he passed through Rehai twice … from the west of Rehai you reach Chuimonian 吹沒輦, which is currently called the Chui River. Then continuing southeast of Rehai you can reach Lianhuochan momian 連霍闡沒輦, which is now the Nalin River 納林河. A stele inscription was set up on its south bank. Song Jun 松筠 (1752–1835) heard from the local people that it was built to commemorate Zhang Qian 張騫 (d. 114 BCE), but although he tried repeatedly to find the stele, he never succeeded.
>
> 特穆爾圖淖爾亦曰圖斯庫爾，河東西長四百餘里，南北廣處百二十餘里，狹處八十餘里。…… 沿岸之沙可煎鐵，故有特穆爾 (Timur) 之目也。…… 并引辨機《西域記》、岑嘉州〈熱海行〉，謂熱海皆斯水舊名。元長春眞人之朝成吉思皇帝，按其程途往返皆經淖爾 …… 自淖爾西以至吹沒輦；吹沒輦者，今吹河。自淖爾東南以連霍闡沒輦；霍闡沒輦者，今納林河。南岸山中有碑，松筠聞之土人名曰張騫碑，三度尋覓，終莫能得。[20]

In fact, Suyab city is located on Suyab River (in Chinese written Suiye 碎葉 or also Suye 素葉), and originally belonged to the territory of the Western Turks (Tujue).[21] Xuanzang wrote that in 628, "I travelled from Qingchi 清池 (another

18 "Wusun kao," *Shuofang beicheng*, 30.25a.

19 See "Uson kō" 烏孫考, in *Shiratori kurakichi zenshū*, 6:27. The name Tus-Kul should derive from Turkish.

20 *Xiyu shuidao ji*, 4.139.

21 Editor's note: Technically the specific political organization of the Western Turks described in this chapter should be written as the "Türks," but for simplicity's sake we identify them simply as Turks.

name for Rehai), and walked five hundred *li* northwest to Suyab, where I encountered the Qaghan of the Turks, who was hunting with an enormous army" 出山後至一清池 …… 循海西北行五百餘里，至素葉城，逢突厥葉護可汗，方事畋遊，戎馬甚盛.[22] In the first chapter of his great travelogue *Xiyu ji*, Xuanzang wrote:

> From Qing Lake I traveled five hundred *li* northwest to Suyab city, which is almost six to seven *li* in circumference, where various foreign merchants live together.... Several dozen cities with high ramparts situated in the west of Suyab, though they are not directly subordinate, are under the administration of the Turks.... I walked four hundred *li* from Suyab to Qianquan 千泉 (Bing-bu-laq) ... where the Qaghan of the Turks had his summer residence.... One hundred and forty or fifty *li* west from Qianquan is the city of Talas ... I walked around ten *li* further south, and nearly three hundred families who used to be Chinese reside there in a lonely town. After being pillaged by the Turks, they changed their costume into the Turkish style, but kept Chinese customs and continued to speak their mother tongue.
>
> 清池西北行五百餘里，至素葉水城。城周六七里，諸國商胡雜居也 …… 素葉已西數十孤城，城皆立長，雖不相稟命，皆役屬於突厥。…… 素葉城行四百餘里至千泉，…… 突厥可汗每來避署。…… 千泉西行百四五十里，至呾邏私城。…… 南行十餘里有小孤城三百餘户，本中國人也，昔為突厥所掠 …… 衣服去就，遂同突厥；言辭儀範，猶存本國。[23]

The Turkification of Chinese people described above is what Xuanzang witnessed in Suyab, which was still controlled by the Turks (Tujue) at that moment.[24] The Suyab River was also known as Chuhe 楚河, and is also translated variously into Chinese as Chuihe 吹河 or Chuihe 垂河. According to the multilingual glossary *Xiyu tongwen zhi* 西域同文志 (Unifying the scripts of the western regions):

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22 *Da Ciensi Sanzang fashi zhuan*, 2.27.

23 *Datang xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 1.71,72, 76, 78.

24 See "Xi Tujue wangting kao" 西突厥王庭考 by Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, in *Tianshan yanjiu* 天山研究, page 278, recording stories about khan in Suye. See *Gudai Tianshan lishi dilixue yanjiu*, 305.

> *Chui* 吹 represents "muddy waters" in the Dzungar language. In the Tang this was another tribe of the Western Turks, with all the territory on the south bank of the Chui River. The *Tangshu* says: "The Xiye River is one thousand *li* long, and another clan of Turks lives there."[25] The tripartite *fanqie* spelling is *tsuj*. [The written forms of this word in Uighur, Tibetan, and Mongolian follow.]
>
> 吹：準語水渾色黃之謂。唐為西突厥別族也。凡吹河南岸諸境同。《唐書・西域傳》：「細葉川長千里，有異姓突厥。」三合切音：初烏衣。回字作 ᠴᠦ，藏文作 ཅུ，蒙文作 ᠴᠦ.[26]

The name of the river is variously transliterated into Chinese as Suye, Xiye or Suyab, all based on the same original word also represented as Chuhe 楚河. Suy-ab in Arabic historian Tabari's work means water, *ab* means river in Persian, and *ab* even means water in Sanskrit as well. For instance, *ab-ja* means "born in water," *ab-da* means "supply water," and *ad-dhi* means "swamp." Mongolian uses *usun* to represent water, while Uighur uses the pronunciation *su* 蘇. In the Turfan language, "Chu means 'water' or 'river,' and is written as 𐽆."[27] Therefore, Suye, Suyab, Xiye, Chu, and Su all represent the meaning of river or water.[28]

From the evidence given above, the name of Suyab City should derive from Suyab River. There is no evidence of another Suyab in Qarasahr (Yanqi 焉耆), as has been proven by previous scholars, and the sole Suyab was located at present-day Tokmak, Kyrgyzstan.

2 Suyab Was Not Located in Qarasahr

The *Xin Tangshu* "Treatise on Geography" states, regarding the Protectorate of Anxi 安西, or "Protectorate to Pacify the West," which was first established at Turpan, that: "The main troops were stationed in Suyab city" 有保大軍，屯碎葉城.[29] It also contains this comment on the Protectorate of Yanqi/Qarasahr:

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25 *Xin Tangshu*, 221B.6246.
26 *Xiyu tongwen zhi*, 1.38a.
27 Rivers in Tibet were collectively named "Chu." See *Xiyu tongwen zhi*, 22. 2b–3a.
28 Adachi Kiroku, *Daitō Seiiki no kenkyū*, 1.40.
29 *Xin Tangshu*, 40.1048.

> In 644 CE, Qarasahr was abolished, but Suyab City remained. In 679, Protector-General Wang Fang built twelve gates around all four sides, so as to create a defensive formation prepared for surprise attacks.
>
> 貞觀十八年，滅焉耆置。有碎葉城。調露元年，都護王方翼築，四面十二門，為屈曲隱出伏沒之狀云。[30]

It seems that the second passage is inaccurate, and resulted in the misapprehension that there was another Suyab City in the Tang Dynasty located in Qarasahr,[31] which was built by Wang Fangyi 王方翼 (622–684) in 679. When translating *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Turcs occidentaux* by Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918), Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 commented here that: "It seems that there was an error in transmission, with this clause mistakenly placed under Qarasahr,"[32] without further clarifications. Based on the fact that Wang Fangyi was the subordinate of Pei Xingjian 裴行儉 (619–682), the *Xin Tangshu* says:

> During the Yifeng period (676–679), Ashina Duzhi 阿史那都支 assumed the title of Qaghan of the Ten Arrows. He allied with the Tibetans and invaded Anxi 安西. Pei Xingjian was ordered by imperial edict to suppress the rebels … Pei Xingjian first was ordered to send the Persian Prince back, and appease the Dashi Kingdom, as if journeying towards the two foreign lands. Duzhi was not suspicious, and led his troops to pay them a visit, but was captured by Pei Xingjian. Pei then gathered all the tribal leaders to capture them, and also made commander Li Zhefu 李遮匐 surrender. This was in 679.

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30 *Xin Tangshu*, 43B.1134.

31 In *Li Bai yu Du Fu* 李白與杜甫, Guo Moruo 郭沫若 claims: "There were two Suyabs, one of them, which was located in Yanqi, constructed by Wang Fangyi." See *Li Bai yu Du Fu*, 210. This statement is mostly based on the two Tang histories. Ōtani Kastuma 大谷勝真 also discussed this point in his study "Anxi sizhen zhi jianzhi jiqi yitong" 安西四鎮之建置及其異同, pointing out that the existence of a Suyab City under Yanqi's administration is doubtful. The Suyab in Yanqi mentioned by the Tang histories actually refers to the Suyab as juxtaposed with the other Four Garrisons of Anxi. Therefore, this passage should be excised from *Jiu Tangshu*. See Ōtani Katsuma, "Anxi sizhen zhi jianzhi jiqi yitong," 21. When discussing officials in Suyab, the *Xinjiang tuzhi* states that: "During the Changshou 長壽 period, Han Sizhong 韓思忠 held the post of Suyab Defender. The town of Suyab should be situated in Yanqi, and this is different from the Suyab River in Yili 伊犁." See *Xinjiang tuzhi*, 22.13a. But this view also derives from unreliable Tang geographical treatises.

32 See *Xi Tujue shiliao*, 61.

> 儀鳳中，都支自號十姓可汗，與吐蕃連和，寇安西，詔吏部侍郎裴行儉討之 …… 詔行儉冊送波斯王子，幷安撫大食，若道兩蕃者。都支果不疑，率子弟上謁，遂禽之，召執諸部渠長，降別帥李遮匐以歸，調露元年也。[33]

The construction of Suyab also happened in this year. The *Xin Tangshu* biography of Pei Xingjian has a detailed record:

> As a result of his observations, Duzhi did not set up any defenses. Convening with chief from other four tribes, Pei Xingjian pretended to go hunting … Duzhi wanted to pay a visit to the barracks with five hundred troops, but was captured in Pei's ambush attack. On the same day, chiefs from other tribes were convened by a token arrow, and sent to Suyab together.… thus Li Zhefu surrendered, and was brought to the capital with other captives. The achievement was commemorated by the officals in a stele inscription at Suyab City.

> 都支覘知之，不設備。行儉徐召四鎮酋長，偽約畋，……（都支）率子弟五百餘人詣營謁，遂禽之。是日，傳契箭，召諸部酋長悉來請命，並執送碎葉城。…… 遮匐乃降，悉俘至京師。將吏為刻石碎葉城以紀功。[34]

The "Peigong shendao bei" 裴公神道碑 (Spirit path stele for Lord Pei) by Zhang Yue 張說 (667–731) also says:

> They had brought supplies for ten days, but they captured their opponent, Duzhi, right away, and then almost instantaneously captured Li Zhefu as well. Both Chinese and foreign people celebrated the victory together, setting up a stele in Suyab.

> 裹糧十日，執都支于帳前；破竹一呼，鉗遮匐于麾下。華戎相慶，立碑碎葉。[35]

From this we can see that the city of Suyab existed even before 676. Wang Fangyi should be one of the officials mentioned here who commissioned the stele inscription to commemorate Pei Xingjian's triumph. According to

33 *Xin Tangshu*, 215B.6064.
34 *Xin Tangshu*, 108.4086–87.
35 *Zhang Yuezhi wenji*, 14.7a.

Chavannes's comment, this Suyab city was equivalent with Tokmak. The Suyab constructed by Wang Fangyi should be at Tokmak in the vicinity of the Chu River, not at Qarasahr. Qarasahr was not far away from Gaochang 高昌, and a great distance to Kucha 龜茲 (currently known as Kuche 庫車), which used to be administrated by the Anxi Protectorate. One would then head west and pass the city of Bohuan 撥換 (modern Aksu on the north edge of the Taim basin) to reach Suyab. The stele inscription for Wang Fangyi, "Wanggong shendao bei" 王公神道碑 (Spirit path inscription for Lord Wang), by Zhang Yue, says:

> Pei Xingjian pretended to escort the Persian prince, but in fact was preparing a trap for Li Zhefu. Wang Fangyi took the position of adjutant for the Persian expedition, and Protector-General of Anxi. Protector-General Du Huaibao 杜懷寶 was appointed as Prefect of Tingzhou 庭州 [modern Jimsar County, Xinjiang]. As for Suyab, which has dense streets with mixed residence of Chinese and foreign peoples, it was visited by thirty-six tribes for celebrations.
>
> 裴吏部名立波斯，實取遮匐。偉公為波斯軍副使，兼安西都護。以都護杜懷寶為庭州刺史。公城碎葉，街郭迴互，夷夏縱觀，莫究端倪。三十六蕃，承風謁賀。[36]

After the death of the Persian prince, his son Narsi was conferred the title. Then Narsi was escorted back westward by Pei Xingjian, and Wang Fangyi served as adjutant.

The *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old history of the Tang dynasty) biography of Wang Fangyi also states:

> When Pei Xingjian, Assistant Minister of Personnel, was sent westward to suppress Li Zhefu, Wang Fangyi held the position of Acting Protector-General of Anxi. Then, in a period of just fifty days, Pei Xingjian and Wang Fangyi built the city of Suyab with twelve gates on its four sides, all curved to hide the whereabouts of the inhabitants.
>
> 會吏部侍郎裴行儉西討遮匐，奏方翼為副，兼檢校安西都護。又築碎葉鎮城，立四面十二門，皆屈曲作隱伏出沒之狀，五旬而畢。[37]

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36 *Zhang Yuezhi wenji*, 16.2b.

37 *Jiu Tangshu*, 185A.4802–3. *Xin Tangshu*, 111.4135 says: "Wang Fangyi built three gates on each side of Suiye City, which were circuitous and full of charm, so that he could come or go incognito. It was completed in fifty days. The barbarians of the Western regions all

Tang huiyao 唐會要 (Governing documents of the Tang) says:

> In the ninth month of 679, Anxi Protector-General Wang Fangyi took fifty days to build Suyab city, with twelve gates on its four sides, all curved.
>
> 調露元年九月，安西都護王方翼築碎葉城，四面十二門，作屈曲之狀，五旬而畢。[38]

After the year 670, the Tibetans conquered the city of Bohuan in Kucha (today known as Aksu), and then the Four Garrisons (Sizhen 四鎮) of Anxi were abandoned.[39] In this context, Xue Rengui 薛仁貴 (614–683) was sent on expedition as the military leader for the Lhasa Circuit.[40] Due to the invasion of Tibet, the Four Garrisons of Anxi temporarily did not appoint any governing officials, while Suyab continued to employ the previous governor. Since the Qaghan of the Turks, Fuyan Duzhi 匐延都支, and Li Zhefu 李遮匐, had both colluded with the Tibetans to invade Anxi, Pei Xingjian was sent to suppress the rebellion. Under the name of conferring a title on the Persian prince, the imperial court appointed Pei Xingjian as the Ambassador to Pacify Persia, and he was able to capture Duzhi by ambush. The *Jiu Tangshu* biography of Pei Xingjian gives a vivid description of this event, saying: "Chiefs from different tribes came to pledge allegiance to Pei Xingjian, then were sent to Suyab together.... The officials then built a stele to commemorate this achievement." 諸部酋長悉來請命，並執送碎葉城。……於是將吏已下，立碑於碎葉城以紀其功.[41]

As one of Pei Xingjian's officials, Wang Fangyi would have participated in these plans. Since the capture of Fuyan Duzhi and Li Zhefu was dramatic and well-designed, setting up a commemorative stele was also reasonable. Moreover, after the triumph over the Tibetans, Wang Fangyi commenced the construction in Suyab and built twelve gates for the city, which was nothing more than a renovation in my view, rather than a rebuilding of the entire city. According to Xuanzang's record, the perimeter of Suyab was almost six to seven *li* long. Wang Fangyi's construction project at Suyab, which took him fifty days to finish, did not involve building up the city from scratch.

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gazed upon it but could not comprehend the strategy." 王方翼築碎葉城面三門，紆還多趣，以詭出入，五旬畢，西域胡縱觀，莫測其方略.

38 *Tang huiyao*, 73.25a.

39 Editor's note: Hucker distinguishes two English renderings of *zhen* as "garrison" or "defense command." Though "defense command" may be more accurate here, "Four Garrisons" is a more economical rendering and will be retained below.

40 *Xin Tangshu*, 216A.6076.

41 *Jiu Tangshu*, 84.2803.

Therefore, the claim that Suyab City was built in 679 (the first year of the Tiaolu period) must be wrong. The invasion by Tibetans was the reason why the Four Garrisons were shut down and only recovered after the defeat of Duzhi and Li Zhefu. As the encyclopedia *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 records, Suyab 碎葉, Kucha 龜茲, Khotan 于闐 and Shule 疏勒 (later Kashgar) became the Four Garrisons in 679, which is also the same time when Wang Fangyi renovated the walls of Suyab. When the Turkic leaders Ashina Chebao 車薄 and the Three Tribes of Yanmian 咽麪 rebelled again in 682, Wang Fangyi suppressed them and the Western Turks were finally pacified. In the "Spirit Path Inscription for Lord Wang," Zhang Yue writes about what happened when Wang Fangyi was put in charge of Tingzhou (in modern Jimsar County):

> Shortly afterwards, Wang Fangyi was appointed as Prefect of Tingzhou. Meanwhile, he became the Protector of Jinshan 金山 and Ambassador to the Persians, while former Ambassador Du Huaibao was transferred to Anxi, stationed at Suyab. Wang Fangyi was brave and effective in the western regions. He defeated Chebo at Gongyue [in the Beiting Protectorate, modern Ili Kazakh Prefecture, northern Xinjiang] and ambushed the Yanmian tribes at Rehai.
>
> 無何，詔公為庭州刺史，以波斯使領金山都護。前使杜懷寶更統安西，鎮守碎葉。…… 公在磧西，捷無虛歲，蹙車薄於弓月，陷咽麪於熱海。[42]

Both Zhang Yue's piece and the *Xin Tangshu* agree that "the Grand Protectorate of Beiting had its administrative seat at Tingzhou" 北庭大都護府本庭州, showing that Wang Fangyi became the Protector-General of Beiting 北庭, and Du Huaibao was transferred from Jinshan to Suyab. As a result, "The peace with the Tibetans and western Barbarians dissolved" 遂失蕃、戎之和.[43] Since he then fought with the Turks in the vicinity of Rehai, we can see that Suyab must already have been located at Tokmak near Rehai. Chavannes says that: "In 667, in the name of escorting a Persian prince back to his country, Pei Xingjian captured Duzhi near Suyab in Tokmak. It was at that time that Wang Fangyi decided to rebuild Suyab City. In 682, general Ashina Chebao 阿史那車薄 of the Western Turks started a revolt while he was stationed in the town of the Gongyue 弓月 tribe. Anxi Protector-General Wang Fangyi managed to save the Gongyue, defeat the rebel army at the Ili 伊麗 River, and beat back the Three

42 *Zhang Yuezhi wenji*, 16.2b–3a.

43 *Xin Tangshu*, 111.4135. "Biographies of Fangyi."

Tribes of Yanmian 咽麪 at Rehai."[44] It is thus clear that the Suyab where Duzhi was captured, the Suyab protected by Du Huaibao, and the Suyab rebuilt by Wang Fangyi, all indicate the same Suyab City situated in the vicinity of Rehai in Tokmak (modern Kyrgyzstan).

The Song Dynasty history *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror for use in governance) describes how Pei Xingjian suppressed the rebellion in 679, concluding:

> He escorted the Persian prince back to his country, leaving Wang Fangyi in Anxi to rebuild Suyab city.
>
> 遣波斯王自還其國，留王方翼於安西，使築碎葉城。[45]

Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230–1302) comments that: "Suyab city was the administrative seat of the Protectorate of Qarasahr (Yanqi). Wang Fangyi built four ramparts, twelve gates for it, all curved for hiding the tracks" 碎菩城，焉耆都督府治所也。方翼築四面十二門，為屈曲隱出.[46] But Hu must incorrectly be following the same erroneous information from the "Treatise on Geography" in the *Xin Tangshu*, identifying Suyab City in Qarasahr.[47] It is impossible that the Suyab City built by Wang Fangyi was also the administrative seat of Qarasahr, since this was located elsewhere. *Zizhi tongjian* describes Guo Xiaoke's 郭孝恪 (d. 649) attack on Qarasahr in 644 in detail:

> At that time the King of Yanqi, Xiebi, went to Xizhou with his two brothers. Guo Xiaoke made his younger brother Lipozhun escort. Yanqin had water on all four sides, so it relied on this obstacle and had no defenses. Xiaoke's troops traveled at double speed and reached the city at night. He ordered the armies to swim across the water. By dawn they had reached the city, and captured its king Tuqizhi.
>
> 會焉耆王弟頡鼻兄弟三人至西州，孝恪以頡鼻弟栗婆準為鄉導。焉耆城四面皆水，恃險而不設備，孝恪倍道兼行，夜至城下，命將士浮水而渡。比曉登城，執其王突騎支。[48]

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44 See Chinese translation by Feng Chengjun, *Xi Tujue shiliao*, 203.
45 *Zizhi tongjian*, 202.6391–92.
46 *Zizhi tongjian*, 202.6392.
47 *Xin Tangshu*, 43B.1134, as cited above.
48 *Zizhi tongjian*, 197.6211–12.

Thus, the administrative seat of Qarasahr was at that time a city surrounded by rivers, and so it is impossible that it was identical with the Suyab renovated by Wang Fangyi.

3 New Materials about Suyab

In recent years, there have been important new findings from archaeological research in this region, which can help us to confirm the official status of Suyab in the Tang. The protectorate of Anxi was first located in Yar-khoto, which is twenty *li* west from Turfan 吐魯番 in modern Xinjiang 新疆, and was known as Xizhou 西州 in the Tang Dynasty. Then the protectorate was moved to the site of old Gaochang, which is known today as Kara Khojo. The ancient documents excavated from Tang tombs in Turfan could be helpful for studying the old city of Suyab. For instance, the letter of appointment (*gaoshen* 告身) for Fan Deda 氾德達, which is dated to 682 CE and was found in Fan's tomb, says: "Recruited one man named Fan Deda of Xizhou" 募一生（人）西州氾德達.[49] The recruitment mentioned in the letter refers to the event where Pei Xingjian recruited "thousands of chosen men" in Xizhou when escorting the Persian prince. Another letter of appointment for Fan Deda, written in 694, says:

> In 686, the Army of Jinya conquered Khotan, [text illegible], Shule, Suiye: the Four Garrisons.
>
> 准垂拱二年敕，金牙軍拔于闐、□□、疏勒、碎葉等四鎮。[50]

The second document for Fan Deda indicates that Suyab was included among the Four Garrisons at that time. This fact is also confirmed in Yuan Banqian's 員半千 (621–714) stele inscription for Daxi Sijing 達奚思敬 (648–706), which says that:[51] "he held the post of Military Administrator of the Jinya Circuit" 金牙行軍司兵事, and "designed strategies to retake the Four Garrisons of Suyab, Shule, Khotan and Anxi" 設策請拔碎葉、疏勒、于闐、安西四鎮.[52] The army for the Jinya Circuit was supervised by Pei Xingjian. In 686, the Four

49 See Wu Zhen, "Cong Tulufan chutu 'Fan Deda gaoshen' tan Tang Suiye zhencheng," 13.
50 Wu Zhen, "Cong Tulufan chutu 'Fan Deda gaoshen' tan Tang Suiye zhencheng," 13.
51 See *Quan Tang wen*, 165.6b.
52 See Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan, "Tulufan xian Asitana, Hala hezhuo gumu qun qingli jianbao," 14–15.

Garrisons were occupied by the Tibetans, which is why the appointment letter says "order him to retake them."

According to the "Entombed Epitaph of Zhang Huaiji" 張懷寂墓誌 excavated from Hala hezhuo 哈拉和卓 in Turpan in 1910, Zhang Huaiji 張懷寂 (630–693) was the subordinate of Wang Xiaojie 王孝傑 (d. 697). The epitaph also says: "On this day the leader of the bandits, the Tibetan Blon [leader] rebelled with insufficient strength. When confronted with arms, they were defeated and collapsed immediately" 是日賊頭跛倫，逆次拒輪，兵戈纔衝，敗徒俄潰;[53] and "With Ten Arrows pacifying the nomads' encampment, the Four Garrisons again belonged to the territory of Feiquan" 十箭安毳幙之鄉下，四鎮復飛泉之坒（地）.[54] When the tomb was found by local people, it was said that the body of Zhang Huaiji was in perfect condition, preserved with large torso and head, and covered in colorful silks. The document of appointment is extant as well.[55] Jinya 金牙 was the name of a mountain where Ashina Helu 賀魯 (r. 651–658) went hunting multiple times, in the vicinity of the Shuanghe 雙河 River (Borotala). The "Ten Arrows" (Shijian 十箭) was the name of the tribe who lived in the area around Suyab.[56] On the first day of the 11th month in 693, the Four Garrisons were recaptured by Wang Xiaojie thanks to the military victories of himself and Zhang Huaiji 張懷寂.[57] These two archaeological findings also facilitate our understanding of Suyab's condition in the late 7th century. Furthermore, there was a "Bei sizhen jiedushi dieling" 被四鎮節度使牒令 (Decree for the military commissioner of the Four Garrisons) found among the documents of Li Siwan 李思綰 at Puchang 蒲昌. The *Tang huiyao* says: "In the third month of 715, Tang Jiahui[58] was appointed as military commissioner and governor of the Four Garrisons, which is the first time the title 'military commissioner' was bestowed. After 724, the military governor of the Four Garrisons was also called the Military Governor of Qixi 磧西 [the western regions]" 開元六年三月，楊嘉惠除四鎮節度經畧使，自此始有節度之號。十二年已後或

53 *Zhongguo xibei diqu lidai shike huibian*, 2.124.

54 *Zhongguo xibei diqu lidai shike huibian*, 2.124.

55 See *Tulufan kaogu ji* by Huang Wenbin; "Zhongsan dafu xing wuzhou dudu fu sima gaoshen"中散大夫行戊州都督府司馬告身 held in the collection of Ryukoku University; and *Seiiki bunka kenkyū*, 3:294, pl. 35. See also Ōtani documents 1063 and 2833.

56 See *Xin Tangshu*, 215B.6058.

57 See *Tang huiyao*, 73.25a.

58 The *Tang huiyao* text has Yang 楊 as his surname, but in other texts he is identified as Tang 湯 (see below).

稱磧西節度，或稱四鎮節度.[59] This document was composed sometime later, when the Four Garrisons referred to Kucha, Khotan, Shule, and Suyab.[60]

4 Tibet and Suyab

Suyab was precariously positioned on the frontier, and Tang control of the garrison there was frequently threatened by the Tibetans. The *Tang huiyao* records that:

> On the 22nd day of the fourth month of 670, the Tibetans invaded Anxi and occupied the Four Garrisons of Kucha, Khotan, Qarasahr and Shule.
>
> 咸亨元年四月二十二日，吐蕃陷我安西，罷四鎮；龜茲、于闐、焉耆、疏勒。[61]

Zizhi tongjian says:

> In the fourth month of summer, the Tibetans invaded eighteen districts in the western region, attacking Kucha and Bohuan together with the Khotanese. Then they successfully occupied Kucha, Khotan, Qarasahr and Shule.
>
> 夏四月，吐蕃陷西域十八州，又與于闐襲龜茲、撥換城，陷之。罷龜茲、于闐、焉耆、疏勒四鎮。[62]

In *Zizhi tongjian*, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) did not include Suyab among the "Four Garrisons" of the early 670s, perhaps because he relied on the information in *Tang huiyao*. However, in the entry for 679, Sima Guang described how Pei Xingjian summoned the chiefs of all the tribes in the territory of the Four Garrisons, captured Duzhi and took him to Suyab, and kept Wang Fangyi at Suyab to accomplish its renovation. Furthermore, Sima Guang describes the events of 680 as follows:

59 *Tang huiyao*, 78.14b.
60 See Hibino Takeo's "Tōdai hoshōfu bunsho no kenkyū."
61 *Tang huiyao*, 73.24b–25a.
62 *Zizhi tongjian*, 201.6363.

> In autumn in the seventh month … the Tibetans occupied Yangtong, Dangxiang and most of the places belonged to the Qiang people. The territory of the Tibetans on the east bordered Liang 涼, Song 松, Mao 茂 and Juan 嶲, on the south neighbored India, on the west encroached on Kucha and Shule, and pressed the Turks to the north. Tibetans occupied territory of over ten thousand *li*, and their prosperity was unrivalled.
>
> 秋七月，…… 吐蕃盡據羊同、黨項及諸羌之地，東接涼、松、茂、嶲等州，南鄰天竺，西陷龜茲、疏勒等四鎮，北抵突厥，地方萬餘里，諸胡之盛，莫與為比。[63]

This passage was based on *Jiu Tangshu*, indicating the fact that the Four Garrisons had been occupied by the Tibetans again. The *Zizhi tongjian* entry for 692 says:

> Wang Xiaojie had been staying in Tibet for a long period, and was well acquainted with the strength of their forces. Therefore, when the Commander-in-Chief of Xizhou requested that he be able to recapture Kucha, Khotan, Shule, and Suyab, Wang Xiaojie was appointed as Commander of the Army of Martial Awe to attack the Tibetans, along with Generalissimo Ashina. In the tenth month, the Tibetans suffered a crushing defeat, and the Four Garrisons were all retaken. The imperial court relocated the headquarters of the Protectorate of Anxi to Kucha, and stationed troops in the city.
>
> （王）孝傑久在吐蕃，知其虛實。會西州都督唐休璟請復取龜茲、于闐、疏勒、碎葉四鎮，敕以孝傑為武威軍總管，與武衛大將軍阿史那忠節將兵擊吐蕃。冬，十月丙戌，大破吐蕃，復取四鎮；置安西都護府於龜茲，發兵戍之。[64]

The "Four Garrisons" retaken in the above passage included Suyab. Moreover, the *Jiu Tangshu* says:

> In 692, the Commander of the Army of Martial Awe, Wang Xiaojie, demolished the Tibetan army, and reconquered the Four Garrisons of Kucha, Khotan, Shule, and Suyab.

63 *Zizhi tongjian*, 202.6396.
64 *Zizhi tongjian*, 205.6487–88.

> 長壽元年，武威軍總管王孝傑大破吐蕃之眾，克復龜茲、于闐、疏勒、碎葉等四鎮。[65]

Accordingly, it is possible that *Zizhi tongjian* has consulted *Jiu Tangshu*'s records about 692. For the year 694, *Zizhi tongjian* says:

> In the second month, Commander of the Army of Martial Awe, Wang Xiaojie, defeated thirty thousand troops led by the Tibetan Bolunzanren and the Qaghan Tuizi 俀子 at Lengquan and Daling. The Defender of Suyab, Han Sizhong, defeated ten thousand troops belonging to Nishousijin.
>
> 二月，武威道總管王孝傑破吐蕃教論贊刃、突厥可汗俀子等於冷泉及大嶺 …… 碎葉鎮守使韓思忠破泥熟俟斤等萬餘人。[66]

Therefore, in 694, there were still generals appointed by the Chinese imperial court to defend Suyab. Based on the letter of appointment to Fan Deda, it seems that Fan was the subordinate of Han Sizhong 韓思忠 (n.d.).

The discussion of the Four Garrisons of Anxi in the *Cefu yuangui* is self-contradictory:

> After taking Kucha, Taizong moved the headquarters of Anxi Protectorate to its capital city. Guo Xiaoke was appointed as the Protector-General of Anxi, governing Khotan, Shule and Suyab as well, and these were collectively called the Four Garrisons. When the next emperor, Gaozong, came to power, he did not want to waste manpower in expanding territory further. He ordered the officials to abandon the Four Garrisons including Kucha, which is the reason why Bai Helibushibi 白訶黎布失畢 could retake his previous territory.
>
> 先是太宗既破龜茲，移置安西都護府於其國城，以郭孝恪為都護，兼統于闐、疏勒、碎葉，謂之四鎮。帝嗣位，不欲廣地勞人，復命有司棄龜茲等四鎮，故訶黎布失畢王其舊地。[67]

65 *Jiu Tangshu*, 146A.5225.
66 *Zizhi tongjian*, 205.6493.
67 *Cefu yuangui*, 964.8b–9a.

Meanwhile, in *Xin Tangshu*:

> Bushibi 布失畢 was appointed as Left Militant Commandant, and relocated Anxi Protectorate to his own capital. Along with Khotan, Suyab and Shule, these were known as the Four Garrisons.
>
> 拜布失畢左武衛中郎將，始徙安西都護於其都，統于闐、碎葉、疏勒，號四鎮。[68]

According to this statement, during Taizong's reign, the Four Garrisons administrated by Guo Xiaoke already included Suyab. However, in *Cefu yuangui*, a passage about the Turks gives us this alternative view:

> In 668, after the death of the second Qaghan, the remaining troops occupied Tibet. In 679, Suyab, Kucha, Khotan and Shule were collectively known as the Four Garrisons.
>
> 乾封二年，二可汗既死，餘眾附于吐蕃。調露元年，以碎葉、龜茲、于闐、疏勒為四鎮。[69]

This passage contradicts *juan* 964 of the same work, which says that Guo Xiaoke was Protector-General of Anxi during the reign of Taizong, and that the Four Garrisons already included Suyab. Chavannes comments: "*Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 5 says that Tibetans and Khotan assaulted Bohuan 撥換 City (Yaka-aryk) together in 670, then invaded Kucha in the Four Garrisons of Anxi. According to the *Zizhi tongjian* entry for 670, the Four Garrisons at that period included Kucha, Khotan, Shule and Qarasahr, but this needs further confirmation."[70] Chavannes already questioned the credibility of *Zizhi tongjian*, and Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (1885–1961) also argued: "The *Jiu Tangshu* confused Qarasahr with Suyab. However, during the early Tang, the western territory of the Western Turks was never under the authority of the central government, so Tang officials could not have established administrative headquarters there."[71] Based on that view, it was only in 679 that Suyab was first included in the Four Garrisons. At that time, Wang Fangyi rebuilt the Suyab Garrison, which was the reason why Suyab replaced Qarasahr as one of the Four Garrisons.

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68 *Xin Tangshu*, 221A.6232. Cf. *Jiu Tangshu*, 198.5304.

69 *Cefu yuangui*, 967.13a/b.

70 *Xi Tujue shiliao*, 87.

71 See Cen Zhongmian, *Sui Tang shi*, 254.

Regarding the two arguments mentioned above, it seems that *Zizhi tongjian* was actually referring back to the information in *Tang huiyao*. *Tang huiyao* quotes Su Mian 蘇冕 (d. 805):

> In the fourth month of 670, the Four Garrisons of Kucha, Khotan, Qarasahr and Shule were invaded and occupied. In the eleventh month of 693, the Four Garrisons were recaptured, but Qarasahr was replaced by Suyab for some unknown reason.
>
> 咸亨元年四月，罷四鎮，是龜茲、于闐、焉耆、疏勒。至長壽二年十一月復四鎮勅，是龜茲、于闐、疏勒、碎葉。兩四鎮不同，未知何故。[72]

Based on the disparity between the two records, Su Mian himself probably was incapable of identifying the referents of the "Four Garrisons" correctly. In the passage above, Su Mian wrote that the Four Garrisons were restored in 693, while the "Biographies of Tibetans" in *Jiu Tangshu* and *Zizhi tongjian* both date this event to 692. The *Xin Tangshu* also says: "During the Yifeng years (676–679), the Tibetans invaded the region west of Qarasahr and conquered the Four Garrisons. In 692, the Commander of the Army of Martial Awe, Wang Xiaojie, defeated the Tibetans and recaptured the Four Garrisons" 始儀鳳時吐蕃攻焉耆以西，四鎮皆沒。長壽元年武威道總管王孝傑破吐蕃，復四鎮.[73]

As to this question of whether Suyab was originally included in the Four Garrisons of Anxi or not, and whether the Suyab Garrison was established only in 679 or not, there are also studies from Japanese academia. Ōtani Katsuma writes in his study of the Four Garrisons that "The *Jiu Tangshu* says Yipishe 乙毗射, Qaghan of the Western Turks, sought connections through marriage, and thus Emperor Taizong ceded Kucha, Khotan and Shule as betrothal presents, which did not include Suyab. Therefore, during Taizong's rule, Suyab was not included in the Four Garrisons."[74] This view is echoed by Cen Zhongmian.[75] When Matsuda Hisao first discussed this topic in his essay, "Suyab and Qarasahr," he mentioned only the reasons why Suyab was included in the Four Garrisons after 719. But in his great work *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi chirigakuteki*

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72 *Tang huiyao*, 73.25a. *Shilue* 史略 by Gao Sisun 高似孫 says: "Su Mian composed the *Tang huiyao* forty volumes in Tang Dynasty, started from Gaozu 高祖 and ended in Daizong 代宗." Thus it should derive from *Tang huiyao*. See *Shilue jiaojian*, 109.

73 *Xin Tangshu*, 221A.6232.

74 See Ōtani, "Anxi sizhen zhi jianzhi jiqi yitong," 21.

75 See Cen Zhongmian, *Sui Tang shi*, 254. *Xi Tujue shiliao buque ji kaozheng*, 29.

kenkyū, first published in 1956 and reprinted in 1970, Matsuda reached the following more precise conclusions:

> 670: The Four Garrisons, occupied by the Tibetans, comprised Kucha, Khotan, Shule and Qarasahr. *Tang huiyao*, 73.25a, quoted from the early version compiled by Su Mian, also in *Zizhi tongjian*, 201.6363.
> 679: Wang Fangyi rebuilt the Suyab Garrison, and declared the Four Garrisons to be Suyab, Shule, Khotan and Kucha. *Xin Tangshu*, 43B.1134.
> 692: The Four Garrisons, namely Suyab, Shule, Khotan and Kucha, were recaptured from the Tibetans. *Jiu Tangshu*, "Biographies of Tibetans," 196A.5225.
> 719: The tenth Qaghan moved to Suyab, and the Four Garrisons then referred to Kucha, Khotan, Shule and Qarasahr. *Xin Tangshu*, "Biographies of Western regions," 221A.6230.[76]

Though I have confirmed each of these citations, I still think it is not the final resolution of this question. Firstly, the two different descriptions from the *Xin Tangshu* of Kucha clearly state that the early definition of the "Four Garrisons" already included Suyab, and this should be credible. Secondly, in the "Biographies of Western Turks," *Cefu yuangui* indicated that Suyab was included in the Four Garrisons in 679.[77] But *Cefu yuangui* also says that the Four Garrisons, as administered by Guo Xiaoke decades early, already included Suyab, which seems to be a contradiction.[78] Thirdly, *Tang huiyao* recorded that in 670 the Four Garrisons included Qarasahr rather than Suyab.[79] Although this was asserted by *Zizhi tongjian* as well,[80] even Su Mian himself was not able to clarify why there were two conflicting versions of the Four Garrisons. Fourthly, during the Yifeng years (676–679), Pei Xingjian delivered Duzhi to Suyab, where a stele monument was established.[81] If Suyab was not included in the Four Garrisons at that time, why did Pei Xingjian erect a stele there? It is regrettable that the stele was lost and there are currently no clues for further research.

Based on the four reasons mentioned above, it was before the Tang had captured Ashina Duzhi, but after retaking Kucha and defeating Helu, that Suyab became a political stronghold for controlling the Western Turks. Thus Wang

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76 See English abstract of *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi chirigakuteki kenkyū*, 500–502.
77 *Cefu yuangui*, 967.13a–13b.
78 *Cefu yuangui*, 964.8b.
79 *Tang huiyao*, 73.25a.
80 *Zizhi tongjian*, 201.6363.
81 *Jiu Tangshu*, 84.2803.

Fangyi's achievement consisted in renovating the original Suyab within a mere fifty days, not building the fortifications from scratch. It would be better if there were other letters of appointment (*gaoshen* 告身) like Fan Deda's, so as to demonstrate whether Suyab was included in the Four Garrisons before 679. For example, the Four Garrisons occupied by the Jinya Army clearly included Suyab, which is proven by Yuan Banqian's stele for Daxi Sijing. In fact, there are numerous archaeological relics still to be excavated in Xinjiang, which may be used to solve this problem in the future.

Regarding the historical condition of Suyab in the early Tang Dynasty, more comprehensive discussions are needed. In the early stage of Taizong's reign (627–650), Suyab still belonged to the territory of the Western Turks. The situation changed in 657, when "Su Dingfang achieved an overwhelming defeat of Helu of the Western Turks at Suyab River" 蘇定方攻賀魯於碎葉水，大破之.[82] After capturing Helu and pacifying the western regions, the imperial government established Mengchi 濛池 and Kunling 崑陵 as two protectorates there. Mengchi was to the west of Suyab and the Chu River, while Kunling was to the east of Suyab.[83] So, Suyab must have belonged to the Tang at that period. When Anxi Protectorate was relocated to Kucha, there were two different definitions of the Four Garrisons. The first one included Kucha, Khotan, Shule, and Suyab; and the other Qarasahr in place of Suyab. In 670, Tibetans invaded the city of Bohuan in Kucha, which upset the administration of the Four Garrisons. During the Yifeng period (676–679), Pei Xingjian captured the Qaghan, Ashina Duzhi, at Suyab. Then, Wang Fangyi built new fortifications at Suyab in 697, and Suyab was included in the Four Garrisons as well. However, the Tibetans were still allied with the Turks at that time and making frequent incursions. As the *Xin Tangshu* says: "During the Yifeng era, Tibetans invaded the area west of Qarasahr, and occupied all Four Garrisons. In 692, the Commander of the Army of Martial Awe, Wang Xiaojie, defeated the Tibetans and recaptured the Four Garrisons, and moved the headquarters of Anxi Protectorate to Kucha, with thirty thousand troops stationed there" 始儀鳳時，吐蕃攻焉耆以西，四鎮皆沒。長壽元年武威道總管王孝傑破吐蕃，復四鎮地，置安西都護府于龜茲，以兵三萬鎮守.[84] It was the Suyab Defender, Han Sizhong, who defeated the leader of the Tibetans, Nishumosicheng 泥熟沒斯城.[85] The *Jiu*

82 See *Jiu Tangshu*, 194B.5187.

83 See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *Occidentaux*, 268–79.

84 *Xin Tangshu*, 221A.6232.

85 See *Xin Tangshu*, 216A.6079. The *Tongjian kaoyi* 通鑑考異identifies Nishumosicheng as Wannixunmotuocheng 萬泥勳沒馱城; see Cen Zhongmian, *Tongjian Sui Tang ji bishi zhiyi*, 119.

Tangshu biography of Wang Xiaojie also says that Wang "recaptured the Four Garrisons of Kucha, Khotan, Shule and Suyab" in 692.

In spite of these victories, some imperial officials proposed to abolish the administration of the Four Garrisons. Right Scribe Cui Rong 崔融 (653–706) proposed that:

> In the time of Gaozong, the officials were ineffective, and abandoned the Four Garrisons as indefensible.... Now Wang Xiaojie has retaken them in one stroke, and recovered our old territory. If we retreat from this area, it would be like defacing our own proud accomplishment.
>
> 高宗時有司無狀，棄四鎮不能有 …… 今孝傑一舉而取四鎮，還先帝舊封，若又棄之，是自毀成功而破完策也。[86]

In 697, Tibetan ambassador Lun Qinling 論欽陵 (Gar Trinring Tsendro, d. 699) came for peace negotiations with Guo Yuanzhen 郭元振 (656–713), requesting control of the Four Garrisons and Tongshi 通市.[87] In the same year, Di Renjie 狄仁傑 (630–704) submitted a statement to the imperial court, arguing that the administration of the Four Garrisons was a waste of manpower and money.[88] The contest between the Tang and the Tibetans over the Four Garrisons had continued for decades, and in the early Tang was a source of constant vexation. Guo Yuanzhen commented:

> In recent years, Ashina Zhongjie[89] requested that Huseluo[90] and Huaidao[91] together serve as qaghans, but could not bring the On Oq (the tribal union of Ten Clans) into submission. Instead he kept Suyab under siege for years, and its soldiers were left starved and weak. Moreover, in recent years the Tibetans have appointed Ashina Tuizi,[92] Puluo, and Babu as qaghans, yet still could not cause the On Oq to submit, so that they all ended up destroying themselves.

86 *Xin Tangshu*, 216A.6079.

87 See *Tongdian*, 190.5173.

88 See *Xin Tangshu*, 115.4210–11.

89 Ashina Zhongjie 阿史那忠節 (d. 708), a.k.a. Kül Čor 闕啜.

90 Ashina Khusrau (Huseluo) 斛瑟羅 (d. 704) was appointed to succeed the Jiwangjue 繼往絕 Qaghan by Empress Wu.

91 Huaidao was appointed Qaghan of the On Oq in 704.

92 Ashina Tuizi 俀子, also Suizi 綏子; and his uncles Puluo 僕羅 and Babu 拔布. These three were appointed to rule by the Tibetans.

> 頃年，忠節請斛瑟羅及懷道俱為可汗，亦不能招脅得十姓，却遣碎葉數年被圍，兵士飢餒。又，吐蕃頃年亦冊俀子及僕羅并拔布相次為可汗，亦不能招得十姓，皆自磨滅。[93]

The Turkish rulers from the end of the reign of Empress Wu are mentioned above, and three of them were appointed by Tibet. By that time, the Turks had gradually expanded their sphere of influence to become as strong as the Tibetans, and were impossible for the Tang to contain. Facing the pincer attack of these two great powers, the situation of Suyab was perilous.

In the third month of 696, the Umayyad Caliphate offered a lion as tribute, but it was refused by Yao Shu 姚璹 (632–705). As the *Xin Tangshu* biography records: "When the ambassador of Dashi [the Caliphate] offered the lion, Yao Shu said: we can feed this beast only on meat, which is extremely expensive due to the distance between Suyab and the Tang Capital" 大食使者獻師子，璹曰：是獸非肉不食，自碎葉至都，所費廣矣.[94] The statement from Yao Shu indicates that during that period, travel between Suyab and Chang'an was still arduous.

5 Suyab and the Western Turks

The history of Suyab in this period was also affected by the volatile trajectories of the Turkic tribes in the area. The Turkic Qaghanate controlled territory both north and south of Suyab. Tumen 土門 Qaghan (Bumin, d. 552) had a younger brother named Dianmi 點密 (Istämi, d. 575), who had two headquarters located to north and south:

1. The southern headquarters, or Winter Capital, was located north of Kucha, in the Youldouz valley at the foot of Baishan 白山, Mount Aktay.
2. The northern headquarters, or Summer Capital, was located north of the Shi Kingdom (modern Tashkent), at Bing-bu-laq (Qianquan 千泉) in the Suyab basin.

In 628, Xuanzang had already witnessed how the Qaghan of the Turks went hunting around Suyab with a mighty army. After the death of this Qaghan, the Western Turks were divided into two parts, demarcated by the Suyab River:

1. The Five Tribes of Nushibi 弩失畢五部, west and southwest of the Suyab River.
2. The Five Tribes of Duolu 咄陸, northeast of the Suyab River.

93 *Jiu Tangshu*, 97.3046.
94 *Xin Tangshu*, 102.3980.

After the Western Turks waned in influence, the Tang divided their territory into two protectorates:

1. Kunling 崑陵 Protectorate, located east of Suyab river, controlling the Five Duolu tribes. Ashina Mishe 彌射 (r. 657–662) was appointed as the military commissioner, and also titled Xingxiwang 興昔亡 Qaghan. The son of Mishe was Ashina Yuanqing 元慶 (r. 685–692). His son was named Xian 獻 (r. 708–717), Qaghan of the On Oq (Ten Clans).
2. Mengchi 濛池 Protectorate, situated in the west of Suyab, controlling the five Nushibi 弩失畢tribes. Ashina Buzhen 阿史那步真 (r. 657–667) was appointed as Protector-General and titled Jiwangjue 繼往絕 Qaghan.

These two protectorates both belonged to the Beiting 北庭 Protectorate located in the north of present-day Jimsar County, Xinjiang. They were established to oversee the On Oq union of the Turks.

Regarding the expansion of Tang's power in western regions, the key development was the establishment of the Anxi and Beiting Protectorates. Anxi Protectorate was established in the ninth month of 640, after Hou Junji 侯君集 (d. 643) conquered Gaochang and reassigned the territory to Xizhou. The reason for establishing Anxi Protectorate should be maintaining the supremacy of the Tarim Basin, and also supervising the local transportation and commerce. Finally, after Helu was defeated in 658, Anxi Protectorate was moved to Kucha. As for Beiting Protectorate or Jimsar, it was established in 702, and located in Tingzhou 庭州 on the north side of Tianshan. Beiting Protectorate was mainly responsible for controlling the peoples west of Jinshan 金山 Mountain. It was after the Tang Empire's major victory over the Western Turks that the Four Garrisons were established by the Protector-General of Anxi. In 658, Su Dingfang 蘇定方 (592–667) captured Ashina Helu in the Shi Kingdom (Tashkent), so that the Tang Empire's military power reached Rehai (Issyk Kul) and the Chui 吹 River. At that point Suyab must have been included in the Tang domain as well.

According to his *Xiyu ji*, Xuanzang witnessed the Qaghan hunting in 628, when the Western Turks were at their height of power. Soon after, the Turks were divided into two factions. Illig Qaghan (Xieli 頡利, r. 620–630) was captured by Li Jing 李靖 (571–649), a victory that signaled the Tang Empire's dominion over the Western Turks. The *Jiu Tangshu* biography of Tang general Qibi Heli 契苾何力 mentions that his father resided at Rehai.[95] The Soviet Union has found relics on the southeast coast of Rehai, and they believed that the town of Chigu 赤谷 in the homeland of the Wusun 烏孫 was situated in Rehai. Japanese

95 *Jiu Tangshu*, 109.3291. Qibi 契苾 is a combination of two family names, referring to Qi 契 and Biliyu 苾利羽.

scholars have argued that Chigu should instead be the Chishan 赤山 described by Jia Dan 賈耽 (730–805), located upstream of Syr-darya. Regardless, it seems that after the Han Dynasty, the vicinity of Rehai had become a political and economic center.

Previously, Suyab was inside the territory of the Western Turks. Although the Tang government had established administrative control in this region the Turks still actively participated in local affairs. The *Zizhi tongjian* entry for 655 says:

> The Governor of Fengzhou 豐州, Yuan Lichen 元禮臣 (599–660), was dispatched to appoint Jiebidadushe 頡苾達度設 (a.k.a. Zhenzhu Yabgu, r. 653–659) as Qaghan. When he arrived at Suyab City, Yuan Lichen was assaulted by Shaboluo 沙缽羅 and could not proceed.
>
> 遣豐州都督元禮臣冊拜頡苾達度設為可汗。禮臣至碎葉城，沙鉢羅發兵拒之，不得前。[96]

Moreover, the entry for the year 700 says:

> Qaghan Khusrau 斛瑟羅 of the Western Turks was nominated as High Commander of the Army for Pacifying the West, and was stationed in Suyab.
>
> 以西突厥竭忠事主可汗斛瑟羅為平西軍大總管，鎮碎葉。[97]

And in autumn of the same year:

> As Axiji Baolu rose in rebellion against the Tang, Left Lord of the Imperial Insignia and General Tian Yangming, and Palace Censor, Feng Siye, were dispatched to suppress him. When the army reached Suyab.
>
> 阿悉吉薄露叛，遣左金吾將軍田揚名、殿中侍御史封思業討之。軍至碎葉.[98]

As the Turks grew stronger, Suyab eventually fell under their control. During the Shengli 聖曆 period (698–700), Ocïrlïq (Wuzhile 烏質勒), the qaghan

96 *Zizhi tongjian*, 200.6295.
97 *Zizhi tongjian*, 206.6545.
98 *Zizhi tongjian*, 207.6550.

of the Türgis and governor of Tangzhou 唐州, relocated his headquarters to Suyab.[99] Empress Wu also conferred on him the title of governor of Yaochi 瑤池.[100] At the beginning of the 8th century, there was a growing rift between Ocïrlïq and his neighbors, which caused military confrontations. As a result, the Anxi Circuit was eliminated, and Suyab gradually became a critical location for the Turks. After the Türgis general Sulu 蘇祿 Qaghan (d. 738) began to gain power, the ten clans (On Oq) came under his rule, and the population reached two hundred thousand. In 719, Qarasahr replaced Suyab among the Four Garrisons.

The sole source supporting Matsuda Hisao's viewpoint that Qarasahr replaced Suyab in the Four Garrisons is in the *Xin Tangshu*:

> In 718, the King of Qarasahr, Long Nentu, died, and Yantu Fuyan came into power. Thus the Qaghan of the On Oq sought to take residence at Suyab, and Military Governor of Anxi, Tang Jiahui, proposed to include Qarasahr in the Four Garrisons.
>
> 開元七年，龍嬾突死，焉吐拂延立。於是十姓可汗請居碎葉，安西節度使湯嘉惠表以焉耆備四鎮。[101]

From this time onward, Suyab was abandoned by the Tang central government. Matsuda Hisao notes another record in the *Xin Tangshu* biography of Ocïrlïq of the Türgis:

> After occupying Suyab, he moved the central government to this city, renamed Suyab River as the Greater Banner (Daya 大牙), and Gongyue and Yili River as the Lesser Banner (Xiaoya 小牙).
>
> 屯碎葉西北。稍攻得碎葉，即徙其牙居之，謂碎葉川為大牙，弓月城、伊麗水為小牙。[102]

Since this event happened right after 690, it can be confirmed, based on the *Cefu yuangui*, that Suyab was not lost in 718, but had already been conquered by

99 Editor's note: on the rise of the Türgis, a Turkic tribe that rose to rule over the Western Turks at this time, see Skaff, *Sui-Tang China*, 181ff.

100 *Cefu yuangui*, 967.13b.

101 *Xin Tangshu*, 221A.6230.

102 *Xin Tangshu*, 215B.6066.

the Turks in 690. After the city was seized by the Turks, the Suyab "protectorate" survived in name only.[103]

But when Saqal (Suoge 娑葛) succeeded to the throne after Ocïrlïq, he captured and executed Ashina Khusrau in 706, and then assaulted the Four Garrisons. For this period, the *Tongjian kaoyi* 通鑑考異 (Examination of variants in the *Zizhi tongjian*) quotes the *Jinglong wenguan ji* 景龍文館記 (Records of the Jinglong literary academy):

> Saqal (Ch. Suoge) (d. 709) … defeated Zhongjie and invaded the Four Garrisons. However, he was defeated by Suyab Defender Zhou Yiti with hundreds of troops. They also obtained the captured troops from Zhongjie and Khotan. After reporting his triumph, Zhou Yiti was appointed by the emperor as General of the Left Encampment Guard. Yuanzhen's title as Military Commissioner of Suyab was also conferred to Zhou Yiti. In addition, the Emperor issued a statement condemning Yuanzhen's mistakes. Zong Chuke suggested to send Yiti and Guo Qianguan with major forces to suppress Saqal. This proposal was at first challenged by Xie Wan, but ultimately they made a treaty.
>
> 娑葛 …… 破滅忠節，侵擾四鎮。時碎葉鎮守使中郎周以悌率鎮兵數百人大破之，奪其所侵忠節及于闐部眾數萬口。奏到，上大悅，拜以悌左屯衛將軍，仍以元振四鎮經略使授之；敕書簿責元振。宗議發勁卒，令以悌及郭虔瓘北討，仍邀吐蕃及西域諸部計會同擊娑葛；右臺御史大夫解琬議稱不可。後竟與之和。[104]

Zizhi tongjian also says: "Guo Yuanzhen was appointed to replace Zhou Yiti."[105] Therefore, it was Guo Yuanzhen who was responsible for negotiating with Saqal, and so the Tang government still controlled Suyab to a certain extent. After Saqal was killed by the Eastern Turk leader Mochuo 默啜 (brother of Guduolu 骨咄祿, appointed Qianshan 遷善 Qaghan by Wu Zetian) and Sulu 蘇祿 were put in charge instead. The territory previously controlled by the Western Turks, including Suyab, returned to their administration.

The *Xin Tangshu* biography of Türgis qaghan Sulu 蘇祿 explains about his son, Kut Chor (d. 739, Ch. Tuhuoxian Guchuo 吐火仙骨啜):

103 See Matsuda, "Suiye yu Yanqi."

104 Quoted in *Zizhi zongtian kaoyi*, 12.7a/b.

105 *Zizhi zongtian kaoyi*, 12.7a.

> Kut Chor, the son of Sulu, became Qaghan and resided in Suyab. To protect Talas, he formed an alliance with Türgis Qaghan Erweitele 爾微特勒 (d. 740), attacking Kül-chor [Mohedagan 莫賀達干, d. 740] together. The Emperor commanded Qixi military commissioner, Gai Jiayun 蓋嘉運 … to attack the son of Sulu, and he defeated him at Suyab.
>
> 蘇祿子吐火仙骨啜為可汗，居碎葉城，引黑姓可汗爾微特勒保怛邏斯城，共擊（莫賀）達干。帝使磧西節度使蓋嘉運 …… 擊蘇祿子，破之碎葉城。[106]

The *Xin Tangshu* biography of Ashina Mishe 彌射 also says:

> After Kut Chor was defeated, the son of Ashina Huaidao, Xin 昕 (r. 740–742), became the Qaghan of the On Oq … Xin traveled to Julan, and finally was killed by Türgis chieftain Kül-chor.
>
> 吐火仙之敗，始以懷道子昕為十姓可汗 …… 遣兵護送。昕至碎葉西俱蘭城，為突騎施莫賀達干 所殺。[107]

And a bit later on the rise of the Karluks, another confederacy of Turkic tribes:

> After 766, the Karluks rose and moved to Suyab River. Meanwhile, the power of the Yellow and Black Clans declined, which made them submit to the rule of the Karluks.
>
> 大曆後，葛邏祿盛，徙居碎葉川，二姓微，至臣役於葛祿。[108]

After 756, the Karluks gained in power, and started to compete for territory with the Uighurs. The old territory of the On Oq Qaghan was relocated to Suyab and Talas. So it was at this point that Suyab fell into the hands of the Karluks.[109]

After Tang general Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 (d. 755) was defeated at Talas, the states nearby, including Sogdia (Kangju 康居), all surrendered to the Caliphate.

The *Xin Tangshu* also records in the "Biographies of Sogdians" chapter:

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106 *Xin Tangshu*, 215B.6068.

107 *Xin Tangshu*, 215B.6066.

108 *Xin Tangshu*, 215B.6069.

109 For more on the Karluks, see Uchida Ginpu, "Shoki Karuruku zokushi no Kenkyū" 初期葛邏祿 (Karluk) 族史の研究, in *Tamura Hakushi shōju Tōyō shi ronsō*, 57, and "Tarasu sen kō" タラス戦考 by Maejima Shinji, in *Tōzai bunka kōryū no shosō*, 160–92.

> Suyab is situated thousands of miles to the northwest of Anxi, extending to Bodaling, reaching China in the south, and bordering the southern edge of the Türgis on the north. On the southwest it adjoins the Pamir Mountains; two thousand miles away, the river flows southward, and enters the sea through China; in the north the tributary flows through the barbarians' lands and enters the sea. To the north it takes three days to travel through the snow drifts, and it often snows even in spring and summer. Travelling northward from Bodaling, passing through thousands of miles, one will arrive at the Xiye River. To the east there is Issyk-Kul (Rehai), and the earth is cold but not frozen. To the west there is Suyab City. In 748, Wang Zhengjian, the military governor of Beiting, attacked Anxi and destroyed it. The river is thousands of miles long, and there were tens of thousands of Turkic soldiers with different surnames. The farmers were equipped with arms and armor, and so were captured as slaves. The region to the west belongs to the city of Talas, where Tashkent often deployed troops, and from these you can reach the western oceans.
>
> 有碎葉者，出安西西北千里所，得勃達嶺，南抵中國，北突騎施南鄙也。西南直葱嶺，贏二千里，水南流者，經中國入于海；北流者，經胡入于海。北三日行度雪海，春夏常雨雪。緜勃達嶺北行，贏千里，得細葉川。東曰熱海，地寒不凍。西有碎葉城。天寶七載，北庭節度使王正見伐安西毀之。川長千里，有異姓突厥兵數萬，耕者皆擐甲，相掠為奴婢。西屬怛邏斯城，石常分兵鎮之，自此抵西海矣。[110]

The passage above should derive from Du Huan's *Jingxing ji* originally.[111] After 748, Suyab was destroyed and lost its strategic position.

As for the reasons why the Liao 遼 (Jurchen) people did not locate their capital at Suyab, Wang Guowei 王國維 has written:

> Since the Sui and Tang Dynasties, Suyab was the biggest city west of Rehai. When the Western Turks emerged, Suyab had already become a major metropolis. According to the biography of Xuanzang by Huili, he witnessed the Qaghan of the Turks hunting around Suyab River with massive forces. After Emperor Gaozong 高宗 defeated Ashina Helu, the Anxi Protectorate was relocated to Kucha, and Suyab was included in the "Four Garrisons" as mentioned in the Tang histories' "Biographies of Western Regions." In 679–680, Wang Fangyi rebuilt Suyab with four

110 *Xin Tangshu*, 221B.6246.

111 *Jingxing ji jianzhu*, 28–44.

walls and twelve gates, according to the Tang histories' "Treatise on Geography" and "Biography of Wang Fangyi." Afterwards, the qaghan of the Türgis, Ocïrlïq, was stationed in the northwest of Suyab. Then he invaded the city, and moved his capital into it, according to the Biographies of Turks. In 721, the Qaghan of the On Oq requested to reside in Suyab, so the Anxi Protector-General, Tang Jiahui, proposed that Suyab be replaced with Qarasahr (according to the "Biographies of Western Regions" and "Biographies of Qarasahr"). Then the son of Sulu, Tuhuoxian, occupied Suyab (according to the "Biographies of Turks"). In 748, Suyab was destroyed by Beiting military governor Wang Zhengjian (according to *Tongdian*, *juan* 193, citing Du Huan's *Jingxing ji*). Once the Karluks reoccupied Suyab, from the mid-Tang on, the Tang was cut off from the western regions, and Suyab was neglected. It was only when Yelü Linya 耶律林牙 (d. 1143) conquered the western regions, seeking to recapture the Khitan's former territory, that he relocated east to this area. However, due to the destruction it had suffered in the Tang Dynasty, Yelü Linya finally choose to reside instead in the city of General Peiluo, forty *li* southeast, rather than Suyab. So the old Tang city of Suyab was already utterly destroyed past recovery.

考隋唐以來，熱海以西諸城，碎葉爲大。西突厥盛時，已爲一大都會。《慈恩傳》言至素葉水城，逢突厥可汗方事畋游，軍馬甚盛。及唐高宗既滅賀魯，移安西都護府於龜慈，以碎葉備四鎮之一（《唐書・西域傳》）。調露中，都護王方翼築碎葉城，四面十二門，爲屈曲隱伏之狀（《唐書・地理志》、〈王方翼傳〉），後突騎施烏質勒屯碎葉西北，稍攻得碎葉城，因徙居之（同〈突厥傳〉）。開元十年，十姓可汗請居碎葉城，安西節度使湯嘉惠表以焉耆備四鎮（同上〈西域傳〉、〈焉耆傳〉）。嗣後突騎施別種蘇祿子吐火仙復居之（同上〈突厥傳〉）。天寶七年，始爲北庭節度使王正見所毀（《通典》一九三引杜環《經行記》）。後葛祿復據其地，唐中葉以後與西域隔絶，其地遂無所聞，及大石林牙既平西域，思復契丹故地，乃東徙於此。然不居碎葉而居其東南四十里之裴羅將軍城者，蓋唐時碎葉故城已毀壞無餘故也。[112]

Wang's concise remarks go straight to the point. He argues that the renovated Suyab city was located in Rehai, contrary to the annotation by Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230–1302). As for the city of General Peiluo, this was built by Guli

112 Wang Guowei, "Xi Liao ducheng Husiwoerduo kao" 西遼都城虎思斡耳朵考 (On the capital of the Western Liao, Husiwoerduo), *Wang Guowei quanji*, 14:247–48.

Peiluo 骨力裴羅 (d. 737) early in the Tianbao period (742–756), as mentioned in the *Xin Tangshu*. This city was called Balāsāghūn by the Sogdians.[113]

6 Speculations about Why Li Bai's Father Returned to Sichuan

Due to the unrest in the late Sui Dynasty, Li Bai's family had escaped to Suyab. At that time, clans and warlords had torn the country to shreds, and many people cooperated with the Turks. As the *Xin Tangshu* describes it, by the Sui Dynasty:

> Four foreign states invaded the Central Plain. The Turks were the strongest force among them, leading a million bowmen. Chinese who had lost employment and were discontented continually went to serve the Turks, informing them of strategy and guiding them across the border.
>
> 四夷侵，中國微，而突厥最彊，控弦者號百萬，華人之失職不逞皆往從之，慧之謀，導之入邊。[114]

For instance, Dou Jiande 竇建德 (573–621) was not only employed by the Turks, but even accepted the Qaghan title conferred by them. In this context, there were many Han people traveling back and forth between China and the Western regions during that time.

> [In 620] Dou Jiande and Empress Xiao encroached on Turk territory, and Chuluo Qaghan was awarded the title of Prince of Sui … Regarding the Chinese people conquered by the Turks, all were allocated to different tribes, and settled in Dingxiang City.
>
> （竇建德）與蕭后同入突厥，處羅可汗號為隋王，中國人沒入北蕃者，悉配之以為部落，以定襄城處之。[115]
>
> Liu Heita 劉黑闥 (d. 623) then led twenty thousand infantry across the Ming River and put them in formation to battle the government's armies. The rebels were massively defeated, and the water rose much higher, so Heita was unable to cross back. Over ten thousand of his troops were beheaded and several hundred drowned. Heita and Fan Yuan 范願

113 *Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao huibian*, 2:1181.
114 *Xin Tangshu*, 215B.6069.
115 See *Suishu*, 59.1444.

> defected to the Turks with thousands of troops. The Shandong region was entirely pacified.
>
> 黑闥果率步騎二萬渡洺水而陣，與官軍大戰，賊眾大潰，水又大至，黑闥眾不得渡，斬首萬餘級，溺死者數千人。黑闥與范願等以千餘人奔于突厥，山東悉定。[116]
>
> In 642, Guo Xiaoke was appointed as Protector-General of Liangzhou 涼州, and then he served successively as Protector of Anxi and Prefect of Xizhou. Xizhou was the old capital of Gaochang, where exile convicts and soldiers lived together. Moreover, due to its isolation in the middle of the desert, this city lost its connection with the central government for a long time.
>
> 貞觀十六年，（孝恪）拜涼州都督，改安西都護、西州刺史。其地高昌舊都，流徙罪人與鎮兵雜，限以沙磧，隔絕中國。[117]

Anxi had always been a destination of exiled convicts. So it is possible that Li Bai's forefathers took refuge in this city after fleeing to the western regions.

According to Chen Yinke, Li Bai's family sought to earn a livelihood by engaging in business. The major commodities for Hu merchants and Turks were horses, but pearls were also extremely valuable.

> After the social disorder, the Central Plain was short of horses, so when they met the Turks....To satisfy the national demands, livestock such as horses and cows were largely purchased from the Turks.
>
> 時大亂之後，中州少馬，遇突厥 …… 市牛馬以資國用。[118]
>
> The Turks used to trade with China. There was a box of pearls, worth eight million cash, which was bought by Empress Wenxian of the Northern Wei on the advice of Youzhou Commander Yin Shou.
>
> 突厥嘗與中國交市，有明珠一篋，價值八百萬，幽州總管陰壽白后市之。[119]

116 *Jiu Tangshu*, 55.2260.
117 *Xin Tangshu*, 111.4132.
118 *Jiu Tangshu*, 57.2296.
119 *Suishu*, 36.1108.

Since the Northern Wei Dynasty, the Western Region had been continuously engaged in trade with Sichuan (Shu). For instance, the *Nanqi shu* 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi Dynasty) records that in 481, the Ruirui 芮芮 people had presented a coat of lion skin: "It was seen by Hu merchants in Shu, and they said that the coat was actually made by Fuba 扶拔 ... and that the Ruirui often came to Yizhou (in Sichuan) through the Henan Circuit" 時有賈胡在蜀見之，云此非師子皮，乃扶拔皮也 …… 芮芮常由河南道而抵益州.[120] After the Sui Dynasty, many other merchants relocated to Shu. Meanwhile, the convicts exiled to Western Region also ran their own businesses. For instance, Pei Zhouxian 裴伷先, who was caned one hundred times after returning unlawfully from the capital to Lingnan 嶺南, was exiled to Beiting, where he became a traveling swordsman after giving up his original business.[121] So it is credible that Li Bai's father was a foreign merchant. Moreover, the trade between Central Asia and Sichuan must have been even more important at that time.[122] When Tibetan Lun Qinling negotiated with Tang government, the pivotal issue under discussion was "resuming trade relations in Yizhou." Li Bai's father was familiar with the Western Regions, so it was due to the invasion of Tibet that he returned to Sichuan from Suyab. It is also possible that the negotiation of "Yizhou trade," mentioned above, was what allowed him to return to China successfully.

When Xuanzang visited Suyab, the city was a political and economic center in the western regions, and was still ruled by the Western Turks. Regardless of when Suyab City was established, after its conquest by the Tang, it was ruled by the Tang for only forty years, from 679 to 719. After the Four Garrisons had been restored in the Changshou period (692–694), Li Bai's father escaped back to Sichuan, in the Shenlong period (705–707). At that time, the power of the Tibetans was gradually declining, while the Turks were expanding their sphere of influence. Suyab was pillaged by the Tibetans several times during the ten years before 705, and Han people there must have lived in a state of abject misery. Therefore, there were sufficient external factors that could have led Li Bai's family to escape back to Guanghan.

120 *Nan Qi shu*, 59.1134–35. Okazaki Takashi, "Chūō Ajia hakken no Tō-kagami ni tsuite," 150 also records that there were Tang relics found in the upstream of Zarfshan River, in Pyanikent, east of Samarkand, which was the capital of Sogdia. Since the eighth century, Suyab was under the control of the Western Turks, and became the key position in Silk Road for trades.

121 *Zizhi tongjian*, 210.6658.

122 The commercial relationship between Sichuan and Central Asia can be traced back to the Three Kingdoms period. See Yan Gengwang, "Tangdai minshan xueling diqu jiaotong tukao" and Matsuda Hisao, "Tokokukon kenshi kō."

Waley says:

> But in the autumn of 670 the whole of this area was overrun by the Tibetans. It is likely that the Li family then removed further north and turning west ultimately arrived at Suyab where, in 679 a Chinese general built "impregnable" fortifications which were … the wonder of the local inhabitants. Li Po's grandfather no doubt thought this would be a safe place to settle in. But about 682 the local Turkic chieftain declared himself independent and Suyab was lost to China. The grandfather and father would then have lived among the Turks more or less as prisoners.[123]

This vivid narrative is largely speculative. 670 should be the year when the Tibetans attacked the Four Garrisons. 679 should refer to Wang Fangyi's new construction in the city. 682 is the year when Du Huaibao was stationed in Suyab, and Wang Fangyi captured Yanmian 咽麪 (modern Taldykorgan, Kazakhstan) in Rehai, pacifying the Western Turks.[124] In fact, Suyab was occupied by the Tibetans multiple times, a tortuous history that is much more complicated than Waley's description of events.[125]

7 Li Bai's Own Account of His Background

In "Letter to Administrator Pei of Anzhou" 上安州裴長史書, Li Bai wrote:

> I, Bai, originated from Jinling, born as a member of the aristocracy. However, because of the Juqu incident, my family escaped to Xianqin, and my ancestors were forced to live in exile due to official business.
>
> 白本家金陵，世為右姓。遭沮渠蒙遜之難，奔流咸秦，因官寓家。[126]

As Guo Moruo indicates, the "Juqu 沮渠 incident" mentioned by Li Bai refers to a historical event back in 421. In this year, Li Xin 李歆 died in battle with Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 (368–433), so his brother Li Xun 李恂 succeeded to

123 See Waley, *The Poetry and Career of Li Po*, additional note for page 1, on page 103.

124 See *Tang huiyao*, 94.8b.

125 "Tarasu senkō" タラス戦考 by Maejima Shinji (*Tōzai bunka kōryū no shosō*, 149) says that Waley's argument that the Tang lost Suyab in the first year of Yonghui 永徽, but this is a typo for Yongchun 永淳. Maejima's work has a close investigation of the battle between the Tang and Arabs in Central Asia, and the rise and decline of the Tibetan empire.

126 *Li Taibai ji zhu*, 26.30a.

his title. Then, Juqu occupied Dunhuang and Li Xun was forced to commit suicide, which marked the end of the Li clan of Xiliang 西涼. Regarding the two characters Xianqin 咸秦, Guo assumed they should be a graphic variant of Suyab 碎葉, but in fact the graphs are not similar enough for this explanation to be plausible.

In my opinion, based on the sentence *yinguan yujia* 因官寓家 ("forced to live in exile due to official business"), Xianqin could be the title of a government position. For example, Xianqin could be the alternative name of Xianzhen 咸真 in the Tuoba 拓跋 language. *Nan Qi shu* says: "In that country they called the inner attendants Zhizhen ... State officials were called Xianzhen" 國中呼內左右為「直真」……諸州乘驛人為「咸真」.[127] In *Takubatsu kō* 拓跋考, Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 conducted detailed research about the Zhen 真 suffix after Northern Wei official titles. He argued that *zhen* 真 could be the equivalent of *cin* or *ci* in Mongolian, which means "red." In this context, the meaning of Xianzhen might be the same as the Zhanchi 站赤 of the Yuan Dynasty, which was the title of messengers in courier stations. Therefore, Xianzhen 咸真 *Ham-cin* should represent couriers.

Moreover, I think Xianqin and Xianzhen should be different versions of the same original word, as *qin* and *zhen* shared the same pronunciation.[128] The passage 奔流咸秦（真），因官寓家 should actually mean "Tramping around different stations, living without definite residence due to official business." It illustrates that Li Bai's family had suffered from the rebellion instigated by Juqu, and even descended to serving as couriers and leading a nomadic life. Juqu Mengxun was from Zhangye 張掖 in Gansu province and originated from the Jie 羯 minority,[129] which mainly used the Turkish language. For instance, in Shi Le's minor stylename (*xiaozi* 小字), Fule 匐勒, *le* 匐 represents *bäg* in Turkish, meaning "chieftain."[130] Rulers of the Western Turks usually used *fu* 匐 in their names, such as the Ashina Fuyan Duzhi 阿史那匐延都支 or Li Zhefu 李遮匐, both mentioned previously in this study.[131] Li Bai's ancestors became petty officials for Juqu, living a nomadic life in Northwestern China and Central Asia. Thus they should have been able to communicate in the Tuoba language, and Xianqin

127 *Nan Qi shu*, 57.1091.

128 Editor's note: Roughly but not exactly true, as *qin* would have had a voiced initial in the Tang.

129 See Yao Weiyuan, *Beichao huxing kao*, 368.

130 See *Weishu*, 95.2047.

131 *Beishi*, 92.3274, says: "Compatriots called him Houlou Fule 候婁匐勒" 國人號之曰候婁匐勒. Shiratori thinks *fule* 匐勒 corresponds to *bejlik* in the Osman language, but this was refuted by Miao Yue 繆鉞 in *Dushi cungao*, 53–77. *Fu* 匐 just represents *bäg* or "chieftain" in the Turkish language. See Mori Masao's *Kodai Toruko minzokushi kenkyū*, 99.

(or Xianzhen) could have been a common expression in that language which was borrowed by Li Bai. If my assumption could be confirmed, this would be valuable evidence for explaining why Li's family escaped to the western regions. While others have claimed that Li's family was exiled as convicts, Li Bai himself considered them as "refugees who took up courier's work." There surely were secret causes behind this choice that Li Bai did not want to reveal.

Li Yangbing argues that Suyab should be corrected to "banished to Tiaozhi 條支."[132] The *Xin Tangshu* mentions a Tiaozhi Protectorate, located in Zabulistan in the Aroxaj state (modern Afghanistan).[133] Tiaozhi protectorate was established in 661. But according to the *Xiyu tuji* 西域圖記 (Maps and records of the western regions), an early Tang geographical treatise, it seems that most of the protectorates simply borrowed the ancient place names, without necessarily reflecting recent geopolitical developments. In the Han Dynasty, Tiaozhi was pronounced *dieu-tsie*, which was the abbreviation of Yilan 伊蘭 language (*se*)*deukia*.[134] As *Tongdian* 通典 mentions, in 620 the Turks presented as tribute a huge egg they had taken from Tiaozhi.[135] This shows that the term "Tiaozhi" was in use in the early Tang Dynasty. However, the Tiaozhi mentioned by Li Yangbing should refer to the western regions in general rather than to any specific location, and this point is confirmed by Waley as well. The *Xin Tangshu* biography declares: "Due to illegal conduct, Li Bai's ancestor was exiled to the Western Region. Around 705, Li Bai's family returned incognito, and resided in Baxi" 其先隋末以罪徙西域，神龍初，遁還，客巴西.[136] This statement is based on the funerary inscription by Fan Chuanzheng, and it simply replaces Suyab with a more general term, the Western Region, similar to the use of Tiaozhi.

There is a handwritten anthology unearthed in Xinjiang, which at the end has an inscription dated to 815. The first piece "Yi xuezi" 憶學字 (Recalling learning to write) states:

> Han people have been our teachers for a long time,
> Learning to write I'm never bored or tired.
> My forefathers have been studying for ten years and more,
> My father has been studying for twelve full years,
> Now I have been learning to write for thirteen years.

132 *Li Taibai ji zhu*, 31.1a.

133 See Cen Zhongmian, "Xiyu shiliu guo dudu Fuzhou zhidi tongkao" 西域十六國都督府州治地通考, in *Xi Tujue shiliao buque ji kaozheng*, 145–46.

134 This is a proposal from my friend Wu Qiyu 吳其昱 (1915–2011).

135 *Tongdian*, 199.5455.

136 *Xin Tangshu*, 202.5762.

I highly appreciated the poetry of Li and Du,
And also learned about writing from both of them.

古來漢人為吾師，為人學字不倦疲。
吾祖學字十餘載，吾父學字十二載，
今吾學之十三載，李杜詩壇吾欣賞，
訖今皆通習為之.[137]

In this poem, we can see that the compound term Li Du 李杜 already existed when Li Bai had only been dead for fifty-three years. In Paris, I have seen manuscripts of Li Bai's poems, such as the P. 2544 manuscript which includes the "Yange xing" 燕歌行 by Gao Shi 高適 (d. 765) and "Bring on the Wine!" 將進酒 by Li Bai. It is thus clear that Li Bai's poems were widely recorded and appreciated at that time, not only in Dunhuang, but even in border areas as remote as Xinjiang.

8 Conclusion

The key points in this study could be summarized as follows:

1. There was only one Suyab, located in Tokmak. The argument from *Xin Tangshu* and Hu Sanxing that a second Suyab was located in Qarasahr is not credible.
2. According to the "Spirit Path Inscription for Lord Wang" and "Biography of Pei Xingjian," the Suyab City renovated by Wang Fangyi was situated in Rehai. Wang Fangyi only renovated this city in fifty days, rather than building the town from scratch. The Suyab described by Xuanzang was almost six to seven *li* in circumference, which would be impossible to build in fifty days.
3. There are different historical materials describing how the so-called "Four Garrisons to Pacify the West" were established. In *Tang huiyao*, Su Mian records that the Four Garrisons had declined in the Xianheng years (670–674), and included Qarasahr rather than Suyab. Although *Zizhi tongjian* referred to this description, Su Mian himself thought that the two different records could coexist. Regarding this issue, Matsuda Hisao's *Kodai tenzan to rekishi chirigakuteki kenkyū* was revised twice. Matsuda

137 See Guo Moruo, "'Kanman'er shiqian' shitan," 2.

ultimately agreed with *Zizhi tongjian*, but this argument has not yet been resolved.

4. In 686, Suyab was included in the "Four Garrisons" occupied by the Jinya army. This demonstrates that the information of Yuan Banqian's "Daxi Sijing bei," that Suyab was already included in the Four Garrisons at that time, should be credible. As to whether Suyab was ever included in the Four Garrisons before 679, further evidence and research would be necessary to decide this question.
5. Li Bai's father was a merchant doing business in the western regions, but he returned to Sichuan due to the incursions from the Tibetans. Also, it may have been due to negotiations with the Tibetans about "resuming business in Yizhou" that Li's father was able to return to China.
6. In his letter to Administrator Pei, Li Bai says his ancestors fled to Xianqin, and had to become refugees because of official affairs. *Xianqin* is equivalent with *Xianzhen* in the Tuoba language, which represents an official title. So the meaning is that Li Bai's family took up the minor position of couriers. In addition, Xianqin was not a miswriting of Suyab.[138]

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138 Editor's note: A detailed appendix containing a chronology of events in Suyab in the Early and High Tang is omitted in this translation.

CHAPTER 8

On the Poetry of Gu Yanwu

Editor's Note: This early article is a modest study of the poetic oeuvre of a major scholar and thinker from the 17th century. Carefully sifting through philological problems of editions, taboo characters, self-editing and revision by later publishers, Jao shows how to reconstruct Gu Yanwu's poetry as it originally looked. But the true significance of the study appears gradually and subtly. Jao sees Gu Yanwu as his own predecessor and model; a heroic poet-scholar who maintains his own integrity and expresses it in literary form throughout trying historical circumstances. This essay is, among other things, a self-portrait.*

The poetry of the early Qing Dynasty can be considered as the continuation of that of the Ming. Later Ming poetry is like a pool of stagnant, lifeless water. What is left is only "the pretty and the elegant, which is the pretense of a reclusive life in nature, or a dilettantish style" 便娟輕俊，只可裝點山林，附庸風雅.[1] Even Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), a supreme craftsman, or Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧 (1565–1643), known as the Poetry Elder of the Pine Circle 松圓詩老, who took the detection and elimination of imitative writing as his mission, in fact were merely embellishing curlicues within the long-established pattern defined by the enduring standard of Tang poetry. Poetry at that time consisted mainly of technical embellishments, lacking the will to make any fundamental changes.[2] Facing the calamity of the Manchu conquest in 1644, the people were terrorized by disasters as severe as landslides and floods. It was only later on that the true spirit of poetry was reawakened, as suddenly if by the spring thunder. From then on, the mindset of poets was transformed: "The world then was chaotic, full of tragic separations; morals declined, and customs were violated; all these led to a heroic, noble style, full of high spirit" 世積亂離，風衰俗怨，故梗概而多氣.[3] The harsh environment after the fall of Ming Dynasty contributed to the formation and stimulation of poetry in the same way as that of Jian'an era.

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* Translated by Xu Zhenxu and revised by Nicholas Morrow Williams.

1 Cf. *Liechao shiji dingji*, 16.3a, on the poetry of Chen Jiru 陳繼儒.

2 Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709) on the poetry of the Ming Dynasty: "There were eight changes before it came to the Jingling school, but it was all withered and somber, and the grand style of the Airs and Canons was swept away" 竟陵凡八變，而枯搞幽冥，風雅掃地. See the entry on Cao Xuequan 曹學佺 in *Jingzhiju shihua* 靜志居詩話, 21.636. He is particularly critical of the poetry by Cheng Jiasui.

3 *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, "Shi xu" 時序 chapter. See *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 45.674.

FIGURE 8.1 Portrait of Gu Yanwu 顧炎武
IMAGE COURTESY OF SHANGHAI GUJI CHUBANSHE 上海古籍出版社

Two styles can be differentiated in the poetry of the early Qing Dynasty. By and large, the difference is between whether the poets were in or out of office. Among the retired or exiled poets, there were the officials of the former dynasty, people of high ambition devoted to the restoration movement, and the surviving adherents of the former dynasty who refuse to take office, or artists who took refuge in Buddhism to escape from reality. Such cases include "Joining the Army" 從軍行 by Wu Risheng 吳日生, "Continuing the Song of Proper Spirit" 續正氣歌 by Wu Rong'an 伍容庵, "Alas!" 哀哉行 by Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611–1671), "Grieving for Falling Leaves" 悲落葉 by Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–1692), "On an Overturned Tree amid Ruined Mountains and Rivers" 詠零碎山川顛倒樹 by Shi Tao 石濤 (1642–1707). There were some who imitated Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), such as Zhao Qianli 趙千里, with poems such as "Crabapple Tree Fallen to an Evil Wind" 惡風折海棠行, which depicts the events of April 24, 1644, when Beijing fell to the rebel army of Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–1645) and the Chongzhen emperor committed suicide. Others imitated Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), with works such as "Former and Later 'Going Beyond the Barrier'" 前後出塞 and "Generals of Hedong" 河東諸將 by Gao Chuzhi 高出之. The lengthy ancient-style heptasyllabic verses of "Five Songs" 五歌, "Seven Lamentations" 七哭, and "Lamenting the Overturning of the Dynasty" 哀國變 by Li Changke 李長科 and Jin Qishi 金起士 are all works of overpowering emotion that startle the gaze and pierce the heart.[4] Among poets at the court, there was a difference between the newly risen officials and the quislings. The quislings could not help but hint at a secret anguish, their discontent and indignation that cannot be openly expressed, as in the case of Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609–1672). Strictly speaking, poems of this kind overlap with the domain of Ming poetry.

The Manchus captured Beijing in 1644. In 1661, the last ruler of the Ming Dynasty, Zhu Youlang 朱由榔 (1623–1662) or Prince Gui 桂, was captured by the King of Myanmar, and then killed in the fourth month of the following year in Yunnan. The Ming regime came to its final conclusion, then, in 1661, with the first year of Emperor Kangxi's reign. Yet surviving adherents of the Ming Dynasty did not quite believe that their nation had lost. In the third month of that year, Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–1682, style name Tinglin 亭林) visited Mount Tianshou 天壽 in Beijing (the site of the Ming imperial tombs) three times and wrote a poem titled "On March 19th, Sacrifices Were Offered in the Temporary Tomb of Emperor Huaizong or the Last Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, and the News from Myanmar Arrived" 三月十九日有事于懷宗欑宮，時聞緬國之報.

4 For these poems, see *Tianqi Chongzhen liangchao yishi* 天啟崇禎兩朝遺詩.

In the commentary, he quotes a line from *Zhuangzi*, in which the King of Fan answers the King of Chu who says three times that Fan has fallen: "The destruction of Fan is not sufficient to destroy what I aim to preserve. Now, if the destruction of Fan is not sufficient to destroy what I aim to preserve; then the preservation of Chu is not sufficient to preserve what it wishes to preserve. Viewed from the vantage, Fan has not begun to be destroyed, and Chu has not yet begun to be preserved!" 凡之亡不足以喪吾存，則楚之存不足以存存。由是觀之，則凡未始亡，而楚未始存也.[5] This represents the last battle-cry of the surviving loyalists after the downfall of Ming. Between the beginning of Qing and the time of Kangxi, the reign of Ming has ended, yet to many adherents, it is as if Ming has not perished yet. These poets have just tasted the bitterness of the downfall of their nation, and as the old saying goes, the music of a lost country is sad and full of sorrow. Their literary spirit echoes the *Zhinan lu* 指南錄 (Records of the south-facing compass) of Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236–1283) and the *Xinshi* 心史 (Heart's history) of Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241–1318), both from after the fall of the Song Dynasty. The poems of Wen and Zheng were written in the prosperous age governed by the progenitor of the Yuan Dynasty, Kublai Khan (1215–1294). However, it is also reasonable that the later generations consider them to be the poems surviving from the Song Dynasty even after its fall. If so, poems by surviving adherents in the early Qing Dynasty should really be regarded as the poetry of the very-late Ming Dynasty. This is why I say the poetry of the early Qing Dynasty is the direct continuation of that of the late Ming Dynasty.[6]

Poets of the early Qing Dynasty faced the same kind of situation as that of the An Lushan rebellion in the Tang Dynasty, when Du Fu wrote poems about actual events he had experienced. Hence comes the category of *shishi* 詩史 "poetic history" or the "poet-historian." Poets of the early Qing Dynasty detested sentimentalism in literature, Gu Yanwu best displays this spirit by returning to the tradition of poetic history in the manner of Du Fu.

In both his essays and poems, Gu holds to a consistent principle, and puts into practice his own ideals. He says:

> The reason why literature does not go extinct in the world is that it explicates the Way, records the political affairs, reveals the hidden grievances of the people, and takes delight in commending individual merit. Such

5 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 21.730. Translation quoted from Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, 209.

6 The *Guochao shixuan* 國朝詩選 of Hao Lian 郝蓮 begins with Gu Yanwu and ends with Yao Xie 姚燮 (see University of Hong Kong, Feng Ping Shan Library edition). The *Mingshi zong* 明詩綜 by Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 includes the poems of Gu Tinglin, and this is correct.

> writings are beneficial to the world and the future. For each new piece of literature, the world is improved by the amount of that work.
>
> 文之不可絕於天地間者，曰明道也，紀政事也，察民隱也，樂道人之善也。若此者有益於天下，有益於將來，多一篇，多一篇之益矣。[7]

As he stuck to this principle, he refused the request of Li Zhongfu 李中孚, a person of noble and pure character, to write a brief obituary for his mother. "[Li] made this request over and over again, but I eventually declined it, for it was merely for the matter of one person and one family, not for the great cause of classical studies or governance" 為其先妣求傳再三，終已辭之，蓋止為一人一家之事，而無關於經術政理之大，則不作也.[8] In talking about the main point of writing poetry, he says:

> The great Shun said, "*Shi* poetry is an expression of our aspirations." This is the fundamental principle of poetry; in the "Royal Regulations" chapter of the *Book of Rites*, the Grand Preceptor is ordered to collect the songs of the people, so as to examine their mores. Such is the function of poetry. Xunzi, in discussing the Minor Canons of the *Book of Odes*, said that they "criticize the current policies of the government, and reflect upon what has passed. The words have a pattern to them, and the sounds have a melancholy in them." Such is the true sentiment of poetry.
>
> 舜曰：「詩言志。」此詩之本也；〈王制〉命太師陳詩，以觀民風，此詩之用也；荀子論《小雅》曰：「疾今之政，以思往者，其言有文焉，其聲有哀焉。」此詩之情也。[9]

Gu also speaks highly of the allegorical poems of Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) and considers them to reflect a profound understanding of the goal of literature. According to him, the fundamental purpose of poetry is to express the aspiration towards virtue; the use of poetry is to examine the mores of society, and the true sentiment of poetry is to express melancholy. "Melancholy" is the main content of poetry. According to the "Great Preface" to the *Book of Odes*, the major aspects of poetic emotion are "to lament the harshness of punishment and governing by singing their sentiments, to persuade one's superiors as necessary, to understand the course of events in the world, and to cherish

7 *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 21.1079.
8 "Yu ren shu," in *Tinglin wenji, Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 4.96.
9 *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 22.1167.

the customs of old" 哀刑政之苛，吟詠情性，以風其上，達於事變，而懷其舊俗. The minor functions of poetry have to do with "a spirit of lamenting the modest and lovely, longing for worthy talents, and not harming the excellent" 哀窈窕，思賢才，而無傷善之心. It is deeply significant that according to the sequence of the *Tinglin shiji* 亭林詩集 (Collected poems of Gu Yanwu), the poem that comes first is entitled "Lamenting the Death of the Emperor" 大行哀, which was written in the 17th and final year of the reign of Chongzhen, 1644, when Gu was thirty-two years old. The majority of Gu's poems are about contemporary events, a feature that lives up to the poetic ideal of "understanding the course of events in the world, and cherishing the customs of old." Many of his poems were dedicated to his friends, and seek to fulfill the poetic ideal of searching out talent, and delighting the praise of other men's virtue.

Other than these two subjects, Gu rarely composed poems on casual topics. The final couplet of "Lamenting the Death of the Emperor" reads: "The minor officer [the poet himself] sheds tears for the king's reign. / No road ahead for him to wail at Qiaoling [the burial mound of the Yellow Emperor]" 小臣王室淚，無路哭橋陵.[10] In the preface to his "Expression of My Anguish" 表哀詩, he says that it follows the example of Sun Chuo 孫綽 (314–371), which is why, "I venture to incur the criticism of writing poems during mourning, / So that I may express my limitless agony" 冒諒闇之譏，申罔極之痛.[11] Throughout his life, it was Gu's stepmother who had the most impact on him. His loyalty and filial piety owed much to his stepmother's teachings. When their hometown of Kunshan 昆山 fell, she starved herself to death, leaving behind the final command not to take up any office in the Manchu court.[12] There was no greater disaster than this one in Gu's life, and it established the ultimate orientation of his conduct. It is the twofold tragedy of the family and nation that brings about the melancholy in his poetry. In his collection, poems such as "A Few Visits to the Imperial Tomb near the Capital" 京闕幾次謁陵, "Visiting the Portrait of the Deceased Emperor" 謁先帝禦容, "On a Painting of the Tomb of Xiaoling" 孝陵圖, "Ceremonies Held at the Temporary Tomb" 有事於攢宮, "On My Mother's Funeral" 奉先妣葬, "Sending the Poem Composed on the Tomb of Zhenxiao" 寄題貞孝墓, are all pieces that stem from loyalty and filial piety, and are expressed with the most genuine feeling. Wang Gen 王艮 (1626–1701) said that Gu had "survived profound suffering, and was committed to glorifying the memories of his mother. He was long a refugee without fixed abode, and

10 *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 1.3.

11 *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 1.51.

12 See the "Biography of My Deceased Mother" 先妣行狀, *Tinglin yuji* 亭林餘集, *Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 1658.

was still childless in old age. The sentiments concealed during those decades hardly ever found a chance to be expressed in full. It is exceedingly shameful that the younger generation has come to see him as no more than an erudite scholar" 身負沉痛，思大揭其親之志於天下。奔走流離，老而無子。其幽隱莫發，數十年靡訴之衷，曾不得快然一吐，而使後起少年，推以多聞博學，其辱已甚.[13] Such a comment captures his secret anguish quite well. In the letter "Reply to Li Zide" 答李子德書, Gu says: "In that year, the great honor of my deceased mother shined over the Wu region. Some would burst into tears when reading her biography. This is what you, my elder brother, have already witnessed. Other people may well come to take office [in the Qing Dynasty], but I the unfilial should never do that. Have you ever thought about it?" 先妣當年大節，炤耀三吳，讀行狀之文，有為之下泣者，老弟亦已見之矣。他人可出而不孝必不可出，老弟其未之思耶.[14] These words are solemn and right. Upon hearing such words, the obstinate have their hearts softened and the weak will be inspired. This is what occupied his mind. When discussing Gu's works, this point should be considered first.

Next, I want to talk about his character. He has been said to be "unsociable and eccentric, and mock both the ancient and the contemporary" 孤僻負氣，譏訶古今; "as a result, he was despised by all the people in Wu" 以是吳人訾之.[15] The "Biographies of the Scholars" 儒林傳 chapter in the *Draft History of Qing* 清史稿 considers his erudition to be towering over his peers. However, he is, in fact, the kind of person usually found in the "Biographies of People of Noble Character" 獨行傳 or "Biographies of the Gallant and Chivalrous" 遊俠傳 in the traditional histories. His old friend Gui Zhuang 歸莊 (1613–1673, style name Xuangong 玄恭) understood him best. In a letter, Gui wrote:

> Words have been circulating among my friends that you, my elder brother, take the pronunciation of the ancients as the guide for the study of phonology, and think that even Confucius can be wrong. Such words are frightening to hear. Thus I suspect that as your learning widens, it will grow stranger, which may not be limited to the field of phonology. If your other opinions are similar to these, would it be too abstruse and eccentric? But if your words are abstruse, only you know this cannot be

13 *Jieqiting ji pizhu*, 136–37.

14 "Da Li Zide," *Tinglin wenji, Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 4.75. These lines and what comes after it are deleted in *Tinglin wenji* 亭林文集. The second *juan* of *Jiang Shanyong can'gao* 蔣山傭殘稿 in the Osaka Prefectural Library contains these words, which is why I copy them here.

15 *Gu Ningren xiaozhuan* 顧寧人小傳 by Li Wenzhen 李文貞. See *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu*, 4.90.

> avoided; yet how much worse if they are strange as well? This is what I, your old friend, worry most for you. I hope you temper the excessiveness of your intelligence and capability and return to the doctrine of the mean.
>
> 友人頗傳兄論音韻，必宗上古，謂孔子未免有誤。此語大駭人聽，因此度兄學益博，而僻益甚，將不獨音韻為然。其它議論，倘或類此，不亦迂怪之甚者乎？卻子語迂，單子知其不免，況又加之以怪乎？此平生故人所以切切憂之。願兄抑賢知之過，以就中庸也。[16]

This letter was written in the 7th year of Kangxi, 1668. At that time, Gu had just been released from prison after he was involved in the Jinan Poetry Incident. He then composed six poems titled "Coming to the East" 赴東. These include the following lines: "My natural temperament is upright and incorruptible, / and I will not compromise in the time of danger" 稟性特剛方，臨難詎可改; "The only teaching I hold dear is from the Rites of Zhou / Which I will keep to even through catastrophe" 所秉獨周禮，顛沛猶在斯; "My heart's principle will endure with constancy, / And like mountains and rivers does not ever change" 永言矢一心，不變同山河.[17] From these we can see the rectitude of his character.

These six poems were sent to Gui Zhuang, who then replied by writing poems to the same rhymes as Gu's. Gui thought Gu too eccentric and tried to draw him back to a more moderate stance. Gui and Gu had grown up in the same neighborhood, and since their youth the pair were known as "Gui the rare, Gu the eccentric" 歸奇顧怪. Yet in terms of the poetic reputation, Gui was far above Gu at that time. Gui was close to Qian Qianyi, who wrote a long ancient-style pentasyllabic poem titled "For Gui Xuangong" 贈歸玄恭 in 82 verses, when he was eighty years old. Jokingly, Gu claims that his poem is written in Gui's own style. In this poem, there are these two couplets: "You have one hundred verses, / And their manuscripts are stored in my caskets. / Their vital energy is like water going around without hindrance, / Whose ebbing and flowing flood river bank and port" 子有百篇詩，稿本庋吾匳，元氣含從衡，冥漲失津涘.[18] Qian also said of Gui: "The sway of his ink brush is like the sword that cuts the long snake in half, / The glowing radiance is like the arrow that kills the black rhino" 搖筆斷修蛇，垂芒射青兕.[19] Qian ends this poem by lamenting their loneliness and lack of achievements and comparing

16 *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu*, 2.57.
17 *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 4.717–25.
18 See *Muzhai youxue ji*, 12.596.
19 *Muzhai youxue ji*, 12.596.

the two friends to the Tang poem "Lamenting Two Birds" 歎雙鳥 by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824). From all this we can tell how favorably Qian thought of Gui, and how high Gui's position was in the poetry circles of the early Qing Dynasty.

The Poetry Incident of Jinan 濟南 was caused by the book *Tianqi Chongzhen liangchao yishi* 天啟崇禎兩朝遺詩, compiled by Chen Jisheng 陳濟生 (1629–1678).[20] The book contains ten *juan*, and its content is intended to complement the *Liechao shiji* 列朝詩集 (Collected poems from the previous dynasty) by Qian Qianyi. Works are selected for "the character of the poets, especially their moral integrity" 以人為重，人以節義為主.[21] There have been reprints of this book in recent years. It was prefaced by Gui Zhuang, so Gui must have been involved in this incident. Fortunately, the version that Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695) printed lacked the preface and poetry, containing instead only 100 pages of biographies of poets.[22] So Gui made a lucky escape. In fact, Gu was embroiled in other sensitive matters and Gui said in his letter that "your [Gu] voluntarily surrendering to the authorities is not only an enlightened act, but also a prudential choice, with all things considered" 自詣獄，不惟舉動光明，揆之事理，亦自宜爾.[23] Gui also mentioned in the letter that Gu had already sold his business in Shandong, and urged him to come back to the south. According to the note of Gu Yansheng 顧衍生, a relative of Gu Yanwu, that incident was instigated by Xie Changji 謝長吉. In 1664, Xie Changji of Zhangqiu 章丘 owed Gu debt, for which he used his mulberry plantations as collateral. In the ninth month of 1667, Gu filed a lawsuit against Xie, and only then was freed from this burden. Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709), a friend of Gu's, was then an assistant to Liu Fangzhu 劉芳躅, the provincial governor of Shandong. Zhu played a significant role in saving Gu from his trouble.[24]

Gu was not willing to return to the south and instead traveled to all corners of China. Some said of him as "arrogant by nature, could not get along with others; born a southerner, yet prefers to live in the north" 生性兀傲，不諧於世，身本南人，好居北土.[25] Yet this is not exactly the case. Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869–1936) wrote in his "Note on the Anecdotes about Gu Yanwu" 書顧亭林軼事:

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20 Chen Jisheng was the son of Chen Renxi 陳仁錫, the husband of Gu's older sister.

21 *Tianqi Chongzhen liangchao yishi*, "Fanli," 45.

22 *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu*, 2.54.

23 Gui Zhuang, "Yu Gu Ningren," *Gui Xuangong yizhu*, 12b, in *Qingdai shiwen ji huibian*, 42:29.

24 Zhu records in his *Jingzhiju shihua*, 22.672 that Gu sold all his estate to live in Zhangqiu, and managed farmlands and houses, which were later violated. This refers to the Xie Zhangji case.

25 *Hanxue shicheng ji*, 8.862.

> Gu moved to Shandong when he was 40, and died in Quwo 曲沃 in Shanxi at the age of 70. In between, he traveled to several northern counties, and would never stay for more than three months. Yet he never suffered from poverty, and rumor has it that he got rich from opening wasteland for farming. I recently heard from Shanxi people that Gu obtained the stash of gold of Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–1645), with which he set up a draft bank operated by Fu Shan 傅山 (1607–1684). However, Gu arrived at Taiyuan 太原 when he was 51, and it was only then that he met Fu Shan. It was two or three years later that he began clearing land in Zhangqiu and Yanmen. Therefore, it is likely that the discovery of stash happened before he arrived at Taiyuan, and he invested it in agricultural business. Wherever he traveled, he brought with himself much luggage, which would be conspicuous on the road. However, he was never troubled by bandits. There is a legend that Gu first established the regulations for secret societies. That is probably true. Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1755) said that Gu traveled around China, because he just could not let his ambition go. Though he appeared to be a Confucian scholar, he acted heroically like Zhu Jia 朱家 or Ju Meng 劇孟 [two knight-errants of Qin and Han], which would not have been possible without a substantial amount of wealth.
>
> 亭林先生四十五歲往山東，七十歲歿于山西曲沃。中間遊歷北方諸郡，歲無三月之淹，而所至未嘗匱乏，世多謂其墾田致富。近聞山西人言：亭林嘗得李自成窖金，因設票號，屬傅青主主之。…… 按先生五十一歲至太原，始與青主相識，章丘、雁門營田之事，乃在其後二三歲，則或發金在前，後乃以餘貲興農耳。至其行跡所到，輿馬輜重，焜耀道上，而終無寇盜之害。世傳先生始創會黨規模，蓋亦實事。全紹衣謂先生遍觀四方，其心耿耿未下。是則先生外以儒名，內有朱家、劇孟之行，非多財亦不能然也。[26]

If the above account is correct, then Gu was a part-time member of a secret society. His purpose was to restore the reign of Ming Dynasty, but his enterprise ended in failure. In the latter half of his life, he worried about being recruited by the Qing regime, which would have compromised his integrity. He wrote to Pan Lei 潘耒 (1646–1708): "In the current situation, I have to take the wandering itself as my home" 此時情事，不得不以逆旅為家.[27] Such words are a

26 See *Taiyan wenlu xubian*, 6A.371–72.

27 These words appear in the third *juan* of *Jiang Shanyong cangao*, which is deleted in the printed version of *Wenji*. *Tinglin wenji*, in *Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 4.79.

matter of fact. On the New Year's Day when he turned 68 years old (1680), he wrote a couplet: "Sixty years ago, two sages passed away; / Three thousand *li* far away, the person with unparalleled loyalty is not yet dead" 六十年前，二聖升遐之日。三千里外，孤忠未死之人.[28] It is these words that express his genuine intent.

Speaking of the poetry incident of Shandong, Gu cites a record in the petition "Nanbei tongni" 南北通逆 (On fomenting rebellion in north and south) by Jiang Yuanheng 姜元衡 (1620–1685), which says:

> According to various books that have been printed, in Shandong there were poetry societies like the Patterned Stone Poetry Society, while south of the Yangzi River there were the Singing Society and the Purity Remnant Society. All of them were composed by former vassals still loyal to the Ming Dynasty. These southerners and northerners communicated with each other frequently, and in their letters their secret wishes to rebel are clearly stated. In their books, the northerners use the temple name of Ming Dynasty instead of our current one, and they are bold and indiscreet in their writing. The southerners call our regime the Eastern Kingdom or the tiger's den. The northerners' books include the poetry collections of Yao Hanzhang (1640–1708), of Youjinxuan (Huang Xun 黃薰), and of Xikaoting (Huang Ji 黃垍), and the biography of Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697–781), prince of Fenyang.[29] The southerners' books include *Poetry Collection of the Tianqi and Chongzhen Eras*, *Poems from the Winter of the Year*, *Poetic History of the Eastern Mountains*, and *One Hundred Eighty Stanzas of Du Fu's Verses Collected in Poems in Imitation of Wen Tianxiang*.
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> 據各刻本，山左有文石詩社，江南有吟社，有遺清等社，皆係故明廢臣，與招群懷貳之輩，南北通信，書中確載有隱叛與中興等情。…… 北人之書，削我廟號，仍存明號，且感憤乎鴟張，虎豹乎王侯。南人之書，以我朝為東國，為虎穴 …… 北人之書，有《含章館詩集》、《友晉軒詩集》、《夕霏亭詩》、《郭汾陽王考傳》；南人之書，有

28 *Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 6.142. The "two sages" refer to Shenzong and Guangzong of Ming Dynasty, for both died in 1620.

29 Editor's note: Guo Ziyi was the Tang general who ended the An Lushan rebellion and led campaigns against the Tibetans and Uighurs as well, so his biography could be reinterpreted as a critique of the Manchu invasion.

《啟禎集》，即《忠節錄》、《歲寒詩》、《東山詩史》、《倣文信國集子美句百八十章》。[30]

These are examples of how the adherents organized their poetic society and how they expressed their loyalty to the fallen dynasty. The *Qi-Zhen liangchao yishi* 啟禎兩朝遺詩 (Collection of poems from the Tianqi and Chongzhen eras) compiled by Chen Jisheng is just like the so-called *Zhongjielu* 忠節錄 (Record of the loyal and virtuous [martyrs]). As the circulation of this book has been detailed by Chen Naiqian 陳乃乾 (1896–1971), I will not elaborate on it here. What I would like to point out is that Gu also put much effort into collecting significant poems. Li Yunzhan 李雲霑,[31] a pupil of Gu's, wrote a letter titled "Discussing Gu Yanwu's Surviving Writings with Someone": "The writings of my late teacher are voluminous. For among those that I, the junior, have seen, there are *Daiyue ji* 岱嶽記 in four fascicles, *Xizong liangyinji* 熹宗諒陰記 in one fascicle, and *Zhaoxia yisheng* 昭夏遺聲 in two fascicles."[32] If it was Gu who compiled *Zhaoxia yisheng*, then his intention would have been the same as that of Chen Jisheng. *Xizong liangyinji* is the supplement to *Jiangshanyong cangao*, which is preserved in Osaka. It is a pity that *Zhaoxia yisheng* has been lost, and we have no way to find out what it is about. Among Gu's works listed in *Tinglin nianpu* by Zhang Mu 張穆 (1805–1849), there is only one *juan* about poetry, which is *Shilü menggao* 詩律蒙告. *Zhaoxia yisheng* is not recorded, though Gu's connection with the poetry incident of Chen Huangshi is mentioned. *Zhaoxia yisheng* deserves a fuller account.

Due to the frequent literary inquisitions in the early Qing Dynasty, many characters in the Gu's poetry were taboo and had to be either deleted or altered. The copy of the original manuscript of Pan Lei who is a pupil of Gu differs from the original print version in the Kangxi era. The *Guxue huike* 古學彙刻 (Collected carvings of ancient learning) contains another collected entitled *Tinglin jiwai shi* 亭林集外詩, with collation notes appended. The poem which serves as the epilogue of this book says: "These are six *juan* of *Tinglin shiji* corrected by comparing it with the manuscript of the Pan printing. Eighteen previously unknown poems were found. The number of variants found in the Pan edition is over one hundred"《亭林詩集》六卷，傳校元鈔稿本，以潘刻勘之，得佚詩

30 *Gu Tinglin xiangsheng nianpu*, 2.53–54.

31 He was the teacher of Gu Yansheng, and he wrote a poem titled "Reply to Li Yunzhan" 寄李生雲沾詩 in the fifth *juan* of his *Collected Poems*. *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 5.904–5.

32 According to Gun: "*zhaoxia* 昭夏 means *zhongxia* 中夏 [the ancient name of China]. It selects the poetry written by the Ming officials who died for their loyalty, and for each one of them, there is a short preface." This article is published in *Guocui xuebao* 1.7. See Li Yunzhan, "Li Jizu yu ren lun Tinglin yishu jian," 2b.

十有八篇。潘刻所有而文字殊異者，又逾百事.[33] There is another note which says: "There is a difference between the first print and revised printing, the latter of which has many characters missing. The first printing is the same as the original manuscript copy, and thus has not been referred to in proofreading" 潘刻亦有初印及重修之異，修版本缺字殊夥，初印本與元鈔本同，今不備校.[34]

From the above sources, we can see that the first printing of the Pan Lei version of Gu's collection did not change much of the original text. Later on, though, when measures to control free expression and thought were strengthened, the book had to be abridged into five *juan*. Other copies have only four *juan*. Sun Yuxiu 孫毓修 (1871–1922) wrote *Tinglin shiji jiaobu* 亭林詩集校補, which was published as a supplement for the *Tinglin shiji* of the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 version. In the Guangxu era (1875–1908), Zhu Jirong 朱記榮 published *Tinglin yishi* in one fascicle. This collection contains only twenty-three poems, and is based on the Xiao Jingfu 蕭敬孚 (1834–1904) editions. The taboo words are all replaced by square symbols. Recently, Zhonghua shuju published a five *juan* version based on the above texts, and added the *Jiwaishi bulu* 集外詩補錄 from the *Gushi jianzhu* 顧詩箋注 of Xu Jia 徐嘉 (1834–1913) to it, so that it is a more or less complete version.

The rare quality of Gu's authentic verses can be demonstrated by the following example. The poem "Qianghu yin" 羌胡引 (Ditty of Tibetans and Huns) is missing in the print version but can be found in the fourth *juan* of *Jiwaishi*, which has a note saying "a tribute to Huang Zhifang" 贈黃職方詩後.[35] The poem frankly reprimands the Manchus with the lines: "the chaos begins from the Jurchen tribes. They drafted soldiers on behalf of Jianzhou (Northeast China), they increased the tax solely on behalf of Jianzhou" 亂之初生自夷孽。徵兵以建州，加餉以建州.[36] If these words were not deleted at that time, then troubles would follow. There is also a poem titled "Hair Cutting" 剪髮, which records the pain of shaving the head as a sign of submission to the Manchus. It begins with "I have been wandering all around Suzhou, / Where can I find my own land? / Ascending the heights, I looked at the nine divisions of China, / But the land is now occupied by barbarians" 流轉吳會間，何地為吾土？登高望九州，憑陵盡戎鹵.[37] The print version changed the title to "Wandering About" 流轉 , and the fourth sentence to "all that I can see is only luxuriant vegetation"

33 See *Tinglin shiji jiaowen*, 5.5b. In *Tinglin xiansheng jiwai shi*.
34 See *Tinglin shiji jiaowen*, 5.5b. In *Tinglin xiansheng jiwai shi*.
35 *Tinglin xiansheng jiwai shi*, 4.3a.
36 *Tinglin xiansheng jiwai shi*, 4.3b.
37 *Tinglin shiji*, *Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 294.

極目皆榛莽.[38] Refusing to shave their heads in the Manchu style at that time was a felony.[39] Therefore, the two characters *jianfa* 剪髮 had to be censored.

The following note was added to the poem "I Saw a Calendar Dated to the Fourth Year of Dongwu [of the Southern Ming] in the Home of Drafter Lu" 路舍人家見東武四先曆, in its original version:

> In the eighth month of 1646, the sovereign went out hunting [had to run away from the enemy], and never returned. Prince Gui [last ruler of the Southern Ming] ascended the throne in Zhaoqing, and changed the reign name to Yongli (Eternal calendar). At that time, Preceptor to the Crown Prince, Minister of Personnel, and Imperial Academician [of the Southern Ming] Lu Zhenfei (1590–1647) established the Great Unity Calendar for 1648, which was printed by the Hall of Literary Profundity of the Imperial Palace. In 1653, I accompanied the eldest son of Lu Zhenfei, secretariat drafter Lu Zepu. Seeing that calendar, I composed this poem.
>
> 隆武二年八月上出狩，未知所之。其先桂王即位於肇慶府，改元永曆，時太子太師吏部尚書武英殿大學士臣路振飛，在廈門造隆武四年大統曆，用文淵閣印頒行之。九年正月，臣顧炎武從振飛子中書舍人臣路澤溥，見此有作。[40]

The reign name Longwu from the Ming Dynasty is plainly written out to identify the year, and the Ming Emperor is addressed as *shang* 上, "Highness." The euphemistic style of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is used to refer to his exile as "went out hunting" 出狩.[41]

My friend, Professor Pan Chonggui 潘重規, has written an article titled "Tinglin shi fawei" 亭林詩發微 (Exploring Gu Yanwu's verse), arguing that the copy of *Jiangshanyong shiji* 蔣山傭詩集 that Sun used to correct and supplement the text is indeed the original version of Gu Yanwu's poems. However, we

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38 *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 2.205.

39 Hua Yuncheng, the former minister of civil appointment was killed after being reported that he did not shave his head. Cf. *Qizhen liangchao yishi xiaozhuan*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, 12:218.

40 *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 2.252.

41 The hand-copied version that Sun Yuxiu has seen writes Longwu as *dongwu* 東武, *guiwang jiwei* 桂王即位 as *jiyang jiwei* 霽陽即位, *gaiyuan yongli* 改元永曆 as *gaiyuan gengxi* 改元梗錫, *zai xiamen* 在廈門 as *zai xiayuan* 在廈元, *Longwu sinian datongli* 隆武四年大統曆 as *Dongwu sixian datongxi* 東武四先大統錫, *Wenyuange* 文淵閣 as *Wenguangge* 文光閣, *chen Gu Yanwu* 臣顧炎武 as *chen Jiang Shanyong* 臣蔣山傭. These are instances in which taboo words are replaced by the name of their rhyme category.

find in it many obscure lines that are baffling at first glance. It turns out that Gu often used rhyming words to replace characters that he had actually intended to use.[42] He even changed his own name "Gu Yanwu" into "Jiang Shanyong," and the above mentioned "Qianghu yin" 羌胡引 to "Yangyu yin" 陽虞引. However, that "Jianzhou" 建州 is changed into "Yuanzhou" 願州 was done by a timid Qing copyist and should not be attributed to Gu. In the 19th *juan* of *Ri zhi lu* 日知錄 (Record of daily knowledge), Gu has another entry titled "The Hidden Intent That Has Not Yet Been Put Right" 古文未正之隱:

> All the *bei* 北 characters in "Zhinan lu xu" 指南錄序 by Wen Tianxiang were originally *lu* 虜. This mistake has not yet been corrected for people who did not get the meaning right. The "Xitai dongku ji" 西臺慟哭記 (Record of grievous weeping on the western terrace) by Xie Ao 謝翱 should have praised Wen Tianxiang, yet it refers instead to Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–784); it should have discussed the end of Song Dynasty, yet it refers only to the end of Han Dynasty. Mistakes of such kind await the correction by later generations. The *Xinshi* by Zheng Sixiao records that Wen never called the Mongolian invaders by the honorific "great state" (daguo 大國), nor has he referred to their minister as the "chief counsellor," and even referred himself as Wen Tianxiang. All such instances are not Wen's original words. Since the earlier versions refer to the name of the Mongolian rulers straightforwardly, it seems the extant editions have been tampered with by copyists.
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> 文信國〈指南錄序〉中北字皆虜字也，後人不知其意，不能改之。謝皋羽〈西臺慟哭記〉，本當云文信公，而謬云顏魯公，本當云季宋，而云季漢，凡此皆有待於後人之改正者也。…… 鄭所南《心史・書文丞相事》言：「公自序本末，未有稱賊曰大國、曰丞相，又自稱天祥，皆非公本語。舊本皆斥彼虜名。」然則今之集本，或皆傳書者所改。[43]

Unexpectedly, his own poems were also altered by the copyists of later generations. That we may now correct and restore them to their original state is indeed a pleasure.

Speaking of the poetry of Gu, we must first be clear of his family background to know the origin of his poetics. Chen Jisheng writes in the entry on Gu Shaofu 顧紹芙 in the *Qi-Zhen liangchao shi xiaozhuan* 啟禎兩朝詩小傳

42 See Pan Chonggui, "Tinglin shi fawei."

43 *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 19.1114–15.

(Brief biographies of poets from the Tianqi and Chongzhen eras at the end of the Ming Dynasty):

> His poems are as heroic as they are profound and solid, and never fall into the rut of his contemporaries. His pentasyllabic verse is similar to that of Li Bai 李白 (701–ca. 762) … He travelled across half of China, and was also familiar with decrees and regulations … He passed away at the age of 79 years old. Shortly before his death, he would copy a court bulletin each day, written on one scroll of paper up to 2000 characters. He was particularly good at the cursive script, of which twenty pieces survive. I had a chance to look at them at the home of his great grand-son Gu Yanwu. The composition of poetry in the Gu family began with Gu Ji 顧濟, who held the position of chief supervising secretary. Compared with other poets in the early sixteenth century, his work was singularly moving and profound. His descendant Gu Shaofang entered the imperial academy in the Wanli era (1573–1620), and his poetry had a refreshing style. The poetry of Gu Shaofu is stylistically unique, and his achievement in ancient-style verse and longer forms surpassed that of his ancestors. But the poetry of Gu Ji was destroyed by the Japanese. Only a dozen pieces were preserved and printed in Kunshan. Gu Shaofang published his collection *Baoan ji* (Collection of the precious studio) in his lifetime.
>
> 其詩豪宕深穩，不入時人蹊徑。七言歌行，仿佛太白。……足跡半天下，復能通曉國家典章。……壽至七十九以終。未卒時，猶日錄邸報，每紙一幅，至二千餘字，草書精絕，凡二十餘帙，濟生從其嗣孫絳得而觀之。顧氏言詩者，自給事公（指顧濟，官刑科給事中）。當正、嘉間，獨為雄博深厚之作。其後贊善公（指顧紹芳）萬曆初入翰林，為詩清逸雋永。先生神格獨出，古體長篇，復在二公之上云。給事集毀於倭，存詩十餘篇，刻石昆山。贊善有《寶庵集》行於時。[44]

Gu Shaofu was the grandfather of Gu Yanwu. Since the generation of his great-grandfather, each generation produced poets. The father of Gu Yanwu was Gu Tongying 顧同應, who had five sons. The eldest was Gu Xiang 顧緗, whose sobriquet was Xiazhuan 遐篆, and the second was Gu Yanwu. Both Gu Tongying and Gu Xiang were famous for their poetic achievement.[45] The heptasyllabic poems of Gu Shaofu were similar to those of Li Bai and Li He 李賀

44 *Qizhen liangchao yishi xiaozhuan*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, 12:271–72.

45 The poems of Gu Shaofu and his younger brother Gu Shaofen, and those of Gu Tongying and Gu Xiang, can be found in the *Tianqi Chongzhen liangchao yishi*, *juan* 8.

(790–816). Gu Tongying has collections titled *Yaofang* 藥房 (Herb chamber) and *Qiuxiao* 秋嘯 (Autumn wailing). The *Mingshi zong* 明詩綜 (Guiderope of Ming poetry) judges his poetry as plain in words yet profound in meaning, as if the white clouds come and go freely within it, as if a mountain spring resounds clear and melodiously. His ancient-style verse is particularly similar to Li He; for instance, "Sitting at Night" 夜坐, which he wrote at the age of fifteen, and "On the Yangzi River" 江上篇.

Gu Xiang, the older brother of Gu Yanwu, was also a person with great literary talent. The style of his *yuefu* (Music Bureau) verse is as vigorous as the authors of antiquity. We can see the greatness of this attainment from his own preface to "In the Manner of Ancient Music Bureau Poetry" 擬古樂府. It has been said for generations that his *fu* on the "Two Capitals" 兩京 was as good as Zhang Heng's 張衡 (78–139), and his "Policies for Contemporary Governance" 時務策 was as good as the "Policies for Governing in Stability" 治安策 of Jia Yi 賈誼 (ca. 200–168 BCE). During the eventful years at the end of the Ming Dynasty, Gu Xiang discussed the training of the military, fundraising, farming, and irrigation. He was confident of his ability and did not think highly of his peers. In terms of literary talent, Gu Xiang was even better than Gu Yanwu, but unfortunately, he died at the young age of forty. We can see that the Gu family produced *yuefu* (Music-Bureau style) poets through the generations, which had a tremendous impact on Gu Yanwu. No wonder that when Gu Yanwu was in Beijing, Wang Shizhen asked about his "Ballad of the Butterflies" 蝴蝶行, and Gu immediately recited the whole verse and made no mistakes. Gu Yanwu was deeply intimate with *yuefu*, and his greatest poems are written in the style of *yuefu*. This is not accidental but has much to do with his family background.[46]

Zhu Yizun writes about Gu's poetry in *Jingzhiju shihua* 靜志居詩話 as follows: "his poems contain no superfluous word, his use of allusions is precise and appropriate, and his wording is of classic elegance" 詩無長語，事必精當，詞必古雅.[47] To be frank, though, his poems belong to the poetry of scholars. In contrast, the poems of his brother are the poetry of a man of letters. Gu Yanwu's poems excel at using allusions, which are often refined and solemn. They can be compared to the prose of Ren Fang 任昉 (460–508). Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 522) differentiated eight literary styles. The first one is *dianya* 典雅, which means paying allegiance to the upright in its purpose and preferring the elegant and solemn style. The opposite of *ya* 雅 orthodoxy is *qi* 奇, which is a style of eccentric and surprising imagery. Gui Zhuang is sometimes

46 The *yuefu* of Gu Xiang has been published in the *Gu Xiazhuan shi* in *Er Gu xiansheng yishi* within the Guxue congkan Collection.

47 *Jingzhiju shihua*, 22.672.

odd, but Gu is always elegant. There are often notes in the poems of Gu Yanwu and according to a Mister Yuan 袁 of Qiantang 錢塘, they were supplied by Gu himself. The notes are about a wide range of things, including both the classics and other non-canonical thinkers. Sometimes, simple words may carry profound meaning. For example, Gu writes in the poem "Moved by Current Affairs" 感事: "The *Documents* record the decree of the Marquis of Wen, / And worried deeply about the east side of Luoyi" 尚錄文侯命，深虞雒邑東.[48] He then cited the *Spring and Autumn Annals*: "After the catastrophe of King Li of Zhou 姬胡 (d. 828 BCE), the dukes and princes left their post to help the king. King Xuan of Zhou 姬靜 (d. 782 BCE) was ambitious and then conferred positions. Reading the 'Decree of the Marquis of Wen' in the *Documents* makes me understand that King Ping of Zhou (770–720 BCE) had no true aspiration at all" 厲王之禍，諸侯釋位以間王政，宣王有志而後效官，讀〈文侯之命〉，知平王之無志也.[49] In his "Anniversary of the Death of My Mother" 先批忌日 he mentions that "being able to read one classic is already enough to be a teacher" 一經猶得備人師.[50] In the notes, he quote *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (Family instructions of the Yan clan): "Since the times of chaos and war, with many taken captives, even a son from a humble background, so long as he can read the *Analects* and *Classic of Filial Piety*, can be a teacher" 自荒亂已來，諸見俘虜。雖百世小人，知讀論語、孝經者，尚為人師.[51] These are good examples of the profundity behind his verse.

Gu's *magnum opus*, the *Record of Daily Knowledge*, comments on the errors made in the annotation of ancient books. Gu criticizes and corrects Yan Yanzhi 顏延之's (384–456) commentary to Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263) in the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of refined literature) anthology, and also adds notes on Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (ca. 365–ca. 427), Li Bai, Du Fu, and Han Yu. These confirm his attainment in the study of these poets. He explicates the collocation of *gu* 古 and *yue* 月 in the line "Oceans stir, mountains fall, the ancient moon urges them on" 海動山傾古月摧 by Li Bai as the dissection of the character *hu* 胡.[52] He points out the occasional mistake in Du Fu's use of allusions in

48 *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 1.14.

49 *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 1.14.

50 *Tinglin shiji, in Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 390.

51 *Yanshi jiaxun jijie*, 8.145. *Tinglin shiji, in Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 391. This is the modern text, but Gu Yanwu's quotation, followed by Jao, is different: "Since the times of chaos and war, even someone talented from a humble and poor family, so long as he can read the *Classic of Filial Piety and Analects*, can be a teacher" 荒亂以來，雖寒畯之子，能讀《孝經》、《論語》者，尚為人師. See Jao 12.165, *Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 391.

52 *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 27.1555.

lines such as "An old Fu Qian among the scholars" 諸生老伏虔, which should instead have referred to Fu Sheng 伏勝 (268–178 BCE).[53] All of these cases are quite interesting. From these cases, we can see that he is exceptionally strict with the use of words which does not have precedence in the classics and history. His attention to the allusion and historical facts plays a crucial role in the elegance of his poetry.

The "Great Preface" to the *Book of Odes* says the "Airs of the States" "begin with sentiments and ends with ritual and righteousness" 發乎情，止乎禮義.[54] Gu Yanwu follows this path wholeheartedly in his poems. He wrote:

> The words of the official in "Shuli" 黍離 (Millet drooping, *Odes* 65) are at first shaky, then as if choked, and finally intoxicated; that his desperation was entrusted to the heavens shows its genuineness. The earnest words of Qu Yuan 屈原 (fl. ca. 300 BCE) are serious and convoluted; that his poems are too chaotic to be organized is because of their very genuineness. Tao Yuanming, the Summoned Gentleman of Lili, is indifferent as if he forgets about the worldly human affairs, yet his feeling of indignation is sometimes unrestrainable, from which we can tell his true feelings. This is also because of its genuineness.
>
> 〈黍離〉之大夫，始而搖搖，中而如噎，既而如醉，無可奈何，而付之蒼天者，真也。汨羅之忠言，言之重，辭之複，心煩意亂，而其詞不能以次者，真也。栗里之徵士，淡然若忘於世，而感憤之懷，有時不能自止，而微見其情者，真也。[55]

Words have no substance in them if they are not honest, and honesty means truthfulness. Gu Yanwu comprehends the value of genuineness of human sentiments, and thus his poems are not devoid of substance. He was also conversant with things of the past, and thus there is not even one line of his poems that is empty. He has an essay about "The Title of Poems" in *Record of Daily Knowledge*:

> The ancients first had their poem and then added the title; but modern people first get the title and then write the poem. If first poem and then title, then the poem has a basis in genuine sentiments. If first title and then poem, then the poem is merely written in response to external affairs.

53 *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 27.1563.

54 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1.18.

55 Cf. the chapter on "Deceitful Talk" 文辭欺人, *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 19.1095.

> 古人之詩，有詩而後有題，今人之詩，有題而後有詩。有詩而後有題者，其詩本乎情，有題而後有詩者，其詩徇乎物。[56]

We can tell that Gu often decided the title of his poems only after the poems were written. To write poems for a pre-given title would be to make up sentiments for the literary purposes, which would lead to untruthful sentiments. To choose a title for a given poem is to make the literary effort for the sentiment, which means such sentiments will be truthful. If poems and essays are composed of genuine sentiment, then they would naturally be the best in the world. Otherwise, they might as well be tossed on the trash heap for manuscripts.

Gu Yanwu traveled all around China. He visited seven of the Nine Provinces of China and climbed four of the Five Sacred Mountains. There are quite a few pieces in his collection about traveling. He traveled to observe the river and mountains and to examine the proper way of government. His poems of this kind are the supplement for his famous books like *Tianxia junguo libingshu* 天下郡國利病書 (On the advantages and defects of all the commanderies under Heaven) and *Zhaoyu zhi* 肇域志 (Monograph on rectifying the provinces). We cannot tell whether his attention to geography, military tactics, and the suffering and hardships of people's livelihood was inspired by his elder brother and grandfather specifically, or has its origin in his family background in general. His poems about historic sites are pregnant with meaning. For example, his "Qianling" 乾陵詩 poem was written out of his admiration of Di Renjie 狄仁傑 (630–700), and "Valley of the Royal Official" 王官谷 was written to praise Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837–908). "Altar to Sovereign Earth" 后土祠 appears to be about Emperor Wu of the Han, but in reality, is about Gu's admiration for talented men who could also be valiant generals.

"Lousang Temple" 樓桑廟 narrates the efforts of Liu Bei 劉備 (161–223) to restore the reign of the Han Dynasty, which reflects Gu's own commitment to the restoration of Ming. "Xingzhou" 邢州, about Lu Xiangsheng 盧象升 (1600–1639), contains the couplet "Those affairs are all gone, like the grieving winds; / I'm lost in thought as if blown past yellow sands" 事已遡悲風，芒然吹黃沙.[57] This couplet is particularly remarkable for its profound lament. Poems of such kind can be found throughout his collected works and there is not enough time to list them all.

His poems follow in the tradition of Du Fu, and what is most special about him is that there is not one useless poem in his collection. All of his poems

56 *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 21.1171.

57 Wang Jimin, *Gu Tinglin shi jianshi*, 754.

were composed to record the political events, to lament the suffering of the people, and to take delight in commending human merits. This can be said to embody the fundamental aspect of poetry, to be clear about its purpose, and to make full use of the sentimental aspect of poetry. When we read his poems, we should endeavor to make sense of them from the broader context and to understand their underlying intention. If we view his poems on their own superficial merits, then we will not appreciate them correctly. His poems are less excellent from a literary standpoint than those of Gui Zhuang, and were less celebrated in their time than those of Gu Xiang. But the later generations will feel the greatness of his scholarly study and personal character, and hence the extraordinariness of his poems. This is what Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908) meant when he wrote of Gu: "He is like the last remaining orchid in the nursery which is still fragrant, and he has experienced the tragedy of the dynastic transformation in his own lifetime; his ambition great as that to fill up the ocean was left in desolation, and his study of governance has also come to grief" 蘭畹賸馥，桑海大哀，淒迷填海之心，寥落王佐之學.[58] Xu Jia 徐嘉 (1834–1913) has spent ten years to complete his *Gushi jianzhu*, to make these hidden messages explicit. Qing scholar Feng Luchuan 馮魯川 remarked:

> Since the Song and Yuan, the outstanding achievements in poetry must be the profundity of Qian Qianyi and Wu Meicun and the erudition of Wang Shizhen and Zhu Yizun. However, all these poems belong to the poets' poetry. Speaking of following the grand style of the "Airs of the States" and "Sublimating Sorrow," upholding the social mores, expressing what must be said at the time, writing what the later generation cannot do without, then Gu Yanwu may be ranked first of all.
>
> 牧齋梅邨之沈厚，漁洋竹垞之博雅，宋元以來，亦所謂卓然大家者也，然皆詩人之詩也。若繼體風騷，扶持名教，言當時不容已之言，作後世不可少之作，當以顧亭林先生為第一。[59]

Comments of this kind are on target, and yet they are still not speaking of his poems on their own merits, but rather from the perspective of his scholarly study and personal character. Feng said that Gu did not write poet's poetry, but in that case Gu must have been writing the poetry of a scholar. In fact, Gu never intended to be a poet. He said: "I go around China and find that

58 *Tinglin shiji jiaowen*, 5.5b. In *Tinglin xiansheng jiwai shi*.

59 See Lu Pei 路岷 (1839–1902), preface to *Gu Tinglin xiansheng shijian zhu*, 1a. In *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, 1402:138.

poetry collections and collected quotations pile up on people's tables and desks. This is no more than the earthen crock resounding like thunder; that is, mediocrities making a big show" 吾行天下，見詩與語錄之刻，堆几積案，殆於瓦釜雷鳴.[60] He further adds: "It is not necessary that everyone learn to write poems" 詩不必人人皆作.[61] "When everyone intends to earn fame by being a poet, then superfluous words will multiply in the world" 必欲人人以詩鳴，而蕪累之言，始多於世.[62] It is a tedious world if every man on the street considers himself as a poet. Gu Yanwu did not want to be famous for his poems, yet the title of the poet has been conferred on him, and he is even considered to be among the dozen best poets in China. He would laugh if he heard this in the netherworld. There are elements of the heroic style of the North in his poems, for he was by nature fond of the Northern way of life. The best pieces of his ancient-style pentasyllabic poetry are high-spirited, and sometimes comparable to Gao Shi 高適 (d. 765). His regulated heptasyllabic verses are profound and simple, a style that can be traced to Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779–831). He was particularly good at pentasyllabic verses. He follows Du Fu step by step, and some of his work is like a replica of Du's work. Among the early Qing Dynasty poets, he is not so singular in style. But then, his value does not lie so much in his unique poetic achievements or new poetic technique, but in the purity of his poetic purpose. In other words, while he preserved the traditional spirit of poetry, he also developed and elaborated upon it in response to his own circumstances. Based on his own correct theory, we can appreciate the strict distinction between poetry that merely traces external affairs and one that is based on genuine sentiments, and thus recognize the true and proper significance of poetry. This point should not be neglected.

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60 *Tinglin wenji*, in *Gu Tinglin shiwen ji*, 3.47.
61 *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 21.1168.
62 *Rizhilu jishi quanjiaoben*, 21.1168.

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Jao Tsung-i's scholarship illuminated the development of classical Chinese literature from antiquity through the end of the Qing dynasty. In this volume, eight interviews with and essays by Jao are translated faithfully into English, giving a sampling of his diverse insights into literature and its broader significance. Topics range from the religious beliefs underpinning the earliest Chinese writings, to the influence of Chan Buddhism on Chinese poetics, to Gu Yanwu's (1613–1682) poetic protest against the Manchu conquest. Collectively the essays demonstrate how literary art and spiritual beliefs have been intertwined throughout Chinese history.

Nicholas Morrow Williams, Ph.D. (2010), University of Washington, is Associate Professor of Chinese Literature at Arizona State University. He is the translator of *Elegies of Chu* (Oxford World's Classics, 2022) and author of numerous other works on classical Chinese poetry.

Jao Tsung-i (1917–2018) was a prolific scholar and polymathic painter, poet, and calligrapher. Born in Chaozhou, he spent most of his career in Hong Kong, where he won international recognition as a leading interpreter and representative of Chinese cultural tradition.

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